Meditation.
(National Museum, Bangkok).
THE BUDDHA'S FOOTPRINTS

by

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According to popular belief based on old literature, there are five genuine Footprints of the Buddha; the rest are imitations. The names of the five places where the Footprints are to be found are given as follows in the Pāli language:—

Suvaṃṇamālikke Suvaṃṇapabbate Sumanakūte Yonakapure
Namaṇḍaya nadiyā paṇcapāḍavaram vandāmi dūrato.

The three Footprints, at Suvaṃṇamālika—I do not know where it is; Yonakapura, Greek city, probably in the Panjab or Afghanistan; and Namaṇḍa a river, which flows through central India down to the coast of Madras, are outside the scope of this paper. Of the five names, only two concern us here; Suvaṃṇapabbata has been identified as a hill in Siam, and Sumanakūta is known in present-day geography as Adam's Peak in Ceylon.

In my present paper I propose to speak, first, of the Footprint to the north-east of Ayudhya, on a hill in the district of Saraburi, known as Suvaṃṇapabbata. It is not my purpose to describe the Footprint, with its Temple and outbuildings and grounds as they stand to-day. Rather will I speak of its history, how and when it was discovered, or possibly re-discovered. It will be of interest to realize the extent of the veneration in which the Footprint has been held by the people of the country, from king to peasant. In no small measure it is so held still. It will, again, be interesting to note how the Temple grounds have been the scene, on countless occasions, of displays of skill in sports and games, the drama, pyrotechnics and so

(1) A paper read at a general meeting of the Siam Society held on the 20th of December, 1934.
forth; how the Footprint has provided occasions for the calling
together (I won't say mobilization) of at any rate some of the King's
forces, and how it has afforded opportunities for the Sovereign to be
with his people outside the capital, thus contributing, if only in-
directly, to the efficient administration of the State.

In the second part of my paper, I propose to touch briefly on the
symbolism of the Footprint, and, with your permission, advance my
own view on it. Any new theory on such an old subject is necessa-
ecessarily a bold one, and I hope that I may count on your indulgence.

I will now begin at the beginning and go back to one of the oldest
known pieces of literature in which the subject has been found. I
refer to the विद्यालंकारण, that is to say, the Commentaries of
the Buddhist Scriptures.

The विद्यालंकारण, or Buddhist Scriptures, are described as नामित, or
words attributed to the Master. The Books are usually spoken of
in English as the Sacred Texts, as distinguished from the Commen-
taries.

In the Sacred Texts there is a chapter entitled यमुनन्द, that
is, "Chapter on the teaching imparted by the Buddha to a disciple
named यमुन, Pum."(1) I may explain, perhaps unnecessarily, that a सूत्र
or सूत्र may be didactic, and consists mainly or wholly of a discourse
given by the Master; or it may be historical, and relates to an event
or chain of events. The सूत्र to which I refer is a didactic one in
the Sacred Texts, but in the Commentary it becomes mainly a story,
with many miracles.

I will give you a gist of the story in the Commentaries, but before
doing so I would remark, first, that the Commentaries were written
in Ceylon many centuries after the demise of the Buddha; and the last
parts, in which our story appears, were written about nine hundred
years after the Master's death. I would remark, secondly, that the
Footprint is barely mentioned in the Sacred Texts themselves. I have
asked a Pāli scholar, on whom I rely, to look through the Sacred
Texts and give me a note on the description or characteristics of the
Buddha's Footprint. He reports having found it mentioned in three
places in the Sacred Texts, and they agree in describing the Buddha's

(1) In Majjhima Nikāya, Upanipannāsa, v, Sudhāyatana vagga; v. Lord
Chalmers; Further Dialogues of the Buddha, ii, p. 397.
Footprint as containing cakra or wheels, with spokes and other embellishments. A Wheel may be understood to be a line which forms a circle, just as in palmistry there are lines which form triangles, and so on. I do not know if it is rare to find circles on the soles of one's feet—I have not looked for them on mine, not being much of a contortionist—but a friend tells me that he has two circles on his feet. He does not claim to be a Buddha on that account, and has therefore not gone to a mental home. As regards the embellishments mentioned in the Sacred Texts, the Commentaries expand them into tens of pictures—one book gives the number as 108. The pictures are said to be a tree, a head-dress, a lotus, a white water-lily, a blue water-lily, a red water-lily, a spear, a begging-bowl and so forth. You will find that the bronze Footprint in the National Museum is covered with pictures; so is the cover of the Footprint at Phra Bād. Now, it is impossible to believe that the commentators intended it to be understood that there were real pictures on the Footprints; and I am inclined to think that, as in palmistry the lines or swellings on the palm of the hand are called by different names, so the lines or other features on the sole of the foot had names given them. We still have palmistry for reading the hand. Had they, a few thousand years ago, a similar system for reading the foot? If they had, then surely a "red lily" is not a picture of a lily coloured red, but a line or swelling somewhere on the sole of a foot, just as in palmistry the "mount of the moon" does not mean a picture of a mountain or of the moon. I cannot quote literature to support my theory, but I imagine that the old commentators provided so many pictures on the Buddha's Footprint to keep out claimants to Buddhahood. I may say that I have never seen the actual Footprint in the rock at Phra Bād, for it has a cover which, as I have said, is full of pictures. I am told that the indentation in the rock is bare, and I have not had sufficient curiosity to ask for the cover to be removed for inspection.

Now the gist of the story from the Commentaries. There lived in the district of Sunāparanta two brothers, ที่ประเทศ, the Elder Pun, and ที่ประเทศ, the Younger Pun. They took turns to travel with 500 carts to trade in distant lands, and on one occasion the elder Pun arrived at Sāvatthī while the Buddha was staying outside the city. On the morning after his arrival, the merchant saw a large number
of citizens passing through a city gate, and on enquiry was told that
the Buddha was present in the neighbourhood preaching to the people.
The elder Pun joined the crowd and was soon engrossed in the words
of the Master; so much so that there and then he resolved to renounce
his earthly position to enter the monkhood. This he did after hand-
ing his entire wealth to his younger brother. Thereafter he attend-
ed upon the Buddha for instruction, and finally, with the Master’s
approval, repaired to a distant hermitage which had been prepared
for him by his brother.

During the following rainy season, the younger Pun, with 500
ships, went on a sea-voyage and arrived at an island where the mer-
chants found an abundance of sandal trees. Said the merchants
among themselves: “This island contains nothing but sandal-wood,
which, however, is more valuable than our merchandise. Let us cast
away our goods and replace them with this wood.” The trees were
accordingly cut down, and the ships soon sailed away with sandal-
wood instead of their original cargoes.

Now, the island was inhabited by evil spirits who disliked to have
their trees cut down ruthlessly, and they resolved to destroy the
merchants wholesale. To avoid having human carcasses putrifying on
their island, they planned to have the ships capsized in the open sea.
Thus a sudden gale struck the boats, and the spirits showed them-
selves in awful forms to demoralise the crews. The younger Pun, in
mental prayer, invoked his pious brother’s aid. The elder Pun
appeared floating in the air, whereupon the evil spirits scattered in
fear. The ships returned home safely, and each merchant, in grati-
tude, offered the pious man some of his sandal-wood. They were
told that if they desired to behold the Buddha in person, they must
build a pavilion with the sandal wood they had offered. They did
so, and the elder Pun, by his supernatural power, journeyed through
the air to the Buddha’s abode, and invited him to visit the merchants
and preach to them. The Buddha accepted the invitation, and, accom-
panied by several hundred members of the Brotherhood, travelled
through the air by means of conveyances provided by the god Indra.
On the way the Buddha broke his journey to visit a heathen hermit
named Ṣāvattthī, Saccabandha, to whom he preached. The hermit was
converted, and joined the travellers in the rest of their journey by air.
After spending several days with the builders of the sandal wood
pavilion, the Buddha returned to Ṣāvattthī; but when passing the old
hermit's hill, he stopped there again. The new convert was persuaded to remain in his old hermitage in order to rectify the wrong views which he had preached to the people of the neighbourhood. The convert understood his duty and consented to stay, but he asked the Buddha to leave his Footprint as a memento of his visit to the country. The Master did so. Hence, I may add, the Footprint to the north-east of Ayudhya. On the same journey, the Buddha also visited the king of snakes on the bank of the Narmādā River, and left another Footprint there by request. The Narmādā River is in Central India.

I have given at considerable length the story from the Commentaries on which belief in the genuineness of the Footprint is based. I am now ready to turn to Siamese history, and it is Ceylon again to whom we are indebted for knowledge of the existence of the Footprint in Siam. But in the course of my paper, I shall have occasion to refer to the Buddha's Footprints in other countries, notably the one on Adam's Peak in Ceylon and that at Bodh Gaya in India, and it will be convenient to confer on ours a distinctive appellation. I propose to call our Footprint by the name of the hill on which it stands, i.e. श्रीमण्डल, Suvannapubbata (Golden Hill), and hereafter, where it is necessary to distinguish it from other Footprints, I will refer to it as the Golden Hill Footprint.

During the reign of the Siamese King Song Dharm of Ayudhya (early 17th century A.D.), a number of Siamese monks went on a pilgrimage to the Adam's Peak Footprint, in Ceylon. The Ceylonese monks asked them: "Why do you come here when, according to the sacred books, you have a Buddha's Footprint on Golden Hill in your country?" The Siamese monks, on their return from Ceylon, reported the conversation to King Song Dharm, who ordered a search to be made. The Governor of Saraburi reported that a hunter named Pun (a namesake of the pious man in the Commentaries) knew of a footprint on a rock. The hunter had noticed that an animal which he had shot and wounded went up a hill and disappeared in a thick growth of vegetation, and presently emerged apparently without hurt. The hunter was surprised, and on investigation discovered an indentation in a rock full of clear water. He drank it, and the disease on his skin disappeared. The hunter next emptied the water for a closer examination of the indentation, and found it to be the mark of a human foot. The King was enthusiastic over
the report, and set out in state from Ayudhya. His Majesty travelled
the first stage of his journey by river, and landed at a place which
has since become known as ḫu Tu-rus, i. e. Boat-landing. From
there the journey was continued by land, the hunter, ḫu ṭu, acting
as guide. The King's delight on beholding the Footprint is recorded
in history. Many were the candles and incense sticks which he
lighted before it, and he raised his folded hands to his head again
and again. He dedicated the surrounding land, to the extent of ten
miles in radius, to the Footprint, and ordered a Temple and Monas-
tery to be built on a grand scale. By his command, a road 20 metres
wide was made between Boat-landing and Golden Hill. On the
river itself, a royal house was constructed, the spot on which it stood
being styled ḫu ḫu, Tu-chao-snuk, i. e. "Landing where Royalty
derives Enjoyments". The construction of the Temple and other
buildings took four years, and after its completion the King went to
the Footprint again; the festivities in connection with this visit were
on the grandest scale.

There is no record in Siamese history of any more visits by King
Song Dharm, but it is impossible to believe that he never went again
during the remaining seventeen years of his life. In all probability he
visited it once a year. King Song Dharm's eldest son, who reigned
only for a year and seven months, was probably too unhappy in his
career on the Throne to pay a visit to the Footprint before his
assassination, and Song Dharm's youngest son, who followed his
brother to the throne, was only nine years old. Within a few weeks
the boy-king was deposed by the powerful and ambitious nobleman
who had placed both him and his brother on the throne only to pull
them down again. The nobleman usurped the throne and founded his
own dynasty, of which the founder and King Narai were the two not-
able monarchs. From the time of this usurper, every King of Ayudhya
visited the Footprint, and for some of the Sovereigns the visit was a
fixed annual event. Improvements and repairs were made to the
Temple and grounds from time to time, and the place became a royal
pleasure-ground as well as a shrine. After the fall of Ayudhya, the
first Sovereign of the present Dynasty ordered the restoration of the
Temple. The King, ḫu ḫu, appointed a commission to inquire
into the history of the Footprint and the administration of the Foot-
print district. There is on record a statement made before that
commission by a Footprint official who served during the time of the Ayudhya Kings. Apart from its other details, the statement is interesting in that it affords an insight into the system of government under the Kings of the old Dynasties. It appears that from the time of King Song Dharm, the chief official of the Footprint was appointed from the capital. That would be so, naturally, since, apart from the importance of the Footprint as a Shrine, the surrounding country, with the palaces, caves and streams etc., was the King's pleasure ground, and the chief official of the place must be a man with knowledge of the ways of the Court. Legal disputes within the district came before him, and he had written instructions to guide him as to the steps to take. The names of the judges to whom the cases should be handed over for trial were given. Thus two officials, Khun so-and-so, were to try civil cases, a third official had to take criminal cases, others to take cases affecting the rice-fields, and so on. You will remember that land within a ten mile radius was declared Footprint territory, and so jurisdiction within it came partially under its officials. I say partially, and not solely, because where a fine was to be imposed, it had to be imposed at Lopburi or Saraburi, the judgment of the Footprint Administration court being forwarded to one or the other of the two towns.

More than one hundred years after the death of King Song Dharm, the system of jurisdiction was modified by King Μοντι who remarked that a chief official appointed from the capital usually died within a year or two, and it would be wiser to appoint local men. Local men were henceforth appointed, and the King decreed that the local officials need not go to the capital twice a year to attend the ceremony of drinking the "water of fidelity", as the officials appointed from the capital had to do. Instead, the local officials were to pay homage to the Vassa Candle (วัสดาลี) which the King sent every year to be kept alight in the Temple throughout the rainy season. As to jurisdiction, the local officials from then on were competent to try and pass judgment on small disputes only. Other cases had to be sent for trial elsewhere, and serious criminal cases had to go to Ayudhya.

Let us now turn to the visits of the Kings of Ayudhya and see what took place. There is a book compiled during the reign of King Tak of Dhonburi, between the fall of Ayudhya and the establishment of the present Dynasty in Bangkok, which puts on record the
arrangements made for a visit to the Footprint by one of the last Kings of Ayudhya.

After an approximate date for a royal visit had been fixed, it was the duty of the Kralahome (which is the name of the Ministry of War) to send men from several specified Departments (Krom) to build rest-houses on the river-route for the King and members of his household, (a large number of people, you will understand), as well as for the princes and their families accompanying the Sovereign. The river journey occupied one day, with a mid-way rest at about half way. The names of officials whose duty it was to prepare royal and other barges are given in a long list, which also contains the names of the officials required to provide men to man the boats, and to give them guns and ammunitions. On one visit of King there were about thirty of what might be termed "barges-of-the-line", each barge being mentioned by its own name, as we would refer to a gunboat today. The princes who accompanied the King had their own barges which do not appear in the list. Each prince and nobleman also had barges or other boats to carry his family, servants, luggage, kitchen, and so forth, and these, added to the official transport boats, must have made the flotilla a very large one. The scene, in fact, was that of an army moving by water. Naturally, the people of the surrounding country turned out on the river to see the King and his procession, to enjoy the fun provided during the royal visit, and incidentally to gain merit themselves, so that the river must have presented a busy scene all the way.

The King started from the capital in the morning (I am speaking from the record of one visit), and arrived at the half-way rest-house about midday. His Majesty landed to take his meal, and rested for a few hours before continuing his journey. On arrival at Boat-landing, a stay at least, of two days was made. Here again the army order came into operation. Officials and people of the locality were required to attend and place themselves under the order of officials from Ayudhya. A number of barges had to be moored in front of the royal houses to act as guard on the river. Other barges were carried ashore so that they formed barriers against any possible outside attack, the bargemen occupying positions behind their boats. The order goes into detail as to other forms of defence: for instance, caltrops or spikes were laid on the ground to a breadth of 5 soks, (2½ metres), leaving 10 gaps to be guarded by companies of men,
each company to have 14 guns, 5 bows and 5 cross-bows. In addition each company had a gong and 50 men to patrol the beat. There were two canons at each gate-way, manned by men from specified Kroms. The inner line of defence against surprise was held by men whose Kroms were mentioned. Sixty-two war elephants with guns formed an important part of the armed camp, and so did the cavalry. The order of the guarding of this camp on the river bank runs to five octavo pages.

After two days the land journey began. The army was now increased by men, beasts, guns, carts, etc., which had collected before the King's arrival, and the whole moved forward on the way to Golden Hill. The order runs to ten pages. Each Krom was given its place in the procession, the chief officers being mentioned by name. The official elephants now numbered 144, but the horses were only 60. The number of carriages is not given in the list, but there must have been many, for the ladies and children travelled in them, and at least one prince, who probably was old. The bullock-carts were innumerable, for of course they provided transport for almost everything which was required. The carts, with beasts complete, were requisitioned from the surrounding country as far as Jaintad, and a household which failed to provide a cart had to pay a tical and a half. Later a King ordered that the territory liable to requisition was to be extended, but payment in lieu of cart was lessened. A man's household was now required to pay only a quarter of a tical, and a widow's household half that amount. The contribution was, I think, an annual one, for it is definitely stated that the money was to go into the Treasury, earmarked for the hire of carts for the King's visit to the Footprint each year.

The journey from the landing to Golden Hill is 550 sens (nearly 14 miles). Arriving in the afternoon, the King stopped his elephant in front of the Temple and swung his weapon in salute, an elaborate movement which was repeated three times. This is called नमितान्त्रिक. I have never seen it done, and I believe the last Sovereign to salute the Footprint in the traditional manner was King Chulalongkorn.

From the record of a visit of a King of Ayudhya which I am quoting, the Sovereign, after the salute, went on to his rest-house on a stream, नरसिम्हान, about a mile and a quarter from the Temple. The next day he visited the Temple, accompanied by his family
and personal retinue. Inside the Temple he lighted candles and incense-sticks, covered part of the Footprint with gold leaves, and made presents to it, particularly a pair of trees, one of gold, and one of silver. He next came out of the Temple and sat on a stone seat under the Bo tree on the edge of a cliff. He scattered gold and silver flowers among his followers, after which the entertainments began. These consisted of boxing, fencing, duels with long-handled swords (wooden blades) etc. Dramatic performances were given, and, in the evening, fireworks. The monks were liberally treated with food and given presents. The festivities, combined with excursions to the caves, mountain streams, forests, and so on, went on day after day, and the week was an enjoyable one. The Court returned to Ayudhya by the same route, and, in the ordinary course of things, the visit was repeated next year after the harvesting of the crop.

You will have gathered that the Footprint was a rich institution and possessed great treasures. I will mention one item of such treasures. In B. E. 2290 (1747 A.D.), the Governor of Kuiburi reported that gold in the form of sand had been discovered at Bang Sapan, and forwarded a sample weighing 12 ticals. The King ordered a commissioner at the head of two thousand men to go to Bang Sapan to wash for the metal, and they returned with gold weighing over 90 catties, all of which the King ordered to be used for the decoration of the Footprint Temple. The spire of the main roof was covered with this gold, reaching quite a long way down. The treasures of the Temple invited plunder, and during the last siege of Ayudhya, it was plundered. Robbery of Footprint property probably took place repeatedly during those troublous times, but it was left to the Chinese of a village called Betel Garden to commit the final act of arson following robbery, and the Temple was entirely burnt down.

After the fall of Ayudhya and the foundation of the capital at Dhonburi, King Tak caused a temporary structure to be put up on the site of the burnt Temple. That King was fully occupied in putting down internal risings and consolidating his power, and in keeping out would-be invaders from Burma and elsewhere; and he could not find time for less urgent matters, and the building of a new Temple of the Footprint was left to the first Sovereign of the present Dynasty. King  arkadaş ordered that the Temple be rebuilt, and desired his brother, the Wang Na, the Second King, to supervise the construction. The latter went to Golden Hill with his army,
among whom were artists, craftsmen and other workers. He was a pious man, with very deep veneration for the Footprint, and instead of travelling from the landing on an elephant or any other conveyance, he walked the whole way. On his own shoulder was carried a piece of timber to be used in the construction of the Temple. It is on record that at each resting-place on the way, a stand had been prepared for His Majesty to place the timber while he himself rested, so that it never touched earth. The Temple built during the first reign has since been repaired and altered many times, and I do not think we are very proud of the building to-day.

I have now finished the historical part of my paper, and will next give you my view on the difficult question of the symbolism of the Footprint. Unfortunately, I have mislaid some of my papers since the abolition of the Royal Institute, and from this point, I am writing without notes, depending almost entirely on memory. I am therefore obliged to avoid going into details, and state my view in a bald and perhaps unsatisfactory manner.

Now, the students of Buddhism among you know that the Buddha was born a prince, and in the ordinary course of things, would succeed his father on the throne. But he abandoned his princely status to adopt the simple life, spending his time in meditation. Finally Enlightenment came. He was Buddha from this time on, for he was merely a Bodhisattva (potential Buddha) before his Enlightenment. Now, Enlightenment was the first important event, not in the life of the man, but from the point of view of his Religion. Buddhism began not with the birth of the prince, but with his Enlightenment. Here I may say in parentheses that I am using the word Religion in a broad sense. Scholars have written how much of Buddhism is Religion, and how much of it Philosophy. I do not propose to touch on the distinction here.

After his Enlightenment, the Buddha hesitated about teaching it to others, realizing that his Doctrine was difficult of comprehension by an untrained mind, and it would be futile to teach it without painstaking preparation. Finally he decided to impart his new-found knowledge to the five disciples who had lately left him, and he journeyed to Benares, where they had gone. In the neighbourhood of that city, he preached his First Sermon. That was the second important event, because, if he did not teach after attaining Enlightenment, he would be merely a বুদ্ধ, that is to say, a Buddha
who, having attained Enlightenment, would not impart knowledge to mankind.

The First Sermon was followed by others, and the Master spent the rest of his long life moving from place to place for the instruction of the people in the ways of peace. His wanderings to spread his teaching are called वर्तनाला, which may here be translated as Peregrination. That was the third important step, for without it the Religion would not have been established.

We have, then, the three important steps in the history of the Religion: the Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the Peregrination. These were symbolized as follows:

- Enlightenment: a Seat, ज्ञानम् (and Bo Tree);
- First Sermon: a Wheel, लोकपल्लिसः;
- Peregrination: a Footprint, चिरु.

As regards the Seat, it is often understood in this country to symbolize the Buddha’s Death; the seat or Bench being his death-bed. Thus, at कामदेवालये, there is a pulverizing stone (for medicine), and a hole which is pointed out to visitors as a spittoon. But it is wrong to regard the Seat, ज्ञानम्, as referring to the Buddha’s Death; for Death is already symbolized by the Thūpa or funeral mound, i.e. चिरु. The oldest stone pictures of the Seat, for instance at Bharhut, show with it the Bo tree under which Enlightenment was attained, and to me the tree clearly indicates the meaning of the Seat.

Regarding the symbol of the First Sermon, the Wheel वृत्त, no explanation is needed. A very fine specimen of the Wheel is to be seen in the National Museum in Bangkok. I will show you a picture on the screen presently.

With regard to the Footprint, it is surely the most obvious symbol of Peregrination. As a real footprint records the presence on the spot of the owner of the foot, so a representation of the Buddha’s Footprint would be evidence either of the Master’s actual visit to a place, such as Bodh Gaya, or, later on, of the fact that his teaching had reached it. Its presence in Siam is a mark of the spread of Buddhism to this country, and not a record of the Buddha’s actual visit here. That must be the true significance of the Footprint, whether it be a natural indentation in a rock which has or has not been touched up by hand, or a man-made representation in wood, mortar, stone or metal.
The Wheel, Dhammacakka.
(National Museum, Bangkok).
The Walking Buddha.
(National Museum, Bangkok).
On the antiquity of the Footprint symbol in Buddhism, I need only say that the early Buddhists, say before the first century before Christ, would never make an image of the Master. That for them would be a sacrilege, and when they wished to indicate the Master's presence, they merely suggested it by a symbol, such as an empty Seat or a Footprint. The Buddhists of the Kushan period, (say the second century of the Christian era), had not such scruples, and from that time on, the Master's image became a principal element in Buddhist sculpture.

Let me show you on the screen a few pictures of the sculptured reliefs of the Bharhut Thupa, which was erected about the middle of the second century B.C.

Picture I. This picture represents the procession of a King visiting the Buddha. You see the King in a chariot, and he has with him the four sections of his army; elephants, horse, chariot and foot. The Buddha is represented in the picture by a Wheel.

Picture II. This picture depicts the Buddha being worshipped in Paradise. He is represented by his head-dress.

Picture III. See the Seat and the Tree, which need no explanation.

These stone-pictures, as I have said, were made in the second century B.C. Images of the Buddha were not made till over five hundred years after his death. It would seem that once the Buddhists had discarded their scruple about making images of the Master, there was no further reason to represent him by symbols. The images have been made in many forms and we have them in the attitude of Meditation (picture IV), preaching the First Sermon (picture V), and Peregrination (picture VI). The Buddha in this last picture is called พระพุทธ in Siamese, that is, the Walking Buddha. There are images of the Buddha in many other attitudes, such as the attitude of Blessing, the attitude of Forgiveness (picture VII), all of which may be seen in the Museum.

As regards the Footprints of one or the other of the two Hindu Chief-Gods in India, those are a later conception than that of Buddhism. As a matter of fact, the Buddha's Footprint at Bodh Gaya was adopted by Hinduism and became Visnu-pāda (Foot of Vishnu) after the later ascendancy of that religion over Buddhism in India. There is nothing inconsistent in this adoption if we take into consideration the fact that the Buddha himself has been adopted by Hinduism, wherein he becomes one of Vishnu's incarnations. There is
a Čīvapāda (Foot of Shīva) somewhere which is said to date from the 4th century of the Christian era. It is probably another adoption, for the idea of the Buddha’s Footprint was conceived long before Christ.

May I conclude my paper with the remark that by rationalising the Buddha’s Footprint, instead of mythologising it, we surely must recognise its symbolical character, and identify it with his movement from place to place. The Master, after Enlightenment (symbolised by the Seat and Tree), preached his First Sermon (symbolised by the Wheel), and then travelled from place to place, from country to country, for the instruction of mankind until the Religion was firmly established. The Peregrination, यूँनैति, is symbolised by the Footprint.

There is another point which I would like to mention, rather as an afterthought. According to the Sacred Texts, there are four shrines to which Buddhists are enjoined to make pilgrimage. They are the scenes of the Master’s Birth, Enlightenment, First Sermon, and Death. There is a set of four emblems symbolising those four events. Birth is represented by an elephant, because, according to legend, the Buddha’s Mother dreamed that a white elephant from heaven entered her womb. Enlightenment is symbolised by a Tree (and Seat); the First Sermon by a Wheel, and Death by a Thūpa (Tope) which typifies the perfect stillness of transcendent peace into which he passed away at death.

You will recognise that the four emblems form a set distinct from the set of three (the Seat, the Wheel, and the Footprint); for, whereas the first set represent the most important events in the Master’s Life, the second represent the most important events of his Religion. The Man’s Life ended at Death. His Religion goes on. The two sets of emblems are not to be confounded with one another, though two of the emblems are common to both sets.
The Buddha in the attitude of Blessing.
(in the author's collection).
ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH WORK IN SIAM

by

MAJOR ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

The study of anthropology as well as ethnology in Siam offers great possibilities by reason of the numerous and varied racial groups which constitute the population of this country.

While the ethnological problems pertaining to Siam have already been treated by not a few students, such as the late Colonel Gerini, Messrs. W. A. Graham, Evans, Dr. A. Kerr, Professor Schebesta, and myself, about which more anon, those of anthropology have, so far, been paid but scant attention.

About thirty years ago the late Dr. Brengues, a young French physician, carried out a series of interesting anthropometric measurements of individuals belonging to the so-called Chong people, a branch of the Môn-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic race, living in the extreme south-east of the kingdom of Siam. Most unfortunately this promising beginning was cut short much too soon by the untimely death of Dr. Brengues. Later on Dr. Congdon of the Rockefeller Institute, while teaching anatomy at the Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, succeeded, during the years of 1928-31, I believe, in carrying out anthropometric measurements of no less than 30,000 Thai (i.e. Siamese) conscripts. The results of this stupendous piece of investigation have not yet been published, but the doctor has promised to contribute an abridged report on this matter to the Journal of the Siam Society.

Quite recently, during the winter months of 1932, I myself, in company with my friend, Mr. E. W. Hutchinson, visited a group of the Lawä, the remnants of a Môn-Khmer people, which no doubt formed the bulk of the population of North Siam prior to the Thai conquest of that country during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
We obtained measurements of about sixty individuals; besides other ethnological as well as linguistic information. Our joint report on this work will shortly\(^1\) be published in the Journal of the Siam Society. This constitutes up till now all that has been done in the way of anthropological research work in Siam and is thus only a very modest beginning.

We now come to the ethnological problems.

The population of Siam may be divided into three distinct racial groups—i.e. (1) the Negroids, represented by the Sêmang pygmies, living in the extreme south of Siam in the jungles of the Malay Peninsula, so ably described by Messrs. Skeat, Blagden, Evans, and Schebesta; (2) the Austro-Asiatics represented by the various Môn-Khmer peoples, to which both of the aforesaid Chong and Lawă belong; and finally (3) the Mongoloids, represented by the Thai with their many subdivisions; the immigrant Chinese and some hill tribes in Northern and Western Siam, which are partly of Chinese and partly of Tibetan stock. The Karen people, though undoubtedly of Mongoloid race, have not yet been finally classified whether belonging to the Chinese or Tibetan stock. They probably belong to the latter.

As the above three main groups are split up into more than thirty different peoples and tribes, subdivided again in numerous clans and septs, speaking a great number of languages and dialects, a detailed study of their anthropological and ethnological characteristics would most probably result in the discovery of a number of new and important facts which, besides adding to the total sum of our knowledge of these departments of science, might perhaps even alter our whole view on the origin and distribution of the human race. I beg in this connection to refer to Professor Paul Rivet’s recent paper, *Les Océaniens*, (Journal Asiatique, tome CXXXII, No. 2, avril-juin 1933, pp. 235-256), from which it seems clear that those mutations of the Primates that resulted in the creation of the various human species took place just in that part of the vast Asiatic continent which is represented by Hither and Further India. That the days of exploration and discovery of extinct or hitherto unknown living species of the human race, as far as regards Further India at least, are not

\(^1\) As a matter of fact this report was published in the JSS, vol. xxvii, pp. 153-182.
yet over, has been amply proved by the recent finds of the petrified skeletons or skeletal parts made by Mansuy in Upper Tonking, as well as by the discovery of a tribe of stark-naked hunting nomads, the so-called Khâ Tong Lu'ang, met with for the first time by a European forest official in the jungles of North Siam less than ten years ago.

We do not know who were the earliest inhabitants of Siam. All we know is that the Thai conquerors, coming down from their fastnesses in Southern China, seized the country from the Lawâ, Môn and Khmer in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D.

It is probable that the Môn-Khmer people of Siam and the rest of Further India, coming from the north like the Thai, drove out or absorbed a former Indonesian population, to-day represented by the various peoples of the East Indian Archipelago, and, to quote Kern, that the Malays wandered down to their southern habitat from the shores of present-day Annam.

The Jakun and Mawken, the sea gypsies of the west coast of Malaya and the Mergui Archipelago, who have been called Proto-Malays, may also belong to the Indonesian stock.

The Sênuang pygmies of the Malay Peninsula constitute the remains of a much earlier population than the Môn-Khmer or Indonesian. They may have inhabited the isles and coasts of Further India right up to Southern China, if one can believe the narrative of the famous Chinese pilgrim I-Tsung, who skirted those coasts when returning from India in the seventh century.

According to Mansuy, the skeletal finds in the caves of Tongking represent (1) the Negrito race; (2) a race very similar to the Papuans of New Guinea; and (3) that of a tall, well-developed race with large skulls resembling those of the Cro-Magnon.

Among the so-called Khâ or Moï tribes in the jungles of French Indo-China certain tribes are distinguished by their tall, fair-skinned dolichocephalic members, which may represent a mixture of Indonesians or Môn-Khmer with the large race from the Tongkinese caves. These Tongkinese "Cro-Magnons" were perhaps an offshoot, the most easternly one, of that ancient and splendid artistic race which 20,000 years ago peopled southern France and the Italian riviera. In my opinion these large "Cro-Magnons" of Tongking do not represent the earliest inhabitants of Further India, but must be considered immigrants coming from the north-west. Systematic ex-
cavations of the numerous caves in North Siam would undoubtedly assist us in solving the problem of the habitat of these "Cromagnon" immigrants.

Professor Fritz Sarasin, in his papers on his searches for a palaeolithic culture in the caves of Siam, suggests that the palaeolithic people, whose stone implements were found by him belonged to a Proto-Melanesian race. I would suggest that these Proto-Melanesians have been found by Mansuy, and that they are represented by the Papuan-like skull found by him.

In conclusion, I shall venture to state as my opinion that the earliest inhabitants of Siam, and Further India, were pygmies, the direct ancestors of our present-day Séman of the Malayan jungles. Further, that these ancient pygmies may have been the ancestors of the larger-bodied later races in conformity with the now prevailing theory which was first launched by Father Wilhelm Schmidt in his excellent work, Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungs geschichte der Menschen.

Siam of to-day represents a melting-pot of many races, peoples and tongues which, at least outwardly, are in the process of being unified, speaking the same language, wearing the same national dress, and aspiring to the same social and political ideals. As such a process is bound to destroy a great number of ethnological and ethnographical characteristics, a thorough and detailed study of all the various groups, of which the present Siamese population is composed, is necessarily of the utmost importance for science.

Such research work should be taken up now, and it is sincerely to be hoped that the enlightened Government of Siam will do their best to assist and facilitate such work before it becomes too late.

The above paper was read by Major Seidenfaden before The International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology held at University College in London from the 30th July to the 4th August 1934. An extract of the paper appears in the report of this congress in Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, p.135, the full text having also been published in The Asiatic Review for October 1934, pp. 695-697.
FURTHER DOCUMENTS ON THE ROMANIZATION OF SIAMESE.(1)

I

agrams to be romanized and their romanized forms

(1) See vol. XXVII, pp. 218A–231.
(๑) ให้ถูกแบบที่เสนอในรายงานของกระทรวงการกระทรวงการชุดแรก ต่อต่อไปนี้
(๒) หน้า ๕ บันทึก ๔ ตั้งแต่ ๔ ที่สุดค่า and general ที่สุดค่า classical และลดค่าที่หายในตรงนั้น but... ถึง ๔: ยกเว้น,
(๓) ต่อหน้านี้ แบบ สามัญ และพิเศษ ให้นำและเกี่ยวกับคำวยและพันธุ์ทั้งหมด หน้า ๔, ๔, ๔, ๔, และตามเครื่องหมายมูลนิธิและระวังปัจจัยใน พยายอน ให้เป็นไปตามแบบต่อไปนี้— (ต่อหน้า ๔)

(๔) แบบนี้ดังนี้ให้
(๕) กระทรวงการกระทรวงการ
(๖) กระทรวงการขยาย
(๗) ราชการทั่วไปทั่ว
(๘) สามัญสามัญ
(๙) สำนักงานสำนักงาน เข้าสู่ หน่วย เขตแต่ช่วงศิล ของทั้ง ยก แล้วจึงเสนอต่อในรายงานของหน่วย

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เกี่ยวกับหมายถึงเสียงส้าหรับแบบพิสิทธิ์

การล้ากตามเสียงส้า ฤกษ์ภาษานั้นว่าถูกกฎหมาย ฤกษ์ภาษามีอาวุธ ฤกษ์ภาษามาในที่สุดและไร้ ฤกษ์ภาษามั่นคง ฤกษ์ภาษานั้นสานรวมแบบพิสิทธิ์

ทั่วไป

ก. ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า = ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า

วิธีถอดอักษรเปนคำส้า

แบบสานตามอักษรย่อทั้งหมดรวมถึงคำส้า และให้ถอดแบบ พายุก์ส้าไปตามลักษณะของภาษาไทย
แบบพิสิทธิ์เดิมคือสกุลก้านคำหรือคุณไม่ได้ถอดเสียงในวงเล็บ

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<td>Rât (ch) buri</td>
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**II**

**Memorandum submitted to the Council of the Siam Society by an Informal Transcription Committee.**

A memorandum embodying the views of a Committee appointed by the State Councillor for Education on the subject of a system for the transcription of Siamese into Roman characters has been submitted to the Siam Society for an opinion.

This Memorandum is a sequel to the Memorandum published in the Journal of the Siam Society, vol. XXVI, part 2, pp. 219-231.

The President thought it convenient to call a meeting of a quite informal character composed of persons interested in the matter but not necessarily connected with the Siam Society.

This informal Committee met on Monday the 3rd, Friday the 7th and Monday the 10th of September. As the consideration of the scheme presented some difficulties this informal Committee decided to report to the Council of the Siam Society that it would be advisable to require the Hon. Secretary of the Society to write officially to the Chairman of the Transcription Committee saying that it was probable that the Council might be unable to forward its report on September the 15th, the date fixed, but hoped that the report would not be submitted much after that date.

This Committee has formulated the following suggestions for the consideration of the Council:

1. The notation of initials as laid down in the scheme would seem to lend itself to some improvement.
(a) The initial glottal stop should be noted by the use of the following symbol : ' , which is one of the more generally accepted symbols for that purpose. Ex: "a" should be noted 'an. The reason for this suggestion is that the notation, or the absence of notation, proposed by the Transcription Committee is an implicit one and it is felt that explicit notations are always preferable. On the other hand adopting such explicit notation is simply following the method of the Siamese script and providing in the transcription a counterpart for a symbol which appears in the Siamese original and would otherwise be left unnoted.

(b) It is felt that the suggestion of replacing the series:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kh} & \quad \text{k}' \quad \text{kh} \\
\text{by} & \quad \text{kh} \quad \text{k}' \quad \text{k}'
\end{align*}
\]

should be adopted.

As regards the vowels it is considered that if the symbol u' is accepted then the same recommendation should apply to the symbol o'. It would not seem to be consistent to retain one symbol while rejecting the other.

As regards finals the subject bristles with so many difficulties that it was decided not to attempt to amend in any way the suggestions of the Transcription Committee except in one instance, that is the substitution of the symbol : for the h. The reason for this recommendation is that the symbol h is used in Sanskrit for the notation of the visarga which is different from the Siamese glottal stop. The proposed recommendation would have the advantage of doing away with any possible misunderstanding in this connection.

As regards the notation of quantity, it is suggested that in order to apply consistently the principle that implicit notations should be avoided, the notation aḥ, eḥ, etc., (or under para 3) a:, e:, etc. should be replaced by ṛḥ, ḍḥ, etc., or ṛ:, ḍ:, etc., respectively.

In the matter of tone marks, there is some difference of opinion as regards the selection of symbols, some members advocating the use of the Siamese tone marks, while other members are of opinion that only diacritical marks in use in
roman type fonts should be adopted, as the scheme is a scheme for romanization.

On the other hand if the latter opinion, which incidentally coincides with the system recommended by the Transcription Committee, is adopted, it might be as well to simplify the tone notation in one respect namely by discarding the underneath or subscribed dot and replace it by the use of the cap, a diacritical mark which has been rendered available by the rejection of the two symbols ũ and ŗ for which æ and ŕ have been substituted.

The advantage which would accrue from the adoption of this suggestion is that all tone marks would receive uniformity of position, i.e.: $a, \dot{a}, \ddot{a}, \check{a}, \breve{a}$.

The Committee has only considered absolute essentials in order not to delay the adoption of a workable scheme, leaving it to experience to suggest improvement in less important features.

[The above suggestions are tabulated in the two tables on pages 27 and 28].
### TABLE 1

**INITIALS**

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<td>y- r- l- w- !-</td>
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### TABLE II

**FINALS**

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III

บัณฑก

หรือเขียนอักษรไทยเป็นไมนิน

ข้าพเจ้าได้ประกาศบัดการประกาศเข็ดลับในเรื่องเกิดการบวช
การประกาศเข็ดลับยันยอมให้มี ๒ แบบ คือ แบบสัมภู ๓ แบบ
และพิสตรานัน.

ในลักษณะแบบสัมภูนัน ได้รับการประกาศเข็ดลับค่ำวันในลักษณะข้าพเจ้า.
ในลักษณะสตรานัน ได้รับการประกาศเข็ดลับวันที่วันที่ ๑ ตุลาคม ๕ ตุลาคม
และธันวาธันวา อย่างที่ได้รับการประกาศเข็ดลับ ใช้กันนั้นจะตกลง.

นาย ส. มหรณ์เห็นว่า การยืนตามกฎหมายกระทุ่มการใดขัดกันก็จะไม่ใช้
๑ ตุลาคม ๒ ตุลาคม อื่นๆ และ ๔ ตุลาคม เลย ดังนั้น.

ข้าพเจ้าได้หารือ นายนพนิต ทรงเจริญศิษย์ แล้ว นายนพนิต ทรง
เจริญศิษย์ เห็นว่า ควรยืนตามกฎหมายกระทุ่มการใดขัดกันก็จะไม่ใช้
ก็จะใช้ ๑ และ ๒ แล้ว จะไม่ต้องกิจการเขียนแทน.

การประกาศเข็ดลับ ได้รับการการข้าพเจ้า ข้าพเจ้าโดยขัดกันอย่างไร ทาง
ผ้ากั้นเย็บปุ่งกางเกงต่วนออกก็เลยยอมให้ข้าพเจ้าโดยตาม.

ข้าพเจ้าจะยืนเห็นว่า การยืนตามกฎหมายกระทุ่มการใดขัดกันก็จะ.

ผ้านุ่มสีน้ำตาล น้ำตาล น้ำตาล ซึ่งการประกาศเข็ดลับ ใช้ที่แล้วเป็นตัว
ครอบนั้น ปกนั้นยอมให้ ๐ ตามกฎหมายกระทุ่มการของแล้ว.

ในลักษณะพิสตรานัน สำหรับเครื่องหมายสิ้นน้ำว่ หรือการประกาศเข็ดลับ
ก็ให้ใช้เครื่องหมายสิ้นน้ำ ลักษณะตัวเขียนให้ผู้ใช้เครื่องหมาย ที่นั้น
อาศัยเหตุที่ตราบประมาณไทยสมานยากมากก็ตาม.
นายพันโท พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ ไมตรีดิว

ช่วยเจ้าหน้าที่จนกระทั่งผู้ใด

เพราะฉนั้นขอให้กรมเจ้าหน้าที่อย่างเป็นไปในเรื่อง

กรมเจ้าหน้าที่ — 4 — โดยทับศัพท์ “Quantities etc. ไปจนถึงคำว่า”

ออกเสียง

ต้นตอสิ่งใดในหน้า 4 — 1 นั้นได้กล่าวแบบช่างแบบมาน

ในส่วนที่อยู่บนสองแบบฟังท่านนี้ ทรงเจ้าราชย์เชอเตอแล้วว่า การ

ทั้งที่ๆ แต่งต่าง ๆ นั้น เกี่ยวกับไม่ได้ยกย่องในกรรมาพและได้ทับแบบฟัง

ทรงเจ้าราชย์เชอเตอได้ใช้ อยู่ทางจอมห้อง ทรงให้ทรงในท่าน ควบคุมโยกไปตลอด

ถ้าทรงในบัตรหนึ่งจะกระทำตามได้ดีเลย์ ถ้าได้ทำก้องตามเหตุ.

นายก จ. บรรยาย ให้เห็นโดย นอไมพบกับ พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ ไมตรีดิว

เพราะฉนั้นแบบฟังท่านไม่ได้ยกย่องทางกรรมาพของกรมเจ้าหน้าท่านใด

ข้าพเจ้าจะบางโตคอกองบ ทรงเจ้าราชย์เชอเตอ ไม่แบบฟังท่าน นั้นไปตรง

ห่วงฉัน แต่เห็นว่าควรจะให้กระจำบบ คงมีนั้น ข้าพเจ้า

เครื่อง เชื้อ แทนอัศวะ เชื้อ อยู่เดียวน.

ทรงเจ้าราชย์เชอเตอ ให้เห็นโดย สรรพวิ ถ้าทรงนั้น ทรงกอตอง นั้น

เกี่ยวกับ ข้าพเจ้าไม่ควรจะยกย่องเหมือน นั้นในกรรมาพ ถ้า

จะท่าให้หยุด ทรงจักทรงก่อน ตรา มากทันไป ครั้นเห็นล่างที่วิจารณ์แบบฟัง

ทรงเจ้าราชย์เชอเตอ ถ้า เนื่องเห็น คือ ข้าพเจ้าราชย์เชอเตอ ใช้ 

ข้าพเจ้าจะไม่เห็นชัย ข้าพเจ้าเห็นข้า คือ ข้าพเจ้าใช้ ถ้าจะเข้าร่วมกับ

อีก 6 สำคัญ.

ส่วนที่ (ฝ่าย) ข้าพเจ้าให้ปัญญาตระหนัง ทรงเจ้าราชย์เชอเตอ เนื่อง

หมายถึงเดย์ท่าน ข้าพเจ้าเห็นข้าคอกก้องกัน.
VOWELS.

Italian Vowels except that $m$ = sound of $e\theta$ in English 'bear';
\(\emptyset\) = sound of $ow$ in English 'dawn';
\(c\o\) = sound of $eu$ in French 'people';
$u'$ = a sound more open than German $u$.

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CONSONANTS.

English consonants except that:

- Initial k, p and t are unaspirated as in French;
- Final k, p and t are unexplosive and unaspirated;
  - kh = k aspirated;
  - ph = p aspirated, not English ph;
  - th = t aspirated, not English th;
  - č = hardened form of ch as the cz in Czechoslovak;
  - ch = always as in English ‘church’;
  - ng = as in English ‘singer’, never as in ‘linger’.

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| โ | โ | โ | อ |
| ฒ | ฒ | ฒ | t (d) etc. |
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PT. 1] ON THE ROMANIZATION OF SIAMESE 33
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เครื่องหมายมีลักษณะที่สำคัญในการเขียนภาษาไทย คือ การใช้เครื่องหมายอักษรในรูปแบบพิเศษ เช่น การใช้เครื่องหมายพิเศษในคำว่า "ตัวอย่าง" ซึ่งมีการใช้ในภาษาไทยอย่างมาก

ตัวอย่าง

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แบบพิทักษ์การเด็กว่าสวดการนกหรือตัวที่ไม่ได้ถอดเสียงในวงเสียง ( )

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ใช้— (hyphen) อีกหนึ่งแบบพยางค์ ไม่ควรใช้ไปโดยไม่จำเป็นไป
เป็นย่อยย่อยได้ เช่น ส้วย = sâ-tug ปากถด = pak-lat
THE RETIREMENT OF THE FRENCH GARRISON FROM
BANGKOK IN THE YEAR 1688

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON, M. A. Cantab.

I. Manuscripts presented with translations:
1) Original of Portuguese letter of September 1688 from Macau, of which an English translation has been published in 1916, Records of the Relations..., vol. V, n° 31, pp. 55-59. Lisbon State Library, n° 465, f° 186.


II. List of manuscripts and publications to which reference is made in the text:

MANUSCRIPTS.


M.E.: Missions étrangères, rue du Bac, Paris.

The voluminous archives of the Missions Étrangères consist of letters received from missionaries since 1660, collected into volumes which contain also the copies of certain relevant documents, such as the version of Kosa Pan's letters.

P.F.: Propaganda Fede, Rome, Scrittura riferite.

**PUBLICATIONS.**


M. M. de La Loubère and Céberet, the Envoys of Louis XIV who accompanied the French troops to Siam in 1687, reached France on their return from the East in July 1688, (1) accompanied by the French Jesuit Tachard, who was to recruit a force of civilians in France for service in Siam under Phaulkon. (2) The fruit of their labours was already spoilt by Phaulkon’s death in Siam a month before their return to Europe, but the fact was not known there for more than a year.

Before leaving Siam the Envoys had signed a treaty with Phaulkon which gave a French garrison to the King of Siam to protect him against the Dutch whom he feared. Sundry commercial and religious privileges originally proposed by Siam in 1685 had been clarified and improved by the Treaty, but the Siamese offer of a depot for troops and traders in the dependency of Singora had been converted by the French into a pretext for introducing their troops into the fortress of Bangkok and for drafting a detachment to Mergui.

Phaulkon, the Greek favourite of King Prá Narai, in negotiating

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with the French who were backed by an armament capable of enforcing their demands, made terms with them which appeared to save the face of Siam, but thereby antagonised the French, earning for himself the distrust of both sides. It was suspected that he was glad to have the garrison near him when the King fell ill, but any reliance he may have placed in it was disappointed in April 1688, when the appeal which he sent to the French for help against his enemies was ignored.\(^1\) Deserted by the French, he fell in May, and was executed in June 1688. The King died soon afterwards, following which the French troops in Bangkok were besieged for some months by the Siamese. The warship *Oriflamme*, which left France in February 1688 with reinforcements for Bangkok, arrived in September, too late to be of any service other than that of expediting the departure of the whole French force from Siam.

News of all this ruin did not reach Europe until late in 1689. Meanwhile, the Revolution in Siam had been followed within a few months by the Revolution in England, which country, under the leadership of William of Orange, ceased to give support to Louis XIV, and joined the general confederation against him.

It had been the intention of the Marquis de Seignelay, Louis' foreign Minister, early in 1689, to follow the precedent of the previous year when he sent out the *Oriflamme* to Siam.\(^2\) Four warships were to sail for the Bay of Bengal under the command of the Marquis d'Eragny in order to prevent any attack being made by the English upon Mergui. In March 1689 de Seignelay obtained Louis' signature to orders for M. Martin, the French chief at Pondichéry, who was to proceed to Mergui in person and co-operate in every way with d'Eragny. In April 1689 however Louis intervened to postpone the expedition, and despatched three of the ships to assist James II. in his futile Irish campaign.\(^3\)

In the autumn of 1689 some anxiety was felt in France at the non-arrival of the two vessels, *Coche* and *Normande*, which were overdue from the East. There were also rumours abroad concerning trouble in Siam. They were discounted as propaganda of the enemy. Nevertheless, it was felt necessary to hasten the despatch of a power-

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\(^1\) E. W. Hutchinson, *Four French State Manuscripts*, JSS, vol. XXVII, p. 183-244, for the negotiations in 1685 and 1687.


\(^3\) Kaeppelin, *op. cit.*, p. 217, and A.M., B² 69, f° 204 sequ.
ful squadron to the Bay of Bengal, and on the 20th of September 1689 orders were issued to Captain Duquesne-Guiton to assume command of the six vessels, Oiseau, Dragon, Lion, Florissant, Gaillard, and Eneuil, which were to sail at once. At the last moment, on the 6th of November 1689, definite confirmation of the rumours about trouble in Siam was received from the Dutch concentration camp for prisoners of war at Middleburg, where it was learnt that survivors from the Coche and Normande, together with part of the Siam garrison were held captive by the Dutch, who had seized the two ships off the Cape.

Tachard, with his party of civilians for service under Phaulkon, was to have sailed for Siam with Duquesne-Guiton. On receipt of the news from Middleburg, the civilians had to be disbanded, and the plan for their employment in Siam abandoned. The departure of the squadron was postponed until early January 1690. Tachard was permitted to accompany it in order to try and win the favour of the new King of Siam with the presents intended originally for Pra Narai.

The earliest rumours of trouble in Siam were current in France during the summer of 1689. Their doubtful nature may be inferred from the first manuscript, a letter in Portuguese written after the arrival at Macao in September of news brought by a ship which sailed from Petchaburi shortly after Phaulkon's death.

The second manuscript contains an authentic, and probably the first written account of the disaster following Phaulkon's death from the pen of an eye-witness, the Flemish Jesuit Fr. Maldonato.

The third manuscript, a letter from Bishop Laneau, records the misfortunes of the French who remained in Siam after the departure of the troops.

The fourth manuscript gives an insight into the circumstances of Phaulkon's widow eighteen years after his death.

Kosa Pan's letter gives the Siamese version of events leading up to and following the Revolution, also of the retirement of the garrison.

The French version of events following the Revolution was first published in 1691 in the form of two books by eye-witnesses, both of

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(1) A.M., B2, 70, ff 80, 93, 135; also Kaepelin, op. cit., pp. 218 and 219.

(2) A.M., B2, 70, f° 356 v°; also Kaepelin, op. cit., p. 219.


(4) Dated 4th Jan., 1690: Prop. Fede, Scr. ref., V, n° 239.
whom were Officers with the French troops. Vollant des Verquins, whose book(1) was published at Lille in 1691, was one of the Frenchmen from Bangkok who was captured by the Dutch with the ships, Coche and Normande, whilst on their way home. The author of the anonymous work *Relation des Révolutions* was, according to the text, no other than Desfarges, the General in command of the French force in Siam. He did not leave the East for home until March 1690, thirteen months later than Vollant. After a long and circuitous voyage via the West Indies in the warship *Oeijanae*, he was drowned when that vessel was wrecked off the Breton coast on the 27th of February 1691.(2)

These two works confirm each other. Both were published during the same year in Flanders and Holland while Vollant was interned. Neither of them records events subsequent to Vollant’s parting from Desfarges. It is therefore probable that the latter entrusted his manuscript to Vollant for publication before his own return home. His object may well have been to direct the notice of the public to his success in extricating his men from a difficult situation, and thereby divert attention from his share in the fiasco of the French in Siam and from the misfortunes of those whom he left behind there.

When in May 1688 P’ra P’et Racla succeeded in his coup d’état, the position of Desfarges became extremely delicate, since his troops, as a condition of being admitted into Bangkok, had sworn an oath of allegiance to King P’ra Narai, who was still alive. Having declined to intervene on Phaulkon’s behalf in April, Desfarges was not likely to initiate hostilities after his death. At the same time, P’ra P’et could not hope for Desfarges’ support, since the latter had suggested to Phaulkon in April that they should both offer their services to P’ra Narai’s brothers, an offer which compromised him with P’ra P’et.(3)

P’ra P’et had appointed Kosa Pan, the late Siamese Ambassador to Paris, to be his Minister of Treasury, and relied upon his experience of the French to enable him to rid the country of their

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(1) *Histoire de la Révolution de Siam*, by Vollant des Verquins.
(2) A.C., C3, 6, F 249; also Kaeppelin, op. cit., p. 223.
(3) For events in Siam during 1688 the following sources have been consulted: *Relation des Révolutions*; Vollant des Verquins, op. cit.; The letters of Artus de Lioine, M.E., 853, pp. 72, 101, 162, 305, 319 and M.E., 856, p. 123.
presence without endangering the safety of the Siamese who had been left behind in France, as might have resulted if he had adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the French in Siam.

The Siamese therefore decided to invite Desfarges to come up to Lopburi and see them. They there asked him to bring up his men to help crush a fictitious rebellion in the North East.\(^1\) Desfarges succeeded in temporising on the plea that his personal presence and authority would be needed to persuade his officers to obey this order. Once safely back again within the Fortress at Bangkok, Desfarges consulted with his Officers. It was decided to abandon the Fort on the West Bank of the river, and to retire into the shelter of Forbin's new works on the east bank.

The Siamese immediately occupied the position on the west bank which the French had abandoned. Thereupon the latter attempted to recapture it, not supposing that it was held in force. By so doing, the French became the aggressors. Also, by their unsuccessful sortie they encouraged in the Siamese a hope of forcing them to surrender. The French then allowed the Siamese to invest them, pending the arrival of help from the ships which were patrolling the gulf under the command of French officers. To expedite the return of these ships, a junior officer, St Cricq, attempted to break out to sea in a small junk. St Cricq had not proceeded far down stream before he found himself surrounded by enemy craft. Seeing that there was no escape, he permitted the enemy to close with him. He then fired his powder-magazine, perishing in the flames which destroyed a number of his adversaries.

At first, the siege was conducted with energy, and the defenders were kept on the alert by fears of incendiariam at night, but in July the ardour of the Siamese abated. Desfarges attributed the change in their demeanour to the impression made upon them by St Cricq's desperate action. Kosa Pan claimed afterwards that the French asked for terms. Probably what happened was that the French Jesuits in the Fort succeeded in communicating with Bishop Laneau, whom the Siamese employed as their intermediary, and that through these channels the Siamese learnt that Desfarges was prepared to withdraw from the country on terms. He had been unable to establish contact with the French crews of the two ships in the Gulf. The latter had been met at the Bar by the Siamese and conducted

\(^1\) Kosa Pan's letter, translation n° 5.
direct to the capital before they learnt of the plight of their fellow-
countrymen in Bangkok.

In September 1688, when the *Oriflamme* arrived with reinforce-
ments from France, the negotiations for withdrawal of the garrison
were in full swing. The Siamese were able to prevent direct inter-
course between this ship and Desfarges until all danger of collusion
was past. The additional 200(1) Frenchmen in this ship were thus
merely an encumbrance to Desfarges, since he had no means of
feeding them without the help of the Siamese, and they occupied
accommodation in the ship which otherwise might have been utilised
by his own troops. He was therefore obliged to hire two ships from
the Siamese for the repatriation of his men to Pondichéry. He
agreed that Bishop Lancau and Véret, Agent in Siam of the
Compagnie des Indes, should stand security for the return of
the ships and their hire.

A hitch was caused in the final negotiations by the sudden arrival
in Bangkok of Phaulkon's widow, known in after years as Dona
Guimar de Pina. One of Desfarges' Officers, Ste Marie, had been up
to Ayut'tia to buy provisions for the journey, and there received an
appeal from the lady for protection from the importunities of a
nobleman. She succeeded in winning the sympathy of Ste Marie,
with whose help she reached Bangkok, determined to claim a
passage to France. Céberet appears to have offered Phaulkon shares
in the Compagnie des Indes to the amount of fr. 300,000, of which
the latter had actually taken up one third.(2) That the widow had a
just claim to these funds is implied by the grant which she received
subsequently of a pension to which reference is made in her letter,
the fourth Manuscript accompanying this article.(3)

The Siamese objected to her leaving Siam, probably for the reason
that they themselves claimed the return to them of Phaulkon's
foreign investments, and feared that if she went to France she
would anticipate them.

Desfarges himself was quite ready to surrender her to her enemies,
but he was opposed by eight out of ten of his officers backed by de
Lionne. The Bishop supported Desfarges, holding that the comfort of

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(1) Kaepelin, *op. cit.*, p. 263, for the statement that 350 men embarked.
(2) A.C., *Affaires de Siam*.
(3) Also M.E., 882, p. 430.
a single woman should not be allowed to prejudice the safety of the whole garrison.\(^{(1)}\)

The deadlock was only resolved when Véret produced a letter from the widow’s mother begging that her daughter be sent back to her at Ayut’ia. Fr. Maldonato states that all the French clergy were detained in custody by the Siamese until the widow left the French camp. Desfarges in his narrative deplored this complication, which came at a moment when he was haggling over the equipment of his ships, but he stated that he eventually obtained an assurance that she and her family would enjoy liberty of conscience and protection from violence. This undertaking appears to have been observed, since Kaempfer on his visit to Ayut’ia in 1690 had no remark to make about ill-treatment, but merely observed that she was living in extreme poverty.\(^{(2)}\)

Vollant gives as follows the terms of the agreement finally made between Desfarges and Kosa Pan:

- Desfarges was to hire two ships on the security of Véret and the Bishop, who stood surety for the return of the ships with payment for their hire, also for the return of cash declared by Phanukon at his trial to be owing to him by the Compagnie des Indes.

- The garrison was to retire with all the honours of war, taking with it all its cannon, munitions and baggage, after delivering the fortress intact to the Siamese.

- The Jesuits were to have the option of remaining in Siam with the Missionaries in enjoyment of all the privileges conferred by the late King.

- The Company was to retain the concessions made to it in the earlier treaties.\(^{(3)}\)

- Hostages were to be exchanged during the period covered by the retirement to the ships. Those held by the French were to travel down river with Desfarges, while those held by the Siamese were to follow within gunshot of them. The hostages of both sides were to be re-exchanged at the Customs post near the mouth of the river.

\(^{(1)}\) M.E., 854, p. 657.


\(^{(3)}\) i.e. the treaties made by Deslandes in 1682-83.
The hostages given by the French were Véret and one of the General's sons. They were allowed by the Siamese to board Desfarges' boat for luncheon while still some way above the Customs post. At this moment news came that some of the craft loaded with cannon had run aground soon after leaving the fortress. Desfarges suspected that the alleged accident was designed to rob him of the cannon. He refused therefore to allow Véret and his son to leave the boat, and he did not surrender the two Siamese whom he held as hostages. His own reference to the incident is quite brief. He states that he had been warned to expect an attack as he was leaving the fortress, but that the Siamese contented themselves with holding back some of his boats, for which reason he refused to surrender the hostages he held.

It is extraordinary that Desfarges should not have reckoned upon the impression of treachery which his action was bound to create in the minds of the Siamese, even if their own consciences were as little clear as he suspected. It is also extraordinary that the Jesuits and de Lione, who elected to retire with him, should not have prevailed upon him to refrain from an action certain to compromise the position of the Bishop and of the Frenchmen remaining in Siam, upon whom the resentment of the Siamese must fall.

While Vollant deplored the misunderstanding, which he attributed to mutual suspicions revived by the incident of Phaukon's widow, Kosa Pan's letter shows that the Siamese drew the worst conclusions. Their reactions are described by Fr. Maldonato and by Bishop Laneau in the second and third manuscripts. The justice of Kosa Pan's contention cannot be denied that when the guaranteed party evades his responsibilities it is the guarantor who pays for him. Kosa Pan went so far as to claim that by Siamese law the Bishop, as guarantor became liable for the death penalty. Eight out of the ten priests together with thirty-three French laymen were imprisoned and treated so roughly that some actually died. It appears therefore that Kosa Pan took undue credit for his clemency.

The letter of Fr. Maldonato emphasises the bitter feelings which the Siamese entertained for the French. The Bishop, in his letter, appeared to regard the persecution as inevitable. His protests were reserved for the insubordinate Portuguese clergy, especially Peter Martyr, one of Phaukon's late secretaries, whom the Bishop had

(1) M.E., 680, pp. 15 and 139; 862, p. 379; 880, pp. 311-613;
excommunicated for refusing to recognise the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Vicars. It is pleasing to observe that Fr. Maldonato gave no countenance to Peter Martyr's excesses, although as a Jesuit he must have sympathised with his protest against French episcopal jurisdiction in Siam. In fact, it would appear that the long standing feud between the French clergy and the Jesuits was finally composed and laid to rest from the time when the Flemish Jesuit Maldonato championed the cause of the persecuted French Missionaries at Ayut'tia.

One fact of great importance emerges from Fr. Maldonato's letter, namely that the Siamese confined their reprisals to the members of the French Foreign Mission, while the Jesuits and Dominicans, who had been closely identified with Phaulkon, and whom we should expect to find involved in his disgrace, were left unmolested. The assumption therefore is that, when subjected to torture, Phaulkon cannot have disclosed his secret understanding with the Jesuits for the establishment of Christianity in Siam through the agency of foreign civilian officials, whom he had deputed Tachard to enlist in France with the help of the Jesuits.

In the matter of the hostages Desfarges showed himself much less considerate for the safety of those he was leaving behind him in Siam than did Phaulkon. It is possible that some stirrings of remorse for his abandonment of his surety, the Bishop, in November 1688, may have influenced his plans in February 1689.

In that month, upon his arrival at Pondichéri from Siam, he held a council of war at which M. Martin, the Company's chief, strongly urged the plan of an attack in force on Mergui. Others advocated returning home, but the majority with Desfarges were in favour of making a demonstration at Puket. (1) Arrived there, Desfarges attempted to effect a reconciliation with the Siamese by sending them back one of the men he held as hostages. They refused however to treat until all had been returned. The last hostages reached Ayut'tia in April 1691, after which the survivors among the captive Missionaries were released.

Desfarges was deterred from showing fight by the knowledge that the Siamese held the fate of these captives in their hands. Had the whole French force concentrated upon a surprise attack against Mergui, as Martin recommended, they had every chance of succeed-

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(1) Kaepplin, op. cit., p. 265.
ing, and they would then have possessed a solid basis for negotiation, holding prisoners of their own for exchange with the captives at Ayut'ia.

Desfarges concluded his somewhat complacent narrative with the following justification of his Fabian tactics:

"My policy was to husband my ammunition and to gain time rather than risk courting an attack from the enemy after I had expended my powder. Events proved me to have been right. If by negotiating with them we had small hope of finding the Siamese sincere, we had none at all for our ultimate safety if we had rejected their advances.

"The greater part of my staff was for bolder action, but, as I repeatedly reminded them, it would never be too late to make a last desperate sortie, while time itself might bring us the relief which we could not hope to gain by any efforts of our own."

Were this the whole story of Desfarges' leadership, it might be possible to soften the reproach which is associated with his name. The expedition from beginning to end was a tragedy, of which not the least important feature was the selection of an elderly man having no experience of the East for the post of commanding officer. From the fact that he was accompanied by his two sons it would appear that Desfarges regarded Siam as a field for the improvement of the family's fortunes.\(^1\) His command at Bangkok was disfigured by a laxity of discipline prejudicial to French prestige, and the affair of Phaulkon's widow is proof that he did not enjoy the ready obedience of his Officers.

His desertion of Phaulkon in April 1688 might be condoned on grounds of expediency advocated by the commercial and religious French residents, but it will be remembered that on two other occasions he shirked the risk of an engagement, both on his original arrival in Siam, when he refused to fight his way into Bangkok as the Envoy's advised, rather than accept admission as a mercenary of Siam,\(^2\) and again in 1689 when Martin's projected attack on Mergui was not supported.\(^3\)

In April 1688 it would not have been impossible for an energetic

\(^1\) Lanier, *op. cit.*, p. 220, who quotes a letter of Deslandes to Delagny.

\(^2\) A.C., *Journal de Céberet.*

\(^3\) A.C., C° 63, f° 143: Letter from Martin to de Seignelay.
man, backed by a loyal staff, to bring off the coup-de-main which Phaulkon desired. It must be admitted however that even if they had succeeded in maintaining Phaulkon in power in 1688, and had repressed P'ra P'et, it is doubtful whether the French could have maintained the mastery over Siam against the will of the Siamese after the full effect was felt there of the union of England with Holland against France, which took place in 1689, followed by the capture of Pondichéry by the Dutch in 1693.

The expedition to Siam, although the largest, if the reinforcements are included, was by no means the first one sent to the East by Louis XIV in support of French commerce. When in 1664 the Compagnie des Indes was refloated by Colbert, the object was to found a colony at Madagascar as a base for the trade which was to be conducted with the West Coast of India. With this end in view, a military expedition under Montevergne was sent to occupy Madagascar, while the renegade Fleming, Caron, proceeded to Surat in order to open up trade there.

Later, when Madagascar was found to be too big an undertaking for the limited resources which France could spare, a military expedition was sent to found a colony in India. On the 5th of January 1670, Colonel de la Haye, by Royal decree, was given command of three men-of-war with 236 cannon, and was empowered as Louis' Viceroy to appoint military governors in the occupied territory. A post was first seized in Ceylon, and later, the town of St. Thome, near Madras, was occupied, but both were lost to the Dutch owing to lack of unity between the French commercial and military leaders.¹)

Then in 1687, when it was decided to accept the offer of a stronghold by the King of Siam, and with Phaulkon's aid to obtain a footing in Bangkok and Mergui, the military force despatched under Desfarges for the purpose was independent both of the Envoyes entrusted with the negotiations, and of the traders on the spot who were to give effect to the treaty. The absence of any single controlling authority in the East gravely prejudiced the prospect even of any initial success which might have been obtained.

French enterprise in the East during the reign of Louis XIV suffered in the first place from too much state control. The Parisian merchants were shy of subscribing their capital, since they held that

¹) For an account of the Compagnie des Indes, v. Kaeppelin, op. cit., Ch. I.
the Crown possessed too large a share.\(^{(1)}\) It suffered in the second
place in the East by the failure of the Crown to give supreme control
to the Board of Directors of the Company, subjecting their local Agents
to military and political dictation. It suffered in the third place
occasionally from the misplaced zeal of French Missionaries. French
Missionary enterprise was strong in the xvith century, and Mis-
sionaries, who were in the field ahead of the traders, sometimes with
the best of motives prevailed upon the latter to open trade in places
more adapted to evangelistic than to commercial enterprise.\(^{(2)}\) This
was the case in Siam.

On the whole, the French Company was not served worse by its
Agents than the English East India Company. Even if Véret,\(^{(3)}\) the
French Agent in Siam, was not a man of merit, his predecessor Des-
landes, as well as both Baron, who succeeded Caron, and Baron's
successor, Martin, were all men of worth and ability, no less than their
more fortunate English contemporary, Sir John Child, at Surat.

Child, it is true, was dependent upon London for orders which he
handed on to his colleagues at Madras, the station responsible for the
abortive English expedition against Mergui in 1687, but he was
never hampered by the presence of military commanders or of in-
dependent political Agents sent out from home to work beside him
instead of under his orders, as was the case with the French.

Unified control of commerce and politics in the East was achieved
with the greatest success by the Dutch in Batavia, who though they
were not individually superior to their English and French rivals in
the East, and though like them they were not independent of their
masters in Europe, nevertheless received from the latter that un-
grudging confidence and unfailing support which was the secret of the
preeminence they won during the xvmth century.\(^{(4)}\)

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\(^{(1)}\) Kaeppelin, op. cit., p. 5.

\(^{(2)}\) A.C., C\(^{2}\) 63, f\(^{8}\) 14 : a letter of the 10th of January 1682, in which the
trader Roques warns the Company against listening to the advice of Mis-
sionaries who press for the foundation of Agencies for their own convenience
without reference to their prospects of success.

\(^{(3)}\) A.M., t. IV ; a letter from Delagney to Martin, dated 28th September,
1698, says: "Il est bon de retirer Véret. C'est un misérable bidon
plein de petites passions." 

\(^{(4)}\) See An Essay on the East India Trade : its importance to this
Kingdom ; with a comparative view of the Dutch, French and English Com-
panies . . . . . . . . London, 1770.
I

Novas do Reyno de Siam.

[Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa, Ms.nº 465, fl. 186].

Por m.ªª vias repetiam novas de El Rey de Sião mandar matar por traidor o Grego Constantino Falcão a quem El Rey de França proximamente tinha mandado o título de Duque mas, nada aca-bavamos de dar intr.ª credito por nos faltarem cartas, e testemunho dos nossos Portuguezes. ate q no mez de Agosto deste prez.º anno de 1688, chegou a Macao hum F.ª Fr.ª morador desta cid.ª q de Sião partío p."costa em janr.ª deste mesmo anno, e da costa veyo a esta cid." eq." refe re partir do França 5 Naos pêra Sião.

Destas chegarão quatro em que vinha P.ª P.ª da comp."ª e 800 homens dos q." na viagem morrerão 300 dos 500 q chegarão vivos pos o Grego em huma fortaleza chamada Bancô. 300 com 3 P.P.ª da Comp."ª cada dia morrião 2, e tres p." destemperança no comer de lanhas, e beber de urraca, pello q dezião mal da Terra, e de quem os mandara, fuiind o m."ªs delles e outros robbando e fazendo m."ªs insultos aos naturaes comoque provocarião ao seu Talapui mayor, q corresponde ao nosso Papa, ajuntar outros muytos Talapuis, e ir se queixar ao Rey das insolencias dos Francezes, neste estado deixou este hume as cousas de Sião no tem.ª partío della.

Em septembro chegou a cantão huma soma de Siam q partio do porto de Pipuli em que viéran varias cartas de alguns moradores desta cid."ª assistentes em Sião, os q."º razão morrer El Rey de Sião de pessoa q lhe dera seu ericulo chamado o Pra Pitirachai por ver q perdia o Reyno por não querer ouvir as queixas, e brados que o povo lhe dava contra o Grego. Este o Pra Pitirachai he o Rey q matou os 2. Principes, genro e sobrinho do Rey defuncto. Prende o logo o Grego dando lhe tratos até confessar q todos os Francezes e xptaos estavão confederados com elle para se levantar com o Reyno, e com esta confissão lhe mandou cortar a cabeça, e feitos em quartos, o lançaron aos caecns, ahouse fanado com seras letras no braço que se não poderão ler. Mattarão lhe tão bem seus filhos. A moller, e sogra fico captivas de El Rey com continuos tratos q lhe dam p."ª q confessem o q sabem. Os mais parentes prezos, tidos por traydores, e as fazendas confiscadas. Tinha o Grego min-da a terra desde sua caza até o Palacio, esperando occaziam para
fazer voar. Achando em sua caza muytas armas, pólvora, mantim, e myl pares de machos.

Trezentos Francezes e assistião na fortaleza de Bancó com a nova da morte do traydor Grego fizerão alguns asaltos nas aldeas dos Sioens, porem os Sioes os forão perseguido até os fazer retirar a fortaleza, avendo de húa e outra parte mortes. E puzerão nos em tal aperto, que aos 15 de Julho deste anno de 1688. botarão bandr' branca pedindo por moyo do Bispo Francez Naos pera se irem. Alguns dizem q lhos concederão. O coll. do Bispo está feito pagode, e os xpăos naturaes deste oriente q o Bispo tinha, forão prezos, obrigando-os o Rey q a q serão gentios.

O Rey chamou ay Portugalueses p. lhe defenderem a Cid. e seu Palacio. A outros mandou p. a Barra a estacar o Rio e segurar a entrada da armada Franceza q o Grego confessou avia de vir este anno m. mayor q a do anno passado.


Quis o Rey mandar a esta cid. húa fragatta com Portugalueses por temer, q se balsassem com os Francezes.

Na fortaleza de Taneecery deram os Sioens de repente, e degollarão pasante de 100 pessoas em q entrarão Francezes, Inglezes, e outros xpăos; fugindo quarenta Francezes em hum barco pello rio fora. Affirmam as cartas q não tornarão os Francezes a por pé em Siam,
mas q tão bem a christand. a esta acabada. A propaganda se pode
dar tão bem p. acabada por que Siam era todo seu Assilo, onde as-
sistiam os Bispos, e por onde se carteava, e metia seus missionários, e
subsídios nas missoens da China, Tum Kym e Cochichina. Agora não
tem ja p. onde os introduzir, senão por Macao, ou por meio dos
portuguezes. Os intentos de França tão bem se frustrarão porque
não tem outro conto, nem nenhum Rey com este sucesso os admittiria.

As consequencias desta façam, sam todas fataes: por q soando por
todos estes reynos, q os Europeanos (q p. pouco saíam os q saíam
destinguir Portuguezes de Francezes) que com capa de propagar a
fé, se quiserão levantar com o reyno de Siam, lançarão a todos os
missionários, e Europeanos de seus Reynos; e lhe fecharão todos os
portos como fiz Japan, presumindo de q nos façamos o q os Fran-
cezes fizerão em Siam. Assim q estão muy arriscados todos os mis-
sonianários não só Francezes, se não ainda os Portuguezes, e mays
Europeanos o serem lançados fora da China Tunkym, e Cochichina,
e mays reynos com perdas de todas as christand, a q Deos não
permitta. Isto mesmo tem em os Portuguezes de Siam, q concluýda
a guerra dos Francezes os matem ou os lanceem tão bem a elles fora.
O q não tem feitto em q, depende delles contra os Francezes.

CRITICAL REMARKS.

This account of the ruin of French enterprise in Siam was written
at the Portuguese settlement of Macao, summarising the contents of
letters brought to the neighbouring town of Canton in September
1688 by a ship which sailed from Petchaburi (Pipuli) after the death
of King Pra Narai in the summer of 1688.

The writer was a Portuguese whose countrymen in the xvith
century were bitterly opposed to the French Missionaries, because
from the year 1660 onwards they had disregarded the ancient claim
made by Portugal to the supervision of Christian enterprise in all
countries eastward of a line drawn from the poles through the
Azores. Bishop Pallu, the Apostolic Vicar and founder of the French
Foreign Mission, supported by the approval of Louis XIV, obtained
in 1669 from the Pope an edict which explained that Rome only re-
ognised the pretentions of Portugal in places subject to Portuguese
sovereignty. Later, in 1680, Rome insisted that an Oath of Alle-
giance be administered to all clergy residing under the jurisdiction of
the Apostolic Vicars; and since the latter were members of the French Foreign Mission, the Oath was a source of grievance both to the Portuguese and to other Missionary organisations, such as Jesuits and Dominicans. The former succeeded ultimately in alienating the sympathy of Louis XIV from the Foreign Mission by representing that the Oath was inconsistent with that King's sovereign rights. The hostile references of the writer to French Missionaries and to their countrymen in general are therefore more easily accounted for than his inaccuracies of fact.

The ships reported to have sailed from France in 1687 were actually six not five in number, the three warships Oiseau, Guillard, Malique, and the three flûtes Dromadaire, Loire, Normandie, carrying 636 officers and men under General Desfarges. 492 survivors reached Siam where they were split up between Bangkok and Mergui etc. (2)

The lack of discipline in the garrison at Bangkok was the subject of comment in the letters of Fr. Tachard, who contrasted it with the strict standard required of his escort by Chevalier de Chaumont. (3)

Pra Pet Raecha (Pitra Chai) was an influential nobleman who had command of the state elephants. He headed the national party of Siamese jealous of Phaulkon's influence over Pra Narai and over his adopted son Pra Pi. In May 1688 Pra Pet assumed power by force, arrested Phaulkon, assassinated Pra Pi, and, after the execution of Phaulkon and death of Pra Narai, the two surviving brothers of Pra Narai. There is no clear evidence that he poisoned Pra Narai. The King's son-in-law and nephew mentioned in the narrative are presumably to be indentified with Pra Pi and/or the King's brothers.

George Phaulkon survived his Father until 1709, and had issue. (4) He was the only recorded child of Constantine Phaulkon. In November 1688 the widow was free to come to Bangkok and importune Desfarges for a passage to France.

According to the writer of Relation des Révolutions the number of French soldiers actually besieged in Bangkok was 200 not 300. The statement that they sent the Bishop with a flag of truce is incorrect. The Bishop was outside the fortress with the Siamese, and utilised by them to conduct negotiations with the besieged garrison. It was

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(1) v. Pinot, op. cit., p. 31; also JSS, vol XXVI, part 1.
(2) A. M., B 3 , n° 61, f° 175; also B 4 , n° 11, f° 504; A. C., tome 2.
(3) A. M., Lettres du P. Tachard.
(4) M. E., Mémoires du P. Aumont.
only after the departure of the garrison and violation of the terms of withdrawal that the Bishop and Missionaries were imprisoned or their buildings sacked, i.e. some months after the sailing of the ship which brought the news on which this inaccurate account is based.

If Peter Martyr was imprisoned at the time of Phanikon's fall he certainly was at large some months afterwards, for his insubordinate exploits are recounted in Bishop Laneau's letter.

du Bruant, with his garrison of 125 men at Mergui, the port of Tenasserim, defended himself against the attacks of the Siamese until his water supply was cut off. Having retained access to the sea, he seized the ship Meroy and prepared to retire from the country. He lost 20 men in a panic which occurred during the embarkation, but his worst troubles came later. The South-West Monsoon drove him on to the coast of Burma where he was refused asylum by the inhabitants. Off the Arracan coast he fell in with a French ship, but was taken prisoner together with it by the English at Balasor, and his 30 survivors only reached Pondichéri on the 15th of January 1689, two weeks ahead of Desfarges. (1)

The reference to a massacre of English and other Europeans after the departure of the French from Mergui is probably an echo of what actually occurred there in July 1687, during the attempted occupation of that town by Captain Weltden with two English warships. About 33 Englishmen and 20 Portuguese are estimated to have lost their lives in a midnight affray which ended in Weltden's retirement. (2)

The power and the vindictiveness of Siam in 1688 appear to be overrated in this letter. Doubtless on its arrival in Siam Desfarges' force offered a sorry spectacle, being decimated by illness after a long voyage. Its poor discipline and the insubordination of its Officers may have created a false impression regarding the relative power of Siam and France as seen by Portuguese head in Siam. Kosa Pan, who had been in France, suffered under no such illusion, as his letters show.


(2) Records of the Relations etc., vol. V., ii, p. 25.
Lugubrem tragediam in hoc Siamensi Theatro exhibitam et nuper S. V. a me missam prosequor modo usque ad catastrophen, ut tandem cognoscatur qua cautela inter ethicos ad fidem Christi disseminandum utendum sit.

Abestibus hinc Gallis præsidariis, simul D. Abbas de Lionne, Rossalis Episcopus nominatus et VIII circiter clerici, XI Patres nostri abierunt, uno hie remanente.

Pacifice hie exitus utrimque licet admodum caute, datis hinc inde ad omnem securitatem obsidibus, tractabatur; sed nescio quid dolus omnium in fine corruptit.

Obsides Galli ad naves solerter se reeperunt, retentis nihilominus ibidem et postea abductis Siamensium obsidibus Mandarinis. Fran- dem subodorati Siamenses in Gallos furere ecepserunt. Ex eis aliquot fere 40 scaphas ad naves deducebant needum a portu egressi; in hos furor desaviit vincula, plagas, improprias, insultiones in eos ad omnem ignominiam conjectas.

Tum ut hae notitia ad novum Regem pervenit, statim clericis omnes Galli cum suis discipulis et noster etiam pater La Breuille ad tribunal aceiti post in carcerem detrusi, exceptis minoribus scholasticiis; ubi per aliquot dies cippum, catenas, compedes, aliaque vinculorum genera experti, nunc etiam sed a vinculis fere soluti tenentur.

Interdum bona omnia Seminarii et supellex qua sacra qua profana in Libros fuit relata et quasi fisco addicta aperimurta, Talapoisis seu bonzis et templi dominium adeptis.

Quod sane aegre ferendum, sed aegrius et aegerrimum quod dicam. Ipsi II et Rev D. Episcope Metropolitano injecta ad collum catena cum cippo ligneo, quod cuidam Mandarinio licet inimico tam ignominiosum visum est ut cippum auferri jussisset, velicta interim ad collum catena, qua vincetus ad urbem ab ostio fluminis a Siamensibus ludibundis prope palatium adducitur, ubi sub tuguribus velut ad ludibrium expositus solitarie custoditur, prohibito ad eum accessu.

Interim per quendam clericum, qui ad procurandam captivis alimoniam libertate fuit donatus, Illm D humillima mea obsequia
offeri euro. Uno gravioribus quibusdam Lusitanis proposui, Christianae caritatis illustre specimen futurum, si pro Episcopo tante dignitatis viro intercederent; quod facturos spero, si intercessioni futurum sit locus, hoc præsertim indignationis tempore, dum omnia qua Gallos spectant Siamensibus suspicicionis, odii, præditionis materia præbere videntur.

Terribilem persecutionem hic et alibi ne oriatur admodum vereor. Rex novus ad causæ sua justitiam declarandam undequaque Litteras spargit contra Gallos. Unde illius Nationis Missionarii in grave periculum et Missio segnas admodum in die odium Legis fiat progressio, uti hic experimur, indigenis qui fidem susceperunt iam vario vexatis et nonnullis ad idolatriam dilapsis.

De hac Residentia quid futurum sit nescio; edificio quodam ostentat a D. Constantino nostro intimo fantore erecta, quæ sine dubio Siamensium bilem provocant.

Sine ad tribunal fui evocatus et parum abhuc quin tum eaperer propter fugam vidue D. Constantini, quæ sibi metuens, ad Libertatem, pudorem, vitamque tuendam, cum filiolo ad arcem Gallorum se receperat, patrocinio Christianissimi Regis protegenda, cujus Litteras varias de Falconia familia sub Regnum patrocinium assumpta secum ad Duces Gallicum deferebat; sed illa pessime fuit accepta. Patres nostri veluti fugie autores ab ipso Duces apud Siamenses fuere accusati, ille falsus et admodum temere, cum nostri prius illi Domina periculum rejectionis quae contigit apertissent. Coerum quandiu illa mulier in potestate Gallorum fuit, tamen clerici omnibus et nostre Pater La Breuille in custodia tenebantur, et nisi Siamensibus Lusitani interpretis notum fecissent, me negotiis Gallicis nulli modo esse implicitum, hanc dubie cum aliiis detinebar. Interim, ubi Dux Dominam illam ex arce demisit in Siamensium manus, quod omnes nationes admodum reprobavere,—sacerdotes omnes e custodia dimisi sunt....

(Translation)


FATHER MALDONATO S. J. TO GENERAL OF JESUIT ORDER.

Siam, the 26th November 1688.

I now continue the account which I recently sent to Your Holiness of the sad tragedy enacted in Siam, trusting that it will at last prove
how great are the precautions needed in spreading the faith of Christ among the heathen.

The Bishop Elect of Rosalie, Lord Abbot de Lionne, with about eight clerics and eleven of our Fathers, departed with the retiring French garrison, leaving only one Father behind.

Hostages had been exchanged in the interest of security, and the retirement was being effected without hostilities on either side though with somecircumspection, when I know not what shift finally ruined everything. The French hostages quietly betook themselves back to their ships, while the Siamese Officials who were still held as hostages by the French were ultimately carried off by them.

The Siamese no sooner suspected treachery than they began to rage against the French:—some forty of their barges were on their way to join the ships, but were still in the river. The rage of the Siamese found vent in imprisonment, blows, defilement; and every form of insult and indignity which was levelled against the French,

When the news of it came to the ears of the new Monarch, straightway all the French clergy and their converts, together with our Father La Brenille were haled into court and thence plunged into jail, only the younger pupils being spared. There for several days they suffered the "cangue", handcuffs, chains, and every other form of constraint; and there they are still confined, though no longer in chains.

Meanwhile, all the property of the Seminary, including Church and other furniture, was inventoried, and confiscated for the Treasury, Talapoins or Bonzes being put in control of the Church.

This was hard to bear in all truth, but what was harder still, nay hardest of all, has yet to be told. Fetters and a wooden "cangue" were loaded on the neck of the Honourable and Reverend Lord Bishop of Metellopolis. This appeared so unworthy in the eyes of a certain Official, who is no friend of ours, that he gave orders for their removal, leaving only a neck-chain with which the Bishop was bound and led by the enraged Siamese from the river's mouth to the Capital, where he was exposed and then imprisoned in a hut to which all access was forbidden and there exposed to the mocking crowd.

Meanwhile, through the agency of a cleric who has been given his freedom in order that he may beg sustenance for the prisoners, I am offering my humble duty to His Lordship, and I have suggested to
the more responsible of the Portuguese that intercession on their part for the worthy Bishop would constitute a signal example of Christian Charity. I trust they will do so, if there is any opportunity for mediation at the present time when everything affecting the French appears to offer the Siamese material for suspicion, hatred and treachery.

I have reason to fear that a dreadful persecution will rage both here and elsewhere. The new King, to justify his actions, has despatched letters far and wide directed against the French: hence Missionaries of that nation, and indeed all Missionaries, are in grave peril, since it is but a step from hatred of the foreigner to contempt of the law, as we are finding here, where native proselytes are so persecuted that not a few have slipped back into idolatry.

I do not know what will become of this Residency. The sight of certain buildings erected by Lord Constant, our firm supporter, is doubtless provocative to the Siamese.

I once received a summons and was nearly arrested in the matter of the escape of Lord Constant's widow who fearing for her person, and to protect her life, liberty and virtue, betook herself with her young son to the French Fort. She brought with her certain letters promising the patronage of the Most Christian King for the Phaulkon family, and on the strength of them she claimed the protection of the French King.

She met however with a very cold reception from the French General, who in his negotiations with the Siamese charged our Fathers with instigating her escape, unjustly indeed and rashly, since they had previously warned her of the imminent danger of a rebuff. Nevertheless, as long as that lady remained with the French, so long were all our clerics and our Father La Breuille held in confinement; and if the Portuguese had not made known to the Siamese that I was in no way concerned with the French business, there is no doubt that I should have been imprisoned with the rest.

Meanwhile, when the General had expelled that Lady from the Fort and delivered her over to the Siamese (thereby incurring the censure of every nationality) all the Priests were released.
III

Propaganda Fede, Scritture Referite, V, No. 195.

Siam, 23rd Nov. 1689.

From Bishop of Metellopolis to Sacred College.

Furtim in carceri scribo ad E. V, quamvis plurimum dubitem num ad illarum manus haec perventura sit epistola, unde et utor papyra sinensi ut facilius aseondi possit; et omissis ferre omnibus quae scribenda forent, de praesenti tantummodo statu in quo degimus certiores faciam E. V.

Tertius decimus abhine mensis est ex quo sumus in carceri, ejecti ex sedibus nostris, rebus omnibus spoliati, et eleemosynis vitam utrumque sustinentes, non paucam equidem quae indigenarum usibus minus erant idonea nobis relicta fuerant, et his servandis duo ex nostris liberi\(^1\) dimissi. At paucis abhine diebus igni consumpta sunt haec omnia, sic disponente Domino per infinitum amorem summ, ut sinu sine pera, sine sacculo, sine calcamentis, utinam sic et aptiores efficiamur ad praedicandum evangelium regni.

Deus tamen, qui non defecit in necessariis, providit quod unus et nostris Doc. M. Stephanus Paumari eo quod regi defuncto medicamenta ministret, et ita sibi maiorem benevolentiam conciliasset, quasi pro remuneratione plenam haberet quacunque vellet faciendi et eundi facultatem. Hie fere unus est qui incarcreratis omnibus parat, quia ne granum quidem orize illis datur; reliqui omnes missionarii una cum Patre de la Breuille e Soc: Jesu probatam virtutis viro, maxima cun alunorum collegii (quod destructum est) parte, cum multis aliis sacraribus in vinculis sunt: et quantas toto hoc tempore passi sint tribulationes incommoda, opprobria ac molestias referire non possum, quia carcer ille inter totius mundi carcere est durissimus ad perferendum: mihi vero utpote tanta palestra non idoneo, longe levior assignatus est, nisi primis mensibus, nec infernales ut reliqui penas sustinui.

Indigene, qui Catholicam susceperant fidem, bonis omnibus spoliati sunt, et in captivitatem redacti simul cum aliis aliquid externis: hoc maxime me movet quod alumni seminarii per diversa sint dispersi loca: indigene in captivitatem pariter venerunt gentilium: pauci, qui ratione morborum, qui tum grassabantur, remanserunt cum duobus illis missionariis ad servandas sarcinas,

\(^1\) The word "liberi" is repeated in the original.
studia ut possunt continuant—quod et agunt alii qui sunt in carceri cum magistris adeo ut a pristino servore suo inter tot somnus nondum videantur interfuisse.

Hinc spero, quod si Deus libertatem dederit, ad priora magno cum ardore reversuri sint exercitia.

Et re vera, hae incarceratio illis pro novitiatu omnium praestantisissimoutura est. Hoc enim cum bona venia E. V., quibus totius orbis missionum cura cognissa est, dixerim quod ad pertinentis missionarios et ad rite disponendos in numeri vero apostolico nihil aptius est, meo quidem judicio, quam majores-hujusmodi et extraordinaria tribulationes.

Inexpertus vix potest credere quantis a Domino gratiar ecclesiae tum donentur, et quam evidenter doceantur alteriora vitæ Apostolica secreta, ut toti post modum ex Deo pendens: et quidem secundum id, quod deforis est, jam experientia didicimus posse vitam sustineri absque pecunia, non quidem in deliciis, sed cum oriza et piscibus exsiccati—quod ante videbatur impossibile.

Cum Lusitanis aliquanto misitius actum est propter politicæ quasdam rationes, quamquam varias et ipsi identidem passi sint molestias; sed utinam religiosi, qui illorum in campo degradit, ista—prout decebat—bene usi essent indulgentia. Sed res in contrario recidit.

De patribus Soc: Jesu non loquor. Hi enim erga Sanctam Sedem obsequentissimi semper extiterunt, uti et tres sacrales, ex quibus duos ordinavi et qui in ecclesia illorum sacra semper faciunt,—sed non ita in ecclesia Dominicorum. Illie sunt quinque Sacerdotes, omnes censura inmodati—tres Dominicani, unus Augustinianus, et unus sacerdos secularis, Pater Petrus Martyr parochii officio fungitur; ille juramentum faciebat in manibus meis, sed post hae bene gestorum poenitens, aliquando negat dictum juramentum se præstississe; alias vero fatetur fecisse quidem sed per metum. Jam scripsi ad E. V. me sacerdotem illum, prius a me suspensum, excommunicari nominatim; sed non potuisse eandem excommunicationis sententiam contra reliquos proferre propter illos videlicet tumultus, qui tune temporis contigerent,—ideoque in suspensione et penis qua ex violata suspensione incurruntur permansisse; volueram enim illorum obsequium tentare per suspensionem antequam ad excommunicationem venirem. Jam vero predictus P. Petrus Martyr illos omnes ad sacramentos admissit, quin et vices suas parochii dicto sacerdoti excommunicato et omnium ignorantissimo committit. Quod autem
contrarium sequuntur agendi rationem Patres Soc: Jesu hinc gravissimam ab aliis perferunt persecutionem, et quod noluerint sacerdotem illum admittisse intra ecclesiam ad legendum nescio quid, ideo aliquis Dominicanus, qui commissarium Sanctorum Inquisitionis se appellat, contra illos uti infractores Sanctae Inquisitionis dicitur processus faere.


Sed haec aliaque innumeraque E. V. referre superfluum est, necque illum quod apponi possit remedium ego video quominus enim ipsamet Sanctorum Sedem nominatim erga illos excommunicationem proferit. (1)

Porro Rex Coecinensis bene affectus est erga Christianos: duobus hisce posterioribus annis litteras ad me et munere miserat, quas Mandarini, cum sibi fecissent per interpretes explicari, vidissentque nimirum honoris de Christiana religione loqui et nimiris nihil laudes dicere, noluerunt illas nihil reddi.

Soli Patres Soc: Jesu pro nobis stant, librosque nostros et plura ecclesiae ornamenta apud se servaverunt. Vix illa sola sunt quae vis ignis effugere. Multas illis habemus gratias, sed his temporibus vix quidquam possunt.

Ceterum E. V. suppless obtestor velint meminisse hujusce Missionis desolationem, quia vere manus Dei tetigisset nos et omnia illius ecclesiae, et flectus super nos transierunt ad eum ut tueatur vivere, beatusque reputamus illos quos citius ex hac vita vis aerumnarum eripit. Facti sumus in cantico populo; sed quid conquerar de nobis, cum et ipsa religio ac Deus ipsae J. Christus versus sit pariter in canticum? Haud scio utrum ad destructionem vel emendationem hac omnibus inducerit super nos Deus, sed quicquid sit, rogo E. V. sibi persuadeant quod seu in vita seu in morte ab obsequio Sanctorum Sedis et Sacrae

(1) Marginal Note: (Pro Patribus illis Dominicalis et Augustinianis ad mentem revocandis hoc unum superest remedium, quod ad E. V. jam pridem scripti sed nondum responsum accepti, ut scilicet expellantur ex religione sua per Generales suos, nec fiat ullo mentio de imperio Sanctorum Sedis.)
Congregationis (quidquid adversum hos possit objeci, aut in suspicio-
em vocari), numquam Deo dante esse discessuros.

Quod si quid per errorem aut inscientiam a me gestum est, seu a
sociis et patribus, summo mihi solatio foret, si ante mortem— licet illa
jam forte sit in janus— veniam a S. S. indultam esse cognoscerem,
quoniam ad sumnum Pontificem non licet scribere.

Supplex E. V. obtestor ut apostolicam benedictionem pro me, pro
omnibus fratribus meis, pro alumnis aliusque fidelibus et concaptivis
nostris, qui in vinculis sunt, impetrent.

E. V. hum; et oblig: servus
LUDOVICUS Epus Metropolitanus Vic Apl:

Siam.

(Translation)

PROPAGANDA Fede. SCRITTURE REFERITE V. 195.

BISHOP LANNEAU TO THE SACRED COLLEGE.

Siam, the 23rd November, 1689.

Your Eminences,

A prisoner and in stealth I write this letter, much doubting
whether it will reach Your Eminences. Hence, I write on Chinese
paper which may be more easily concealed if only to acquaint Your
Eminences of the circumstances under which we now live, omitting
almost all else about which I should write.

For thirteen months we have now been in jail, cast out from our
homes, stripped of all our possessions, and subsisting on charity for
our mutual support.

No small store of goods, useless to the natives, was left to us; and
to administer this store, two of our band were given their freedom.
But a few days since, all this store was destroyed by fire, the Lord
in his infinite tenderness disposing that without scrip, purse or
sandals we should thus be better fitted to preach the Gospel of his
Kingdom.

Yet God, who fails not in adversity, has ordained that one of our
number, Doctor M. Stephen Paumard should have full liberty to
go and act for us, in return for the good-will he gained in admi-
nertering simples to the late King.

He is almost the sole provider for all the prisoners, since not even
a grain of rice is supplied to them. All the Missionaries are in chains,
together with that Jesuit of proved worth Father de la Breuille, the major portion of the students, whose college has been destroyed, also many other secular Christians.

The troubles, insults, and persecutions which they have borne all this time are too numerous for me to record, since of all this world's cruel prisons their prison is the most intolerable. I indeed, save in the first months, have been spared their diabolical torments and have been given a lighter yoke; may be I was accounted too weak to bear so great hardship.

The native converts to the Catholic Faith are robbed of all their goods and deprived of their liberty, together with sundry other foreigners.

I am much worried that the Seminary pupils should be scattered in diverse places; the native pupils have likewise fallen into the hands of the gentiles. A few only, who by reason of their ill-health have remained with those two Missionaries deputed to guard the Stores, carry on their studies as best they can, as do also the rest who are in jail with their teachers, and show no less zeal than of old, in spite of their great affliction. This fact gives me reason to hope that if by God's grace they are set free, they may return to their original studies with increased ardour.

In truth, this imprisonment will serve as an incomparable novitiate. For I would beg leave of Your Eminences, the trustees of all Missions on this globe, to state that in my humble opinion no Missionary training can equal those exceptionally heavy afflictions as discipline in the Apostolic duties.

The Heavenly Grace with which they are endowed must be seen to be believed; as also the manifestation of that profound mystery in the Evangelist's life—his complete dependence upon God's will. Indeed, from actual experience we now know that life can be maintained without money,—not of course in luxury, but with rice and dried fish,—a fact which before would have seemed impossible.

For certain political reasons the Portuguese have been more lightly treated, though even they too have suffered sundry persecution. I wish that the Fathers residing in their camp had made seemly use of their liberty; but the contrary is the case.

I say nothing of the Jesuit Fathers; they have always excelled in obedience to the Holy See, as have the three secular priests, two of whom I ordained, who officiate in their church. But in the Domini-
cans' church it is otherwise, where there are five priests all under censure, three Dominicans, one Augustinian and one secular.

Fr. Peter Martyr acts as parish priest. The oath was administered to him by me, but later on he repented of his submission, and now sometimes denies that he took the Oath; at other times he says that he was intimidated into taking it.

I have written to Your Eminences that I first suspended that priest and then excommunicated him, but was prevented by reason of the troubles of that time from giving effect to a similar sentence of excommunication against the others, and that they therefore remained under suspense and under the penalties incurred for violating it; for I desired to test their obedience by suspending them before proceeding to excommunication.

The aforesaid Peter Martyr now admits all of them to the sacraments, and even entrusts his parish duties to these excommunicated and most ignorant priests. The Jesuit Fathers, who follow a different course, are subjected to a severe persecution by the others, and because they refused to admit that priest to their church to read something or other, a Dominican, calling himself a Commissar of the Holy Inquisition, is actually said to be proceeding against them for offences against the Holy Inquisition.

When Father Louis of the Mother of God came lately from Tensserim and died while still in his boat, I summoned the Jesuit Fathers to bury him, but one of the Augustinian Fathers named Stephen raised such outcry against them when they would bring the remains into the Jesuit church, and uttered such words against the Holy See to the scandal of those present, that the Jesuit Superior was forced to give way, else would they have come to blows and stripes, for that Augustinian Father has more the likeness of a man of war than of a man of God.

But reference to these and other events is superfluous, nor do I see what remedy can be found other than individual excommunication by the Holy See.\(^{(1)}\)

The King of Cochin China is well disposed towards the Church.

\(^{(1)}\) Marginal Note: In the matter of those Dominicans and Augustinians, there is one remedy that remains, as I have previously suggested to Your Eminences though I have not yet received reply;—it is that they should be expelled from their Orders by their own General, avoiding all mention of the authority of the Holy See.
In the past two years he has sent me gifts and letters which when transmitted were considered by the Siamese Officials to be too favourable to the Christian religion and too flattering to me. On that account they were unwilling that I should have them.

The Jesuit Fathers, who are our only champions here, have preserved our books and many church ornaments in their abode—these were all that escaped the fire—and we owe them much gratitude, though at the present time they can hardly effect anything for us.

However, I adjure Your Eminences to bear in mind the poverty of this Mission; for of a truth the hand of God is heavy upon us and upon all pertaining to the church in Siam. The flood has so overwhelmed us that life is a burden, and we reckon those happy who have been bereft of life before us through the intensity of their suffering.

We have been made the subject of ribald songs; but why should we complain, when even our Faith and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ himself is treated likewise?

I know not whether God had brought all this upon us to the end that He may improve us. Be that as it may, I beg Your Eminences to rest assured that never by God's grace will we alive or dead ever depart from our duty to the Holy See or to the Sacred College, no matter what our enemies may cast in our teeth or bring into suspicion.

But since I may be at the very gate of death and may not write to the Supreme Pontiff, if aught has been done in ignorance by me or my fellow-workers and Fathers, it would be a priceless consolation to know that pardon has been granted by the Holy See.\(^{(1)}\)

On my knees I adjure Your Eminences to invoke the Apostolic Benediction for me, for all my brethren, for our pupils, and for the the other believers and fellow-workers.

Your Eminences' most humble and obliged servant,

LOUIS, Bishop of Metellopolis, Vicar Apostolic of Siam.

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\(^{(1)}\) The Bishop's assurance of his loyalty to the Sacred College was occasioned by a rebuke he had received from Rome for lack of zeal in administering the "Oath" to recalcitrant clergy in his See. His position was very delicate, since the terms of the Oath had been drawn up in Rome to enforce his authority, but they caused offense to his sovereign, Louis XIV. The Bishop was thus faced with the dilemma of reconciling the conflicting claims of the Pope and of Louis XIV to appoint Missionaries.
Quai d'Orsay.

**Phaulkon's Widow to The French Bishop in China.**

Excellentissime Domine,

Cum Sinarum seaphis bonus odor famæ Exc.Væ Littoribus istis accessit, nec minus innatae pietatis rumor et virtutis arhor ac misericordiae inclinatio ad omnium precipue ad meas aures pervenit, qua quasi in vinculis, ut olim Johannes—si licet ita—fari—audiivi.

Unde illum imitans, ad Dominum Patriarchum, ut ad Messiam, epistolam mitto, et pace vestra interrogo. Tu es qui venturus est, an alium expectamus?

Ne quaeo miretur, Excellentissime Domine, quia mulier afflicta sum. Illa ego quodam quasi domina gentium in hoc Siami emporio incedebam, e Regi excitata, a Principibus ac proceribus venerata, et ab harum proviniciarum populis adorata, atque insuper—quod caput est—a Christianissimo Galliarum Regi et a sanctissimo Domino nostro felicis recordationis Innocentio XI in honorem ac munificentiam benigneitate habita, eo quod non ego modo sed itiam conjux meus Constantinus tum Romanam fidem, tum omnes Missionarios Apostolicos summo amore prossequar, fovebam, adjuvabam, dirigebam, defendebam, et ad omnia eis necessaria prompta eram, quae quidem nullus eorum, qui ex tunc usque modo vivit, inicibatur.


Tantum rerum est hujus sæculi vicissitudo.

Interim quod Excellentia Vestra moram facit in Sina, suppliciter exoro, ut de necessitudine mea summum Pontificem certiorem faciat, addatque ei ut caritate litteras Christianissimo Regi scribere non dedignetur, ut mihi favere non desinat, in jubendo Regis Societatis Directoribus ut mihi pecunias a conjuge meo sibi commissas in hac rerum penuria reddant.

Incredibilis enim est mea filiique mei dura necessitas. Nam si nostras hic pecunias haberemus, qui viri mei Constantini legitimi tantum modo sumus heredes, absque dubio de tanta jam servitute libereremur, liberique ad Dei ecclesiam et non furtive, ut raro accidit, adiremus.

Similiter ergo Excellentiam Vestram flexis genibus eniexem flagito ut etiam atque etiam Ludovico Magno Galliarum Regi conscribat, et erga illum pro nobis efficaciter intercedat.

Verum quidem est quod Christianissimus Rex a Patribus Societatis IESU suppliciter exoratus, et ideo inopia nostra commiseratur, decreto jussit ut Societatis Regiae Directores nobis quotannis mille nummos exsolverent. At tamen proh dolor. Post decretum illud benignissimi Regis dignum abhinc sex annis editicum solum duobus annis observatum est.

Omnia talia et alia multo majora de pietate vestra ac beneficentia propter amorem Dei facienda confidimus et expectamus.

Deus et Dominus noster IESU Christus felices Excellentiae Vostiae annos adaugeat, nobisque tandem servet incoluorem ad majus Dei obsequium et animarum Salutem et Religionis augmentum et tandem ad nostri prassidium ac subsidium.

Siam, 20 Junii, anno a partu Virginis 1706.

Excellentiae Vostiae Supplex Ancilla
Et Abjecta.

D. GUIMAR DE PINA.

(Translation)

QUAI D'ORSAY. MEMOIRES DOCUMENTS VOL. II. NO. 90.

PHAULKON'S WIDOW TO THE FRENCH BISHOP IN CHINA.

My Lord Bishop,

The ships that come here from China have brought with them the sweet savour of Your Excellency's renown in that Land. The report of Your innate piety, Your ardent righteousness, and Your merciful disposition has reached the ears of all; and I too, who am almost a
captive like St. John of old—if I may compare myself with Him—have heard of it. Following His example, I write, My Lord Patriarch, to ask You, with Your leave, even as He asked the Messiah: "Art thou he who should come, or look we for another?"

Marvel not, My Lord Bishop, at my affliction. For I am She who in bygone days walked a Queen among the peoples in this mart of Ayudhia. I was singled out for favour by the King, respected by Princes and Chiefs and adored by the people of this land. Moreover, above all, I was the honoured recipient of favours and bounties from the most Christian King and from His Holiness the late Pope Innocent XI of blessed memory, particularly because both I and my husband Constantine, supported the Christian Faith and upheld the Apostolic Missionaries, cherishing, helping, directing and defending them, as no one of their number still living will deny.

But where is She now who was called the Mother of Missionaries? Where does she sleep, at night, and where is her abode by day? A captive in the Palace she toils in the service of the King, worn out with hard work and grief, in the darkness of her affliction looking over for a ray of light. At night she has no princely couch, but reposits in a corner of the Royal Kitchens, by day she lies upon the damp earth, whence she keeps watch over the house.

Such are the changes and chances of this age.

What then do I ask? What is the petition in this letter? Art thou He who should come? Art thou coming, My Lord Bishop, art thou coming to free the hand-maiden of the Lord from the Shades of Hell? Art thou coming to deliver from dire straits no-father of the Prophets but a lowly serving woman?

Come quickly, My Lord, and tarry not; for at thy coming my sorrow will be turned into joy. I hear Your clarion-voice blasening in my ears "Winter is o'er, the storm is past and gone. Arise, my friend, My Lady, rise and come."

Meanwhile, as Your Excellency still lingers in China, I humbly beg that the Holy Father be notified of my need. Furthermore, I beg that letters be written to the Most Christian King, to the effect that he cease not to show favour to me, ordering the Manager of the Royal Company to return to me in my need the monies committed to his care by my husband.

For the destitution of myself and of my son is past belief. Yet, if we now had the property which we should rightfully inherit from
my husband Constantine, there can be no doubt we should be free from bondage, and able openly to attend the Church of God at will, instead of seldom and in stealth, as at present.

Likewise, I beg and implore Your Excellency on bended knee to write again and again to Louis the Great, King of the French, until effect to Your intercession on our behalf is obtained.

Indeed, the Most Christian King, when petitioned by the Jesuit Fathers, had pity for our needs, ordering the Managers of the Royal Company to pay us yearly one thousand ducats; but alas, that order so worthy of the generous Monarch, was made six years ago, but only for two years did it have effect.

All this and much more we look for and expect from Your pious generosity inspired by Your love of God.

May God and our Lord Jesus Christ add many happy years to Your Excellency's life, preserving you for us and keeping you safe for his greater Honour, for the good of souls, for the increase of the Faith, and lastly for the protection and assistance of ourselves.

At Ayudhya, the 20th day of June in the year 1706 after the Virgin gave birth.

Your Excellency's lowly suppliant and servant,

D. Guimar de Pina.\(^{(1)}\)

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\(^{(1)}\) Written by another hand in Latin and signed by herself D. Guimar de Pina, each letter of the signature being distinct.
You assume that this ill treatment, including their confinement after the withdrawal of the French troops, was done at the instigation of our Officials without the knowledge of our King.

Finally, you refer to the promise which I gave, when I was in France, to give my protection to His Lordship and to the Fathers, and express the hope that I will appeal to the King in order to obtain the restitution of all that has been taken from them.

I must confess that your attitude causes me much surprise, since it is not in harmony with the wise, prudent and sublime judgement displayed by His Majesty of France. He refused to give ear to a one-sided version of the facts, which is the only side he had then heard, and in spite of the accusations which it contained, he continued to lavish every imaginable kindness upon the two Siamese envoys who were then in France, and so gave a crowning proof for all time of the friendship of France with Siam.

His Siamese Majesty, as soon as he heard of it, made no secret of his approval of the broad-minded wisdom which first took cognizance of both good and bad reports, and then refused to give credence to one side only. This, in our King's eyes, accounts for the excellence of the Government enjoyed by the French people.

The judgement which you pass upon our Revolution is remarkable. You have only heard one side of the case which gives voice to the vexation suffered by the Bishop and his flock. This, I repeat, is at variance with the attitude of the King of France; it is also prejudicial to good relations between our two countries. You are aware that the late King of Siam showed great favour to Phaulkon, exalting him to high office and entrusting him in conjunction with the other officials with the administration of many affairs of state.

Phaulkon drew large sums in gold and silver from the Treasury which he spent according to his own good pleasure, and which are now unrecoverable. He also went so far as to harbour treasonable designs.

The Officials who were cognizant of this hesitated to speak until a proper opportunity should present itself, but they applied themselves to thwarting his plot.

Phaulkon realised that he was not trusted. He decided therefore to apply to the King of Siam to permit the despatch of M. de Beauregard to Mergui as Governor, and of M. du Bruant with 120 French soldiers, as Commander, to hold the Mergui fort.
Eventually, when the King fell ill, the knowledge of his own treachery began to cause Phaulkon much uneasiness. He then hit upon the expedient of sending a private summons to M. Desfarges for his troops, with the intention of safe-guarding himself and of putting his treacherous plans into execution. The General only came as far as Ayudhia. He then returned to Bangkok without disclosing his motives.

Phaulkon had been accused of conspiring with de Verdesalle, du Bruant and de Beauregard. It was the realisation that his plot was impractical which led him to despatch the two latter to Mergui, as stated above, the one as Governor, the other as Commander. This was disclosed to the present occupant of the Siamese throne when he caused Phaulkon to be arrested and put to the question. His answers then confirmed the charges brought against him.

It was decided thereupon to entice the General up to Lopburi. He, having heard nothing of Phaulkon's arrest, made no difficulty about coming. The motive for our confidential treatment of him was to prevent the French from spreading the alarm, since we feared that du Bruant and de Beauregard, who were in Phaulkon's confidence, might take fright and commit some unfriendly action.

We therefore represented to the General that we had news from the North of impending trouble, which made it necessary that his troops with du Bruant's should effect a junction with the Siamese army at a given spot—the army to be despatched to stem the enemy's advance. We reminded him of the orders he had received in France which placed him at the service of the King of Siam. He was then instructed to write to du Bruant, who was to carry out his plan on receipt of the letter.

Had they been innocent, they would not have failed to comply with the French King's instruction, and we should have told them to avoid unfriendly actions. As it was, du Bruant, on receipt of Desfarges' letter, made ready to fight. The Siamese officers were astounded, and took steps to defend themselves. The French opened fire with artillery and small arms and continued throughout the night, killing four officers and wounding several other people. The Siamese, who were apprehensive of exceeding their instructions, might have put up a stronger defence but they contented themselves with taking cover. Du Bruant and de Beauregard, seeing that the Siamese were out of
range, embarked 16 cannon and 50 rifles on one of the King’s ships, seized an English ship in the harbour, and made off in them.

Desfarges was told of Phaulkon’s plot with de Verdesalle and the Army Surgeon at Bangkok, and asked to send these men to Lopburi, where they would be warned to commit no unfriendly action. Desfarges replied that they were so obstinate that it would be useless to send for them, but offered to go in person to fetch them, leaving behind hostages at Lopburi in the persons of his two sons and of the officers who were then there.

We do not know what decision he came to with his staff after leaving Lopburi. We do know however that the French Officers arrested their Siamese and Portuguese colleagues, opened fire and, burnt the General’s quarters near the Fort, blew up 13 cannon in the West Fort, spiking the remainder which they were unable to destroy, and transferring the arms and ammunition to the fort on the opposite side of the river.

The Siamese immediately invaded the abandoned fort. Desfarges seeing them, ordered his men to re-take it; but they, after fighting for some time, were compelled to withdraw to their fort on the east side of the river, and then proceeded to do much damage.

The King of Siam knew that the King of France was ignorant of what his troops were doing, and feared that if his men were to do their worst, it would be an end of all friendly relations. This accounts for the order given to the Siamese that they must content themselves with building covering-works round their own fort as a protection on the river and on the land sides, and prevent the French from making a sortie and doing damage.

The General’s two sons and the Officers whom he had left at Lopburi as hostages, while out riding one day—as they were permitted to do whenever they so wished—made off with the intention of reaching Ayudhia and thence Bangkok. The Siamese who saw them, imagining that they were Englishmen of Phaulkon’s party, overtook and arrested some of them on land and others in a boat which they had just occupied. They made them fast and brought them back to Lopburi.

As soon as the mistake was discovered, their bonds were unloosed and attendants were supplied to look after them and give them food at their quarters, as before. It is true that an Engineer, seeing himself hard-pressed in the pursuit, dodged and evaded capture longer
than the rest. When at last he was worn out and stopped to rest
himself, he fell down in a faint and died in spite of the remedies and
attention offered him.

The one and only thought of His Siamese Majesty was to preserve
the friendship of the French King. He decided therefore to send
back to the General his two sons with the officers he had left behind
as a pledge for his return to Lopburi, believing that by so doing he
would bring the General and his men to their senses, and compel
them to desist from their unfriendly actions, but all in vain. They
sand-bagged their ramparts and placed cannon in an inner fortifica-
tion built with giant cocoanut trees. They raised two batteries one
above the other, and scored hits against our powder reserves with
their savage fire.

After that, several soldiers went down in Véret's boat in search of
the two ships which he had commissioned some months earlier for
alleged coast-guard service. The Siamese sighted this small craft
and hailed the French with a view to learning their intentions.
The French, instead of approaching them, opened fire. The Siamese
then boarded the vessel in order to arrest them, whereupon the
French ignited their powder and blew the ship up.

On their side, in the west-bank Fort, the Siamese erected a
"Cavalier" in order to discharge cannon-balls and bombs into the
French lines. Fearing however that they might injure their fellow-
countrymen as well as prejudice the relations between the two
Countries, they only made use of it in replying to the fire of the
French.

The French impaled several Siamese captured on the approaches
to their Fort, and exposed them to the view of the Siamese Fort.
Thereby they so angered the Siamese and the foreigners that a
petition was made to the King to permit the erection of earthworks
round the French position so as to invest it closely. The King, in
his anxiety for good relations, refused this request, merely sanction-
ing siege-works to prevent the French from making a sortie.

The sight of these works in preparation convinced the French
that they would be starved out before long. Véret, the Company's
representative, was despatched to Lopburi with a letter for me and a
request for the loan of a big ship and 300 catties\(^1\) for purchase of
two smaller ships and for supplies. I submitted this petition to the

\(^1\) 300 catties is 24,000 Ticals, equivalent to 45,000 gold francs on La
Loubère's valuation of the Tical at 37½ sous.
King, adding that the French would be starved out if the siege continued much longer.

My proposal was that the General should sign an act of settlement, and find sureties for what he desired to borrow. Desfarges signed, and the Bishop together with the Missionaries and remaining Frenchmen in Siam went security for the treaty and for the loans.

It was agreed that the General, on his arrival at Pondichéry, should send back to Merguy (1) a boat which had sailed from that port for Masulipatam, manned by French and Siamese; (2) another boat which had sailed from Ayudhia under command of a Frenchman bound for Bander Abbas in Persia; (3) lastly, the ship which du Bruant seized, on his departure, together with its cannon, arms equipment and crew.

The big ship loaned to him was to be returned to Ayudhia, while the 300 Catties was to be refunded when the ships which Véret had sent to Pondichéry, Bengal and Surat returned.

The young Siamese in France learning different professions were to be sent back.

The treaty included a statement to the effect that Desfarges asked to be accompanied by two hostages as far as the river’s mouth. The reason for this was that he feared that the Siamese might play some trick on him during his descent of the river below Bangkok. Desfarges, on his side, was to allow the surgeon and his own son to go down in the boat with the Siamese officers.

The Siamese supposed that the French would behave like all other nations and never dream of them breaking the treaty. They therefore allowed the General to embark these two officers in his ship. Véret and the interpreter were also on board. Young Desfarges, the surgeon and the second Ambassador followed in a small boat. The Bishop and I also followed with other boats.

On nearing the mouth of the river, the second Ambassador permitted young Desfarges and the Surgeon to board Desfarges’ ship for lunch, and went with them, since he knew of the agreement which the General had made, and had full confidence in his honour.

Having passed the mouth of the river, the General took these two gentlemen on with him and kept Véret, the second Ambassador and the Interpreter Pinheiro with him, but failed to send back his two Siamese hostages.

In reply to our expostulations, he merely sent back one of the
Siamese officials (his hostages) and wrote asking that the Bishop should be sent to him. I accordingly sent Fr. Ferreux to him in a boat containing the sick men. I also sent another boat loaded with provisions, and demanded back the remaining official together with Véret, who was one of the Sureties, the second Ambassador and the Interpreter, promising that the Bishop would come later, also that he should have the remainder of his cannon and baggage.

The General however paid no attention to my letters, but retained Fr. Ferreux and started to set his sails.

Although I saw that the General was breaking his promise, and by so doing was guilty of an unfriendly action, I did not desist from ordering the despatch of all his boats. He, however, never waited for them, to come but set sail and went off with one of the hostages, the second Ambassador and the Surety, Véret.

I therefore placed the cannon in charge of my officials. I then made fast the French who were in the boats and took them to Ayudhia.

As to the General's offence against the right of nations, I agreed with my Officials that the French in Bangkok and Mergny had not acted in accordance with the order of the King of France; since, in a dispute, everyone is agreed upon the importance of fixing the blame.

The conduct of the French led us to believe that they might well have had an understanding with the traitors, but the Siamese on their side never committed any action which could interfere with good relations.

The refusal of His Majesty the King of France to give credence to reports, and his desire to discover which side was to blame was, I admit, a heavenly inspiration, since he was unwilling to give ear to all that was told him.

As to the bond entered into by the Bishop, his Missionaries, and all the remaining French in Siam,—it is the Siamese custom that when a party who is guaranteed, breaks his promise, and evades arrest, it is the Guarantor who pays for him.

Now the Bishop of Metellopolis, M. Véret, the Missionaries and the Frenchmen remaining at Ayuthia had stood surety for M. Desfarges and his troops, also for 300 Catties loaned for purchase of ships and provisions. According to Siamese law, all the Guarantors should have been put to death.

It was my privilege to point out that His Majesty of France was
ignorant of the excesses committed by his General and Soldiers. Thereupon, His Siamese Majesty readily agreed that nothing should be done inconsistent with friendly relations until such time as His Majesty of France had learnt the whole truth.

It is to be expected that the General would not have reported all the misdemeanours committed by himself and his men, yet the superhuman wisdom and understanding of His Majesty the King of France are such that he will not give credence to one side only. We believe that he will be ready to submit the whole case to scrutiny, in which event I need only refer to three points:

1) When Desfarges broke his word, his sons and all the French officers left behind at Lopburi as hostages might have been put to death instead of being sent back to him at Bangkok in the hope of bringing him to his senses.

2) The Bishop with the Missionaries who were left at Ayudhia might have received very severe treatment when the General repudiated the treaty and loan guaranteed by them. Instead, they were held under observation. As soon as Desfarges had sent back the Interpreter and the Officials from Puket, when he called there, the Bishop was allowed to put up a hut for himself inside one of the Royal Store-house enclosures.

The Missionaries were not released until we heard of Fr. Tachard's return with the two officials from Europe, when they were permitted to join the Bishop. On the arrival of Fr. Tachard's companions, when we had heard from their own mouths of the favours conferred on them by His Majesty of France, His Siamese Majesty accorded full liberty to the Bishop and to all his followers, in consideration of the royal friendship.

3) The Siamese, after investing the French position so closely as

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(1) The defence, here submitted by Kosa Pan, for the treatment of the Missionaries is contradicted by the impartial testimony of Fr. Maldenato, (Ms. n° 2) who, as a Jesuit opposed to the French Missionaries, would not be expected to exaggerate in their favour.

The explanation for the reluctance of the Siamese to attack the French is more flattering to their pride than the one given in Desfarges' book. In judging between them, we cannot forget that Desfarges probably possessed more modern artillery than the Siamese, who in that case showed prudence in not pressing him too far.

The main interest of this letter lies in the admission imputed to Phaulkon of intelligence with du Bruant, which, as indicated in the preliminary article, points to his desire to shield his friends the Jesuits.
to cut them off completely and starve them out, might have refused them the loan of ships or money, but in the interest of friendly relations, rescued them from the danger they were in.
NOTES AND QUERIES.

REMARKS ON THE LAND ROUTES ACROSS THE MALAY PENINSULA.

I met Mr. Henry George Scott, a very old friend, in December 1933. Our conversation turned on the question of the passes across the peninsula from the Bay of Bengal or the Gulf of Martaban to the Gulf of Siam. I was interested in this matter as I was convinced that communication between the ancient kingdoms of Sumatra, including Sri Vijaya and Cambodia was over the peninsula and not by the roundabout route to the Southern extremity of the peninsula and then up the Gulf. I had been over the territory between the Burmese Frontier at Victoria Point, (Maliwan), and Trang in January 1903, and over the territory lying to the East of this on the Gulf of Siam, the year before. When at Takuapa I was told of the place known as Tung Tük (ทุ่งทุ่ง) which means the plain with brick or stone building, but had no time to investigate the matter. When I met Mr. Scott who was well acquainted with the whole area having prospected for tin over it, I asked him if he knew anything of this place and the watershed between the Takuapa and Menam Laung rivers. He told me that he knew Tung Tük and the watershed and at my request prepared the accompanying note which I received on the 4th January 1934.

From what Mr. Scott said it seems quite clear that Tung Tük was a great emporium or mart where traders met, and it is probable that the gold dust which he refers to as having been found in the sand amongst the ruins was either an article of trade or the currency used.

Ptolemy mentions the existence of a place in this region which he calls Takula, Colonel Gerini in his work on Ptolemy's geography published in 1909, gives ample evidence to prove that Takula was Takuapa. Now, Tung Tük is a small island or high sandbank
situated at the mouth of the Takuapa river and was probably in the early years of the Christian era a part of the mainland. It may be that a part of the old town of Takula now lies under the sea. Ships from all parts of the Indian Ocean and further west came to Tung Tük as well as ships from the Malayan Archipelago and Sumatra. The Takuapa river was probably deeper than now, and ships may have been able to go a considerable distance inland where goods would be landed and carried over the watershed to the head waters of the Menam Laung. The distance between the head waters of the two rivers is only a few miles as explained by Mr. Scott. The Menam Laung is a fine river finding its outlet in the Gulf of Siam at Randon จังหวัด where there is a good harbour, but perhaps, not quite as good as Takuapa. The whole of this region in ancient times was colonized by Indians and many of the names of places are of Indian origin. The people of to-day called the Menam Laung Nāti without any special appellation. The word Nāti is the Sanskrit for river. The only other river in Siam called the Nāti is the Mekhong, and here again the surrounding territory was under Indian influence.

I cannot do better than refer the reader to Colonel Girini's remarks about Takula in his great work.

To prove his claim that Takula is Takuapa, Colonel Gerini brings forward a passage from the Chinese chronicles of the Wu dynasty in the year A.D. 229-265. I now quote from Colonel Gerini:

"Some two centuries later on—or, more exactly, during the Wu dynasty of China (A.D. 229-265)—an embassy having been despatched by the king of Fu-nan to India, it is stated in the Chinese records that it returned by the mouth of the Tau-kiao-le, continuing its route by sea in the great bay (Gulf of Martaban) in a north-westerly direction; it then entered the bay (of Bengal) and ultimately reached India. In this account, the mouth of the Tau-kiao-le has been by various translators taken to mean either the mouth of the Salwin or that of the Irāvati, which is evidently absurd. It seems to me if the identifications of the two bays named in the account prove correct, that we should read Tau-kiao-le as Takāla, and take it as a name given the Pāk-chān River, from the fact of the city of Takōla being situated at or near its mouth. The position of the Tau-kiao-le would then suit all requirements with respect to the great bay (Gulf of Martaban) and the kingdom of Fu-nan (Kamboja), which at the period the embassy took place included Lower Siam; and no doubt also the northern part, if not more, of the Malay Peninsula. It would then
seem but natural that the embassy in question, instead of taking the long sea-route round the southern extremity of the peninsula, should proceed in small skiffs or overland to Chumpbon, and thence across the Kra Isthmus to the mouth of the Pak-chân, to embark at the famous port of Takola on its journey to India. This is no doubt the usual route that was anciently followed by a great part of the trade between India and the Gulf of Siam, in order to avoid the difficulty and dangers of a long sea navigation through the Straits. The Kra Isthmus was the most northern point of the Malay Peninsula at which the latter could be most easily and speedily crossed. Hence it was chosen as the point of transit and transhipment of merchandise from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Siam, and vice-versa; and the two harbours which formed the termini of the navigation on both sides, as well as the overland route that connected them, must have in consequence acquired great importance.

This evidence is to my mind of paramount importance and supports my theory that the trade route was over the watershed I have referred to. The ancient kingdom of Funan embraced within its frontiers the present day French Cochin-China. Colonel Gerini, who did not know the peninsula believed that the trade route between Takula and the Gulf of Siam was over the Isthmus of Kra. I think he is wrong for I am convinced that the trade route was over the watershed of the Rivers Takuapa and Menam Laung. If Colonel Gerini supposition is correct, ships would have had to move up North to the estuary of the Chan river and the cargoes then carried overland nearly 30 miles before coming to the Chumporn Creek or river. Chaya a town now inland on the Gulf of Siam was an important Indian settlement and many important ruins still exist to testify to this. Bandon the present day outlet of the Menam Laung is only a few miles south of Chaya. It therefore seems quite possible that the Menam Laung many centuries ago found its outlet at Chaya and if this were the case one could understand why Chaya was of such importance.

Another point I would like to draw attention to. Situated in the district of Panom Sarakram on the river now called Cholo, a small tributary of the Bangpakong river which flows through the province of Prachin, is a place called Tarajasam. This word means the landing place for the King's letters or dispatches. Letters brought to this place from Chaya or Sumatra were carried on to Sri Mahaphoti a small Cambodian fortress some 30 miles East and then on to
Nakorn Thom. It seems probable that Tarajasan was on the sea in those remote days for it is quite evident that the land between this place and the sea extending right up to the Rangsit area known as the Tong Laung is of comparatively recent formation.

There is another Takula in Burma not far from Thaton, formerly a port on the sea, but now some 12 miles inland. Some scholars believed this place to be Ptolemy's Takula, but this cannot be the case. Takula or whatever the real name is, was probably a name applied to places where Indian settlers lived.

F. H. Giles

Oriental Hotel, Bangkok, 4th January 1934.

My dear Giles,

You told me last Sunday that I must write a note for the Siam Society on the archaeological matters I was talking of to you.

I admit that for many years past I have felt a duty to have some record with the Society on one point that has probably escaped notice: that is the fact that in 1908 or 1909 a considerable amount of coarse and fine gold was recovered from the top two or three feet of the ground at Tong Teuk on the Island of Kow Kaow, Takuapa.

Tong Teuk is so called because it is a grass plain on which the remains of brick and stone buildings have been found. There is nothing standing; but some signs of foundations and broken materials can be noticed in the surface soil.

The gold was discovered in the place where the remains of buildings are common. The people of the district, being expert tin washers, had no difficulty in recovering the gold, and in a short time the whole area (of perhaps two or three acres) was pig-sooted, and denuded of the gold contents.

The first point of interest is that this gold was not a natural phenomenon. Human agency can alone account for its occurrence. The geological conditions are that Tong Teuk is a flat area consisting of sea sand from the surface down to at least 20 ft. The surface is about 2 ft. above high-water. The sand contains throughout an appreciable amount of tin ore, so extremely fine that it can only be recovered with great difficulty, and is therefore of no economic value. The fineness of the tin ore is natural to the situation, the deposit
being fine sand. If the neighbourhood had been gold-bearing instead of tin-bearing, the gold in the sand, (if present at all) would have been so fine that individual pieces would have been invisible to the naked eye.

All practical miners and geologists would agree that the natural occurrence of coarse gold in such a position is unthinkable.

If there were no other evidence, the obvious explanation would be that Tong Teuk was the site of an ancient market where gold dust was a commercial product or the medium of exchange, and that the gold found in the soil represented the accumulated drippings of ages.

Doubtless the Society has full records of the Hindu images found in Takuapa Province. The Phra Narai figures and inscription are famous. I will only mention that the stone images that were for many years housed in a shed near the Government buildings at Yan Yow were conveyed there from Koh Larn, which is close to Tong Teuk, being separated by a deep-water tidal channel. These images are artistically inferior to the Phra Narai, but apparently of similar origin.

Many years ago (25 to 30) Colonel Gerini told H. W. Bourke and me that from very ancient Chinese writings he had evidence that Chinese merchants went by ship to a river-port on the east coast of the Peninsula, that they took their goods by boats up a river, then carried them over hills to another river and went again by boats to a great market to which people of many nations came in ships and engaged in commerce. Gerini did not know the Peninsula, but by comparing the Chinese description with modern maps, he had come to the conclusion that Bandon was probably the east-coast port, and that the "great market" was near the mouth of the Takuapa River.

As regards the land connection between rivers navigable by boats on the east and west coasts, I may mention that in one day I have walked from a place on the main branch of the Takuapa River (I think it is called Tahûn) to Ban Sok on a branch of the Bandon River, spent three or four hours there, and walked back again. The distance cannot be more than twelve miles, and I estimate the maximum elevation of the track above sea-level at 500 ft.

There is a string of islands along the coast of Takuapa separated from the mainland by tidal channels and enormous areas of mangrove. The river finds its way to the sea through several openings.
Modern shipping uses the "North" entrance only. Until a few years ago, the "South" entrance was also used. But another channel, which divides the southern end of Koh Kow Kaow from the mainland, is still used by launches and sailing lighters going from Taknапa to Puket or Penang. This entrance has the great advantage over the others of having no obstacle but a narrow, definite bar; with a deep passage through the bar that is well defined by the water breaking on the bar on each side. This entrance, and the reach of the river inside have been much silted-up by tailings from the hill mines, that have been actively worked for about a century, but it is still usable by ships of moderate draught, and must have been an excellent entrance in old days.

Tong Teuk is just round the corner from this entrance and is the nearest and most convenient spot where solid dry land reaches the edge of a navigable channel that is completely sheltered and affords good anchorage. Elsewhere there are thick fringes of mangrove swamp.

I suggest that Tong Teuk is Gerini's great market.

Yours sincerely,
George Scott.

F. H. Giles, Esq.,
President of the Siam Society,
Bangkok.
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The annual general meeting of members of the Siam Society, adjourned from February 20th, was held at the Society's home off Cole Avenue on the 20th March, 1935, at 6 p.m. Phya Indra Montri, the President, was in the Chair and there were also present Major E. Seidenfaden and Mr. W. H. Mundie, Vice-Presidents, Phya Srisihtikarn Banchong, Mr. J. Burnay, Mr. R. Lingat, Mr. C. J. House, Mr. U. Guehler, Mr. H. Brändli (Members of Council), Mr. A. H. Hale, Phya Sarasastra Sirilakshana, Mr. W. Zimmerman, Mr. I. Zieler, Mr. J. E. Davies, Nai Ariant Manjikul, and the Honorary Secretary.

The notice convening the meeting having been read, the Minutes of the previous annual general meeting held on February 14th, 1934, were taken as read.

THE WORK OF THE YEAR.

The annual report was next presented by the Council. This stated

*inter alia*:

In the course of the year Professor Georges Cœdès, a former President of the Society and now an Honorary Member, re-visited Bangkok. The Council had the pleasure of entertaining Professor Cœdès, and on this occasion were also able to welcome another former active member and contributor to the Journal, also now an Honorary Member, in the person of Sir Josiah Crosby, the British Minister. It was the first occasion that either had seen the Society's home.

On the 1st January 1935, the membership totalled 189 as compared with 207 in 1933.

SIAMESE SCRIPT.

Definite advance is to be reported in connection with this work on the Evolution of Siamese Script. Originally planned to be the Jubilee volume issued by the Society, the Council left the matter in
abeyance, on the ground of cost and also because they believed there was a possibility of this particular study being included in a larger work to be produced in Europe. During 1934 the Council decided to abandon the idea of a Jubilee volume, and learning that the projected publication in Europe depended upon circumstances with which they could not be associated, they decided to have blocks made from the photos already prepared, before the negatives suffered further from the climate. The President, Prince Dhani and Mr. J. Burnay undertook to collaborate in writing a preface to the plates, the whole to be printed forthwith in the Journal. At the end of the year, the making of the clichés had been begun.

The index for volumes 1-25 at the end of the year, was ready for delivery to the printers, and will be issued as a separate publication.

TRIBAL DRESSES.

A proposal that the Council should make an attempt to preserve as far as possible by means of replicas, the dresses worn by the various peoples in Siam, having met with the sympathetic support of the Council, Prince Varnvaidyakorn promised to see what could be accomplished by an appeal to the Ministry of Interior. So successful was this appeal that samples of these dresses were still being received from the remoter parts of the Kingdom in February, 1935.

TRANSCRIPTION.

During the year an informal committee composed of persons interested but not necessarily connected with the Siam Society, have considered the Memorandum prepared by the Committee appointed by the State Councillor for Public Instruction on the subject of a system for the transcription of Siamese into Roman characters, a copy of which was submitted to the Siam Society for their opinion and views.

This reply was duly submitted to the Ministry of Public Instruction Committee, and later the assistance of the Council was sought in devising Siamese equivalents for scientific terms.

NATURAL HISTORY.

In December at a general meeting of members Dr. A. G. Ellis was elected to the position of Leader of this important section, and since the report was compiled Mr. C. J. House has consented to act as Honorary Secretary.
The Council learnt early in the year that the preservation of the wild life of the country was to be placed in the care of the Forest Department, and later the Council were favoured with a copy of the draft law on this subject. The President went through the list of birds and animals to be protected by the draft Act, and his suggestions were conveyed to the Conservator of Forests. Since that time there has been nothing to record, and the proposed law has not yet been promulgated.

ACCOUNTS.

The audited balance sheet which had been circulated to the members, prior to the meeting, was also presented. It showed receipts for 1934 of a little over Tcs. 4,000, and a total expenditure in respect to the same period of Tcs. 3,777. A debit brought forward from 1933 was met by a transfer from the Reserve Fund account.

The report of the Council and the balance sheet were unanimously adopted.

The retiring members of the Council were all re-elected en bloc, on the motion of Mr. Hale, seconded by Phya Sarasustra, and the President briefly returned thanks on behalf of himself and the Council.

SERVICES TRIBUTED.

Tributes to the work on behalf of the Society, and the Natural History Section in particular, rendered for a number of years by Mr. W. R. S. Ladell and Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith were paid from the Chair. And on the motion of Phya Srishtikar Banchong, seconded by Mr. Burnay, these two gentlemen were unanimously elected as Corresponding Members of the Society.

A hearty vote of thanks to Mr. G. R. Brooks, the Hon. Auditor, for his services, and to the Chairman were adopted, and the meeting terminated.
### Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Tes.</th>
<th>Stgs.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Subscriptions:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total receipts</td>
<td>4,038.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer from Reserve Fund account</td>
<td>1,041.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total receipts** 5,079.49

**Expenditure.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Tes.</th>
<th>Stgs.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Clerk's wages</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling allowance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Carriage's wages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Postages and Revenue stamps, Hon. Treasurer</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postages and pettishes, Hon. Secretary</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing Crail's Flora, Vol. II, Pt. 3</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing errors in Vol. I, Crail's Flora</td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pt. 1</td>
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<td>Blocks for Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing authors' separators</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrapping and addressing Journals, etc.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationary</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing and distributing circulars</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Printing N. H. Supplement, Vol. IX, Pt. 3</td>
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<td>Blocks for Supplement</td>
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<td>Authors' separates</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing index to Vol. IX, N. H. Supplement</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light, fans, bulbs, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepia tanks for servants quarters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soil, bricks, etc., for garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea on H. M's visit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repairs to screen and black-board</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire insurance: Building</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stocks</td>
<td>60.31</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,777.31</td>
<td>331.34</td>
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Debit balance brought forward from 1933 3,777.31

### Reserve Fund Account.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reserve Fund Account</th>
<th>Tes.</th>
<th>Stgs.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Balance brought forward from 1933</td>
<td>4,700.00</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest received</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer to General account</td>
<td>1,841.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total on fixed deposit</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Subscriptions outstanding.**

- 1932: 150
- 1933: 150
- 1934: 300

**Number of Members as at 31st December 1934.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honorary</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corresponding</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| C. W. WARD        | 155    |
| Act. Hon. Treasurer |       |

Examined and found to agree with the books and vouchers.

G. H. BROOKS,  
Hon. Auditor.
[Published for the Siam Society by J. Burnay, Editor, and printed at the Bangkok Times Printing Office, 593 Hongkong Bank Lane, Bangkok, in July, 1935.]
A fish (*Pla Bük*) caught in the river Me Khong near Vieng Chandr, in B.E. 2472. The fish is lying on its side. The man standing by the head is Phra Pradum, the Commissioner of Nong Khai, who attended the preliminary ceremonies and saw the fish caught.
AN ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONIES AND RITES PERFORMED WHEN
CATCHING THE PLA BŪK (ปลาบึก) A SPECIES OF CATFISH
INHABITING THE WATERS OF THE RIVER ME KHONG
(เมฆอง) THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN
FRONTIER OF SIAM

by

F. H. GILES.

Introduction.

The rites and observances recorded in this paper must be of great
antiquity. They are purely animistic and lack all Brahmin and
Buddhist influence. There is only one place where Vishnu is re-
ferred to, and in the Siamese text the word Phya Thorn (พระทรน) is
used which may mean simply the Spirits having power to move
in the air. The people of the present generation believe this word
to refer to Vishnu. Brahminism would seem to have extended
its influence to this region some 2000 years back, but probably did
not affect the everyday life of the people. This lack of Brahminical
influence leads me to suppose that the ceremonial and observances
used in connection with the catching of the Pla Būk must go back
several thousand years.

The belief amongst the people that the Spirits who have to be pro-
pitiated and whose favour must be obtained are Kah (กะ) and that
Seng is an incarnation of a Kah Spirit is further evidence of the
great antiquity of this festival. The rites and observances connected
with the driving of elephants and the hunting of the wild ox, accounts
of which I have published in the JSS, vol. xxiii, part 2 and vol.
xxvii, part 1, are redolent with Brahminical and Buddhist in-
fluences. The territory in which elephant and wild ox are hunted
is no great distance from the Golden Basin, where the Pla Bök are caught, in fact all these three acts are performed in the region known as the Korat plateau (นางรัตน์) which is bounded by the river Me Khong.

Attention is drawn to the belief of the people that the Chief Spirit of the waters has found his home in the bodies of the ancestors of Seng (ผีแสน) from the earliest days to the present time. The Spirit is now living as Ta Seng (ผีตาแสน) a local official of the district of Hawm (ห้วัน); in fact, Ta Seng is an incarnation of the ancient Kah Spirit. It is probable that the Kah people occupied this territory in early times, but were dislodged by the irruption into the Valley of the Me Khong of the Lao, which certainly commenced 2000 years ago. Many Kah tribes still live in the vicinity of the Me Khong. They were an important race at one time and were probably the ancestors of the present day Khmer (เขมร) and Mon (ม่วน).

At the present time a good deal of freedom and licence is allowed to the people who gather together for the purpose of catching these fish. The custom of using abusive language, which forms a part of the ceremonial, leads me to suppose that in ancient times much greater licence was observed, in fact, the festival probably approximated somewhat to the ceremonial of the Bacchanalian orgies. Amongst some of the people of this region great sexual freedom is allowed after the harvesting of the crop. It will be noticed that the theme of abuse is one relating entirely to sexual matters.

The Lake of Tali mentioned by Dr. Smith is situated in Western Yunnan. The ancient capital of the Thai and Lao people, known as Na Nao, is situated on the banks of this lake. The Thai and Lao, or perhaps I had better say the Siamese, know this lake as Nawng Se (น้ำส้ม). Dr. Credner has published in the JSS, vol. xxvii, part 1, an interesting account of his exploration of this lake and the ancient capital of Nanchao.

1st April, 1935.
1. Lying between Vieng Chandr (วีณ์ชันธ์) on the left bank, and Amphur Ta Baw (ท่าวบ) in the province of Nong Khai (หนองคาย) on the right bank of the river Me Khong (เมกรอง), is found a deep pool in which the Pla Bük (ปลาบึก), a species of Catfish congregate. This pool is close to the village of Saem Pa (ซามะปะ) on the Siamese bank, and in front of the village of Ang Ta Seng (อ่างแต่ส่ง) on the French bank. This pool has been honoured with the name of Ang Tong Nong Chao (อ่างทองนองขาว) which means the Golden Basin, the Lord’s lake. It is surrounded by rocky hills, those on the right bank called Pan (ปาน) and on the left bank Panang (ป่าแกง), the wall. During the months of July to September navigation is quite impossible as the pool itself becomes a dangerous whirlpool. The water channel is on the right side of the river. In the third month, February—March, the water in the pool is quiet and has a depth of sixty metres.

Having briefly sketched the topography of the pool, I propose to give a short description of the fish itself. A note written by the renowned ichthyologist, Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith, is appended to this paper. The Pla Bük is in appearance like the Pla Te Po (ปลาเตโป) with two differences namely, that the Pla Bük has not the black spot on the ears and is devoid of teeth. This fish is of a light grey colour on the back, and white on the belly. It has no scales; its heart is very small, being only two inches in size, and is situated near the throat. The fish is easily killed, a thrust with a pointed piece of wood on the head causing death. These fish attain to a length of slightly over 3 metres with a girth of 2 metres. The male is long and thin, and the female is of stouter build with a large abdomen. The Pla Bük are in roe, according to local tradition, in the first and second months, January and February, but I have seen one caught at Chiengsen (เชียงแสน) late in July in roe, and bought its eggs. The roe is contained in two bags or caulds; the eggs are quite small. Tradition has it that the fish in the Golden Basin are those which lived there permanently whose numbers are augmented by migration from downstream in the sixth month, May—June, and that their habitat is in the great Lake in Cambodia.
Pla Buk are found in all parts of the river Me Khong and I have seen them at the mouths of the Nam Mul (น้ำผัก) near Suwanwari (สุวรรณภูมิ) in the Province of Ubol (ลบุรี), and also at Chiengsen, a considerable distance above Luang Prabang (หลวงพระบาง). They have also been caught in the Nam Kok (น้ำโคก) near Chiengsen. The places known to be the habitat of the Pla Buk are as follows, starting from Kemarat (คำม่วน) and going up the river.

(a) These fish are abundant in the great pools of the rapids of Kemarat (ลำป荞) (คำม่วน). It is said that some of these pools have a depth of 600 metres. The water is so turbulent that the fish cannot be caught;

(b) They are found and caught without ceremony in the sixth month at Don Tamngern (ตอนทามงเนิน) in the Ampurh of Mukdahan (มุกดาหาร) in the province of Nakon Panom (นครพนม);

(c) Near the village of Nong Kung (หนองคุ้ง) which lies opposite the mouth of the river Namngüm (น้ำงาม) in the Ampurh of Phon Pisai (폰피ใส) province of Nakon Panom (นครพนม). The fish are caught here in the third month without ceremony, the catch being about three fish;

(d) Near the rapids of Ah Hong (อห้วยหงエン) in the Ampurh of Chaiburi (เชียงบุรี), province of Nong Khai (หนองคาย). There is no ceremony. The hawl is about three;

(e) Near the village of Ban Tad Serm (บ้านเตี้ยสีชม) Amphur Tabei (ท่าบ่อ), province of Nong Khai, some 12 miles above the famous Golden Basin, is found a small pool called Ang Noi (อ่างน้อย). The water in this pool is deep and the pool is surrounded by rocky hills which project into the main waterway of the river. The Pla Buk are said to make this pool a home and their numbers are replenished by fish going upstream. About twenty seine boats are employed in this fishery. The catching follows the great ceremonial fishing in the Golden Basin, and is carried out by the people themselves without ceremony. The catch is about six;

(f) Near the village of Ban Nong (บ้านหนอง) is a lake called Nong Chieng San (หนองชีงสวน) in Siamese territory which is formed by the waters of the Me Khong leaving the main channel. This
lake is about 40 miles below Chieng Khan (ขี้เก็ง) and opposite the village of Kok Hai (โคกไห่) in the province of Vieng Chandr. The Spirit of this lake must be propitiated with right and proper ceremony before the people can commence fishing;

(g) At the village of Ta Ban Wang (ตะบันวัง), province of Vieng Chandr (เวียงจันทร์), near Kok Pai (โคกไห่) in tambol Hat Kam (หำกัม) Amphur Chieng Kan (ขี้เก็ง)

(h) At Don Khai (ดอนไห่) about a mile above Chieng Kan is found a pool where the fish are caught in the sixth month when ascending the river, without any ceremony;

(i) The fish are caught in Luang Prabang (หลวงพระบาง) territory when ascending the river in roe, in the sixth month, in the same manner as at Chieng Sen.

2. Each year at the season of the falling of the waters, the people living in the vicinity of the Golden Basin, the home of the Pla Bük, join together for the purpose of catching these fish. The observances rites and ceremonies in connection with this catching, commence on the 8th waxing of the 3rd month, and continue till the 12th waxing. The netting of these fish is carried out from dawn to mid-day everyday, from the 12th to the 15th waxing of the moon. When the left bank of the river Me Khong was under the jurisdiction of Siam, the Chief Spirit of the Waters and the Chief Spirit of the Locality were invoked by those in authority to assist at this important function. Since the left bank was handed over to France the Lao Chief of Vieng Chandr has presided over the ceremony. The ceremonies connected with the taking of these fish are ancient and have been performed from time immemorial, and carried out once a year.

3. There are several important Spirit Chiefs who have the duty of guarding over that portion of the river Me Khong in the vicinity of the Golden Basin in the Spirit Lake, who must be propitiated by offerings of food and drink in order to obtain their help and favour, before the catching of the fish can take place. There are four important Spirit shrines, the Spirit inhabiting which, must be propitiated. These shrines are situated in the following districts:

- The Spirit of Siri Mangala has his shrine at Vieng Chandr.
- The Spirit known as the Golden Swan (ทองคำ) has his shrine in the province of Vieng Chandr, at the village Kau Leo Ta Seng (ก่าวเล็ก
in the tambol of Si Kai (ศึก). This village Kau Leo Ta Seng is opposite Ban Mor (บ้านมอร์) or Don Ching Chu (ตอนซิงจู), tambol Sri Chiangmai, in Ampur Tabaw (ตบัว), on the right bank.

The Spirit Chao Dan (เจ้าด่าน), he of the Guard House, has his shrine in the province of Vieng Chandr, at the village of Hin Sin (หินซิน), Tambol Si Kai on the left bank. This village lies opposite the village of Kok Sork (โคกซอง), Tambol Sri Chiangmai, Amphur Tabaw (ตบัว), on the right bank.

The Spirit of the Golden Basin in the Spirit Lake has his altar or shrine at the pool itself.

On the morning of the 8th waxing of the moon, in the 3rd month, the people who intend to go to the Golden Basin to catch the Pla Buk must first go to the village of Hawm (หัวมี), about 12 miles below the town of Vieng Chandr. This is done because the chief of the village, a man named Ta Seng (ต้าซง) is the present day embodiment or incarnation of the Chief Spirit of the Waters. This Spirit, a Kah (กะ), has found a carnate home for centuries past in the bodies of the ancestors of Seng. He calls up all the Spirits from the lower reaches of the river, and when they have come, the people prepare a feast, at which the Spirits are fed. After this feast they are all invited to accompany the fishing party to the Golden Basin, in order that they may protect the fishers from all dangers and give them a good catch. The offerings consist of one loin cloth for a male Spirit and a sin (ที่นิ) or skirt for a female, five portions of betel nut and leaves prepared for eating, twelve leaf cups of flowers, a pair of bracelets, and a pair of earplugs or rings, one or two fowls, a dish of sweetmeats. The party, after the feast, moves up the river to Ban Suan Mon (บ้านสวนมอน), the pleasure garden of Ta Seng, in the tambol of Hawm, about three miles below Vieng Chandr, opposite Hua Sai (ハウス), Amphur Tabaw (ตบัว) on the Siamese bank. The boats form a procession and move up the river stopping at Tana (ทาน) and Pak Sai (ปากใส) to feed the Spirits and then go on to Ban Suan Mon, where another feast is prepared for these Spirits. The party spends the night there.

On the morning of the 9th waxing of the month the boats move up to Kok Kham (โคกขาม) and Chao Had Sai Mul (เจ้าพระบางมูล)
opposite Ban Pan Prao (ปั้นบำรุง). At each of these places the guardian Spirits are propitiated and the procession then goes to the town of Vieng Chandr. On arrival at the landing, the party proceeds to the Shrine of Siri Mangala (ศีรษ์มังอาจ), the Spirit of Blessed Happiness, where, after making respectful obeisance, and giving homage, offerings are presented. The party passes the night here. The shrine is situated at the mouth of Huey Cham Pa Sakdi (ห้วยเชี่ยวป่าสาครี). Siri Mangala is a very powerful Spirit and he is invited to enter the fleshy form of a female medium known as Nang Thiem (นางที่มี). This medium is dressed in a red skirt, a red coat, and a red turban, and makes offerings of candles, incense tapers, spirits and sweetmeats, inviting the Spirit to enter within her. Musicians play on reed pipes the tune of the song Sudsanen (สุทธามณา) inviting the spirit to enter the medium. Nang Thiem lights the candle and places herself in a sitting posture holding in her hand a bowl with candles and incense tapers, motionless. When the candle becomes dim, and the flame flickers, it is evidence that the Spirit Siri Mangala has entered his fleshy home. When Nang Thiem begins to tremble, she places the bowl on the ground, rises and dances. In addition to the medium there is a second person, the familiar of the Spirit who looks after him and supplies his wants, known as the Cham (จำ). This person asks Siri Mangala, when in possession of the medium, to grant favour to the party, fishing in the Golden Basin, and enquires whether the catch will be a good one this year. Nang Thiem replies that the catch will be fair, and more abundant than last year, but that a right and proper feast according to ancient custom must be prepared for the Spirits. The questioner asks what are the requirements of ancient custom. The medium replies that the food prepared shall not be contaminated by any person putting in bits of meat or fish, or by any one smelling the food or partaking thereof before the Spirit Hong Kam (ฮ่องกัม) or Golden Swan has been fed. After this the cooks and the givers of the feast may eat. The possessor of the Spirit then calls on Siri Mangala to leave the body of the medium and invites him to accompany the fishing party to the Golden Basin. Nang Thiem, the medium is paid sixteen atts (a quarter of a tical) a
flowered loincloth, two green coconuts, one bunch of bananas, nine couples of candles and incense tapers, for her services.

4. At day-break on the 10th waxing of the month, the boats leave Vieng Chandr in process and go up the river towards the Golden Basin. On the way up-stream it is necessary to stop and propitiate by making offerings to the Spirit Yaya (ŋũŋ), Mother of the Spirit of Hat Mul (ŋťːmː), Tambol Si Kai (ŋ ťː p) at North Tana, and also at Huey Vichaya (ŋm̩ː ťː ʔm). On arrival at Kao Leo (ŋŋ ťː m) the nine bends, offerings are made to the Spirit of the Golden Swan. These offerings, for two successive years take the form of a pig, changed to a buffalo in the third year, and this rotation continues without alteration. These animals are slaughtered at one o'clock in the afternoon. The head, the fore feet, and the tail together with sandalwood flowers, candles, and incense tapers are placed on a salver, which the familiar of this Spirit called the Cham, takes to the Shrine and offers to the Spirit Saying:

"We thy slaves, people of the country, come together to make offerings to thee, Chao Pawm Hua (ŋ ťː ʔ ťː h u) chief of all the Spirits, and respectfully invite thee to partake of our feast prepared for thee. The time has now arrived for us to enter on the important business of catching the fish in the Golden Basin, and we beg thee to grant us thy protection and thy favour that we may not many fish."

Later on, additional oblations are offered to the Spirit at this shrine. These offerings consist of nine different kinds of food, a dish of each is placed on a salver. These dishes consist of lab (ŋ ťː h), raw meat pickled with fish sauce, toasted meat (ŏ h, a curry (ŏh), boiled tripe (ŋ m̩ː ťː h m̩ː ťː h), fried tripe, a kind of broth (šː ťː h), toasted liver (ťː ŋ), a kind of prawn salad (ťː ŋ), spirits, a glass or bottle. These articles are known as the nine offerings and are taken by the Cham, Spirit Possessor, to the Shrine where they are offered up, being placed on the altar. The Cham says:

"We thy slaves, people of the country, coming together, invite thee to partake of the good things prepared by us. The time has now arrived for us to enter on the important business of catching the fish in the Golden Basin, and we beg thee to grant us thy protection and thy favour, that we may not many fish."

During the act of presentation of the nine offerings the Nang Thiem (medium) puts on her red dress, lights the candles and incense
Pl. II

The same fish as on pl. I lying on its stomach.
tapers, and these, with sandalwood flowers, she, holding in her hands, makes reverential obeisance before the shrine and invites the spirit Golden Swan to enter within her. The musicians play an entrancing air, the tune of Sudsanen, on reed pipes. The medium sits immobile with the bowl containing the candles and incense tapers in her hands. She soon begins to tremble and then places the bowl on the ground, rises and dances. The Spirit, has now taken possession of her. The Cham asks the Spirit, calling him the Lord of All, what will be the number of the catch. The Spirit replies that if the fishers act in a right and proper way the catch will be numerous, but if their behaviour falls below the proper standard the catch will be small, that you may not return home empty handed with your feelings bruised and hurt. The Cham then enquires what constitutes a right and proper manner. The reply is: Act in accordance with the best traditions of the ceremony. The Cham then invites the Spirit to leave the medium and join the fishing party. The food prepared as oblation to the Spirit is now eaten by the throng and the people pass the night on the spot.

At dawn on the 11th waxing of the month, the boats leave the "Nine Bends" and proceed further up river, stopping at Pak Mul ( партнер) and Huey Hawm (หิ้งห้วย) where offerings are made to the local Spirits. When the boat procession arrives at this place in the afternoon, the Cham, taking offerings of pork, duck and fowl flesh, presents this food to the Spirit of the Guard House (กันใน), whose shrine is at Hin Sin (ฮินซิน). There is no ceremonial of inviting the Spirit to enter the medium; the Cham merely pays his respects to the Spirit, and informs him that the party is going to the Golden Basin for the yearly fishing. The Spirit being in charge of the Guard House cannot desert his duties for he must remain on guard. The party camps here for the night, where gambling is indulged in till the break of day. A large number of people from the surrounding districts with their boats await the ceremonial procession at this spot, in order to accompany the party to the Golden Basin, which they dare not enter without the Lord of the Waters (the Lao Chief of Vieng Chandr) leading the way. At dawn of the 13th waxing of the month, the Lao Chief of Vieng Chandr known as the Lord of the Waters, who will preside over the fishing ceremony leads the way in his state barge, followed by all the other boats to the
Golden Basin. He stops at Kawn Sa Hua (เวียนเส้าหว้า) and the Kut Kawng Li (กูตแวกลี) and makes propitiatory offerings to the resident spirits.

From where the boats are moored, a post of Mai Chalao (มาฉลอง) fixed on a sand bank can be seen. The Cham or Spirit Possessor takes some pork, duck and fowl flesh, and makes an offering of these things without any ceremonial to the Spirit Guardian of the gate at this post. He merely pays his respects and informs the Spirits of the intention to open the Golden Basin and catch the Pla Bük. This Spirit, also on guard, cannot accompany the fishing party.

5. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Cham or Spirit Possessor prepares food, candles, incense: tapers and sandalwood flowers for presentation to the shrine of the Spirit of the Golden Basin. This shrine, which is situated in a building called locally the Pam Sai (ปัมสี), is approached with great ceremonial. A procession of boats is formed. These boats convey in state: two swords, two water gourds, two trays with betel-nuts and leaves, nine pieces of silver (เงิน), four pieces of bee's wax (เทียน), two green coconuts, two dishes of sweetmeats, nine pairs of candles, incense tapers and sandalwood flowers, one gong and two flutes, to this building. The Nang Thiem dressed in red as before, beats the gong and plays on a flute in the procession. When the shrine is reached, the Cham lights the candles and incense tapers and, making reverential obeisance, places them with the food on the shrine, saying:—

"Today, thy humble slave craves permission to pay homage to thee, Lord of this place, Chief Spirit of all. I beg thee to allow the people to net the fish, and that their efforts be rewarded by a plentiful catch. I, thy slave have brought coconuts (มะพร้าว), sweet bananas, betel-nuts and leaves, pork (or buffalo flesh) and spirits as gifts for thee. If and when fish are caught, I will present two to thee, cut off their heads and pickle them, giving this food to thee."

During the ceremony, the musicians play on their instruments and the Cham continues to speak to the Spirit saying:—

"I have now brought the people and their rulers to the Golden Basin in the Spirit Lake, and now invite the Mother and the Father of the Basin Spirit to proceed to the shrine in the Pam Sai. When fish have been caught, I will present thee with fish, prepared for eating with spirituous liquors at the morning meal."
The ceremony of invitation having been performed the Father and Mother of the Golden Basin Spirit are brought in procession to the shrine accompanied by music. At the Pam Sai everything has been prepared to receive these Spirits: mats have been spread, a dais has been arranged on which is placed one pillow, nine coats, nine pieces of silk, nine skirts (𩤑ȥ), nine pieces of white cloth, a bottle of spirits with tumblers. A lamp is lit and the place screened by curtains. A vast concourse of people is gathered here to receive the Spirits, and eagerly await the arrival of the procession. These Spirits are invited to take up their residence in the Pam Sai; the insignia appropriate to their rank is brought in a State barge, landed and placed by the side of the shrine where two Chams are on guard duty.

6. The actual business of catching the fish commences at five o'clock in the morning just before the break of day, the 13th waxing of the month, and therefore begins at the close of the 12th waxing and ceases at mid-day on the 15th. (A day in this part of the world commences and closes at dawn, not from mid-night to mid-night). No one dare contravene the convention laying down the period during which fish may be caught, for if they did, such a breach would bring ill fortune in its train.

7. Each fisherman has a boat made from the trunk of a tree having a breath of 1 metre and a length of 10. Boats made of wood having eyes in the grain of lucky portent, such as Ta Song Taw ( السابع), "speeding the pole," Ta Sawt Nguak ( السابع), "threading the gills," Ta Wat Hua ( السابع), "cutting off heads," are selected. The nets used are very strong and made of ropes about the thickness of a thumb with meshes of 50 centimetres square. These nets are the short kind, having a width of 6 metres and the length of 10. The manipulating ropes are 66 metres long. The weights are stones, weighing about 6 pounds each. Three or four ropes made of tough creepers (เชียง) are also provided. The crew of each boat consists of two men, one for the bow and one for the stern. However, before these boats can be used they are subjected to a ceremony of purification, which includes the cleansing of the hull by fire. Homage is paid to the Goddess of the boat, the Lady Spirit (บุญทาง) by presenting fresh flowers, and incense tapers in leaf bowls. These offerings are fixed to the bow of the boats which is honoured by the sign symbolical of the Holy Trinity being
made with scented powder. (This sign, ณิ, which is a protective one consists, of three dots, or in some cases more, so placed as to form a triangle). Offerings of food must be made to the Spirit of the boats, and he who makes these offerings promises that they shall consist of such articles of food as the Spirit delights in. They are fowls, eggs, fish paste, frogs and sweetmeats. The Spirit of the boat signifies what she would like to eat by making the rope which ties up the boat vibrate. Some of the seine boats are purified by the owner, seizing a live fowl by the legs and using this as a brush, striking the boat from stern to bow till the bird is dead.

The people believe that the seine boats and the seine nets are endowed with life, in fact are spirits, are living things, and it is for this reason that these boats are purified, and the boats, nets, ropes and stone weights are perfumed with scent. The stone weights are then attached to the nets which are now ready for use. An incantation is used when this is being done. This incantation is:

"Om, let all things of all kinds love us, be attached firmly as with cement, bound tightly to us, attracted by that power to cause to love, inherent in us, possessed by maidens all."

The ceremony of purification is performed in the following manner and these incantations are used:

"Om, earth, earth, paddle, paddle. This my boat is named Ku Khua Lam Khao (white boat stern and bow). My boat is long. A virgin can lie in it as though lying on one's lap. Its stern points back to
the West. Its bow points to the East. Its flowers have power like unto
the Lord of Fire. Its leaves have power like unto the Lord of Nagas. Its
bark has power like unto the Lord Vishnu, supporter of the earth. Fell the
tree and lay it on the ground to dry. Its hull is wide like unto the leaves
of the tree "Sam Tum Si Taw (สัมทุมสิทาว). The father of the tree is
confined in a trap with iron teeth, preventing exit. When he turns or
moves about and touches the noose, a sound like thunder in the sixth
month is given forth. This sound travels to Burma and is heard on the
banks of the Mekhong. This sound excites to love young men and maidens.
This sound excites old spinsters. Om, bring happiness to all.

This translated into English means:—

"The leather rowlock is torn. I repair it and brush aside (the evil Spi-
rit). The leather rowlock is torn inside the ring, I will repair and brush
aside (the evil Spirit). I will brush aside (the evil Spirit), causing it to
rush forth like unto spear thrown by hand, the sound reaching the ends of
space. The sound travelling far, will return to whence it came. Om, let
harmony reign supreme."

The incantation recorded below is sometimes used in place of the
above.

"Om คำว์ (สั้นไม่ใช่คำว์สั้น คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว์คำว้
striped. I restore, I brush aside (the evil Spirit). Dead, by act of Spirit cutting with sword. I restore, I brush aside (the evil Spirit). I slice in bits the Spirit's head. Om, let harmony reign supreme."[1]

The incantation used when perfuming the boats, nets, ropes, and weights is as follows:

"Om, word of God. O, scented bulb of creeper black, perfuming all lands and sky. O, fields and ploughs, the rainy season has passed away. The time has come for thee to stop thy work. Ten highland rice fields and ten lowland fields shall run to me. By virtue of my magic they cannot remain where they are, but crying, will run to me. Ten bulbs of the scented creeper will come and enter on the place and another nine will also come and join with them. O, please come, assemble on this land. Partake of the feast prepared. The Lord the Chief shall eat from the greater tray. Om, let harmony reign supreme."

When this incantation is being pronounced, the Master of Ceremonies shall pick up the net by holding the four corners in his hands, that is the two weighted and the two unweighted corners, and when doing so must suppress his breath. When the boats and nets have

[1] In vol. xxv, part 2 of the JSS, I published a paper dealing with the Rites and Ceremonies observed at Elephant driving operations in the seaboard province of Lang Suan, Southern Siam. In phase iii of this paper, I described the rites which have to be performed when cutting timber to be used for the erection of the kraal. The incantations quoted above all refer to the cutting of timber for making boats. The Spirits inhabiting the trees must be evicted to prevent their doing any evil after the boat has been built. It will be observed that the chief of all the Spirits, the father of the trees must be confined and for this purpose he is placed in a fishing trap. This simile is used because the boats are employed in the important business of catching the Pla Bilk. The leather rowlock have been also to be purified. The evil Spirit living within the same must be brushed aside, for if they were allowed to remain the rowlocks would break and evil fall on the fishermen. Evil Spirits are responsible for killing the trees required for making the boats. They must be brushed aside that the trees may come to life again. The people who engage in the pursuit of fishing in the Golden Basin have the belief that the boats they use are endowed with life, hence these death dealing Spirits must be removed.
been purified and perfumed, they should not be used for any purpose whatsoever, until the time fixed for catching the fish has arrived, when they should be brought out and used forthwith.

As some fish may break away from the Golden Basin and try to escape, parties of fishermen assemble at Ban Sam Pan Na (บ้านสาม ปันนา) near the Si No Hat (สิโนหัด) rapids in Vieng Chandr territory, where a sand bank juts out from the left bank of the river. Other parties assemble at Hard Mul (ฮาร์ด มูล) opposite Huey Hawm (ฮัวย์ ฮ่วม) on the left bank, lying between Ban Kok Sok (บ้านโคกสกุล) and Ban Ta Phra Badh (บ้านพระบัด) in the commune of Sri Chiengmai (ศรีเชียงใหม่), Amphur Ta Baw (ท่าบ้าน). Ban Sam Pan Na is above and Hat Mul is below the Golden Basin. The fishermen use long nets made by joining seven of the ordinary nets together, producing a net 35 metres long, and the weights weigh between five and six pounds. The incantations used for the short nets are used for the long also.

8. Before the boats are brought out to commence the operations of catching the fish, some of the fishermen pronounce this incantation, but this is not done by all.

กุนญบังคักดี หักกอกขวอดง แซนตาเลา แซนมาเลอมัง ฝ่ายัง ทางหยาบ บ้างไขขอน ให้มาอยู่มากนัก เส้นกังกั้นตน ให้ดีนิ่มซ่า จุฎารามหลอก ซักทุกวังทามอบ แซนตา เสาก ใหม่ใส่ครั้งยัน คุณยัง.

"This day, this night is good, pregnant with good fortune. We beg thee to give us in abundance, O, Lord of the waters, Lord of the Landing and Lord of the Forests, Lord of the city and all Spirits great and small. The cocks are crowing in the forest before dawn. Please come to our feast prepared as an offering to ye all. To-day, we thy humble slaves pray that we may be favoured with good fortune, and in return for thy kindness will give to ye the head and tail of a fish. O, Guardians of the frontiers and of the countryside, grant us thy favour on this day."

At five o'clock on the morning of the 12th waxing of the month, each boat is brought out and paddled into the Golden Basin, going towards its upper reaches. In each boat are two men each one holding the upper corners of the net which is lowered into the water.
The boats then float downstream. The Lord of the Waters (Chief of Viengchandhr), supplies each boat with a jar of spirits. While the boats are moving, this incantation is chanted.

"Om, word of God. Earth, earth, paddle, paddle. Sweat from my body flows. I undo, I brush aside (the evil Spirit). The stern points towards the East, the bow towards the West. I pay it honour that it may fruitful be. Thou art long lived, like the women of the serpent, Naga race. I will not let thee longer here remain. O, thy thigh is white. I thrust my penis in to the depth in search of thee. Thy eye is large. I will fold and wrap thee in a net and bring thee to the surface in my arms. When thou art called, please come up. This reverend teacher comes from the country of Lanam (攞鬮). He has barred the way to the exit of the fish and sending forth his voice shouting loud, drives them to the barriers. The people of the countryside, on hearing the sound shall lose all moral sense and self control. Let those (fish) who pass at the bow of the boat die, let those who turn at the stern sustain injury to the eye, Let them come by the right way to the middle of the boat. Om, let harmony reign supreme."

"O, Cliff, friend standing o'er there, come brother, from Ta Tom. (1) Om, let harmony reign supreme."

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(1) This place Ta Tom is situated in the district of Sieng ( PyTuple) a province of the Lao country. I am inclined to think that this place Ta Tom is the important town of Ta Ting or Ta Tung in the province of Kwei-Chow.
"Now we beg that the catch may abundant be, O, Spirit of the Waters and the great Sandbank. We beg the same of thee, O, Spirit of the Golden Basin, Lake of the Lord. Please open all the cavern doors that the fish may come out. Please give us our reward."

9. During the process of fishing a great uproar is created by all those present who indulge in abusing each other and shouting out challenges to fight. While the owners of the boats beg the fish to enter their nets saying:


Many of the tribes who have come South have passed through this province from Sse-Chuan and Shen-Si, notably the Miao. The country La Nam would seem to be situated in the bowels of the earth, but not far below the surface.

In the Lanchang (ลำเชียง) chronicals, it is stated that a king bearing the title of Phya Lanam Sen Thai Puwanard (พระสาสนภูเวนศ์) ascended the throne. Lanchang was a name given to both Luang Prabang and Viengchandrabut as the capital was removed from the (former) place in the year A.D. 1565 it is probable that the Phya Lanam referred to was king of Luang Prabang. Lanam was known to the people of the country hence the use of this name in the incantation. This incantation is used for the purpose of coaxing the fish to come to the nets. It is usual to stir the water with long bamboo poles, hence the reference to the male organ of generation. The reverend teacher well versed in magic, curses the fish, that they, being overcome by fear, will approach the nets by the right way. It will also be noticed that it is necessary to call on the Spirits to open the cavern doors to let the fish come out. This is analogous to the opening of forests caves and subterranean passages. A good instance of this requirement will be found in my paper The catching of Elephants in the Province of Langsuan, phase VIII, published in JSS, vol. xxv, part ii.

The first few lines of this incantation are not very clear. The men apparently are covered with sweat due to their exertions in navigating the boats and preparing the nets. That passage which refers to paying honour to the boats that they may be fruitful is an ordinary custom which requires that flowers etc. should be placed on the bow of the boat. See details given in paragraph 5 of this paper.
This prayer is repeated until the fish are caught in the nets. When a fish is netted, the boat goes down stream. The two men holding the net jerk it as a signal calling on the fish to come to the surface saying:

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เฐาเฒเมาเฎแยชมมา เเผละเวนกเคน ปตนิยัอนแครรขเม่สังทอง
ปตนิยัอนแครรขเม่สังทอง ปตนิยัอนแครรขเมาปินิทยา

หาเมาเฒเเฌโะงเหญีงเเผ่า ผูเเซ่นแหมอนถะเวยทะเละ หาเมาเฒเเฌะง

ชองพิณละ:
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Which in English means:

"Little one, please come up. Thou of lucky omen, please come up. Present thy tail before thy head. Now I let down the creeper noose. Now, thou art caught. I tie thee with the creeper rope to the stake. Now, I have a fish. The Possessor of Plenty has made me a gift. Now, again I ask for abundant gifts from thee, O, great Sandbank, Chief of all, Lord of the Water, great in power, from thee, O, Great Sandbank, owner of the Golden Basin."

This prayer or incantation is repeated until the fish floats to the surface in the net. While all this is taking place should the fishermen's hat fall from his head, or his clothes drop from his body, he should not pick them up, for if he did, the fish will escape from the net.

When the fish comes to the surface of the water, the boatmen assist each other in securing it. This is known as scooping the tail of the fish (สกัดมัน). This is done by placing a creeper noose over the tail, tightening it and then threading the rope through the gills, and securing the fish to the side of the boat. The fishermen begin to dance with joy, and in their excitement shout out volleys of abuse, and when they have calmed down, paddle the boat slowly toward the river bank, where the fish is tied to a stake, fixed in the water in front of their hut.

10. The people of the right bank live in temporary huts on that bank, and those of the left bank do the same on their bank. They do not mix. Should any boat having caught a fish, lose it, owing to the fish breaking away, the fishermen have to perform the whole ceremony of propitiation afresh, and they are subjected to the abuse and jeers of their more successful fellow fishermen.
11. Early in the morning of the 13th waxing of the moon the ceremony of making offerings to the Spirit who owns the Golden Basin at the shrine on the sand bank, has to be performed. This oblation consists of nine tables of sweetmeats, each table having nine dishes. Seven of these are presented to the Spirit of the Basin. One to the Spirit Guardian of the Gate, and one to the Spirit of the Gong. The offerings for the Spirit Guardian of the Gate is made at a hut, specially erected on the sand bank, in front of the boat landing. When these offerings have been made, a fish, the first to be caught, known as the Cham fish (ี่้้), is killed, and its head and tail are presented to the Spirit of the Golden Basin. The fish is prepared as food, some being spiced (ี่้้), some being made into salad, some toasted, some curried, some fried, some made into a plain curry, and the liver toasted. One of each of these dishes is placed on a table with a bottle of spirits, and nine tables are so prepared. Seven are presented to the Spirit of the Basin, one to the Guardian of the Gate, and one to the Spirit of the Gong. About midday the second fish is caught, killed, and its flesh, with spirits, is presented to the Spirit of the Basin, some being offered to the Guardian of the Gate and the Spirit of the Gong. This presentation is made with the same ceremony as in the morning. Music is played while the ceremony is being carried out, flutes and reed pipes being used.

Early on the morning of the 14th waxing of the moon, the Master of Ceremonies commands the Cham, Owner of the Spirit, to kill another fish and make offerings of the flesh to the Spirit Guardian of the caverns, situated on the rocky cliff on the right bank of the river, because the subaquatic caverns in which the fish live are near this spot. The same ceremonial is observed as when making offerings to the Spirit of the Basin at the Pam-Sai shrine on the sand bank, and when propitiating the Spirit Guardian of the Frontier.

12. From the moment the nets are dropped in the water, and trawled or dragged to catch the fish, the whole concourse of people present, men, women and children, both fishermen and those who have come to look on, engage in a great tournament of abuse, but offence is not taken because the ceremony has demanded this observance from ancient times. This tournament of abuse continues till fishing is over. Abuse as follows is shouted out:

พ่อเสีย๋ง แม่เสีย๋ง เสีย๋ง บกเสีย๋ง บก บกม บกเหวดฉ บก เสีย๋ง
O, my friends, men and women. Friends, O, friends, O, dogs O, bald headed fools, O, ancients in thy dotage. A dog shall lay with thy mother. I will lay with thy mother. O, Friend, let me lay with thy wife. O, friend, let me lay with thy daughter. O, ancient, bald headed one, thy age is great. Death is near to thee, yet thou comest with the throng. A dog shall lay with thy mother. As thou art here, I will go and in thy place, lay with thy wife. Do not return home till dawn."

From very ancient time, to the present day, the Spirit which enter the medium has always been a Kha (קה) Spirit, and as a Spirit of this nationality, is somewhat lascivious and delights in abuse and taunts in which the sexual relationship takes a prominent place, abuse of this nature has been handed down from father to son, and from mother to daughter, from time immemorial. The people believe that the form of abuse as given above is as music in the ears of the Spirit, gives pleasure to him and they thus gain his favour. The people also hold that if they did not abuse each other in the coarsest language the fish would not enter their nets.

13. When the left bank of the river Me Khong was Siamese territory, no fee, duty or royalty was levied in cash on the catch, as the price of the fish tail (ปลาด้วย), but a payment in kind was made on the following scale. If one or two fish only were caught there was no payment, but if three, then one fish was given, and if six, two were given. One fish was reserved for feeding the Spirit. Since the left bank has become French territory, a royalty of ten piastres is levied in cash for each fish caught, which is called the price of the fish tail. The first fish caught is bought by the Lord of the Waters (เจ้าแม่น้ำ), and used for feeding the Spirits. The price paid is 30 piastres irrespective of whether the fish is big or small, the owner thus only receives 20 piastres. Should the people of the right bank catch a fish and keep it on their bank, which is Siamese territory, they still have to pay 10 piastres to the Lao Chief of Vieng Chandr to cover the expenses incurred in connection with the fishing ceremonies. This price of the fish tail is not paid to the State. The ceremonies depicted in this paper are performed on the left bank of the river.
14. The maximum catch in the Golden Basin in a season does not exceed one hundred fish, and the minimum is about thirty. The weight of an average sized fish is about 270 lbs. and the eggs weigh about 6½ lbs. Whole fish are sold at prices ranging from 40 to 80 piastres. When the royalty on a fish has been paid, the owner is at liberty to take it to his home. It is here killed, and the retail price of the flesh is about Tc. 1 for 1½ lbs, and of the eggs Tc. 1 for 150 grammes. The people consider the flesh and eggs to be a great delicacy.

As many as 1,000 seine boats engage in the pursuit of catching this fish annually. Traders and others are responsible for another 200 boats. The number of persons gathered at one of these festivals is about 7,000.

The French authorities permit the people to indulge in every form of gambling free. Opium addicts are allowed to smoke opium without molestation. Booths for the sale of food, drink, and other things are scattered along the river bank. The people are showing signs of losing their belief in the necessity for the observance of these rites, and as it is probable that this ceremonial festival will disappear in a few years, I have thought it wise to make a permanent record of it, with the incantations, before decadence has set in, and the festival disappeared.

F. H. Giles.
APPENDIX

Doctor H. McCormick Smith's Letter.

Department of Fisheries,
Bangkok.
October 27, 1933.

Dear Mr. Giles,

The Pla Bük of Mekhong is a catfish belonging in the genus *Pangasius* which has numerous species (about 12) in Siam, Malaya, Dutch East Indies, Indochina and India. The fish has unfortunately been referred to in some of the local literature as a sturgeon, and this misstatement is constantly recurring, as are other inaccuracies and absurdities (as, for instance, that the Pla Bük nourishes its young with milk). So far as is known, this fish is peculiar to the basin of the Mekhong, but its relatives are found in many other streams, and among those common and well-known in Siam are the *Pla Tepo, Pla Sawai, Pla Saiyu, Pla Sangkawad*, and *Pla Thapa*.

The specific identity of the Pla Bük has not been satisfactorily determined for the reason that no ichthyologist has studied the young and half-grown individuals or has ever seen a specimen less than one and a half metres long. My own opinion is that the Pla Bük may prove to be an overgrown stage of a species which when smaller is recognized under another name, but speculation on this point is not very profitable and settlement of the question must be deferred until studies can be made at the spawning grounds at Luang Prabang or until young specimens are available for examination. A very interesting feature of the fish is the complete absence of teeth and, in consequence, the fish has become a vegetarian, subsisting entirely on algae or other aquatic plants. This absence of teeth has been assumed to be of taxonomic importance by M. Chevey, of Indochina, who has recently bestowed on the fish a new generic and specific name, *Pangasianodon gigas*; but I have found that in *Pla Sawai* the teeth completely disappear by the time the fish reaches a length of 70 or 75 cm.

This Pla Bük is found throughout the Mekhong at least as high up as Chiengsen. At the end of the rainy season, when the floods have subsided, the fish undertakes a definite upstream migration
which carries it to Luang Prabang by the latter part of February. Spawning is said to take place in Lake Tali, and the fish remain in the vicinity of Luang Prabang and are caught there as late as June when, apparently, the downstream migration of adults and young occurs.

The Laos at Luang Prabang have some peculiar notions about the Pla Buk but apparently possess little information. One of their curious beliefs is that only the female fish migrate up the river and that the male fish, with yellow scales, await the arrival of the females at Lake Tali, which water the males never leave. On the other hand, the fishermen at Vientien and Nongkai report the presence of males in the annual upstream migration; and I have no doubt that both sexes are represented throughout the fish's range.

I have been to the annual fishery above Nongkai, and I have there measured and photographed a fish that was 2.47 m. long. There are authentic records of fish 3.00 m. long, and length of even 3.5 m. has been reported.

Sincerely yours,

H. M. Smith.
Pl. I

Chetiya at Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai.
SACRED IMAGES IN CHIENGMAI

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON, M.A. Cantab.

It is common knowledge that in the xvth century Chiengmai possessed both the Emerald Buddha, now in Bangkok, also the Ceylon Buddha (P'ra Sihing) which is sometimes identified with the mutilated image still at Wat P'ra Singh. It is not so well known that Chiengmai still possesses two small figures to which great sanctity, if not magic powers, are attributed, namely the P'ra Kéo Sé Tăng Kamani\(^{(1)}\) and the P'ra Silā, both of which are kept locked up at Wat Chiengman.

Wat Chiengman was founded by Mangrai, the Tai conquerer of Lamp'un, who established the city of Chiengmai on its present site at the end of the xiiiith century: he is said to have spent his last days in residence at this temple. Wat Chiengman lies in the northeast corner of the city wall, and is notable for the row of life-size elephants projecting from each of the four sides of the Chetya at its base.

Palm-leaf chronicles relating to both images have been transcribed, and in the case of P'ra Silā translated from Pali into Lao by P'ra Maha Mūn of Wat Hô Tam, who is the leading Pali scholar at present in Chiengmai.

P'ra Kéo Sé Tăng Kamani is a small crystal figurine on a hollow gold base. The lower surface of the base bears an inscription in Lao characters to the effect that it was made in c.s. 1235 (A.D. 1874) by order of Chao Int'anon, the reigning Chief of Chiengmai at that time, and that it contains 303 Baht and 3 Sik of pure gold.

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\(^{(1)}\) Literal transliteration from the Lao. In Siamese, it should be [P'ra Sihing], literally white body, crystal.
The crystal viewed at some angles appears black, especially the head; at other angles it appears to have a greenish tinge in the transparent white substance. The workmanship is not particularly fine. The head is crowned with a cap of thin gold.

The chronicle concerning this image is a long rambling narrative with little pretense to historical precision. Its main interest lies in its association of the image with the Wisaka ceremonies in the month of May, when the rains on which the Farmer depends for his crops are about to break.

P’ra Maha Mûn states that his version of the Tammân was copied from a MS. in Lao at Wat Ram P’eng on the 7th August, 1920, for those interested in the history of Chiengmai.

A rough abstract of it is as follows:—

Tammân P’ra Pût’arup Sé Tăng Kamâni.

When the Lord Buddha had been 25 years in the Ministry at Wat Khetawanaram, (Wat Pa Tan), he went round begging one day along the banks of the Raming (Me Ping) to the south east of Mount Ussu, (Doi Sut’ep) as far as the grove of Mai Yang trees where he sat down under a clump of five trees to rest after his pilgrimage.

Khun Sên Tông brought five maidens and offered them with himself as slaves, but Our Lord refused the offer and preached to him that he should enter his niece of seven years old as a nun.

Our Lord prophesied that 837 years after his death a city named Chimai (Sûmî) would be founded there. He then returned to Wat Pa Tan.

Khun Sên Tông had the likeness and the prophecy of Our Lord engraved upon a stone and buried at the source of Me Kha, west of Doi Sut’ep.

Later P’ra Indra brought a crystal from the Second Heaven and gave it to P’ya Râm, King of the Lawa country, ordering a figure of the Buddha to be carved in the month of May on the 8th day of the waxing moon.

Subsequently, Nang Cham Tevi brought the crystal figure from Muang Lawô and deposited it at Lamp’un.

(1) The “Mai Yang”, Gum Trees, are on the Lamp’un road about two miles south of Chiengmai. The village Pa Yang Nùng is to the east of Mangrai’s first capital, Vieng Kum Kâm.
Pl. II

Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai.
When P'ya Mangrai conquered Chiengmai, he invited the Crystal Buddha to be placed in Chiengmai, where it remained until P'ya Suriyawong removed it by stealth to Ayut'ya.

Afterwards, P'ra Muang Yot brought it back and placed it again in the sacred sanctuary, where it was preserved until P'ra Mtiông Sam P'ya established the ceremonial which has been handed down from one generation to another and performed each year between the eighth day of the waxing moon to the full moon in the month of May from the year C. S. 741 onwards. During the festival the image is bathed in water from Wieng Chet Lin.

This image, with the P'ra Sihing and the P'ra Sila, is associated with the prosperity of Chiengmai. The city which possesses these three images will thrive.

The date C. S. 741.—A. D. 1380, serves to associate this image with the Ceylon Buddha—an association actually admitted in the last part of the chronicle—since it was about the same date that King Sen Miang Ma brought back the P'ra Sihing or Ceylon Buddha to Chiengmai.

An examination of the features of the P'ra Keo Se Tung Kaman shows the impression made by the chronicle that this image had its origin in this country.

P'ra Sila. It is far otherwise with the small stone tablet which may be called the Stone Buddha. The features of the central figure are not of this country: its complete nudity is foreign to religious art here; an enlarged navel compensates apparently for complete absence of sex attributes; finally, the posture of the hips calls for comment.

The attitude and the posture of the hips is clearly the same as that depicted in the sculptured reliefs of the second century A. D. at Bharut, of which a reproduction appears facing page 13 in JSS, vol. xxviii, part 1. Furthermore the form of the tablet clearly suggests a figure carved in relief in a niche. If the Bharut Relief is the earliest known representation of this attitude, it would appear that the P'ra Sila at Chiengmai follows a later, and possibly Ceylonese development of this tradition.

The three figures in relief on the face of the tablet are gilded over with a gold covering. It is however possible to see the raw stone of the tablet in places where the wooden frame does not com-
pletely cover the sides, and it is a dark “pepper and salt shade”. In the text of the chronicle the stone is called P'imp'akan. Some suggest that that this word, which can be used to denote a certain sea-shell, implies that the substance of the tablet is fossilised shell; others translate it as stone capable of taking an impress, i.e. soft stone.

The lettering on the background behind the torso of the central figure is considered to be indecipherable. A suggestion has been made that the image is a copy made by an artisan to whom the language of the original was unfamiliar, and who therefore failed to reproduce the characters in legible form: and it is suggested that visitors from Siam to Ceylon may have seen the original of this tablet there and copied it to the best of their ability. It is not however certain, in our present state of knowledge, that the so-called lettering may not be simply a form of ornamentation, or the marks left by the sculptor’s chisel.

Tammān of P'ra Sila.

P'ra Maha Mūn has transcribed the Pali in Lao characters side by side with his Lao translation. He concludes his translation with the following note.—

The Tammān was written in the year c.s. 1146. (A.d. 1785), on the 14th day of the waxing moon in the 11th month at Wieng Pa Sang, by order of P'ra Maha P'ot’a Langka. It was translated by P'ra Wutīnyān (P'ra Maha Mūn) on the 18th day of the waxing moon in the 5th (northern) month at 1 p.m. in the year c.s. 1383, b.s. 2465. (A.D. 1922.) He first discovered it with the Stone Buddha at Wat Chiangman, and found the image to correspond in every respect with the description of it in the Tammān.

Following the discovery, several replicas of the image were made by the faithful that same year. P'ya Sām Lān, a Chiangmai Grandee, had a wax model made from which three bronze images were cast. In c.s. 1284, P'ya Dek Chai, another Grandee of Chiangmai, had a stone copy made only differing from the original in being mixed with brick instead of pure stone.

In the same year merit-makers had another copy made of the same colour. There were thus three images in all of stone and

(1) Pā Sang is an important village in the Pāk Bong area, about ten miles south-south-west of Lamp’ün.
Pl. III

P'ra Silā at Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai.
three in bronze representing the Lord Buddha begging for alms in Rachakrüt.

A must Elephant was allowed to charge Our Lord; Maha Ananda saved his life by turning away the Elephant’s face from him. The image measures a span and four inches in height by a span in breadth including all three figures.

Regarding the replicas of the image, it appears that the plaster statue of Buddha in the northern niche of the Chetya at Wat Siri Köt was, as the Bonzes of that Wat maintain, copied from the central figure of the group comprising the P'ra Sila. The figure in the southern niche of the Chetya of Wat Műn Sän(1) suggests a similar inspiration. The narrative, briefly summarised, is as follows.—

The first portion describes the circumstances under which the P'ra Sila was created in Rachakrüt seven years after the Buddha’s death by Achātāsātā, one of the eight recipients of the relics of the Buddha. The extent and the nature of the relics are described in detail, and seven of them are said to have been embodied in the Stone Buddha, thereby endowing it with miraculous powers.

The second part of the chronicle relates the removal of the Stone Buddha from Rachakrüt to Ceylon by three Thera, and the invitation they there received from P'ya Anurātā to remain in his kingdom. They decided however to bring the Stone Buddha to Harip'unchai (Lamp'un).

The miraculous power of the Stone Buddha to produce rain was manifested during a shortage of fresh water on the sea journey from Ceylon to La-Khùng, where an attempt by the Prince of that place to detain the Stone Buddha was not successful. After passing through Sawankalok the three Thera brought the Stone Buddha to Nakôn (Lampang) where it remained for a long time.

The third portion of the chronicle relates the removal of the Stone Buddha from Lampang to Chiangmai by King Tilok eire.

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(1) Wat Műn Sän, reputed to be the temporary resting place in Chiangmai of P'ra Sila is a temple outside the north-west city gate, Platu Haiya. The Chetya is unusual in that the niche on the east side extends back into the heart of the monument, where a common-place plaster figure now rests. The eastern niche contains a modern plaster figure whose attitude is somewhat similar to that of the figure mentioned at Wat Siri Köt, the temple with the giant ficus tree just east of Wat P'ra Singh.
A.D. 1480. Its first abode was Wat Mūn Sān, until Tilok brought it into his royal Sanctuary. All that is mentioned of its subsequent history is a repetition of the rain-producing qualities of this image.

Before offering any remarks upon this chronicle we must refer to the important religious chronicle of Chiangmai written in the year A.D. 1516 by Ratanapanya of Wat Rattavana, and entitled Jinakālamaliṇī. No mention of the Stone Buddha will be found in it, but a full account of both P'ra Sihing and P'ra Kēo Morokot, the Emerald Buddha, is given, of which the following analysis is drawn from the translation by Professor George Coedès.¹

The P'ra Sihing was sent to Siam from Ceylon by the King of that country in the year C.S. 618, B.S. 1800 (A.D. 1256) at the request of the King of Sawankalok, Rocaraj, who came down in person to Nakon Sri Tammarat to receive it. The boat carrying the image struck a reef; but the thwart on which the image stood remained afloat and was rescued off Nakon by Rocaraj and the image was taken by him to Sawankalok where it remained until the establishment of the Ayut'ya dynasty. Its removal to the North of Siam was due to the action of King Mahabrahma of Chiengrai, who hearing of its merits brought an army south to carry away the image.

Mahabrahma, after depositing it for a while at Chiangmai, took the P'ra Sihing to Chiengsēn. He then placed it in the sanctuary of the great Buddha at Chiengrai. His nephew, Sēn Muang Ma of Chiangmai, attacked him and brought him as a prisoner with the Statue to Chiangmai. It was placed in Wat Pra Singh towards the end of the xivth century. (JKM, 126-133).

The Emerald Buddha was made by Nagasena, the master of Milinda, 500 years after Buddha's death. It is one cubit and one inch high, and contains seven relics of Buddha.

In the year A.D. 256 it was removed from India to Ceylon, and remained there until Anuruddha, King of Pagan, came to Ceylon in search of a correct copy of the scriptures. He took the image away with him; but the boat in which he placed it

¹ Professor Coedès' translation of the Jinakālamaliṇī (ref. JKM.) and Cāmadevīvasa into French was published in a paper entitled Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuses du Laos occidental, which appeared in BEFEO, vol. xxv, pt. 1 and 2.
Pl. IV

Chetiya at Wat Mùn Sàn, Chiangmai. (North face).

N.B. A niche on the opposite, south side, contains a plaster figure which may have been inspired by P'ra Sìlâ, but is unaccessible for photograph.
Pl. V

Plaster statue in northern niche of Chetiya at Wat Siri Küt, Chiengmai.
was carried out of its course by a storm, and its contents found their way to Angkor. Anuruddha came to Angkor on his magic horse to rescue them, but overlooked the image when he returned to Pagan. The Emerald Buddha thus remained at Angkor until the Siamese invasion, when it was carried off to Kampêng Pet. Eventually Mahabrahma took it to Chiengrai with the P'ra Sîking. When Sên Mûang Ma restored the latter to Chiengmai, the Emerald Buddha escaped attention, having been disguised under a coating of lime. In the xviîth century, Tilok, King of Chiengmai, sent for it, but it proved to be too heavy to be carried over the hills. A more successful attempt was then made to carry it by cart to Lampang where it remained until Tilok collected it and placed it in the great Chetya at Chiengmai. (JKM, 145-150).

The common factor in the history of these three images, the Emerald, Ceylon, and Stone Buddhas is their passage through Ceylon from India, and their escape from danger on the sea between Ceylon and Further India. In each case, the images remained for varying short periods at Sawankalok before reaching the northern province. Both the Stone and the Emerald Buddha spent some time at Lampang before coming to Chiengmai in Tilok's reign.

The omission of Lamp'ûn as a resting place for any of the three images points to the fact that they were only known in the North after that place had sunk into decay as a result of its conquest by Mangraï at the end of the xiiiîth century.

In the case however of the P'ra Kêo Sê Tâng Kâmanî the claim is made that it was brought to the North by Nang Cham Tevi, the Môn princess whose arrival at Lamp'ûn from Lawô (Lopûburi) at the end of the xviîth century is taken as a symbol of the conquest of the early Lawa inhabitants by the Môn, who came from the South and ruled the North of Siam until they in their turn were conquered by Mangraï at the end of the xiiiîth century A.D. The Jinakâlamba-
lini begins with an account of the legendary circumstances which proceeded the birth of Nang Cham Tevi, from whose coming to Lamp'ûn onwards a complete list of rulers of that town is given up to the coming of Mangraï. Their history is given in detail in another Pali chronicle, probably of the xvîth century, by a Bonze of Chiengmai named Bodhîrâmsî—also translated by Professor Coedès, and entitled "Câmadevivamsha". No image of this name is men-
tioned in either chronicle, but the Jinakālamalini, in relating
the history of King Pra Mūang Kēo in the early xvth century, does
refer to a statue of the Buddha named Pra Sikhi, one of five statues
made out of a black stone upon which Our Lord sat when he taught
the law in lower Siam. It is stated to have been taken to Burma
by King Anuruddha, who hearing of the piety of the Lamp’un Bud-
dhists, returned it to North Siam. Nang Cham Tevi is stated to
have been at Lampang at the moment when it arrived, and to have
deposited it there in the Sanctuary on the West bank of the river.
It was removed to Ayut’ya in 1515 at about the same time as the
Pra Kēo Sé Tāng Kamani, which itself had been taken off to
Ayut’ya, was re-established in Chiangmai in connection with the
Wisaka ceremonies. There are thus certain vague coincidences
between the history of the Pra Kēo Sé Tāng Kamani and the Pra
Sikhi; but nothing more.

The last paragraph of the chronicle of Pra Kēo Sé Tāng Kamani
associates that image with the Pra Sihing and the Pra Silā as
responsible for the prosperity of Chiangmai. The fact that no men-
tion is made of the Emerald Buddha points to a date subsequent to
its removal from Chiangmai as the date when that chronicle was
composed.

In the opinion of Pra Maha-Mūn and other Lao authorities in
Chiangmai, the image at Wat Pra Singh which was mutilated in 1922
by brigands in search of hidden treasure and since restored is a
Pra Tiem and not, as generally supposed, the Ceylon Buddha
Pra Sihing. According to these authorities the Tammun relating
to that image is explicit in its description of the Pra Sihing which
differs in important points from the extant image at Wat Pra Singh.
In their opinion the Ceylon Buddha has been absent from Chiangmai
for a time the length of which is unknown.

The most serious question raised by the chronicle of the Stone
Buddha (Pra Silā) is the fact that no mention is made of it in either
Jinakālamalini or Cāmadevivamśa, nor, so far as is known, in any
secular chronicle.

The fact that the Pali chronicle of the Stone Buddha was not
composed until the year 1785, coupled with the silence of the religious
and secular chronicles above-mentioned, would point to the supposi-
tion that it was deemed worthy of attention only after the removal
of the more famous images from Chiangmai. The similarity of its
Pl. VI

P'ra Sê Tâng Kamani, Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai.
later history with that of the Emerald Buddha, as well as the relics reputed to be contained in it as in the more famous statue, would be calculated to stimulate popular interest in this interesting treasure.

It is a matter of interest also that both the treasures now kept at Wat Chiengman should be associated with rainfall. In the case of the *Pra Silā*, the power to produce rain is constantly insisted upon in the Chronicle, and in view of the magic power conferred by the relics said to be contained in it the claim is not extraordinary.

My collaborators\(^{(1)}\) in the work of translating the *Tammān Pra Silā* have produced a version in modern Siamese with notes upon archaic terms, etc. I have checked it with the Lao MS. of *Pra Maha Mūn*, and am satisfied that to the best of my knowledge their Siamese transcription reproduces the Lao text accurately.

*Chiengmai, 28 August, 1935.*

E. W. Hutchinson.

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\(^{(1)}\) Nai Sangiem Sukhavaddhana and Nai Dokmai Srivicharn.
ท่านันพระพุทธสุท ศิลา อันพระยาเข้าสุท รัตน์

(1) ด้วย เปล่า คุณคดี คุณภูธิค (2) จดูจิจก์ แปลว่า คุณ

(3) ซึ่งทิ้งไว้ ซึ่งมันส์ตับหวีบังหน้า มี ข้อคิดจำ ทุกข์. ทุกข์ชุติ (พิภิตสะทัน

(4) ทุกข์), ทุกข์มี (ความตั้งทุกข์). แผ่นดิน (ความแผ่นดินทุกข์) (5) อุปส

(6) นั้น คุณเพลีย. บรรยาย ระบาย คุณคิดท้นภาพ บรรยาย ถึง.

(7) นั้น เถ้า เขียนกลายทุกคุณต้อนคุณดูพุทธเจ้า ปรากฏ หรือมรวลสตูก

(8) แสดง ชอบ พระสุทตมภักย์ ย่อว่า (6) ใส่ผุดผัน อบรม ธันต์ เห็น

(9) โปรดปัญหา อบรม ธันต์ เห็น ใจ. ใจ โปรด

(10) ปรากฏ ต่อสู้เห็นที่ทาน (10) ถึง (11) ที่

(11) ปัจจัย (เณร) ที่มี คำพุทธ ปัจจัย ออก ทอง หลาง ท่าน.

(12) นั้น อบรมธน อบรม อบรม อบรม.

(13) ปรารถนา ที่เป็น อบรม อบรม.

(14) ที่เป็น บ่ ที่เป็น.

(15) ที่เป็น บ่ ที่เป็น.
Pl. VI bis.

Pra Sé Tăng Kamani, Wat Chiengman, Chiengmai.
พระโคกconomy เขตแผนภูมิที่ทางทั่วไป พญาพุทธิ เที่ยวเมือง
บรม ธรรมทวีภูม ฝ่ายระบุระบุกนั้น คือพุทธกรณ์ ธรรม
d้านกิจการประจำเบื้องใหญ่ แล้วนั้นหากไป แล้ว ก็ถือว่าสิ้นพุทธ
พญาพุทธิ สัญญาณ ทะเบิดไม่เสร็จสิ้นพระพุทธมหาทัศกิ ท้า
ประกาศเรื่องตุกุฎะ ๆ ฯ ฯ

c) ในการเมืองเชื้อพระการเดินไปในราชบัณฑิต เมื่อเย็นพระพุทธ
เจตศักรงธรรมผาฏิบัติ เมื่อธนุ กล่าวมาสิ้นที่ว่าได้ตามคำ
ว่า บรมภูท สมบัติโน หนึ่ง เมื่อเที่ยวคืนแล้วบันทึมตามท้า

หลา

เมื่อตกถึงพระเจ้าลบุก ซึ่งรวมบุคคลค่อนข้างจกภัยรบ แล้วแสดง
ดุสต์รพุทธบุคคลที่อยู่เบื้อง มุราคม พระพุทธเจ้าสอนวิธี กระท้า
พุทธเจ้าประกาศเรื่องตุกุฎะ ๆ ฯ ฯ

(1) ใครถาม 铛ะบลง คือเล่าในท้าแล้ว ดิน (2) โอ (3) ได้ (4) บรม บุก
ความตั้งคัยบังใหญ่ 30 อย่าง ตั้งท้า ตั้ง เมื่อข้าม (5) เวลาจากกัน ตั้ง ยาว
บัญญัติ วิบัติ ขันติ ตั้งยังกล่าว กล่าว จูงบัณฑิต (6) นั่นก็ (7) กับที่ การอันติ
ไว้ นิจหนัก หรือ 1,000,000 (8) ปริ
(10) กับที่ (9) บุกท้า (11) ตั้งอุปถัมภุ 1,000,000 ปี เหลือกุฎ
(12) กับที่ (13) พบท้า (14) ตั้งอุปถัมภุ 2,000,000 ปี หลับกุฎ
(15) กับที่ (16) ตั้งอุปถัมภุ 3,000,000 ปี หลับกุฎ
พระราชทานพระสมุทรปริญญาเก้าพระพุทธรักษา

(1) รัฐบาลตามพระกรณาพระราชการ
(2) ยังเลยเจ้าคุณเจ้า
(3) บุคคลที่ ๔๒ วันที่
(4) แล้วก่อนพานผืน
(5) ที่ม้าก้าว
(6) หน้า
(7) เทศ
(8) พระพุทธ
(9) พระ
(10) ผ่าน
(11) พระ
(12) ข้อ
(13) พระ
(14) พระ
(15) พระ

พระพุทธรักษา

พระพุทธรักษา

ครูบา

(๑) ใช้
(๒) เรียน
(๓) เล่า
(๔) ผ่าน
(๕) ผ่าน
(๖) ผ่าน
(๗) ผ่าน
(๘) ผ่าน
(๙) ผ่าน
(๑๐) ผ่าน
(๑๑) ผ่าน
(๑๒) ผ่าน
(๑๓) ผ่าน
(๑๔) ผ่าน
(๑๕) ผ่าน
(1) ว่าหนูนุ่ม แล
พระยาคัดคนนั้น ควรคนตาย เพราะข้าพเจ้าทรงมี ก็ตัดพระยาแบบนั้น ทรงหลวม แล จึงผ่านผ่านผู้หนังช่องว่า ท่านผ่านผ่าน เปล่า ข้า
(2) ศรีสุขที่พระพุทไคลเจ้าตนนั้นนุมและปะระยกขึ้นผมหมัดตกกระหน่ำ
(3) และว่าอิ่มแล้วตกกระธับ ย่อมคั่นแห่งพระยาสูงนั้นเสียแล้ว จงหงอยอย่าง
(4)  napisaคั่นแห่งนั้น จึงทรงพระยาแบบคนนั้นตกไป กลับยังหมอคน
(5) แล้วคั่นแห่งนั้น
พระยาทางใดทางนี้จะจิตเจอกับ ข้าพเจ้าเป็นสิ้นทั้งนั้น ๆ
(6) แล้ว ก็จะยก เสีย ยกจะยังหนังนั้น หรือจะแข็งใดยังนั้น ยกจะยังหนังนั้น
(7) ถ้า พระพุทไคลเจ้าเลยไม่ให้จะปรารถน ปราชักการตีเยาะอยู่ปลาย
(8) ทางนี้เป็นคนที่จะมีสิ่งมั่น
(9) ตัว
(10) สั้นรักษา ทางนี้ ผู้คนเกิดจนพระพุทธไคลเจ้าจะบรรมานะ แปลก
(11) ท่านแต่เดิมผู้บรรมานะ 16 ภาพ นาฬีฉัตรผู้บรรมานะ 6 ตุ๊

(1) ว่าหนูนุ่ม (2) ว่าหนูนุ่มทุกคน (3) ที่ผ่านผ่าน
(4) ว่ามัน ห้าดานที่ผ่านเป็นตัวยิ่ง (5) ปะระยก ปะระ
(6) ว่ามัน (7) ว่ามัน (8) ปะระยก ปะระยก
(9) ปะระยก (10) ปะระยก
(11) ผ่าน (12) ผ่าน ผ่าน (13) ผ่าน ผ่าน (14) ผ่าน ผ่าน (15) ผ่าน ผ่าน (16) ผ่าน ผ่าน (17) ผ่าน ผ่าน (18) ผ่าน ผ่าน (19) ผ่าน ผ่าน (20) ผ่าน ผ่าน
ในไทยเรียนเข้าหัวใหญ่ ๔ นาว ขยับมั่นกล้าง ๔ นาว ขยับ yếu ๓

ข้อมูลปรากฏตัวลงบนพื้น ขยับ giggling เป็นภาษณ์ในที่ประชาชน

ข้อมูลในไทยเรียนหลักเดิม ประมวลรวมมาในท่อนเดียว

กัน มีประมาณร้อยชาว่า แปลน พาเล

ประมวลรวมของข้าพเจ้าฯ ชาวอยู่ มวล ต้น ขยัยใหญ่

ประมวลรวมเด็กข้างกิ่ง ขยัยบนปากกลางประมวลรวมที่ข้างเข้าสู่ทิศ

ถึง ขยัยนิชหน่อย มีประมาณที่นิชมนน้ํา

วิวัฒ เห็นข้าพเจ้าสุนัข ขยัยใหญ่คนแน่นด้วยกัน ขยัยบนปากกลาง

มวลตนเองกับ ขยัยนิชหน่อยวิวัฒน์เด็กแรก

พราวสราวสุดในคนพยาบาลเจ้าพนักงานนักต่างITIES สาร

แบ่งที่หนึ่ง และเด็ก กรม ขยัยที่หัวใหญ่แน่นเด็กกับ มวลนน้ํา

มุกเฉย เข้าลงหลังแน่นเป็นอยู่รายไปในที่ศูนย์มื้อที่ต่อมา

ประกาศอักษรที่นิชหายใจนี้ แห่งพยาบาลเจ้า

ขยัยที่ดอยɒ่เล็กเด็กน้อย นั้นขยัย ตุกแกมกับ ขยัยคุกต่อมมัก

จดอนกับ ทันที ขยัยช่วยกันแสงเดิม กับ ขยัย ตุกแกมกับ ยัง

(1) วินัย (๒) ระบายที่ยิบ ชื่น-ยิบ (๓) วินัย (ม) ความนิยม และ ชัย

ประมวลกิ่งเด็ก (๕) ทั้งกิ่ง ทั้งกีก (๔) แต่เย็นอยู่เต็มที่ (๕) قيد

และแต่ละยิบ (๖) คำ (๗) หยิบ (ด) ดอยอง (ด) ดอยเด็ก ดีวิ (๕) นุ่น ลูกชนะ (๖) เผา ที่ (๗) เท่าที่ (๑) เที่ยวกิติ

ในที่นิชใหญ่ (๑) จิตวิทยา ความลึกลับ ความจริง (๒) ทันที ทัน (๓)

ยิม. ซ.
บูชา ยังเป็นทางต่ออยู่
พระอาทิตย์บนเติบ คันเป็นเจ้าเมืองสังกัดปัล เอาข้าคุยกันยิ่ง
พระพุทธรูปะปราโมชไว้ในระดับ (2) ศานในปราสาท (3) นน อย่างหนึ่ง

(4) ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด ยืนในศาลหลวง ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ
ลักษณะ ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด ยืนในปราสาท บนขวาทางหน้าประกาศ

(5) เข้า หนึ่ง ขอนแก้ทาง meisten ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
(6) ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
(7) ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
(8) ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
(9) ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
(10) ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
(11) ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
(12) ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
(13) ขอนแก้ทางหน้าประกาศ บูชา ข้าคุยกันเมืองทั้งหมด
พระพุทธเจ้า แต่ข้าพเจ้าแพ้ท่าน แม้ก่อนก่อนที่ ๑ มานตรริญานิย์ใน
กญิษษะเจติ ในมหุยวงค์เจติ

๒ ขาดทุ่งหลายทางพระ ปล่อยในเมื่อมประกอบ ด้วยถิ่น ขาดทุ่ง
หลายทางพระปล่อยบั้งจันตกนั้น
(๔) เผื่อห้องสุขแก่นุษย์มา บูญ
ทวามหาเทวดา

๓ ขาดทุ่งหลายทางพระปล่อยยุทธ์แนวแรก ขาดค่างพระปล่อย
โดยขาดทุ่งพระปล่อยในล่างมา เพื่อเป็นหนูตรัชประโยชน์ ๖ แก่ผา
และทดแทนค่าน้ำหลาย

๔ ขาดปากติ่งอินทร์พระทมยูหะ ห้องก๊ากพระยาวทางหลายยัด

๕ พระยาวชลทศรัตนันท์ยศคันธ์มา บนมาจากจุระชูติตนันท์ยกระยก

๖ พระยาวมฉันธ์วงคสิทธิ์ทวาย แห่งคันธ์

๗ เมื่อพระพุทธเจ้าคันธ์เป็นกบ แยกก๊อก นิพพานไปสิ้นสุดปริญยานาน ๗

๘ เดิน ๘ วัน พระยาวชลทศรัตนันท์น้อยมาค้อยานหน้าบัญช์พระ

๙ พระยาวชลทศรัตนันท์เป็นกบ เอนเป็นกับสุร พักถับธา

๑๐ พระราคูปอนมหัศกร คือทานแก่พระยาวหน้าเจ้าทรงหลายมาหน้าณแก่

(๑) พระ (๒) ลำนั่ง (๓) ยานร (๔) อีสาน (๕) ยานร
(๖) อีสาน (๗) พระ (๘) อีสาน (๙) พระ (๑๐) พระ

พุทธเจ้า ผู้ยินดีในสัตถานถิ่นเรียก

E. W. Hutchinson  [Vol. XXVIII]
พระยาอชาคึกคักกิจมนตรี เดินไปใหม่แก่ขวามองพระธาตุดอย
บังกลาจึงไปถึงหุ่นพุทธที่ทรงสั่งเบ่งพระพุทธกิจ ก็ให้ไปในมหาวิทยาลัย
แห่งมหาวิทยาลัยมหาวิทยาลัย

พระยาอชาคึกคักกิจกรรมาธิบดีพระพุทธกิจที่ไปในสัญญาณ ได้รับ
ท่อนมุนกิจธนถวาย กิจกิจพุทธ ยนต์ช้างซ้าย

พระยาอชาคึกคัก ท่อนมุนกิจธน ผ่านยิ่งช้าง ทรงควบคุม ท่อนมุน
ท่อนมุนกิจธนในที่ที่ไม่เคยมีกัน

พุทธพัฒนพุทธที่ทรงปราบปรามคฤหาสน์ ได้ผองมุมทอง ที่ทรงดำน้น
ทรงข้าหลวง พร้อมมุมคฤหาสน์

พระยาอชาคึกคักกิจกรรมาธิบดี พระยาอชาคึกคักกิจกรรมาธิบดี ที่ไม่เคยมุ่ง
มาต่างไปเห็นสิ่งที่มุ่งหมาย ที่เย็นนุ่มกิจธนในที่ที่ไม่เคยมุ่ง
ท่อนมุน พระพุทธกิจพุทธกิจอัญเชิญสิ่งในที่ที่ที่ไม่เคยมุ่ง

พระพุทธกิจพุทธกิจ

สิ่งที่ไม่เคยมุ่งกิจธน ข้าหลวงมุ่งกิจธนไปยังในที่ที่ที่ที่มุ่ง
ท่อนมุนกิจธนไปยังสิ่งที่มุ่งกิจธน ต้องมุ่งกิจธนไปยังในที่ที่มุ่ง
ท่อนมุนกิจธนไปยังในที่ที่มุ่งกิจธน ต้องมุ่งกิจธนไปยังในที่ที่มุ่ง

ไม่มุ่งกิจธนไปยังสิ่งที่มุ่งกิจธนในที่ที่ที่ที่มุ่งกิจธน พระพุทธกิจ
ก็เสียงขวัญไปสิ่งที่มุ่งกิจธนภทัยทุธถึงสิ่ง ถึงมุ่งกิจธนที่มุ่งกิจธน

(1) อานั้นที่ อานั้นที่ (2) นาฬิกาที่ ซ่อน ซึ่งที่
(3) บ่าย ด) ท่าน (4) มีราษฎร์ยี่
(5) ตัวจา
(6) ลี้เหน็ก (ต ) ตันเหน็ก
พระราชวินิชศึกษาราชการทางานที่ปรึกษาพยาบาลในโรงพยาบาล

(1) อนุญาต ตามที่พยาบาลพยายามประสานงานกับโรงพยาบาล

(2) ปรับแผน

(3) แผน

(4) ข้อเสนอ

(5) รายงาน

(6) รายงาน

(7) รายงาน
สาวแต่พระศีลดาเลาเดินไปพบแม่ แห่งโลก เศรีทัน มุกขุนแม่กุ คัน
เป็นรูปแห่งพระพุทธร่ำ เศรีจุฬาภรณ์เป็นหัตถีสุรชัย แต่แก้ว เป็น
ต้นไม้ทั่วพระยาท่องเที่ยวในประเทศอินเดีย เศรีจุฬาลงกรณ์ แก้ว
ช่วยเหลาะเดิม

ในกรณีพระศีลดา เศรีตามกุจารามไปสู่ยามศตว ตรงมาด้วย
ภายน ศาลพระยาท่องเที่ยวแห่งมหาเถระเจ้าทรงสั่งเป็นอิศริยาภัยเกิดเหตุ
พระมหาเถระทรงสั่งคุณ กับประมวลโดยไปแต่ย่อมแต่ละ ทำกิ่งก้าน
ช่างดวงเนื่องเป็นพระยาราชศิริจารย์เป็นเจ้าผู้ทรงราชคูณ
พระยาราชศิริจารย์ในขณะสร้างต้นนั้น กษัตริย์ทรงค้น "แม่พระ
ศิลดาไม่สมเกียรติการพระยามหาเถระทรง.hxx ข้า ขอน
ไปเวรพระศีลดาตามปีกรก้น

"ขอน ยอมหรือยอนไปยูกศิริเงาพระศีลดาขอน ดุนทร เป็นขอน
เตรียม มองเจ้าทรงด้วยวิเศษเพิ่มไปยังก้อย สรุณภูไภย์
พระมหาเถระเจ้าทรงสั่งคุณว่า "จะบังเกียรกายเพื่อเจ้าผู้ทรงราชการ
ศิลดาไปด้วยสมมุตระจารย์" พระยาราชศิริจารย์ถึงการพระศีลดา
เจ้าดูพระมหากษัตริย์ทรงสั่งคุณเด็กพระเถระเจ้าทรงทายไปยังเกียรติ
มหาเถระเจ้าทรงสั่งไปด้วยสมมุตระจารย์ไปยังก้อย

พระยาธนารวณหน้ามหาเถระเจ้าถ่อมน phậnอยู่พระศีลดาเจ้าทรงคุณ กษัตริย์
นั่นทรงพระศีลดาทรงสั่ง บุญพระศีลดาเจ้าขอน บุญซามมหาเถระเจ้าทรงสั่ง

(1) เสน่ห์ (2) เสรี (3) คุณทั้ง (4) พระยา (5) ข้า (6) สมมุตร์ (7) สุนทรภู่ คุณทั้ง
(8) เสรี (9) คุณทั้ง
และ ทั้งพระปุจฉิมปุจฉิมสิทธิ์ที่คุณท่าน คุณพระพุทธเจ้าท่านอัน
อันเทียบกับกนกคุณท่าน

พระยาธนูราชใจเนาวะนาค มักได้ทรงพระศึกษาเอยและเจริญทานอยู่
ไม่ได้ใจผู้เข้าสังคณ์ กนกคุณกล่าวถึงพระเจ้าต่างสิ่ง
อย่างนั้น "พระศึกษามาได้ทรงพระศึกษาอย่างหนักทุกอย่างอย่าง
เพราะท่านเจ้าพระศึกษาตามอย่างไปด้วยอย่างนี้ เพราะเห็นท่าน

ท่านเจ้าควบคุมพระศึกษาตามไปด้วยอย่างนี้ เพราะเห็นท่าน

เมื่อมาถึงข้าพระพิตรของทางคุณ ไม่ได้ทรงผู้ใด

เมื่อมาถึงข้าพระพิตรของทางคุณ ไม่ได้ทรงผู้ใด

พระที่ต้องอยู่ ลูกหนึ่งลูกหนึ่ง อยู่ในตามท่าน

ข้าพระพิตรของทางคุณ ไม่ได้ทรงผู้ใด

พระหัตถ์อยู่อย่างท่านเจ้าคุณค้นหาอย่างนี้

พระหัตถ์อยู่อย่างท่านเจ้าคุณค้นหาอย่างนี้

ยี่นา เจ้าเจ้าคุณหมายถึงเจ้าคุณมาด้วย

ยี่นา เจ้าเจ้าคุณหมายถึงเจ้าคุณมาด้วย

พระเจ้าที่ว่าท่านองค์อยู่ด้วยอย่างนี้

พระเจ้าที่ว่าท่านองค์อยู่ด้วยอย่างนี้


(1) เวช เทศ (2) พระพุทธเจ้า นเรนติ ฮวัน (3) นิ้ว (ต) นิ้ว ตัน

(4) เวช เทศ
พระยาจะใช้บุญคุณพระศิลาเจ้าเพื่อห้อยในมณฑปของคน เกษจำทางสันกุล ที่แต่ละฐานะอย่างหนึ่ง แต่หลังจากนั้นก็จะห้อยในมณฑปพระศิลาเจ้า ๆ ก็สิ้นอย่าง ชินสุ อวตารศติภูท ตระมาภิญญาปราสาทแหล่ง

พระยาจะทำอย่างหนึ่งเป็น อาศัยกระจายบุญแบบที่คุณได้มอบไป ยังคนที่สัมพันธ์กับพระศิลาเจ้าในบ้านหรือบ้านพัก มาก่อนเมื่อท่านมาด้วย คือพระหมาบ พระบุญ (คือกัศราย) หน้าแต่

พระยาจะส่งบุญผู้พระศิลาเจ้าต่อผู้ภูตภูมิเจ้าที่สัมพันธ์ เกษจำทางที่คุณมีองค์ ลด แก้ปัญหาที่คุณมีในบ้าน ณ กรณีบ้านที่มีบุญเก่า ถ้า หรือบ้านที่มีบุญใหม่ ใด ได้ไป เกณฑ์ของ

จากข้างหน้ากรุณาให้ขอสัมพันธ์อย่างหนึ่ง พระศิลาเจ้าให้ต่อผู้ภูตภูมิ พระบุญ (คือกัศราย) พระบุญที่ควรรู้ถึงพระศิลาเจ้าในบ้านที่คุณอมใจ

การที่พระหมาบจะให้การในบ้านที่คุณ

พระยาจะโปรดพระบุญเป็นการช่วยผู้ที่มีบุญเพื่อที่คุณจะให้การในบ้านที่คุณ

พระการทำงานอย่างหนึ่งเป็นการช่วยผู้ที่มีบุญในบ้านของคุณ และ

ตามสามุภูมิ ข้อหาบุญสร้างสมบัติ ต้องการ นำบุญมา

หวัง เพื่อที่จะให้ทำการในบ้านที่คุณ

(1) เนื่องจาก เท่านั้น ถอยหลัง (2) ตั้งเป็น เที่ยวนี้ (3) เนื่องด้วย

ขั้นหัวใจใน จิตติญาณ (4) รักษา ถอยเถื่อน (5) ศีลกิจ ผู้ที่ทราบ

สาร
พระศักดิ์เรื่องไม่ในวหน้า ณ พระสมุทรปราการ ณ พระนคร ณ พระร่วงธนบุรี ณ พระเมรุมาศ ณ พระยาสาย

พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดช

(1) พระสมุทรปราการ (2) พระนคร (3) พระร่วงธนบุรี (4) พระเมรุมาศ (5) พระยาสาย

ในท้องถิ่นพระนครประทุมประชุมธาร โตเคิลโตะ ท่านปลุกผืนผ้าเชิงปูที่ดิน ท่านผ่าตัด อ้อยส์

(6) นาคพักผsión มีบุญมาก มีพระหวายแต่ท้องحمد ประชุมปวารศึกห้ก

(7) หลวงท่านได้ในพระเจ้าผ่านนินมีเครื่องขี้ยใส่น้ำตกนายไทย ห้องเตี้ยค่อน

(8) ใยและดินกินอดอ้อยด้วยดีดงทุกคนไปครบถ้วน ถึงทุกท่านน้า

(9) กิจไปแน่นธารพระพุทธศาสนาไปในท้องพระบางในทุกท่านผ่านนิน

(10) บุชาธารการบายนพมาณฑี พระยาด้านนังค์

(11) ทรงขอประสบภัยภูตภัยเกิดในท้องบ้าน

(12) บุชโฉมหุ่นผืนผ้าได้ดังนั้น

(13) พระศักดิ์เรื่องไม่ในวหน้า ณ พระนคร ณ พระร่วงธนบุรี ณ พระเมรุมาศ ณ พระยาสาย
ในเมืองพระศิลาธาระและมายาในหน้าพระเกตุเจ้าแต่ ถึงเมื่อขวางหน้าพระศิลาธาระปรากฏ ปรากฏที่เหมาะสมเท่าหน้าพราหมণ ไป ๆ มาก ๆ
ด้วยหน้าอย่างเดียว บั้นท้ายก็อยู่ด้วยอย่างหนึ่ง ถ้าเป็นปรับภูมิ
คาดที่หม่อมแพ้ พระยาโลกอดะกรุ่งมุมบิดได้เมื่อสิ้นสุดทุ่งบัว
พระศิลาธาระลงมากนักหนั้ง พระพุทธเจ้าเสีย يجعلพู่การะเห็นที่มาก
หนั้ง

คำว่าพระศิลาธาระเรียกขึ้นกับสถานานุศานว่า “สิริพุม ฐูบปุณ
ยิ่งอื้อรี มรรสนุ้น โกยจูนุ้น มันพุนหน้า ได้คุณก็ดี เที่ยง
ฟยุห์พุนหน้า ทับหน้า มันพุนหน้า” ได้บุกบุกสถิใจ党的领导
ก้าวผ่านสิ้นต่ำได้หายพระพุทธเจ้านะทุ่งวัฒน

สถานานพระศิลาธาระเจ้าเรียกขึ้นบันธิ พระญาไพวลิเกเจ้าหนัง
เช่นในภาษังสังคุกกราชาได้ ๑๐๖๖ ศว. (พนวยสิ้นสุดทุ่งวัฒน) เท่ย
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๑๔ ศว

ช้างพระพุมภูคา (หมู่) ได้ถีบเข้าขึ้นบันธิ เขียนเตยเมื่อเดือน
มาระคายสมทุ่งหนั้ง ถึงศว ๑๖ ศว ศว ๑๖ ศว ๑๔ ศว ๑๔ ศว ๑๔
พนวยสมทุ่งวัฒน ศูคุกกราชา
๑๒๖๒ ศว ฟุ้ษกิริยา ๒๔๖๒ ศว วันสมทุ่ง

สถานานพระศิลาธาระเจ้าเรียกขึ้นบันธิ ช้างพระพุมภูคา (หมู่) ได้
พนวยสมทุ่ง เมื่อปรับระ อยู่ข้างบูรณะเดียว ศูคุกกราชาได้ ๑๒๖๒ ศว
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(1) ปั้นศรีพุน ดิษย์ชยสาร (2) หมายถึง เมื่อหนึ่ง (3) คลาโยน ที่อยู่ใน
กรมท่า กรมทหาร (4) กิ่งพุน ยิ่งคง (5) ยังแต่จักรีพิมพ์เทียบ (6) เมื่อพุทชินอ
เทียบ (6) เตียบผันเหลือ เตียบ (7) ตีพ (ค) ภูนติย์ แน่น ณ ณ ณ ฯ
ชื่อหม่อมเมืองชัย ไพรม์มากต่อตามท้านยูกุบุรุษประจำภูมิภาคที่
เมืองเดินทางและที่พระรัชดาลัย สมุทรสาคร หลาย городеความเลื่อม
ได้รับการยอมรับหลายอย่าง ในศักยภาพที่กินนั้นยุ่งยากที่สุด โดย
พระยาณกนาฏภู (คือพระยาสัมผานา เสมชัยใหม่) หรือซึ่ง
เป็นเมืองเดินทาง เด็ก พิมพ์จากพระรัชดาลัยโครงเหล็ก และยมอันอยู่
ตามบางประเทศ โดย บ้านบ้านเดิม จุดศึกษา ๒๒๔ ดีว่าพระยาเดิม
ชัย ฯ เสมชัยใหม่หรือชัยวรรธิ์ หนึ่งขายดีเมืองอักษรหนัง เทมอย
กับพระรัชดาลัยในฤดูหน้า ทั้งๆ ยะเกิดเป็นหนึ่งธรรมชาติ องค์
โศกเป็นเห็นคดีมี มีดีบ้าน โนศรีราชคายและภูฏานที่หรือ
ช้างสิงห์ม่อน อังกฤษ อังกฤษพันธุ์ภูฏานของไทย รวมทั้งกับ
บางไทยพระรัชดาลัยส่วนอย่าง พระยาบรมราชเมืองพระรัชเดิมอยู่
ทรงดำรงค์ พระราชาธิบดี ณ กรุงเทพมหานคร เมื่อพระโยชน์
บางคน ไม่ยอมราชบุรุษ เห็นว่า หัวปลอมช้างบางพระยานกับหน้าใด
พระเจ้า มหาราชตมฮิ่งนครองานพระพุทธเจ้าแต่ เวลาบ้านช่าง
วิจารณ์เมื่อ

(1) สมภพ ดีกรีเลื่อมใส (2) ลัทธิ (ต.) ลัทธิ (3) ลัทธิ (ต.) กล (4) โศก
ไทยเป็น (5) ชัยชัย ชัยชัย (6) แพง (ต.) ชัยชัย ทรัพย์ (7) สม. (ต.) ระยะชัย
เดิมมัน ประมาณ (ต.) ลัทธิ (8) แบรรัก ทางเดินเส้นใหม่ (9) ระยะชัย
เห็น ในที่นั้นจะว่าพันติโยธังยิ่ง ไม่ใช่ปลอม (10) เห็นดี พระพุทธทุ่นจารณ์ปิ
ปัญญาของพระเจ้า
THE CHRONICLE OF THE STONE BUDDHA.

The funeral of Our Lord was celebrated by eight Princes in Ku-sinārai, the Prince of which laid claim to the remains. His claim was resisted by the remaining seven Princes who sent a letter to say they were building a Stupa to contain the bones which they asked should be delivered over to them.

A Brahmin who was the Teacher of all the eight Princes proclaimed it unseemly for them to wrangle over the Master's Bones. He had a measure made from a golden coconaut shell which contained 32 handfuls. He then called for the Bones of Our Lord and distributed them equally in eight portions among the eight Princes.

They were all delighted and took back each his own share to his own country where it was deposited in Chetya made for the purpose.

Each of the eight portions of Our Lord's relics was what could be contained in sixteen coconaut shells—being five shells of large bones, five of medium, and six of small bones.—There were thus in all forty shells of large bones, the same of medium bones, and forty-eight of small bones. The size of the large bones was equal to that of a bean; of the medium ones to that of half a grain of rice; of the small ones to that of a cabbage seed. The radiance of the large bones was as of gold; that of the medium ones as of pearl; that of the small ones as of a white flower. These eight portions of the relics spread their radiance over all four quarters of the compass...........(the distribution is described in detail). The portion allotted by the Brahmin to P'ya Achātāsātrū was conveyed by him to his kingdom of Rachakūt (Rachakāhā). Seven years seven months and seven days after our Lord Buddha's death he invited all the Bonzes to venerate the relics of our Lord's Bones, and he distributed alms.

P'ya Achātāsātrū, who was wise in the eyes of his people, formed the pious design of fashioning a statue of Buddha, and sent to the sea for stone for engraving.

He had the master depicted in the action of begging in the city accompanied by the Lord Ananda with a begging bowl on his left, with the elephant Nārakiri behind him on his right—all three figures on the same stone surface a span and four inches in height and a span in breadth.
P'ya Achâtâsâtrû and the Bonzes placed the image above the altar, after willing seven of the sacred relics in a gold receptacle to enter into the stone through a recess in the face of the Stone Buddha; one entered into the head; one into the forehead; one into the breast; two into the shoulders; and two between the knees—The Stone Buddha forthwith rose into the open air to show its power; it then returned to its place above the altar.

P'ya Achâtâsâtrû had a shrine made for the Stone Buddha on an eminence upon a high mountain out of reach of the covetous. Down below be set up a platform for the worshipers.

Silawangsô, Rewâṭṭâ, Nyânakâmip'on three "Thera" who were travelling from land to land worshiping the images and relics of Buddha came in the course of their travels to Rachâkrût and did reverence to the Stone Buddha on the Mountain Shrine.

Becoming desirous to obtain possession of the Stone Buddha, they spread out three yellow robes one upon another, and besought the Stone Buddha to come down to them. The Stone Buddha rose up in the air and descended upon the yellow robes spread out by the three Thera. They were overjoyed, and sent word of the happening by letter to P'ya Achâtâsâtrû—He, on receipt thereof, declared that if the will of the Stone Buddha was for sharing life in common with them, its departure was well; and he gave them permission to take away the Stone Buddha, if they had the power to do so.

The three Thera replied that they had this power. P'ya Achâtâsâtrû did homage to the Stone Buddha and to the three Thera; he then put them on board a ship in which they reached Ceylon. There they rested.

P'ya Anurât'â, knowing how the three Thera had carried off the Stone Buddha, caused an invitation to be sent to them. When he had done homage to the Stone Buddha and to Thera, and had illustrated the Stone Buddha with perfumed water, a great shower of rain fell. He was overjoyed, and desired that the Stone Buddha and the three Thera should remain in his land of Anurât'â. They replied that since the will of the Stone Buddha was to share life in common with them, they would take it to Harip'unchai to be of service to a great number of merit makers. Having heard their words, and having done homage to the Stone Buddha, P'ya Anurât'â took the three Thera down to the boat in which he despatched them.

When they reached mid-ocean their drinking water gave out.
Whereupon they poured water upon the Stone Buddha, and straightway a heavy shower of rain fell supplying drinking water for those in the boat until they reached shore.

On disembarking, Silawongsó, the elder Thera, placed the Stone Buddha in his begging bowl, and carried it in turn with the younger Thera.

Upon reaching Lakhirung, the three Thera bathed the Stone Buddha, following which there was a great downpour of rain. The worthy Prince of Lakhirung greatly desired the Stone Buddha, and invited it to take up its abode in his kingdom. The three Thera met the request in the same way as they had already met a similar one. They spread out their robes on the ground and uttered an invitation to the Stone Buddha who soared up into the air and descended upon the robes.

Seeing that the decision was against him, the Prince of Lakhirung gladly sent the three Thera upon their way. Silawongsó took the Stone Buddha in his begging bowl and proceeded to Sachanalai, which is Chalieng, or Sawankalok.

The Prince of Chalieng did homage to the Stone Buddha and to the three Thera, and sent them on their way. They arrived at Muang Naköon and deposited the Stone Buddha there, where it remained for a long time.

When Mün Dong came and took over the governance of Muang Naköon he sent to tell Pya Tilök (Tilokkarat) of the Stone Buddha. Tilök then sent and brought the Stone Buddha to Wat Padeng Mang in which it was deposited at the time when Pra Mahayampote was Abbot. The Abbot bathed the Stone Buddha; and straightway a great shower of rain came down.

A certain leader, Mün Nangsu Vimala Kitit had a shrine built as a dwelling for the Stone Buddha in Wat Mün Sän. He brought the Stone Buddha to that temple to be a shining light to the Faithful for 5000 years.

Put't'agan, the Abbot of Wat Mün Sän, on being translated to Wat Suan Dök, took the Stone Buddha with him, but subsequently had it restored to Wat Mün Sän, where it was to remain as a shining beacon to the Faithful.

Tilök, the righteous, having vanquished all his enemies, became king of Chiangmai in the Lämhat'ai. He had illuminations set up on Banana and Sugar Cane stems all the way between his palace and
Wat Münn Sänn. He then went and took the Stone Buddha and placed it in the sanctuary at his Palace in the year kat mét. His great grandchildren and descendants up to the present day have venerated the Stone Buddha.

From the beginning onwards, in any year when there was a shortage of water, the Ruler had the Stone Buddha illuminated, and rain then fell in abundance.
THE STATEMENT OF KHUN LUANG HA WAT

translated by

H. S. H. Prince Vivadhanajaya

FOREWORD

Four hundred and seventeen years after its foundation, the city of Ayudhya fell for the second time before the Burmese invaders. The ex-King Udumbara, better known to us as Khun Luang Ha Wat, who had previously abdicated and taken refuge in a monastery, was led away captive by these alien conquerors, together with many members of the royal family and others. The Burmese, after the manner of those days, questioned their prisoners as to the history, custom, and administration of the conquered nation. The result of this comprehensive examination was written down by those who conducted the enquiry; and there exists to-day, in the Government library at Rangoon, a volume containing the statements of those noble and garrulous captives, who appeared to have been glad of a listener.

A translation into the Mon language was made at one time or another; and the Siamese version, known as the "Statement of Khun Luang Ha Wat", is a translation from the Mon. It relates the story of the Kings of Ayudhya, from the date of the capture of that city by the Burmese in A.D. 1569, down to its fall nearly two hundred years later, again at the hands of these self same foes.

Needless to say, the "Statement" contains many inaccuracies and errors; for the captives had nothing to consult but their own memory, which, fortunately for us, appeared to have been retentive. The examination moreover was probably conducted through an interpreter, and the results compiled by Burmese scribes who knew little of the alien country which their compatriots had managed to conquer. Nevertheless faithful scribes they must have been, judging at least
from the Siamese version; for the result of their labour is certainly not a “history”, but reads like a dictation freely given at intervals. There is but little trace of editing, for the “Statement” repeats itself without scruple.

Chronicles of olden days are read, I take it, not only for the facts, but also for the spirit; for often they take us back pleasantly to those far off days of forgotten things. A free translation into the language of modernity would deprive such works of this latter quality. I have therefore endeavoured to present a version that shall follow the Siamese original as closely as possible, without, I hope, ceasing to be genuinely English; and also to create an illusion of the past by avoiding, in so far as is in my ability, anything that possesses too modern a ring. Should this English version be found deplorable, the fault is mine; for the “Statement of Khun Luang Ha Wat” does not lack of the vivid and picturesque.

September 1935.
The Statement of Khun Luang Ha Wat.

[Reign of King Mahindra]

The King of Hamsāvatī led away only those who were men of virtue. Upon Phya Cakrā were bestowed large rewards; and he was raised to a rank higher than that which he had held before, seeing that he had deserved well of the King. And after he had been well cared for full seven days, the King of Hamsāvatī did order that his head be cut off and impaled in the middle of the town, in accordance with precedent sentences of the law. Thereafter the King summoned to Hamsāvatī King Mahindra, son of King Mahā Cakravarti, Princess Suvarṇa Kalyā, elder sister to Prince Nareçvara, and Prince Nareçvara himself, who was a son of Prince Sudharmarājā. Prince Ekādaçaratha was suffered to remain in company with his father. And these did the King take with him, namely, all the five white elephants, divers craftsmen who were skilled in great works of art, five hundred able-bodied boatmen picked from those who were adepts, and the largest elephants that could be chosen from among those that existed. And in the monastery of Črī Sarvajña were the bronze images of the twelve animals and of a human being in the shape of a Brahman, that King U-Tong had caused to be cast in moulds made by Brahmin craftsmen after the foundation of the city. The images were those of the elephant Airāvaṇa, the horse of Sindh, the gaja-siha, the king of lions, the nara-simha, the lion, the ox, the buffalo, the wild ox, the swan, the pea-cock and the crane. Two images of each such animals had been presented by King U-Tong to the monastery of Črī Sarvajña. These images took the fancy of the King of Hamsāvatī, who chose and carried away such as were pleasing to him, namely, the images of the elephant Airāvaṇa, the horse of Sindh, the king of lions, the gaja-siha, the lion and the human being; and he took not aught besides these. And the King of Hamsāvatī did build a stupa in the plain of the Golden
Mount, naming it the Sacred Golden Mount; and a magnificent festival was held in celebration thereof. Thereafter the King led his army away.

And whilst they were upon the journey, King Mahindru showed not gentry, but bore himself as the king of lions; and dreading naught, he conversed in such fearless manner that the Peguans seized upon his astonishing words and acquainted the King of Hamsa-vati thereof. The King forthwith commanded that he be put to death and dropped heavily weighted into the river in front of the town of Sittung.

[Reign of King Sudharmarājā].

And upon arrival in Hamsa-vati, the King kept the sister of Prince Nareṣvara in the royal palace and made her his consort; and a son was born to them. To Prince Nareṣvara was given a residence that befitted his rank. The King loved him as if he were a son and cared for him till he grew into manhood.

Prince Sudharmarājā came to reign in the city of Ayudhya on Wednesday of the year nine hundred and twenty five of the Little Era, (A. D. 1563). His age was then twenty; and having ruled for fifteen years, he passed away at the age of thirty five. The year of his death was nine hundred and forty of the Little Era, (A. D. 1578).

[Reign of King Nareṣvara].

The younger son, whose name was Prince Eka-daśvaratha, took the reins of government in his father’s stead; but, seeing that his elder brother, Prince Nareṣvara, was still alive, he would have no coronation but took unto himself only the title of Mahā Upadījā, Regent of the city. And because of his great love for his elder brother, he carried on the administration and guarded the city and its dependencies in the name of that brother pending his return.

And after some while tidings came to the ears of the King of Hamsa-vati that there was, in a large town of Burma that was called Ya-Khai, an image of the Lord Buddha that was made in those days when He was upon this earth. It was said that the image was possessed of great powers; that it could cast its rays in miraculous wise; and that if aught were desired such could be obtained by prayers directed to this image, so great was the power wherewith it was endowed. And so deep-rooted was the faith of the King in this image that he caused the preparation of many oblations of gold, namely, sacerdotal robes, candles and incense sticks, rice and flowers, and
divers umbrellas and banners; and to these were added the images that the King had brought from Ayudhya, that is, the images of a human being, the elephant Airāvana, the horse of Sindh, the king of lions, the gaja-sīha, the narasimha, the lion, the gaurīga and the ox. These images and the other numerous gifts did the King Hamsāvatī dedicate unto the Lord; and after having honoured them with solemn rites, he poured out the water that betokened these offerings and placed them in charge of his councillors, who were to convey them in a vessel for presentation to the holy image. And this took place in the year nine hundred and thirty, (A.D. 1568).

One day Prince Nareṇvara was summoned by the King into the palace; and as the Prince, who was doing the King’s behest, stepped upon the principal royal pavilion, lo that pavilion did quake and tremble. This miracle was perceived by the soldiers and they acquainted the King thereof. The King thereupon foretold that in years hence would the Pagoons of Hamsāvatī be compelled to cut grass for the elephants of Siam; and he said no more thereon. Prince Nareṇvara returned to his residence after the audience.

Once Prince Nareṇvara was minded to cast an image of the Lord Buddha; and, having summoned a craftsman, he desired him to cast the image in the Siamese fashion. A monastery was built and the image was placed therein. This image of the Lord is still in existence to this day, though the title given to it is unknown.

Now there was great love between Prince Nareṇvara and Prince Padumaraṇa who was Maha Uparāja of Hamsāvatī. They were as if brothers born of the same parents; neither took exception to the other; they conversed and consulted together and cock-fighting was the game in which they were wont to indulge. Prince Nareṇvara was ten years of age when he went from Siam, and had sojourned in Hamsāvatī for five years when there came an incident, the consequences whereof were far reaching. At a cock-fight between Prince Nareṇvara and the Uparāja the cock of the latter was defeated, bringing upon its owner both shame and resentment. The Uparāja seized the shoulders of Prince Nareṇvara and shook them as if in play, saying that even the cock of a captive could defeat his own. Prince Nareṇvara, realizing that this public insult was thrown at him because he was an alien, controlled his wrath and merely replied in the same vein, saying that his cock was worth the value of a town. But anger and resentment did he feel from that day; and, thinking
that he too was a man, was minded to return to the Mahā Uparājā his due. Thereafter he began to look for followers; and many hunters, who were right brave and worthy men, did give themselves unto him and presented him with an elephant that was named Maṅgala Gāja, a valiant animal with powerful tusks and fleet of foot. Having gathered together his men, the Prince sent a letter privily to his sister, saying that he would escape to his own city. Fearing that the King of Hamsāvati would hear of her brother's intent, and well knowing that success in the venture meant safety, whilst failure would bring death upon them both, the Princess bade him do as he desired and to have no anxiety on her account. And she gave him her blessings and prayed that he escaped the hands of his foes. When Prince Nareṣvara heard the words of his sister, his heart was filled with sorrow; for full well did he know that, having made all preparations, withdrawal from this adventure would mean certain death when things became known. Necessity drove him away and no choice had he but to leave his sister. The time for departure was fixed with his hunters and men who numbered over six hundred, and together they escaped from Hamsāvati at nightfall. Many Mons and Laqs did the Prince take with him, and the total number of his followers came to nine thousand. They journeyed by the route that led to Sittang and Martaban; and, crossing the river, came to Adran and Sabi and hurried thence to the Three Pagodas. Upon arrival at a branch road they halted in a plain to await the enemy.

Confusion arose among the Mons and tidings of the flight were brought to the Mahā Uparājā, who thereupon entered into the palace, saying to his father: “Prince Nareṣvara has escaped with his men, and fain would I follow and capture this foe”. And the King replied: “Valiant and able is Prince Nareṣvara; destined is he to become a great hero of this our world. This very pavilion did tremble and quake upon his entrance one day. Be not too rash, o son, for mightier will he be than the Mahā Uparājā. Even the Mons of Hamsāvati will one day be compelled to feed the elephants of Ayudhya. Follow him not, my son, but heed the voice of thy father; for disregard of these my words may bring a great war upon us all”. The Mahā Uparājā disagreed with his father and heeded not his words, saying that Prince Nareṣvara had been a captive in their hands; and he would be no man, who suffered a prisoner's insult to pass unavenged. The King of Hamsāvati complied with the wishes of his
son and warned his chief councillors, saying: "My son is going forth to war; see ye that he suffers no harm. Death would come to you and all those that are yours, were any evil to befall my son." Having levied a host of one hundred thousand men, the Mula Uparājā moved forth with speed and came upon the fugitives in a large forest in the district of the Three Pagodas. Fierce raged the flight, and Prince Nareṇvara had perforce to retreat before the overwhelming number of the host of Hamsāvatī. The Mons gave chase and the Siamese retired fighting into the forest. And now Prince Nareṇvara commanded the six hundred valiant and worthy men, who had been his followers from the beginning, to place their elephants and men in due battle array, saying that he would at once lead them to the assault. The Prince then adorned himself and stood upon the scaffolding to which was tied his elephant, with a driver ready upon its back. And, seeing that he was destined to become a refuge for men, many signs of happy augury did come to pass before the eyes of all. For, miraculous to relate, a deep shadow did surround the sun that was blazing at mid-day, and afforded the Prince a shade from the rays that fell upon all; a relic of the Lord Buddha, possessed of a glorious aureole of light, came moving through the air past the royal pavilion in miraculous wise. Perceiving that the moment was one that augured a great victory, the Prince let loose his elephant and went forth towards the foe. Seated with him on the back of that elephant were two drivers, and surrounding him were only four men-at-arms; for the others had failed to keep up with the speed of his mount. His elephant charged the enemy who fled helter-skelter; some fell dead or hurt, others hid themselves in the forest. Confusion arose among the Peguans, and some bowed their heads in surrender, whilst others were killed or put to flight. The elephant was driven further forward and trampled down the camp of the enemy. Those Peguan soldiers who were men of courage did defend themselves with swords, guns and cannons that darkened the forest with their fumes. The Prince assaulted the stronghold of Prince Padumarājā, destroyed the camps of both the right and left wing and put the hostile van and rear guards to flight. Many times did the Mons rally against him, only to be beaten back by the Prince. And only when his elephant was tired out did he return to his own camp. And, wondrous to relate, the two drivers suffered no hurt, neither did any harm
befall the elephant or the men-at-arms, covered as they were with Peguan blood.

When tidings of the Prince's return were brought to Ayudhya, Prince Ekādaśaratha, his younger brother, did gather together an army in order to go to his succour. Provisions were sent in advance, seeing that these were urgently needed; whilst the Prince himself followed with good speed. Those who carried the provisions lost their way and were captured by the Monoś. Prince Ekādaśaratha met his beloved brother at a place named Len-tu-khuo-nam; and both their hearts were filled with great joy. The younger brother did obeisance at the feet of his elder brother who forthwith embraced him; and both felt exceeding happiness and joy. Having enquired after his sister and learnt of all that had passed, Prince Ekādaśaratha forthwith offered to go and give battle. And Prince Nareśvara said to him: "Beloved brother, thou art still too young. An exceeding brave man is Padumurāja, and older is he than thou. My task it is to destroy this Mahā Uparāja. But let thy men come to succour mine, seeing that they are exceeding wearied." And having said this he arranged his men in battle array; left and right wings there were, a rear-guard and reserves in serried rank, reinforced as they were by those who had recently come. When all preparations had been made, the two Princes mounted upon their elephants, and, standing in the midst of their men, gave the signal for the assault. Cheers were raised to inspire courage, and the sound of victory gongs and drums filled the whole vast forest. A fierce hand-to-hand struggle ensued, with the Peguan van-guard fighting well against those who assaulted them. Prince Nareśvara drove his elephant to the charge, and, when the opposing animal turned to flee, the Prince felled it with a stroke of his driving hook. Prince Ekādaśaratha charged after a Peguan soldier who turned round against him, and there followed a fierce combat. The Prince struck his Peguan foe with his lance and felled him from his elephant. Thereafter the elephants of the two Princes broke into the hostile camp; numerously were the Monoś who were either killed or put to flight. And now the Mahā Uparāja, perceiving the elephant of Prince Nareśvara in front of him, seized a missile wherein to sling at his foe. Thereupon did Prince Nareśvara exclaim with a smile: "Hearken, O Uparāja! A scion of a royal stock art thou, and a scion of a kingly race am I. Childish it is for us to
sling such missiles; for it behoves us to fight upon our elephants, that all these men may see and take delight therein. It is not meet that all these soldiers and people should die because of thou and I. Fitting it is for us, men and descendants of Kings, to fight upon our elephants in single combat; for in future years no king will there be to engage in similar contest". With these words the Mahā Uparājā agreed, saying: "What thou hast said is pleasing to me". And, having said these words, the two Princes commanded their soldiers to cease from strife and to stand facing each other to their left and right. Both sides fixed their banner into the ground; the victory gongs and drums were struck; and the soldiers engaged in war-like dance. Prince Nareçvara and the Mahā Uparājā drove their elephant to the charge, the one against the other; and they fought with their long-handled sword in true and proper style, the one striking and the other parrying, each in his turn. The elephant of Prince Nareçvara, being the smaller of the two, backed away from the other; and with his weapon the Mahā Uparājā struck at the Prince. Deftly did the latter avoid the blow, and the sword struck his leather cap, making a dent of four inches therein. And, as it was backing, the elephant of Prince Nareçvara found a footing by a Pūtsā tree; and, pushing there-against with its hind-legs, it gave a sudden thrust at the chin of the Mahā Uparājā's animal, which thereupon made a turn. This opportunity did Prince Nareçvara seize, and, striking with his long-handled sword, that was named Conqueror of the Hundred Thousand, he severed the head of Mahā Uparājā who was seated upon the neck of his elephant. The spot whereon this victory was won became known as the Swamp of the Pushing Legs and the Thrust of the Pūtsā Tree; it is still in existence even to this day. And now the Siamese gave three victorious cheers that filled the forest with their loud echoes, whilst the Mons bowed their heads and did obeisance to the victor. Prince Nareçvara drew his elephant into their midst, and, summoning the leaders of the Mons to him by a gesture of his arm, thus said: "Hearken ye, o leaders and soldiers of Pegu. To Hamsāvatī may ye all return; no captives do I desire, for such is the promise given under the rules of war. Well do ye know of the friendship that was between the Mahā Uparājā and I; and yet insults did he heap upon me. A little captive prince was I called. Nay more, even my shoulders did he shake. I was born a man such as he, and yet he took me for a slave. Such was the cause of my
anger and such the origin of my desire for this our duel. And now am I satisfied, seeing that he has died by my hands. Hence do I return to Ayudhya, the city that is mine own. Go ye, and take this my message to the King of Hansavatī. Having said these words, Prince Nareçvara led his force to Ayudhya.

The Mons carried the body of the Mahā Uparājā back to Hansavatī, and their leaders acquainted the King of the combat between the Mahā Uparājā and Prince Nareçvara and of the manner wherein the former was slain. The King listened not to all that they had to say, but forthwith commanded the executioner to put to death all those Mons leaders, together with their parents, grand-parents, children and grand-children; and their bodies were to be impaled upon stakes and burnt as offerings to the gods. All these commands were duly carried out by the executioner. And so great was the fury of the King that, when he returned to his chambers and perceived the sister of Prince Nareçvara in her bed and suckling her child, he struck and killed both mother and son with his sword. So hasty was his temper that there was no time to soothe him down.

Prince Nareçvara arrived at Ayudhya and entered into the royal residence. And the chief ministers of state together with the Brahmān teachers did perform the coronation ceremony that was due to a victorious warrior; and having besought the Prince to assume the royal possessions, they tendered unto him the realm, the five royal regalia, the five weapons of war and all the other royal utensils. And they presented him with his style and title, inscribed upon a tablet of gold. Thereafter the ladies of the palace presented him with his Queen, and her name was Mungi Ratna; and were also brought to him other wives and hand-maids. King Nareçvara thus commenced his reign in the year nine hundred and fifty two, (A. D. 1500). Prince Ekuidaçarathā was created Mahā Uparājā. King Nareçvara was most virtuous, possessed of great courage, power and might, and endowed with superior ability and perseverance. He repaired the city and built a new wall upon the bank of the river surrounding Ayudhya. And he caused an image of the Lord Buddha to be casted in brass; its seat was about three feet in length. He gave it the name of Parama Trailokanātha and placed it at the Prāh Nang Čoeng monastery, which was built by Mons craftsmen in their own style, Prāh Nang Čoeng being the name known to the Mons. This monastery is situated to the south of the city. The King
called together those soldiers and men who had accompanied him from Ḥamsāvati and who had deserved well of him. Rewards were given to all leaders and men; some were promoted in rank, and titles were bestowed upon all; for those soldiers had fought as if they were giants and were feared in all cities old and new. The long-handled sword, that was used both to kill the Mahā Upārāja and against the hundred thousand foes, was named Conqueror of the Hundred Thousand; the weapon wherewith he felled the Peguan elephant was called the Hook that felled the Elephant; and the weapon which he held by his teeth while climbing into a hostile stronghold was named the Sword that climbed the Stronghold. These three weapons, together with the cap that bore the mark of a blow, were kept in the city until its fall. The elephant that was his mount when he overcame the Upārāja was named Chao Phya Jayamunabhānu, and a truly great elephant it was. The swamp wherein lay the place against which this elephant did support its legs was called the Swamp of the Pushing Legs; this swamp still exists and is known by such name even to this day. And the spot whereon grew the Pātsā tree was named the Pātsa Thrust; and this too can be seen even to this day.

Some time thereafter King Narēvara gathered together a large number of soldiers, elephants, mercenaries and arms; and he went forth to war against divers towns, great and small. He battled against the Lao of the Northern towns, namely, Lanchung, Chuengmāi, Chuengtuang, Chuengsaen and Chāmpasākti. And to the South also did he lead his army and fought against those of the towns of Nāk'on Cāiyu, Pātavi, Sōngkhla and even as far as the island of Riek, that was Javanese territory. And besides these towns he also captured many others, great and small. After these conquests, the King re-organized his army; he set up the ten groups of warriors, the four forces, the royal body-guards and gentlemen-at-arms and the six mercenary forces, that consisted of Japanese, Chams and others. And troops of elephants there were, and banners and the standards of the Monkey and the Garuda, the Umbrella and other regalia, all in accordance with the Treatise of the Art of War. And when these preparations had been made, the elephants were placed in due order; namely, elephants that were to form the principal and reserve mounts of the King, elephants from the palace and other stables, elephants that were on his left and his
right, elephants for use in assault and in defence, elephants carrying men with javelins and spears. All these elephants bore different names and were decked with ornaments that distinguished each from all the others. Males and females they were, and one and all carried on their back shields, swords, spears, javelins and guns big and small. And upon each elephant were three mahouts all with arms. And horses too there were; namely, horses that were the principal and reserve royal mounts, horses from the palace stables and others, horses that were on the left and the right of him, horses of the mercenaries who wore metal armour, horses with men armed with lances and spears. Their riders wore a cap and a coat that were designed for war, and were armed with lances, bows, javelins and shields. Next came soldiers who rode in chariots; and divers kinds there were, namely, chariots for assault and chariots for defence, chariots with men carrying swords and spears. Then came the foot soldiers, bearing divers arms. Cannoneers there were and all were French (sic), fully armed. And leaders were appointed to take charge of the supplies and to command the left wing, the right wing, the van-guard, the rear-guard, the first reserves, the second reserves, the scouts and spies. Four hundred thousand was the total number of men-at-arms. Prince Ekāḍaṇārathava was in charge of the van, and of the main army did King Nareṇvara himself take command. Their intent it was to attack Hamsāvatī. They journeyed by the route that led to Viṣṇuloka; and, having called a halt in a forest, they performed the ceremony of felling a tree that represented the foe, all in accordance with the Treatise of the Art of War. And when they arrived before the town of Reo an attack was launched against the Laos thereof. The Laos sallied forth from the town, and, having pitched a camp that was strongly fortified, they fought right well against the Siamese in the open plain. The siege lasted many days, for the Laos of another town had come to the succour of their friends; and fierce were the battles that took place. King Nareṇvara pressed his men to the assault, and, carrying his sword with his teeth, he climbed the palisades that surrounded the stronghold of the enemy, followed by Prince Ekāḍaṇārathava and others. Thus they entered into the camp of the Laos, all of whom were either killed or put to flight. Having taken the two Lao towns, the King went forth against the town of Kong Sri Lulai, and this he captured with ease. Thereafter he went against the Laos of the city of Hang who were unable to resist and
took to flight. Very ancient is the hilly city of *Haug*, seeing that it was in existence at the same time as *Pātaliputra* and was possessed of a hundred generations of Kings. On the top of its hill, that before establishment of the Faith and the Three Gems was called *Rang Rung* hill, was a foot-print of the Lord *Buddha*. King *Nareguvaru* made a ceremonial entry into the city to the greater glory of his power, and went to worship at the foot-print of the Lord. He took off his robes and his golden chain and placed them upon the print as his oblations. And other offerings did he also make, namely, candles, incense sticks, rice, flowers, banners and divers other things. A consecration ceremony was held lasting full seven nights. Thereafter was the *Mahā Uparājā* sent forth to *Hamsāvatī* in advance, whilst King *Nareguvaru* himself still sojourned in *Haug*, making of this city his resting place, wherefore did he become known as the *Nārāyana* of *Haug*. And when all the ceremonies had been completed, the King mounted upon the elephant that was named *Suvarṇa Pratthaka* and made his way towards *Hamsāvatī*. Having journeyed for full seven days, the King arrived before a hill that was green with *Ta-kien* trees, close to one of which was the chapel of a deity that was possessed of great power and might. The councillors of the King besought him to descend from his mount; but, since it had been decreed that a calamity would befall him, it so happened that the King enquired of them as to whether the deity was a god or a goddess. To this the councillors replied that the deity was a goddess that was possessed of great power and might. And the King said: “Since the deity is merely a goddess, possible it is for her to be my consort; I descend not from my elephant”. With these words he rode past the chapel; and, lo, a wasp was seen coming straight at the elephant. Stung upon the forehead by this wasp, the King fainted upon the back of his mount and passed away in front of the hill. His body was carried back by the councillors to the pavilion at *Haug*.

Meanwhile Prince *Ekāduçaratha* had arrived close to *Hamsāvatī*, and, having taken many Mon captives, men and women, he was preparing to assault the city when a messenger who had travelled posthaste brought tidings of the death of the King. Having been acquainted thereof, the Prince returned speedily to *Haug* with his army; and, entering into the chamber wherein lay his brother, he embraced his feet and wept in bitter grief. Three times did the
Prince faint away whilst embracing and bemoaning the loss of his brother. And when he had recovered full consciousness, he commanded that the body be put in a golden urn and placed upon a chariot. A grand royal procession accompanied the body back to Ayudhya. The Prince ordered the building of a great golden pyre and a magnificent cremation of the body of the late King. The ceremony had never before been surpassed in splendour; and innumerable were the gifts that were made. The body was conveyed to the Sōp Sāvān monastery in a grand procession and was cremated thereat before a large assembly of rulers of cities great and small.

King Nareśvara had come to the throne on Thursday of the year nine hundred and sixty of the Little Era, (A.D. 1598), at the age of fifteen. He had reigned for twenty years and passed away at the age of thirty five. The year of his death was the nine hundred and eightieth of the Little Era, (A.D. 1618).

[Reign of King Ekādaśaratha].

After the death of King Nareśvara, Prince Ekādaśaratha ruled over the city in his stead. A coronation ceremony was held, and the King took unto himself a Queen whose name was Śvasti. A monastery was built at the place where King Nareśvara had been cremated; this monastery was named Sōp Sāvān. And another monastery did the King also build in a garden to the memory of his brother, and this he named Varajesthārama. An area of land was presented to this monastery and the gift inscribed upon a tablet of stone. Rewards were given to all the soldiers and even to their wife and children, all in accordance with the rank which they held. And upon the original five hundred followers of King Nareśvara were bestowed extra rewards consisting of cattle, buffaloes, land, houses and slaves male and female. And were issued letters patent under the seal of the King of Lions granting them exemption from payment of all taxes and dues that were collected from goods in transit, and from payment of fines that were imposed upon those who had been convicted in a court of law. In bestowing all these rewards the King exceeded not the commands of his late brother. From this time hence there were numerous Mons and Laos in Ayudhya; many were employed in the service of the King and were made to feed the elephants, both in and outside the city,—this being the first time that they were put to such task. Innumerable were the captive Mons and Laos, for they had been taken by King Nareśvara
from all cities and towns; their large number dated from his days. In those days was Ayudhya mighty and powerful, far and wide spread its fame. King Ekaḍaśaratha caused to be cast an image of the Lord Buddha which he named Vīrī Sarvājñā. The height of this image was about twenty-nine feet; it was made of tin and covered with gold that weighed one hundred and seventy three catties, in so far as memory can tell. A statue of his brother, King Nareśvara, was also made and placed in the principal armoury. The King then built a pavilion which he named Paryāṅka Ratnācana, and surrounding this pavilion a canal was made. And were built the monasteries of Rājputraṇa and Bodhārāma; the former was situated inside the city to the southeast of the royal palace; the later outside the city and north-west thereof. And there was build at the monastery of Kuṭi Dao, that was outside and east of the city, a stupa that was named Mahā Gārā Cetiya. Great was the love of King Ekaḍaśaratha for his brother, King Nareśvara. The sword that King Nareśvara held with his teeth on the day that he climbed the enemy strong hold, and on which the marks of his teeth could still be seen, was kept in the second armoury. Its sheath was made of the horn of a rhinoceros and inlaid with rubies. Each time that it was brought out to be cleaned, it did cut the hands of the cleaners; for it ever fed upon the blood of men. This sword was in the city until its recent fall. The long-handled sword, named Conqueror of the Hundred Thousand, with King Nareśvara had severed the neck of the Mahā Uparājā who was seated upon his elephant, was kept in the second armoury. And in this armoury also was the cap that the Mahā Uparājā had dented with a blow of his sword. The statue of King Nareśvara was in the principal armoury.

King Ekaḍaśaratha abided steadfast in the ten precepts, making war upon no town or country. Happy and contented were all his people; and undisturbed the holy monks and Brahmins ministered to their faith. King Ekaḍaśaratha came to the throne in the year nine hundred and sixty of the Little Era (A.D. 1598), when he was twenty years of age. He reigned for nineteen years, passing away at the age of thirty nine; and this was in the year nine hundred and seventy nine of the Little Era, (A.D. 1617).

[Reign of King Trailokanātha].

And after many generations of Kings had passed away a scion of King Sudhārmarājā came to rule in Ayudhya. The principal ministers,
the elder Brahmans and the councillors caused a coronation ceremony to be held in accordance with ancient royal custom, and tendered him the style and title of King Trailokanātha. This King abided by the ten precepts of Kingship and was called by the people King Song Tam the Excellent. His principal Queen was named Candajiyā and his second Queen Katiyadevi. Four daughters were born to him by the first Queen; and the birth of the eldest, who was named Princess Paduma, took place before his accession. The second daughter was called Suriya, the third Candadevi and the youngest of them all Siri Kalya. Thus there were four daughters of the principal Queen. And four daughters also did the second Queen bear him. The eldest was named Upaladevi; the next two were Prabhadati and Vayaputri; and the youngest of all Kanishkhadevi. Thus was King Trailokanātha possessed of eight daughters and a son. A nephew there was on his mother's side, and his name was Suriyavanca Kumāra. And, wondrous to relate, strange were the games that the Prince was wont to play in his childhood. He sat upon an ant-hill as if it were a throne, and, giving audience to other children who pretended to be his councillors, he played at administration of the state. Wondrous it is to relate that he did play at many other astonishing games. King Trailokanātha was steadfast in the ten rules of sovereignty and ever abided by the ten precepts of the Faith. Well-learned in the Scriptures, he upheld the Faith with sincerity. On the four holy days of each month he entered into the state of continence, searching for things of heaven and Nirvāṇa. No animal did he deprive of life. Compelled by royal custom to give audience and to administer affairs of state, he carried out his duties in accordance with the tradition of Kings. Rewards were bestowed upon those who were deserving, and punishment according to the law was inflicted upon those who had committed evil. When the judges passed a sentence of death, commutation of such sentence was always granted by him. His nephew, Prince Suriyavanca Kumāra, who had been brought up in the royal palace, was given the little of Chao Phya Suriyavanca and placed in charge of the civil, military and trading affairs of the Kingdom. And were bestowed upon him divers insignia of dignity, such as the two golden vessels that were placed the one upon the other, and a gold spitoon; yea, even a sword was given unto him. He rode upon a sedan which had been carved with the feature of a lion; and leant against a cushion
when present in the midst of officials in council assembled. A carpet with a piece of cloth laid thereon was his seat at a royal audience, and in front of all the councillors was it placed; to that audience he was wont to come in a barge. All powers were delegated to him by the King. His personal attendants were wont to wear embroidered cloth. Letters regarding affairs of state were issued by his command. He entered into the royal presence wearing his cloth unwound. The rank that he held was that of a Mahā Uparajā, with full powers over all affairs and men. The King took no part in affairs of state, interested was he solely in matters of heaven and Nirvāṇa. Learned in the Teaching of the Lord and the Scriptures, the Sūtra and the Abhidharma, well versed also in right knowledge, he was wont to teach the monks. In those days he wrote a Siamese version of the Mahā Vessantara Jātaka in verse, rhyme and prose. The manner of chanting those verses in mournful melody also dated from his days. All his predecessors were wont to go and worship the Lord's Foot-Print every year without fail; but once only did King Trailokanātha make his way thither. He went no more, seeing that those who accompanied him and were employed in the carriage of goods did suffer great hardship. Kindly disposed towards all men, he feared that they would suffer privations and went thither no more. This King was full of compassion for his people. In his days happy and contented were all those of the city and its dependencies. All utensils, that were in the palace and destined for his use, were first offered as oblations in worship of the Three Gems; and such utensils he would use only after they had been redeemed. Nay more, even in his barge did he place an Image of the Lord before he would ride thereon. And such practices he was wont to carry out always without fail. Once when a Japanese vessel came in to trade, a soldier of his body-guard, who was evilly disposed, did seize all the merchandise and sold them, saying that he was collecting the King's tax. Thereafter he cheated the merchants by paying them with counterfeit coins. The Japanese, convinced that this was an artifice of the King, sent four soldiers privily into the city and the palace. And on that day whilst the King was seated at the Cakravartī Vimāna Jāya Hall listening to the singing of a chant that he had composed, the Japanese wretches were able to approach him, challenged by none. When they had come close to him, they tried to draw their dagger; but lo, all the daggers were stuck in their
sheath and could not be drawn. The assassins stood rooted to the spot, greatly confounded. The King perceived the four Japanese close to him and roared at them with his voice. Thereupon did the four men fall down in a faint and were captured. Upon being questioned through an interpreter, the Japanese replied that they had been given counterfeit coins in lieu of good treasury money; that they were full of anger because a King had defrauded those who were mere merchants; and that they were heroes intent upon taking his life. Having heard all that they had to say, the King burst into laughter; and, summoning Chao Phya Čri Suriyavamśa, he commanded that the culprit be found and that good coins be minted and given to him; nor was the life of this culprit to be forfeited. And no trouble was to befall the Japanese, seeing that they were not evil and had been defrauded by his own evil men. Having received these commands, Chao Phya Čri Suriyavamśa retired with speed; and, summoning the four Japanese to him, caused them to be sent to the master of their vessel. The person who had defrauded the Japanese was punished publicly; and, having been shown to the merchants as the culprit, was released in accordance with the King’s behest. Death was the penalty for his crime, and yet was the King merciful to him and refrained from taking his life. Steadfast in the precepts, this King was forbearing, patient and virtuous. Happy and gay were all those of Ayudhya in those days. The King built the Buddhavīrya and Dharmikarāja monasteries; he repaired a monastery that was in the town of Vijayapurī and named Ratna Mahā Dātā; and he built a royal pavilion that was named Vaijayanta. He taught the monks the Scriptures, daily during the three months of Lent and on every holy day thereafter, so well-versed and learned was he in the Teaching of the Lord. The day upon which King Trāilokanātha came to the throne was Saturday in the sixth month of the year nine hundred and seventy nine (A. D. 1617); his age was then twenty. He reigned for nineteen years and died in the year nine hundred and ninety eight (A. D. 1636), at the age of thirty nine.

[REIGN OF KING RĀMĀDHĪPEČRARA].

When King Trāilokanātha had passed away, the councillors were of one mind in beseeching Chao Phao Čri Suriyavamśa to rule over the realm. A coronation ceremony was held in accordance with ancient royal tradition; and to the new King was tendered the style
and title of Rāmadhipēcvara. And the King took all the eight daughters of King Trailokanātha to wife,—the four daughters of the principal Queen became principal Queens, and the four daughters of the second Queen became second Queens. The eldest of the principal Queens was named Paduma, the next Suriyā, the third Candā Devī and the fourth Śīri Kalyā. And the names of the second Queens were Upala Devī, Prabhavatī, Vasāpatī and Kaniṣṭhā Devī. And thus there were eight Queens in all. The principal Queen whose name was Paduma begat four sons, namely, the Princes Jāya, Trailbhūvanātha, Abhayagati and Jayāditya. The Queen whose name was Upala Devī begat three sons, namely the Princes Kutiyavamc, Tricakra and Surindakumāra. And thus there were seven sons in all.

And one day it came to King Rāmadhipēcvara in his dream that there was a beautiful pavilion of gold beneath the ant-hill upon which he was wont to play; and thither did he go in the early morn. Having examined the spot, he caused the ground to be dug; and, wonderful to relate, loud noises were heard echoing to and fro. The diggers found a golden pavilion that was open on all its four sides; and brilliant and finely engraven was the gold wherewith it was made. The King took possession of the pavilion which was about twenty inches in height and placed therein a relic of the Lord Buddha. The pavilion itself was placed in the Sārvaśa Palace where it remained till later days. And this King did become known from that day as the Lord of the Golden Pavilion. To the Lord of the Golden Pavilion were born seven sons; and the eldest, named Jaya Kumāra, was the most beloved of them all. Although it was his desire that this son should succeed him, yet did the King doubt whether the boy was so endowed with the virtues that would merit the position of ruler of the realm. Having decided to appeal to a supernatural decision, the King brought forth seven swords and in his mind selected one of them as being suited to a King. And he prayed that whichever of the boys would become King, so might that boy choose the sword that was fit for kingship. The swords were then laid in a row and Prince Jaya Kumāra was summoned to take the first choice. This Prince selected the sword that took his fancy; but it was not the one that his father had in mind. The six other boys were then summoned to make their choice and each did take possession of a sword. To the youngest of them all, the Prince Narinda Kumāra,
who was the last to be summoned, fell the sword that had been thought fit for a King. The father perceived this sign but held his silence, bethinking himself that three ordeals were needed so that all doubts might be dispelled. And forthwith he commanded that seven elephants were to be brought forth, and selected in his mind one that was suitable for a sovereign lord. Prince Jaya Kumāra, called upon to choose before all the brothers, made his choice and again failed to obtain the one that his father had in mind. The six other brothers were then summoned one after the other in accordance with their age. Each chose the one that pleased him, and Prince Narinda Kumāra, who was the last of them all, was again possessed of the royal elephant. This sign the father again kept in mind and resolved upon the third ordeal, which was to be carried out with horses. And once more did Prince Narinda Kumāra obtain the horse that the King had selected, such being the third time that the sign was given. Thus was it made known to the Lord of the Golden Pavilion that Prince Narinda Kumāra it was, who would one day rule over the realm. Nevertheless the King kept silent, feeling sorrowful in his heart for the sake of Prince Jaya Kumāra. All the seven sons were summoned before him and were taught to love each other and never to cause one another harm. And having made his behests to Prince Narinda Kumāra, he taught the other six sons with loving kindness. Prince Narinda Kumāra undertook to carry out his father's commands.

Sometime thereafter the King built a palace which he named Surīyāśana Amarindra, and another named Vijayaprāśada. A residence was erected upon Ban-Nang-In island and named Aissavrya Dibya Ācana; and was built also the palace of Phra Nagara Luang. And he built a royal barge and a royal chariot, and the monasteries of Jayavatthanārīma and Rājākulārīma. All the gold and silver utensils, which he has went to use in those days when he was Chao Phya Čri Suriyavança, were sold and the proceeds used in the erection of stupas. Images of his two wives who had passed away were casted and placed in the Rājākulārīma monastery: upon the pedestals were inscribed their respective names. The custom of holding a grand processional march to present Kathin robes to the monks dated from the days of this King.

Sometime thereafter the royal palace of Maṅgalābhīṣaka was struck by lightning and thither went the King's son to extinguish
the fire that had broken out. A sign of great anguish was thereupon given to all those of the city, for the Prince appeared to them to be possessed of four arms. King Rāmaudhikeya came to the throne at the age of twenty in the year nine hundred and ninety eight of the Little Era [A.D. 1636], being the year of the Rat. He reigned for twenty five years and passed away at the age of forty five in the thousand and twenty third year of the Little Era [A.D. 1661].

Reign of King Nārāyaṇa.

When the Lord of the Golden Pavilion had passed away, his son, Prince Nārinda Kumāra, succeeded to the royal estate. To the new King was tendered the style and title of King Nārāyaṇa, seeing that on the occasion when lightning struck the Maṅgalabhiseka Palace he had, whilst extinguishing the fire, appeared to all those of the city to be possessed of four arms. King Nārāyaṇa's teacher was the monk Brāhma, and his wife was the Princess Kasatri, a niece to the Lord of the Golden Pavilion on her mother's side. This Princess Kasatri was the principal Queen and to her was born a daughter named Suta Devi. The second Queen was named Panpi; she begat neither son nor daughter. King Nārāyaṇa had many other ladies. Being possessed of no son, the King made a boy, Mon Tia by name, his foster-son; and he cared for a nephew named Prince Čeśa Čīpha, a son of his elder brother Prince Jayuditya, as if the child had been his own.

In both the royal palaces were fountains and basins of glass caused to be made by this King. The palaces were re-built with bricks and the walls inlaid with mirrors and gold. Having sojourned in Ayudhyā for ten years, the King went forth to re-build an old city that was called Lavo; and this he named Lohpurī. There were erected city-walls and fortifications, and a palace that was named Taśāta Mahāprāśāda. On the right of this palace was the Sudhavaisvarya Hall, and on its left the Candabhiḍāla Hall. And fountains there were that ever flowed with water. The Jub Čora Lake and the Glass Pool were dug. The King built the Sang and Māhi Dhātu monasteries and a stupa that was possessed of three spires. Royal robes and caps ornamented with feathers were made; the royal garments fashioned according to foreign and Japanese manners dated from those days.

The King was possessed of a white elephant that was born of a
sire that had been domesticated; and a valiant and fine animal it was. This elephant was kept in the precincts of the palace and was named Paramaratnakāsa Krālipa Kirivamśa. None there were who surpassed the King in the art of managing elephants; yea, even those that were fierce, rough and must not could he control even in the midst of the populace of the city. He was wont to ride upon an elephant in a procession, and even when only a six foot way was made for him, yet were no person or thing touched by the animal’s trunk. Once when envoys from Khorasan came to seek audience of him, the King received them, mounted as he was upon the elephant that was called Som, a fierce and rough animal that was kept for the use of those who had been convicted of crime. This fiercest elephant of the city the King named Com Ćakravāta, and mounted upon this animal, he greeted the foreign envoys. The animal was made to halt upon the carpet upon which was placed the vase bearing the letter of the foreign potentate; and quietly back to its place was it made to return. Even a wild elephant that had been newly captured did he tie with proper trappings; and, mounted upon that animal, he greeted the envoy of France. Everywhere he showed his skill; with him wild elephants behaved as if they had been fully tamed. Wonderful was the skill of this King whom no other in history has ever equalled in this art, so great a master was he. Once when lightning struck the Maṅgalabhiseka palace, fire broke out as violently as if it were the Last Fire, and none could mount upon the building; yet, miraculous to relate, the King did extinguish that fire. He then appeared to all others as if possessed of four arms; and hence was presented with the title of Nārāyaṇa.

Now the King had a nephew who was a son of his elder brother and was named Prince Ćri Ćilpa Kumāra. At the age of fifteen this Prince did conspire against his uncle; his intent it was to take King Nārāyaṇa’s life by piercing him with a sword. But the end of that sword did the King seize with adroitness and the Prince was confined at the armoury. Nevertheless the King merely threatened the Prince and refrained from putting him to death; for sorrow did he feel for a boy who had been deprived of both father and mother and mindful was he of the words of Prince Jayāditya, his beloved brother, who had with dying breaths requested him to care for Prince Ćri Ćilpa. The King caused the Prince to be released and cared for him as heretofore. And one day thereafter Prince Ćri Ćilpa did
again conspire against King Nārāyaṇa; for whilst the latter was giving an audience at a window of the palace, the Prince entered into the chamber bearing a sword; and, seen by none, concealed himself behind a door. When the audience was over, King Nārāyaṇa summoned his elephant and entered the palace by another route, mounted upon that animal. Prince Črī Čilpa stood concealed behind his door until discovered by the officials who carried the royal utensils. Having been acquainted thereof, the King came straight at the boy and seized him forthwith. The command was given that Prince Črī Čilpa be put to death. Thereupon was the Prince seized by the executioner, tied up and placed in a large bowl; he was then placed in a red sack and carried in procession to the Kruṭāi monastery and was there buried alive,—such being the royal custom since days of yore. A guard was placed at the spot for full seven days. After the guard had left, a beloved attendant of the Prince, one who was faithful of heart, did go to dig up the earth and discovered the boy still alive. The servant then led his master away and concealed him in the village of the White Lotus Market. Some of the men of the town of Vaiṣṇapuri joined the Prince, who now commenced to gather together men of valour. Thereafter he led his worthy men towards the city and caused them to enter therein, few at a time. The Prince himself went privately to Phra Kambang and the latter consented to join his party. And many officials of the city there were who did become followers of the Prince. Phya Nanda Yor Fawng, Keeper of the elephants, presented him with a mount; and there joined him also Mān Raj, Nai Thong Bas, Deva Yodhā, Nai Bulaban, Luang Chasaenpati and Rājābal; and together they laid their plans with care. When night had been fallen Prince Črī Čilpa, mounted upon the elephant Vīśnuvamrta, moved forth at the auspicious hour; and, taking the Chao Brāhma road, entered by the Prab Trāvivakra gate. Thence he came by the Cakravarti road, stormed the Red gate and entered into the royal palace. And now Luang Deva Sampati and Mān Vuya, having been acquainted with the news, entered to wake the King in his chamber. King Nārāyaṇa did forthwith leave by the Mahābhogaruja gate, followed by his body-guards, attendants and all those officials whose turn it was to guard the palace that night. And having entered into another palace, the King caused strong fortifications and palisades to be erected therein.
Of the King's followers some went to call up the soldiery, others to arrest strange men who had entered in disguise; some again went to find those who were faithful and true, and others to fetch the elephants, horses and their keepers; and some there were who awaited the enemy in the high-ways and by-ways. When it was dawn the King mounted upon the elephant *Kudjora Channamug* and led his force into the city. And having been informed that the enemy was approaching both in the front and the rear, the King halted his elephant in front and to the east of the palace, which he commanded the soldiers to surround with haste. Prince *Gri Cilpa* had failed to erect fortifications for defence; and allowed his followers to become scattered whilst looking into divers things. A brief fight ensued and the force of King *Narayana* broke into the palace through a gate that had been destroyed. Some fired their guns and cannons, others cheered and struck the gongs and drums; loud were the noises that were made and in all directions resounded their echoes. Unable to resist the power and might of King *Narayana*, the enemies bowed their heads to the ground and craved his indulgence; surrounded they were and captured with ease. The King commanded that Prince *Gri Cilpa* be executed in a novel fashion; for he was to be clubbed to death with a log of myrtle wood, placed in a bowl and thereafter buried in a red sack. This method of execution of a prince became a precedent that is followed even to this day. And the King commanded that all the followers of the Prince should be put to death; yea, even their parents and grand-parents, children and grandchildren were to die. The monk *Brahmana* thereupon intervened and saved the lives of the rebels' families, lesser punishment being meted out to them. Those of the town of *Vajrapuri* who had first promoted sedition were compelled to feed the elephants in the city; and thus was this form of corvee first introduced.

And ever since those days did King *Narayana* feel resentment against Prince *Gri Cilpa*, deeming that such disloyalty was due to the Prince not being a son born to him by his Queen. And to the monk who was sitting with him the King prayed that his Queen might beget a son, for no rebel would a child thus born to him ever become. So great was his anger with Prince *Gri Cilpa* that the King was led into wrong doing; anger so blinded him that he knew not the merits inherent in any child that were to be born, reflecting not that meritorious acts performed in past lives bear their fruit in
the present; so great was his resentment against PrinceČrí Cilpa. And his Queen only bore him a daughter; she begat no son. The King abided steadfast by the precepts and performed all things in righteousness, praying that thereby might a son be born to him by the Queen. And when such was not granted him he grew into anger, and in anger thus said to all his ladies: "Whosoever conceives my child, let her know that such child will I destroy, for none of them do I desire. To a son born of the Queen alone will I bequeath all my estates; such is my will." And whenever a lady of the palace did conceive a child, she had perforce to acquaint the King thereof; and many of such children did the King destroy. Now of the ladies of the palace there was one whose name was Sombun and who had been given the title of Phra RaJa Jóyá Devi; and it so happened that this lady, the chief and the most favoured of them all, was going to be with child. The King had a dream which caused him such great anxiety of mind that he invited his teacher, the monk Brähma, into his presence and related to him all that he had dreamt. And the monk Brähma said "Of good omen is this dream of thine; for unto thee will a son be born. Of one thing do I disapprove, namely, the destruction of all children that are born to thee by the ladies of the palace. This and this alone do I deprecate, for such action of thine is one of sin. Were no son to be born to thee by thy Queen, and were there to be no other son save this lady's child, whom then wouldst thou have to succeed to this thy throne? With neither son nor daughter, who then will succeed to these thy estates? Is it thy intent that one of thy servants or any rich man or head of a household or merchant should succeed thee and rule over this thy realm? A son, though born to thee by a mere lady of the palace, is still thy son; and his past meritorious acts it may be that will win him this realm. Disregard these my words, and may be Ayudhya will disappear as other cities of old. But shouldst thou heed my advice, happiness and prosperity would be the lot of Ayudhya." Having heard such words from the teacher, great contentment did arise in the mind of the King; one difficulty alone remained before him, that is, the words that had previously fallen from his lips. His intent it now was so to devise a scheme that he might, without breaking faith, follow the advice of his teacher. And when the teacher had left, the King summoned to him Chao Phya Sura Siha, a son of his nurse and a teacher to him.
in the art of managing elephants. Chao Phya Sura Siha was led into his innermost chamber and was told privily of all that had passed. The lady whose name was Sombun was given into his charge. At the tenth month was born a child, handsome and noble of feature. And when tidings of the birth were brought to the King, many were the presents that he bestowed upon the child; namely, jewels, treasures, silks, servants, elephants, horses, garden and paddy land. Plentiful indeed were the presents from the King. The relatives and friends of Chao Phya Sura Siha himself did also bring many gifts; servants, horses, elephants, garden and paddy land; plentiful indeed were the gifts made by them; for of all Chao Phya Sura Siha’s relatives and friends one and all did bring gifts for the child. And relatives of the child’s mother also did bring a large amount of treasures and other gifts. Right well pleased was Chao Phya Sura Siha, for a very rich man did he well-nigh become.

When the child had become seven years of age, King Nārāyaṇa summoned him into the royal palace and commanded him to enter therein often and without fail. And the King conferred upon him the title of Chao Phya Črí Suraçakti Agrarāja Maṇtri Črí Svārgam. The utensils that were bestowed upon him were not similar to those of a royal prince but were superior to those given to the nobles; his seat at the royal audience was in front of all the councillors. Clever and quick of wit, Chao Phya Suraçakti was also valiant and fearless; fierce and cruel too was he, none did he fear. His hands were laid upon others as soon as words could drop from his lips. Others did he pinch, pull, kick, box and strike. And he made love to the daughters of those of the city of whatever nationality they might be; none of them did he leave alone. Even to those whom their parents guarded closely did he pay clandestine visits. He made love alike to those of noble birth and those of the poorest class, and gave them treasures in the same measure as his love for them. And once a noble, Chao Phya Rājavamsaśṛga by name, came to hear that Chao Phya Suraçakti was infatuated with his daughter and intended to steal her away. And having met Chao Phya Suraçakti in the palace, Chao Phya Rājavamsaśṛga greeted him and said: “Is it true, as men do say, that thy intent it is to steal my daughter? Let not such rumour come to naught, for thou art a man of skill. I, thy uncle, will prepare a reception for thee to-night at my house.” A great
and powerful man in the city was Chao Phya Rājavamsarga; and his desire it was to test the skill of Chao Phya Suraçakti. Wherefore did he make this further challenge, saying: "If thou were brave and skilful a daughter would I give unto thee. But shouldst thou be captured, upon thee would trouble befall. Fail not to maintain thy reputation." Having heard such words, which were uttered in front of many others, Chao Phya Suraçakti replied with a smile, saying: "So be it, o uncle. Thou art my elder and must keep thy words. Were I to fail on account of some past sins, then would I suffer punishment at thy hands. Bear not thyself as a rich man whose words pour forth easily but are not kept. What man is there indeed who will dare approach thy daughter openly? To-day shall we see as to which of us is the more skilful. Of my success do I feel some doubt, for thou art a man of skill; but had thy daughter been my mate in a past life, then surely would she become mine once again." These words were said with merriment in front of all the councillors, who thereupon agreed to go and look on at the venture. Having left the palace, Chao Phya Rājavamsarga ordered all his servants and retainers to gather together at night-fall; shadow-plays and Mon dances were shown amidst great tumult; and so many torches were lighted that his house was brightly illuminated. All the friends and relatives of Chao Phya Rājavamsarga did gather around him that night; and amongst them sat the daughter watching the plays. At a little past the hour of mid-night Chao Phya Suraçakti together with a trusted retainer did creep near to them, and, seeing his chance, he recited holy mantras and threw some gravel into the midst of the gathering. Sleep fell upon the whole assembly and Chao Phya Suraçakti entered into the house. All the lights were extinguished and the damsel carried away upon a sedan amidst loud cheers and cries. And when the morning came, both Chao Phya Rājavamsarga and Chao Phya Suraçakti went into the palace; and, after having left the royal presence, the latter showed his little finger upon which a ring was worn, saying: "What, o uncle, is the price of this ring?" Having perceived the ring Chao Phya Rājavamsarga laughed and said: "Truly thou art a man of skill. A great soldier of Ayudhya am I and now hast thou defeated me." And, having acquainted all those that were present of the challenge that he had made, Chao Phya Rājavamsarga said further: "My belief it was that none equalled me in my skill. I challenged
thee because I doubted thy love for my daughter, and glad I am that thou hast not failed. Now are things made clear in my eyes, and hence will none dare to fight against thee, o Chao Phya Suraçakti, for brave and skilful art thou, the greatest soldier in this our world." And Chao Phya Suraçakti replied: "Well do I know, o uncle, that thou too art a man of great skill. Though I feared the challenge made by thee, yet was my love greater than fear. To put my knowledge to the test was also my desire and my meritorious acts in former lives it was that helped me to win thy daughter, whom I had long loved. Have no anxiety, o uncle, for my principal wife will she become. And thy pardon do I crave for this my rash act. My intent it was to ask for the hands of thy daughter in the usual way; but it was thy challenge that led me to take a different course." The story of this adventure was told throughout the whole city and even King Nārayana was acquainted thereof. And all those who were possessed of daughters did give them away in marriage whilst they were young, fearing that they might be stolen by Chao Phya Suraçakti, who was a valiant man. And even with girls who had just entered into wedlock did Chao Phya Suraçakti commit adultery, whenever he found them young and pleasing in his eyes. Nor did their husbands dare to say aught but preferred to lead them away, for they held him in fear. But girls of ordinary beauty did he not steal; for he did only love the daughter of Chao Phya Rajavamsarga. Clever husbands could conceal such girls from him.

A valiant man and well versed in the arts was Chao Phya Çri Suraçakti, fearing not even Phya Vidyendra who was a great favourite of King Nārayana and was chief minister for both civil and military affairs. Once in the midst of an assembly of councillors who were seated at a royal audience, Chao Phya Suraçakti did intentionally swing his legs so that his feet struck Phya Vidyendra on the head. And he feared not even that fierce elephant that was named Som, for he was wont to mount upon its back by climbing its tusk. So fierce was this elephant Som that none dared to ride it save its keeper. And once whilst the King was journeying in a forest, Chao Phya Suraçakti rode a vicious horse that bucked and turned in all directions. The King cried out to him: "Wild is the horse and stronger is he than thou. Come then and ride with me on this elephant." To him Chao Phya Suraçakti replied: "A strong and vicious horse it is; but his strength do I wish to test and
soon shall we know who will be master." Having said these words, he galloped towards the Jab Cara lake and returned by way of the Garden of the Glass Pool. Upon arrival before the Phra Dhātu monastery a violent storm broke out and the frightened animal jumped over the wall that was about eleven feet in height and about six feet thick. Chao Phya Suraṇākṣi received no hurt nor did he even fall from his seat. And King Nārāyana, perceiving the jump, commanded the officers to go posthaste and see whether any harm had befallen him and to bid him return by the large gate. The officers ran up to him, saying; "The King commands thee to return by the large gate, and has halted his elephant to await thee." Thereupon did Chao Phya Suraṇākṣi bid them return to inform the King that he would go back by the way that he had come. And he whipped up the horse to the gallop and again jumped over the wall, to the wonder and admiration of all those that were present. And those men did praise his noble bearing, his bravery and skill, saying that he was surely destined for the great Umbrella of State.

King Nārāyana showed great favours towards Vidyendra, who was a Frenchman, and conferred upon him the title of Phya Vidyendra, principal minister for both military and civil affairs. A man of great wisdom and knowledge was Vidyendra, knowing all the crafts and able to make engines and mechanical contrivances. Even clocks, telescopes and compasses did he know how to make; yea, all things were within his knowledge and ability. Once King Nārāyana desired to know the weight of a cannon and no councillors were there who could devise means whereby the cannon might be weighed. Thereupon did the King summon Phya Vidyendra to the task and the cannon was weighed in accordance with the King's desire.

Some time thereafter Phya Vidyendra did plot against the person of the King, who was acquainted thereof by those councillors who had learnt of the treason. But King Nārāyana said nothing thereat; so great was his confidence in the power of his virtues and might that no action did he take. And once when Phya Vidyendra was at a royal audience, the King handed him a sword and walked hand-in-hand with him up and down the chamber; and, since Phya Vidyendra dared do no harm, no anxiety was there in the mind of the King. Once thereafter did Phya Vidyendra scheme to bore a tunnel that would lead him from his house into the palace. But the
secret was not kept, for tidings came to the ears of the chief councillors, Chao Phya Rājāvamsarga and Phya Hussein Khan, who forthwith acquainted the King of all Phya Vidyendra's designs. King Naraiyana thereupon commanded Phya Hussein Khan to summon Phya Vidyendra into his presence, for his intent it was to question the accused nobleman. This Phya Hussein Khan was an Indian, a worthy man of great wisdom and courage. Having received the King's command, he adorned himself and placed a sword at his waist. Thereafter he entered into the house wherein lived Phya Vidyendra; and the two men seated themselves upon chairs, the former holding the latter by the hand. And although he was told by Phya Hussein Khan that the King had summoned him, yet did Phya Vidyendra refuse to obey the Royal command. And forthwith did Phya Hussein Khan draw his sword and cut off Phya Vidyendra's head. Thus did Phya Vidyendra meet his death. When all that had happened was reported to King Naraiyana by Phya Hussein Khan, the King said nothing thereanent, so great was his love and confidence in both Chao Phya Rājāvamsarga and Phya Hussein Khan, the soldier of India.

(to be continued)
VOCABULARY OF CHAWNG WORDS
COLLECTED IN KRAT PROVINCE
by
NAI NOE ISARANGURA

INTRODUCTION
A great part of Krat Province is peopled by Chawng, a race still more largely represented in Cambodia, where they are known as Porr.

Crawfurd\(^1\), on leaving Bangkok after his mission in 1822, stopped for some days at Ko Si-chang, where, among the crew of a Chinese junk from Tung-yai (probably the modern Klung), he met "an individual of the wild race of the Chong, who appear, as far as I could learn, to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the territory of Chan-ti-bun and Tung-yai................. He gave me a short vocabulary of his dialect." Nowadays, at least, the Chawng, as far as concerns those in the provinces of Chantabun and Krat, are in nowise wild. They are a peaceable, industrious and good-humoured people. Crawfurd gives the vocabulary he thus obtained, consisting of eighty words. Allowing for the system of transcription used, it agrees fairly closely with that given below. It also supplements the latter, which omits a number of adjectives given by Crawfurd.

The present list also agrees, on the whole, with the vocabulary of the Porr in Pursat and Battambong Provinces, as given by Dr. Jean Breugues in Vol. II of this Journal.

Naï Noe Isarangura took down in Siamese script, and with their Siamese equivalents, the words from Chawng villagers who were also well acquainted with Siamese. More reliance should, therefore be placed on the Siamese translation of the words than on the English. With the Chawng, final \(r\) and \(l\) keep their sound, and do not change as in Siamese.

A. KERR.

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*Chawng Words*

Ban Dan Chumphon, Krat Province,
December 20th 1929.
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PT. II] VOCABULARY OF CHAWNG WORDS  183
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<td>To run</td>
<td>บป</td>
<td>บป</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To get up</td>
<td>got</td>
<td>ใต้น</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand up</td>
<td>ทารส</td>
<td>ยัน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down</td>
<td>กัด</td>
<td>นาง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lie down</td>
<td>สะก</td>
<td>นอน</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES AND QUERIES.

I

THE BLOW-PIPE IN NORTH-EASTERN SIAM.

When travelling recently in the province of Chaiyaphum, North-Eastern Siam, I found that the blow-pipe was in common use among the villagers. These blow-pipes are very simple affairs. They are made out of the bamboo called ruak (Thrysostachys siamensis). A full-sized one is about three metres in length, but much smaller are sometimes used, particularly by boys. The nodes inside the bamboo culm are burnt out by means of a red-hot iron rod. There is no inner tube, mouth-piece or any kind of ornamentation. The darts are made from pointed bamboo splints, about 40 cm long, wrapped round with cotton-wool at the blunt end. As might be imagined with a pole three metres long, the pipe is rather unwieldy, and usually has to be rested on a branch in order to get a steady aim. It is used almost entirely for shooting birds.

A. KERR.
Bangkok, May 1931.

II

A KAREN DOGGEREL.

On a recent visit to Doi Angka I hired the local Karens to beat the jungle for me on several occasions. One day, after some hours of fruitless tramping under a scorching sun, we sat down to rest, and I observed the following ceremony performed by the head beater.

A dried leaf was picked from a bush, held close to the lips, and a charm whispered to it. Then he broke the leaf crosswise five or six times, the leaf cracking into smaller pieces as he did so, but none
was allowed to fall to the ground. Holding the fragments in his palm he removed them two by two and threw them away. The point of the proceeding was that if two bits of leaf remained in his hand at the end, the hunt would be successful; if only one, further search would be a waste of time. Three or four trials were made, with one fragment left over each time, so there was nothing to do but to return to camp.

With some difficulty I induced the man to dictate to me the words of the charm, which I wrote down in the Siamese character. He was unable to translate their meaning into Lao. The alleged words were as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{สกุล} & \quad \text{สุ} \\
\text{สม} & \quad \text{สม} \\
\text{เหยื่อ} & \quad \text{เหยื่อ} \\
\text{เหยื่อ} & \quad \text{เหยื่อ}
\end{align*}
\]

H. G. DEIGNAN.
Chiengmai, May 1931.

III

SOME LOAN WORDS IN SIAMESE.

The development of imported words into Siamese is in many cases well worth noticing. The following instance may be of interest.

\textit{Aya (อาญา)}.

This word is derived from the Sanskrit अहा, "order, authority," made up of the prefix अ and the verbal root या. Early orthography of the word was (ಅಇ) which was an exact transcription into the Siamese of the original classical word. The compound अ (ಅ + य) having become obsolete in modern Siamese, it was then written ฤๅ which doubtless is phonetically satisfactory. An attempt is made in the school-dictionary to indicate the etymology by restoring the अ and writing ฤๅฤๅ. No indication of the sound being given, many people adopted a new pronunciation of the word, that is ฤๅฤๅฤๅ, which is of course unreal.
Let us now examine the development of its meaning which is even more eventful. For this particular purpose I have adopted my own translation of the titles of the Laws quoted, which may not be found in legal works. The following passages are intended to illustrate this development:

ที่มาของราชธรรมต่างกัน พระราชบัญญัติพระกรุงคฤหัสถ์ พระกรุงศรีอยุธยา จุฬาลงกรณ์ราชบุรี...................... (ฉกษาณ์ ราชบุรี, L. 24, 18a-c).
that is, in English:

"Ancient monarchs of yore, in their benevolence, lest their chief councillors and learned men as well as their people should misuse the Royal Authority, had the following law promulgated............"

Law on Royal Authority, Preamble.

Again:

จะตกลงไว้ต่อท่านฉบับเกี่ยวกับคุณสมบัติของกษัตริย์ซึ่งเห็นด้วยกับ
อุปถัมภ์ต่าง ๆ ตามอาชญา เท่านั้น หรือ (ฉกษาณ์ อาชญา ราชบุรี, L. 24, 124a-c).

"Now (we) shall treat of the fundamental category of litigation which covers cases in which one party infringes maliciously upon the rights of another on his own personal authority".

Law on Private Authority, Preamble.

It is evident from the above two passages that the word still retained its original meaning of 'authority'. The spelling of the passages quoted is that of the Recension of 1805 A. D.

The Thārmāsat (เทิ์รมาส), the date of which is, truly speaking, unknown, although the sixteenth century has been plausibly suggested as the date of its introduction, shows a difference in meaning in the following passage.

......อัปการกษัตริย์มีอาชญาและสัมพันธ์กับในอันใด..................ณ
บุคคลทั้งหลายพลีกนิยมสัมพันธ์อธิบายยกษา....................
ชั้นของกษัตริย์ (พระธรรมล่างศรี, L. 1. 2, 83).

"The act of extending punishment and fines or fees to the defeated litigant is called thanṭh (Skt. danda)."
The juxtaposition of 'fines or fees' would seem to warrant taking the word រិនបើ in the sense of punishment.

Finally:

“មុខការប្រការចុះនិងការមិនដាក់ការទៅកាត់ការចំនួនមិនយកឈើ”

....បញ្ចូលទៅនៅពេទ្យអន្តរជាតិថ្មីវី

“A person shall only be punished.................,” Official translation which served as original draft of the Penal Code of 1908.

A literal translation of this would be:

“A person shall receive punishment only when he has committed an act which the Law ordains as wrong and for which it lays down a penalty.”

Also from the same source:

ដោយបញ្ចូលតែដាក់រូបភាពការទៅកាត់ការចំនួនមិនត្រូវឈើ រូបភាព ដោយបញ្ចូលតែដាក់ការចំនួនមិនយកឈើ

“No other punishment than that defined by law shall be inflicted.”

These two passages show clearly how the modern sense of the word has become specified.

From the above it is fairly clear that the exact meaning of យកឈើ and គ្រប់គ្រាន់មិនយកឈើ are apt to be misunderstood, since it is more usual to speak in general of the Criminal Court and Criminal Law.

Turning again to words in general use outside the technique of Law, we find បិជ្ជីត, ayasit (Skt. Ājñāsiddhi), meaning 'absolute power over life and death' given to a commander in chief in a campaign, thus: គ្រប់គ្រាន់មិនយកឈើណាមិយ បិជ្ជីត, “the King gave power over life and death to the commander in chief,” that is the commander was vested with the siddhi of ājñā, in other words with the ājñā (of the King). យកឈើ (Skt. ājñacakra) is used quite vaguely and seems to have no connection with the original meaning in Sanskrit of the mystic circle of the Tantras, thus: បិជ្ជីតផ្សេងសន្ដី យក ឈើ (បិជ្ជីត), “if I commit a perjury, may I never escape the penalty of state” (a common vow).
The Pali form of the same word, อนิ (āṇā), is quite widely used in Siamese, mostly in a slightly different sense. By itself it is seldom met with. It occurs however in the formula of Invitation in the ceremony of Coronation:—

"ขอพระองค์ทรงแผ่ผ่องสุข และยังพระราชาดุนามา
ให้เป็นไปตามพระสั่งสั่งทั้งหลายข้าพเจ้า"

The Pali original, also repeated in the ceremony, being:

Guttín tesam pasārepto

Āṇam vattetu rājakaṁ

or in English,

"..........................extend his protection and exercise royal authority..............................." etc.

The compounds of āṇā are numerous and still widely used, though it seems hard to detect their original sense. They show, by the method they are written, that they could not have been imported but were locally coined, for they are jumbles of Sanskrit and Pali words thus āṇā (Pali) + cakra (Sansk.) ; āṇā (Pali) + prajā (Sansk.) + rāṣṭra (Sansk.) = āṇāprajārāṣṭra which is pronounced anaprācharad in Siamese. อนันต์ anākhet and อนันชา anacāk are loosely used to designate the extent of a political state, and may be seen translated in official papers as Kingdom, when applied to Siam, with the addition of รัฐ (royal), thus:

"The Kingdom of Siam is one and indivisible". The State Constitution, 2475, (sect. 1).

Also, อนันต์ is “exterritoriality”.

As regards อนันต์ we find for instance in the preamble to the Constitution above mentioned the injunction that:

ขอให้พระบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้า พระยาพิชิตสงคราม นาย ปราชรภูṣ จอมเกล้าสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัว รัชมังคลาภิเษก โนนจระาธิการ

Let members of My Royal Family, members of My Government services, military as well as civil, and the bulk of the people unite as a whole in maintaining this Constitution of the Kingdom of Siam......
The compound นกเกิ้ง, though seemingly indicating something like state revenue is now used in the sense of private income, as for instance in the phrase: นกเกิ้ง ท่านของตัวของ,t EQUIV NoU, which may be translated, "Take away as one's income", i.e. appropriate. Parallel instances are not uncommon in Siamese, and one can quite frequently hear an elderly servant speaking of his master's service as นกเกิ้ง which strictly speaking should apply only to that of the King.

ไทย, thou.

The word is obviously identical with the Sanskrit doṣa and Pali dosa, "wrong." In Siamese its meaning ranges from 'wrong' to 'guilt' and 'punishment'. I have not been able to trace its successive development, but here are some examples of its uses:

1. as Wrong: อาการไทย, ขอโทษไทย: to ask for forgiveness of wrong done. For comparison with the Sanskrit no classical example has occurred to me, but Apte, in his English-Sanskrit Dictionary (Bombay 1893), gives, under 'Apology': Svadosa Svikārah, which is suggestive.

ไทย is an abbreviated form of the above.

In medical parlance, it is used as in the Sanskrit, e.g. for Vāyu-dosa, we have: ลมไส้ไทย, เลมมไส้ไทย, 'the wind-element causes a disorder, or phlegm causes a disorder'.

2. as Guilt: which is also found in the original Sanskrit, there is ไทยนุไทย, thosanůthos, e.g. ผ่าแพร่ทุกกระแสนิ้วไทยนุไทย, to inflict the King's punishment (aṣa) according to the magnitude of his guilt (lit. to his [greater] guilt or lesser guilt), and consequently the punishment prescribed for his offence.

3. as Punishment: the word however has developed into punishment, for which no equivalent exists, I believe, in the original Sanskrit, thus: คุณใจไทยศิษย์, คุณใจไทยศิษย์, "the teacher punishes his pupil", and ไม่ได้ให้ ไทย seems to indicate a sense of being guilty of some wrong (offence).

Thus ไทย has usurped the meaning of ทั้ง (ทั้งๆ), which has almost dropped out of current speech except in proper names as กรมพันธมิตร, 'the Prison Department of the Government', and in a few compounds such as: ไทยศิษย์, meaning 'punishment.'
It should also be noticed in this connection that another form looking almost alike, \( \text{ถ้า} \) thosa, often \( \text{ถ้า} \) thosa, meaning 'anger,' is known in Siamese. It is from the Pali dosa and the Sanskrit dvesha. The latter, (\( \text{ถ้า} \), thāvēs) too is found in poetical use but with a different meaning, i.e. 'sorrow'.

However the word is seldom used with its correct meaning of 'anger' except in priestly or educated circles, being replaced as a rule by \( \text{ถ้า} \), moho, (\( \text{ถ้า} \) mohā, 'I am angry'), which in Pali designates 'infatuation.' The reason for this confusion may be that these two words, dosa and moho (along with lobho) appear side by side in the enumeration of the 'three roots of evil,' known to all Siamese as they are the subject of countless sermons.

D.

IV

A FURTHER NOTE ABOUT KHU MU'ANG.

A propos of Major Seidenfaden's notes on Khu Mu'ang (JSS, vol. xxvii, pt. 1, pp. 105-110), the following additional information might be of interest:—

There exists a memorandum dated 1782 (1146 of the Little Era), bearing the statements of a former official in charge of the Sacred Footprint (Phrabad), who was questioned by a committee as to the past general administration of the shrine. The result of the enquiry is recorded in the form of a statement (\( \text{ถ้า} \) kān) which was a common way of recording an enquiry into any important subject. Now, since the fall of Ayudhya King Taksin was so busy with his wars of deliverance that he hardly had any time left for much else. As his wars were being successfully terminated he unfortunately lost his reason. Anarchy followed until King Rama I started the reorganisation of administration in 1780. It is possible therefore that the process was just extending to Phrabad in 1782 by the appointment of a new curator who was president of the above-mentioned committee of investigation. The former official, known as Khun Khlon, is stated to have served under the monarchs of Ayudhya now known as King Boromakos or 'The late King' (1732-1758) and the King of the Suriyamarind Mansion (1758-1767). This 'statement' was published in 1918 (B.E. 2461) in the 7th part of the Prachum Phongsawadar.
The gist of the statement as far as concerns Khu Mu'ang is as follows:

Originally there used to be a township called Khidkhin (or Kitkin) which also had a Pali name "Parantapa". When, however, the Sacred Footprint was discovered 300 sen therefrom, the name Parantapa was transferred to the newly created township of Phrabad. The set of titles for the staff of its administrative council was also transferred along with the name of the district. The statement goes on to say that "whoever was not a native of the locality would not have been able to identify Parantapa at all, because the township had ceased to qualify as such long since, since the days, in fact, of King Kala. In that town there existed a double moat, four gates, namely: the Narrow Gate (Pratu Song), the Gate of Victory, the Water Gate, and the Gate of the Dead......" There was also a post for tying the white elephant on the mound of the palace, an ancient human skull which measured 8 kum (fist breadths). There were 15 monasteries, namely: Wats: Dharmasena, Saraphi, Sak, Mahalok, Kok Ban Mo, Hua Tapan, Çæng Nang Phien Nang Phot, Ket, Sud, Khwid, Luang, Nakh, Phra Non, Phinoy, and Nonsi. There were 21 villages, namely: Ban Talatnoy, Ban Wat Taphan, Ban Khmon Sasong, Ban Yai, Ban Khamot, Ban Noy, Ban Kho Saraphi, Ban Rai, Ban Kramang, Ban Pla Khwan, Ban Bang Yani, Ban Bang Khamin, Ban Mabpho, Ban Khwang, Ban Makok, Ban Mo, Ban Nongeik, Ban Nongsrakke, Ban Krau Krabtang. The distance from Khidkhin to the spring called Songkrib was 45 sen, thence to the Narai spring, 30 sen, and thence to the spring called Thor thwai sor (VICTORIA), 200 sen"

The greater part of the statement is occupied with a description of the shrine of the Sacred Footprint and its locality as well as the details and usages of its administration, civil as well as ecclesiastical.

From the above description one can readily identify this old township with the Khu Mu'ang of Major Seidenfaden. Examining the statement of Khun Khlon side by side with that of Major Seidenfaden we find quite accurate corroborations. Both mentioned the double moat, the mound of the palace or Kok Praat with its elephant post and the gigantic skull. Some differences exist with regards to the gates, for Seidenfaden records five and many different names. The "Narrow Gate" of Khun Khlon is not found in Seidenfaden's account, although it is quite possible that there still exists a gap which might have answered to the name in those days but has been forgotten.
The name of the second gate is found in Seidenfaden's map, but he was told that this (south-western) gap was one "of quite recent origin". Of the Water Gate no mention is made by Seidenfaden, but the "Gate of the Dead" was identified by him. Walled towns or citadels of any size, I believe, invariably had a front gate (the Gate of Victory), and a back one by which the bodies of dead warriors were carried out for final disposal (the Gate of the Dead). In this case perhaps the south gate and not the south west should have been its front gate—the original Gate of Victory. It follows too that whoever built this place—which by the way might best be called a citadel for reasons which will be explained later—must have been anticipating enemies from the south and south-west. As to the 15 wats and 21 villages within the civil administrative district of Parantapa, no doubt if a thorough examination were carried out on the spot there would be no difficulty in identifying them. From a glance at Seidenfaden's map one would be in the position to identify the following: Wat Dharma Sena, Wat Saraphi, Wat Sak, Wat Koh Ban Mo, and Wat Tapan; and also the following villages: Ban Talatnoy, Ban Mo, Ban Yai, Ban Khamot, and Ban Saraphi. These villages are situated along the present railway line from north to south. Our map does not extend very far to the west of the citadel, and thus many villages are still unidentified. Major Seidenfaden might still identify others but unfortunately he happened to be away while this was being written. As regards the places mentioned in connection with distances, their names are worthy of note in that they show their connection with the Siamese legend of Rama. Khidkhin is obviously the local form of the Sanskrit Kishkindha, the capital of Sugriva's kingdom. The other names of the same township, Senaraja Nakhon (i.e. Nagara) and Parantapa, have not as far as I have been able to find out, been used either in the Indian epic or the Siamese legend of Rama to denote the capital of Sugriva. The name "Senaraja Nakhon" of the Phongsawadar Nu'a might of course by a stretch of imagination be interpreted as "the capital of the lord of the forces", referring to Sugriva's position as generalissimo of Rama's main army, although it is to be doubted whether "Senaraja" was ever used in that sense in good Sanskrit. The names of the springs on the road, Songkrib and Narai, are highly suggestive. In the Lao legend of Rama, Sugriva is called Sangkibi. It is a well known fact that the Lao never retains an r when compounded,
with another consonant, and the identification of Songkrib would therefore seen to be reasonable, especially when the general’s name is so prominent in this neighbourhood. Narai is of course the local form of Narāyaṇa, or Vishnu. The name of the stream, Thör thwai sor, means the stream where the bow was presented. This probably refers to the Episode in the Ramakien when Rāma Sūr (i.e. the Parācu Rāma of the Indian legend) was vanquished by Rāma and made him a present of a divine bow. As a matter of fact the surrounding country abounds in names connected with the legend of Rāma.

The above provides a confirmation of the existence of a civil administrative district centred around this citadel of Khu Muang. Our information does not warrant the conclusion that the district consisted exclusively of the stretch of land comprised within this double-moat, for in its enumeration of villages and monasteries it went a long way north-east, east and south of it. It is therefore a confirmation, in my opinion, of Seidenfaden’s conjecture that the site could never have been a town. As to his suggestion however of its having been an island temple surrounded by a double moat which would easily lend itself to an employment as a fortress or a point d’appui, I should rather be inclined to imagine that it was indeed a citadel topped by a Hindu sanctuary intended for purposes of moral stimulation to its defence.

Our information unfortunately clears up nothing as regard its history. Its mention of Phya Kalaraj leaves us where we were. This King, since whose days Parantapa had been left to ruin, is hard to identify. Who was he, when and over what territory did he reign? The ‘statement’ passes over his name in a casual way. Khu Khlon might have taken for granted that everybody knew about this monarch or he might have been unable to furnish any further information himself. There are three possible alternatives in this respect. First, it might refer to a definite person, in which case we can offer no further conjecture for we have no information at all about any king of that name. Secondly, it might have been an abbreviated form of a longer name, and thirdly it might have been used in the sense of an epithet meaning ‘the Black King’, in the same way as King Naresuan used to be called the Black Prince. In these two alternatives there are certain possibilities. The Phongsawadar Nu’a says that Lavo was founded in c. a. 459 (a. e.
1002) by King Kalavarnatissa, the son of King Kakaphat, reigning in Takkasila († Cambodia) and some 500 years later King Kraison of Lavo, son of the man who founded Bienulok, sent men to build Senaraja Nakhon about 500 sen from his capital. The first named King, Kalavarnatissa, could not have been the one who left the citadel to ruin for the obvious reason that the Phongsawadar Nua dates him considerably before the foundation of Senaraja Nakhon. With regard therefore to its origin and early history it would seem that our new information leaves Major Seidenfaden’s theory still unchallenged.

D.

Bangkok, 8th October 1934.

V

THE EARLIEST TRANSLATION OF THE GOSPEL INTO SIAMESE.

Among the many interesting documents preserved in the Library of the "Missions Etrangères" at headquarters in Paris is a roughly bound volume entitled: "Premier livre de l’Evangile mis en Siam par Mgr de Metellopolis et achevé en 1685."

The book consists of pages of stout coarse paper (estimated size about 10" x 7") covered with Siamese script of the slanting type used in the seventeenth century, prefaced by two lines in Pali characters, and written by hand with good black ink. The writing runs from left to right along the breadth of the pages, so that the book must be held broad-wise to be read.

The first two lines of Pali appear to be an invocation such as is often found at the beginning of Thai chronicles. It is followed by a free translation of the first chapter of St. Luke’s gospel, beginning at verse five, and introduced by a few words relating to the period in the world’s history at which the narrative took place.

The translation is clearly what is known as a free translation, adapted for the understanding of Siamese readers to whom such Hebrew words as Jehovah would be incomprehensible. The word Angel is explained as `,` and the epithet for the Almighty is rendered by the Siamese phrase "` and `. Modern translators have adhered more closely to the Greek text, with which both Vulgate and English Bible renderings here coincide; and it is open to question
whether the system of free translation adopted by the Bishop is not preferable to the modern practice.

The Bishop of Metelopoli, the translator, was Louis Laneau, the heroic victim of the misunderstanding between the Siamese and General Desfarges in 1688. He guaranteed the strict observance by the General of the terms of withdrawal of the French garrison from Siam after Phaulkon's fall, and the General's failure to observe these terms led to the imprisonment of the Bishop and his fellow-workers for about two years at Ayuthia.

By nature and inclination the Bishop appears to have been ill-adapted for the political duties which fell to his lot, but all the record agrees in extolling his patience and dignity in adversity. According to his contemporary, Fr. Poquet, the Bishop's chief contribution to the Mission was literary, and his translation of the Gospel is proof of his erudition and of his enlightened ambition, which aimed at presenting the Gospel to the Siamese in a form less strange to them than it would have appeared in a textual translation from the original.

Bishop Laneau died at Ayuthia in 1696, after thirty two years of continuous residence and labour in Siam.

The original Manuscript was photographed by me in Paris in August 1931. The transcription has been made with the assistance of a friend in Chiangmai, who desires to remain anonymous.

E. Hutchinson.

Chiangmai, 15th August 1933.
Notes and Queries

(1) นางู = beautiful woman
นั้น = Protector, charitable.
TRANSLATION.

In the days, four thousand years after the first beginnings of the world, when the earth and sky had their origin, there was reigning in Rome a great Monarch named Augustus Caesar, whose sway extended over half the earth. The chief Minister appointed by Augustus Caesar as ruler in Judæa was named Herod.

At that time there lived a famous man named Zacharia; his wife's name was Elisabeth; the heart of both husband and wife was just before the Law, and they were renowned for their Faith and Trust in the Great Dewa, "he who overflows and who surpasses".

Now Elisabeth, from early youth to old age was barren.

Upon a certain day Zacharia took incense and went into the Sanctuary to worship the great Dewa in accordance with ancient practice. Thereupon, the Great Dewa, supreme and charitable, despatched a mighty "Angel"—that is, one of the higher Dewadsa named Gabriel, with orders to descend into the Sanctuary.

When Zacharia saw that Angel, his heart fell and he was sore afraid; but the Angel spake and said—

"O Zacharia, fear not, nor be dismayed: thy desire, which in former days thou didst plead before the Great Dewa, will now be granted, and thy wish fulfilled. Thy wife shall conceive and bear a male child, and at his birth men of all nations shall rejoice.

"Thou shalt give the name of John to thy son. Furthermore, he shall be a true Minister and perfect disciple of the Great Dewa, and even before he leaves his Mother's womb he shall abound in virtues and in the grace of The Great Spiritu Santo. Never will he drink intoxicating liquors, and he will endeavour to turn the hearts of the people of Judæa towards a renewal of the Faith………………"

VI

A PROPOS DES LOIS SIAMOISES.

La première édition de Bradley.

Pour autant que je sache, la première édition du tome ii des Lois procurée par D. B. Bradley manque à la Bibliothèque Nationale Vajiravudh. L'édition la plus ancienne que renferme ce dépôt est la seconde, datée de 1229 c. s., c'est-à-dire 1867-1868 à d. Les exemplaires de la première doivent être extrêmement rares. Pour ma part je n'en connais qu'un seul, venu entre mes mains il y a quelques années.
C'est un volume in-8, de pp. 513 + 2 p. n. c., qui mesure, après rognage, 240 x 143 mm., imprimé fort proprement sur un papier grisâtre, à raison de 21 à 23 lignes à la page, en règle générale. Il est daté de 1225 c. s., c'est-à-dire 1863-1864 a. n., et de la treizième année du règne de Mongkut.

Voici le libellé du titre :

หนังสือ | เรื่องกฎหมายเมืองไทย | ได้ทานละเอียดถึงกฎหมายฉบับทั้งหมด

ทุกเล่ม | เมื่อจุติครบ | ขั้นตอนแยกจดกิจ | กฎหมายทั้งหมดตั้งใน

กัน | เป็นหนังสือสามส่วน | ทั้งเล่ม | ได้แบ่งตามเป็นหนังสือพิมพ์อย่างเล่ม.

ในสมดุลที่น่า | เรื่องกฎหมายได้บอกไป | ในที่สุดหนังสือพิมพ์น. | สรรพ

หมายเหตุ, | ได้พิมพ์ข้ามเป็นภาษาบางแห่ง. | นั้นولوج

A la fin du volume, première page non chiffrée, v° de la page 513 et dernière, on trouve une table des matières précédée des trois lignes que voici :

⊙ หนังสือเรื่องกฎหมาย

⊙ จุติครบ ฉบับกฎหมาย

ได้พิมพ์ในเล่ม 3 สารเคมากกัน, เป็น 3 เรียงศิลป์

Ces deux textes infirment une assertion de M. Lingat, *L'Esclavage privé...*, pp. 28-29, d'après lequel "la tentative (de Nai Môt) fut reprise, avec plus de bonheur, une vingtainé d'années plus tard, par le missionnaire américain D. B. Bradley."

C'est en réalité quatorze ou quinze ans seulement après la tentative de Nai Môt (1849) que Bradley a publié le second volume de sa première édition.

On peut même déterminer plus précisément la date de publication de ce second volume, depuis que le Journal de Bradley est devenu accessible.¹) Sous la date du samedi 30 janvier 1864, Bradley écrit en effet :

"Having finished printing the Siamese Laws several weeks since, we took up a few days ago the Siamese History of the Kings of Siam from the founding of the city of Ayuthia and hope to put it through the press in four or five months."

D'où l'on peut inférer que l'achèvement du travail d'impression se place dans les derniers jours de 1863 ou les premiers de 1864. Voilà pour le second volume.

Quant au premier volume, je ne l'ai jamais vu en première, et la plus ancienne édition qu'en possède la Vajiravudh est, à ma connaissance, la quatrième, datée de 1236 c. s. (1874 A. D.).

J'avais d'abord pensé que Bradley s'était contenté en 1863-1864 de compléter l'édition Môt dont le premier volume avait échappé à la destruction ordonnée par Phra Phut Nang Klao. Mais il n'en est rien, et la première édition de Bradley était bien une nouvelle édition complète du premier volume. En effet, à la date du 1er mars 1862, Bradley écrit:

"My son G. B. [Cornelius Beach Bradley] has relieved me much in the printing office, engaged in printing the "Laws of Siam".

Et à la date du 15 novembre 1862, Bradley écrit encore, avec toute la précision désirable:

"My time much occupied during all the week writing for my next calendar and proof reading. Printed the last form of the first volume of Siamese Laws being in all 62 forms. It has been in the press about 11 months."

Nous savons donc désormais :

(1) Que la première édition de Bradley comportait un premier volume, que ni moi, ni personne que je sache, n'avons jamais vu. Ce premier volume couvrait 62 feuilles ;

(2) Un exemplaire du deuxième volume de cette édition est connu ;

(3) L'impression du premier volume a commencé en décembre 1861 ou en janvier 1862, elle a duré environ 11 mois et elle s'est achevée entre le 8 et le 15 novembre 1862 ;

(4) L'impression du second volume était achevée plusieurs semaines avant le 30 janvier 1864. En gros, le travail d'impression des deux volumes avait duré deux ans.

C'est en 1861 que Bradley avait décidé d'imprimer les lois. Le samedi 10 août 1861 il écrit en effet dans son journal:
I am much encouraged by the experiment we are making to obtain a part of our support by selling books on language, history, geography, the arts and sciences. It now seems to me that we should enlarge this branch of our business two or even threefold. We have many calls for the Siamese laws etc., which if we have (sic) them would sell to good profit.

J. B.

14 octobre, 1934.

VII

LES TROIS BANGKOK RECORDERS.

La Bibliotheca Indosinica, col. 782, consacre deux notices au Bangkok Recorder, la première, placée sous la rubrique Bangkok Recorder, vise l'édition siamoise, tandis que la seconde, placée sous la rubrique The Bangkok Recorder, a trait à l'édition anglaise. Ces deux notices, que H. Cordier a extraites d'un article du Siam Repository de janvier 1870 et de l'Essay de Sir Ernest Mason Satow, sont incomplètes et en partie inexactes. Comme le Bangkok Recorder est le premier périodique qui ait été publié au Siam, il nous a paru que ce serait faire œuvre utile que de compléter et de rectifier les notices de la Bibliotheca Indosinica, autant du moins que le permettent les documents dont nous disposons. On a même estimé qu'on devait profiter de l'occasion pour faire connaître aussi certains renseignements sur les débuts de la presse au Siam que contiennent ces vieilles publications, à peu près introuvables hors de Bangkok.

La Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok possède une collection complète du premier Bangkok Recorder.\(^1\) Elle comprend seize numéros dont le premier est daté de juillet 1844\(^2\) et le dernier d'octobre 1845. Cette publication était éditée par les soins de la Mission protestante américaine A. B. C. F. M. (American Board of

\(^1\) Cote m/a/s. Provient de la bibliothèque de feu S. A. R. le prince Bhumibol.

\(^2\) Il a été mis en vente le 4. A cette date, Bradley note dans son Journal intime: "Issued first number of Bangkok Recorder this day. It is a very small thing, but it may perhaps be the beginning of a great work in this line." (Abstract of the Journal of Rev. Dan Beach Bradley, Edited by Rev. George Haws Feltus M.D. B.D., Troy New York, 1930, p. 129).
Commissioners for Foreign Missions), établie au Siam depuis 1831, et était imprimée sur les presses appartenant à la Mission. En fait, le Rev. D. B. Bradley paraît en avoir assumé seul toute la charge. Le titre complet est พระสันตะสุนทรกรเว, *Bangkok Recorder*. Il résulte d'une notice insérée à la fin des numéros 2 à 5 et 14 à 16 que ce périodique paraissait le premier jeudi de chaque mois. Le prix de l'abonnement annuel resta fixé, pendant la première année, à un tical, ou 60 cents (de Mexican dollar). Pour la seconde année, qui commence au numéro 13, ce prix fut abaissé à un salting ou 15 cents, et les éditeurs offrirent même de servir le journal gratuitement à tous les fonctionnaires et à tous les dignitaires du clergé bouddhique qui en feraient la demande. Chaque numéro comporte 4 pages rédigées entièrement en siamois, à l'exception de quelques courtes notices relatives au prix de l'abonnement et d'un avis de faire-part du décès de Mrs. Bradley, rédigés en anglais. Les titres de tous les articles sont donnés en anglais, quelquefois avec leur traduction en siamois.

La lecture de ce premier *Bangkok Recorder*, ancêtre de la presse siamoise, est, il faut l'avouer, fort ingrate. On y trouve des articles de physique, de chimie, voire de philologie, des fables, de nombreux articles de physiologie et de médecine. On y trouve aussi des nouvelles d'Europe, d'Amérique, de Chine et de Singapour. Mais le Siam en est presque entièrement absent. Un seul article de quelque étendue traite d'un sujet local. Il est intitulé "Statistics of Ardent Spirit in Siam" et fournit quelques données sur la quantité d'alcool distillé consommé annuellement à Bangkok et dans les provinces. Les seules nouvelles locales qui soient enregistrées sont les succès chirurgicaux du Rev. Bradley qui, comme on le sait, poursuit, parallèlement à sa carrière d'éditeur, une carrière pour le moins aussi

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(2) Daniel Beach Bradley, né à Marcellus (Etat de New York) le 18 juillet 1804, était arrivé à Bangkok le 18 juillet 1835. Il ne retourna en Amérique qu'une seule fois, de février 1847 à mai 1850 et mourut à Bangkok le 23 juin 1873.

(3) No. 6 (décembre 1844), p. 22.

(4) Il convient toutefois de signaler que Bradley avait commencé, dès le mois de janvier 1843, la publication d'un almanach annuel en siamois, dont nous n'avons pu découvrir aucun exemplaire.
brillante de médecin et de chirurgien. Il convient de noter aussi l'extrême rareté des articles concernant la religion et l'absence complète de tout esprit de prosélytisme. Aussi bien, les silences du
Bangkok Recorder sont significatifs. La défiance générale à l'encontre de tout ce qui venait de l'étranger et la politique d'isolement que poursuivait alors le gouvernement siamois imposaient aux éditeurs une prudence et des réserves qui privaient leur entreprise de son principal intérêt et la condamnaient d'avance à l'insuccès.

Le seizième numéro du Bangkok Recorder, qui termine la collection conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok, ne mentionne pas que la publication dût cesser avec ce numéro. On y trouve, au contraire, la notice habituelle sur le jour de la publication et le prix de l'abonnement annuel. Le Journal intime de Bradley, pourtant si plein d'informations précieuses sur son activité d'éditeur, ne contient de même aucun renseignement sur la fin du Bangkok Recorder. On va bientôt voir pourquoi il est cependant possible d'affirmer que le numéro 16 (octobre 1845) marque bien le terme de la carrière du premier périodique paru sous ce nom.

Le 16 janvier 1865, le Bangkok Recorder, selon l'expression employée par Bradley dans son Journal intime, "ressuscitait" sous une forme nouvelle. L'éditorial du premier numéro contient les lignes

(1) Rev. George Haws Feltus, op. land., p. 333. Dans l'intervalle avaient paru deux périodiques, le Rajakirimupukia ou Gazette royale et le Siam Times. On se propose de revenir plus tard sur le premier dont l'existence, au début laborieuse, s'est prolongée jusqu'à nos jours. Pour le Siam Times, nous n'avons pu jusqu'à présent en découvrir aucun exemplaire. Aux renseignements recueillis dans la Bibliotheca Indica, on peut seulement ajouter que ce périodique a cessé de paraître à la fin de décembre 1865 ou au début de 1866. Il résulte, en effet, de l'éditorial du numéro 23 (16 décembre 1865) du second Bangkok Recorder que le Siam Times existait encore dans la première quinzaine de décembre 1865. D'autre part, le numéro suivant contient un avis annonçant pour le 11 janvier 1866 la vente aux enchères des effets de J. H. Chandler, y compris ses presses et son matériel d'imprimerie. J. H. Chandler, propriétaire et éditeur du Siam Times, appartenait à la Mission baptiste. Il quitta définitivement le Siam le 1er avril 1868. Une liste des périodiques parus au Siam publiée en 1929 par les soins de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok (นุสกรณ์มิหริธิ
ข้านมั่นในนายม่อมะสิบล) place en 1864 l'apparition d'un autre journal hebdomadaire, le Bangkok Press, qui aurait disparu dans le cours de la même année. Nous n'avons trouvé aucune trace de son existence ni dans le Journal intime de Bradley ni dans le Bangkok Recorder.
... About twenty years ago, there was a journal issued from this office, to which was given the name of Bangkok Recorder. It was wholly in the Siamese language, and we trust was the means of conveying to many of this people useful information.

"They were not however yet in a condition to appreciate such an enterprise, and partly on account of sickness in the family of one the parties concerned, and the increased duties of the other, it was discontinued, after a brief, but we trust useful existence of one year and three months."

Ainsi, le premier Bangkok Recorder, d’après le témoignage de son propre éditeur, n’a pas été au delà du seizième numéro.


"A Semi-monthly journal will be issued from the printing office of the American Missionary Association, at the mouth of the Canal, “Klawng Bangkok Yai"(1) about the 1st and 15th of every month. It will contain such Political, Literary, Scientific, Commercial, and Local intelligence, as shall render it worthy of the general patronage.

"The Recorder will be open to Correspondents subject to usual restrictions.

"The proprietors will not be responsible for the sentiments of their correspondents.

(1) Les deux premiers numéros portent ici "Klawng Bang Luang." Le changement a été apporté à la suite d’une note du roi Mongkut mentionnée au n°3 (p. 28).
"No communications will be admitted unless accompanied by the name of the Correspondent.

"No rejected manuscript will be returned unless as a special favor.

Terms of Subscription.

Yearly in advance ... ... ... $ 8.00
Half yearly ... ... ... ... $ 4.50
Quaterly ... ... ... ... $ 2.25
Extra Copies to Subscribers ... ... $ 0.30
... Non, do, ... ... ... $ 0.45

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First, Insertion. Ten lines or half a square, and under, One Dollar.
Each additional line, Five cents.
Subsequent insertion, Seventy Five Cents, for ten lines.
and each additional line, Five cents
Advertisers must be particular to specify the number of insertions.
Standing advertisements as per Contracts.
Communications and remittances can be sent to either of the subscribers, or left at the store of Messrs. Virgin & Co.

(1) N. A. Mc. Donald Editor
(1) D. B. Bradley Publisher

A l'exception des trois premiers numéros qui contiennent chacun une ou deux pages de texte siamois, le nouveau Bangkok Recorder est rédigé entièrement en anglais. Cette fois, on a bien affaire à un journal d'information, où la vie locale tient la première place. Dans chaque numéro un éditorial commente les événements les plus saillants de la quinzaine écoulée. En dehors de la chronique locale, des articles parfois d'une grande étendue fournissent d'utiles renseignements sur le Siam de cette époque. Un trait tout à fait remarquable est la liberté avec laquelle l'éditeur exprime ses opinions, n'épargnant pas davantage dans sa censure les plus hauts personnages du pays que les représentants diplomatiques étrangers. Naturellement, la polémique religieuse ne fait pas non plus défaut. Ce changement radical dans le contenu et le ton du nouveau Bangkok Recorder est un des témoignages les plus saisissants que nous connaissions de la transformation provoquée dans le pays par l'avènement

du roi Mongkut. L'éditorial du premier numéro rend compte de cette transformation dans les termes suivants:

“Things have changed materially in Siam since the Recorder made its first appearance. The late king had decided upon an exclusive policy. Supposing himself to be the greatest monarch of the day, he was disposed to have but little to do with those whom he considered his inferiors. No one was permitted to see him, unless by accident. Not seeming to know the old proverb that, “A cat may look at a king,” when he made his annual visits to the Wats, foreigners were forced by his officers into their houses, and the doors shut, and they were obliged to look through the bars like the inmates of some menagery.

“A Prince more friendly disposed to foreigners, has since ascended the throne, and those foolish restrictions have in a great measure been removed. Commercial treaties have been negotiated with the Western powers, so that even here “Japheth dwells in the tents of Shem in security.”

“The western arts and sciences have also been introduced to some extent, so that when we hear the snort of the engine, or the shriek of the whistle, we almost forget the surroundings, and imagine ourselves for a time in the western world . . . .”

C'est évidemment le spectacle de cette transformation qui a déterminé les éditeurs à faire reparaître le Bangkok Recorder et à imprimer à la publication nouvelle un caractère qui contraste si fort avec le timide essai tenté vingt ans plus tôt.

Dans le dernier numéro du 1er volume du Bangkok Recorder (n°. 24 du 30 décembre 1865, p. 241). Bradley annonce qu'il se propose pour l'année suivante de modifier le format du journal qui comportera désormais une seule feuille pliée en deux et de le convertir en un journal hebdomadaire paraissant le jeudi qui aura, davantage encore que dans l'année écoulée, le caractère d'un journal d'information. Il annonce également que le journal paraîtra désormais sous sa seule responsabilité, le Rev. N. A. McDonald, en raison de l'accroissement de ses charges de missionnaire, devant cesser de participer à l'édition. Enfin, la même notice donne le tarif de l'abonnement, qui est exactement le double de l'année précédente, à l'exception du prix du numéro qui reste fixé à 30 cents pour les abonnés et qui est réduit à 40 cents pour les non-abonnés.
On n'a pu mettre la main sur aucun numéro du Bangkok Recorder de la seconde année. Mais on sait par les extraits du journal intime de Bradley publiés par le Rev. George Haws Feltus, que le premier numéro de la nouvelle série a été mis en vente le 13 janvier 1866 et que la publication a été poursuivie jusqu'au 52e numéro, paru le 17 janvier 1867.\(^1\) Le second volume réunit donc, comme le premier, une année complète.

L'existence d'une édition siamoise du Bangkok Recorder permet heureusement de suppléer en partie aux lacunes de notre information concernant la seconde année de l'édition anglaise. Elle permet notamment de préciser les raisons pour lesquelles la publication n'a pas été continuée. Mais auparavant, il convient de retracer la carrière de ce troisième avatar du Bangkok Recorder.

On a vu que le second Bangkok Recorder avait été d'abord bilangue. À partir du quatrième numéro, la partie siamoise disparaît. Mais à ce moment fait son apparition un périodique indépendant, entièrement rédigé en siamois et intitulé: นักเรียนวิจารณ์ ฉบับ 1. The Bangkok Recorder. Cette édition siamoise du Bangkok Recorder devait exister parallèlement à l'édition anglaise pendant deux ans, du 1er mars 1865 au 16 février 1867. La collection forme deux volumes in-4° (265/220 et 265/210 mm) de 244 et 305 pages dont il existe pour chacun un exemplaire à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok.\(^2\) Cette publication resta jusqu'à la fin bi-mensuelle. Le prix de l'abonnement était de 5 bahts pour un an et de 3 bahts pour six mois. Le prix du numéro était pour les abonnés de 1 saluang 1 fu'ang et pour les acheteurs au numéro de 2 saluang. Le numéro, après avoir été d'abord de 4, 5 et 8 pages, a comporté, à partir du huitième numéro douze pages et exceptionnellement quatorze. Une notice insérée dans certains numéros de la première année porte comme co-proprietaires du Journal, D. B. Bradley et N. A. McDonald. Mais le titre du volume I, imprimé vraisemblablement à la fin de la première année, ne mentionne que le nom de Bradley, ce qui parait indiquer que ce dernier a en réalité assumé seul la charge de l'édition dès le début.

\(^1\) Rev. George Haws Feltus, op. laud., pp. 341 à 349.

\(^2\) Cotes ว.๔ et ว.๔. Il manque 8 pages du premier volume et 21, dont tout le n°3, du second.
Comme l'édition anglaise, l'édition siamoise du *Bangkok Recorder* contient un certain nombre d'articles d'intérêt général, dont plusieurs sont de la plume du roi Mongkut : articles de toponymie, de polémique religieuse, d'ethnographie, etc.\(^{(1)}\) Elle reproduit même quelques articles scientifiques du premier *Bangkok Recorder*. Mais, d'une manière générale, les actualités y tiennent une place plus grande que dans le premier volume de l'édition anglaise. Les événements, du reste, sont commentés avec la même indépendance et les critiques sont tout aussi hardies. L'éditeur se fait volontiers l'écho des doléances des particuliers contre les abus dont ils sont victimes. Mais cette source abondante de copie a été tarie, dès la fin de la première année, par un décret du roi rappelant à ses sujets que la procédure régulière en pareil cas est de lui adresser une pétition et leur défendant de saisir la presse de leurs griefs.—décret contre lequel Bradley n'a pas manqué de protester, mais sans résultat. Un bon nombre d'articles ont pour but de dénoncer au public l'activité politique du consul de France Aubaret, et sa prétendue ingérence dans les affaires intérieures du Siam. Cette campagne s'est terminée par une lettre d'excuse de Bradley reconnaissant qu'il avait été mal informé, lettre qui fut insérée, nous le savons par son Journal intime,\(^{(2)}\) dans le dernier numéro de l'édition anglaise du *Bangkok Recorder* et dont une traduction figure dans l'avant-dernier numéro de l'édition siamoise. Cette démarche n'a d'ailleurs pas arrêté les poursuites engagées par Aubaret devant le tribunal consulaire américain, et en février 1867 Bradley fut condamné pour diffamation à 100 dollars de dommages-intérêts au profit du consul de France.

Les soucis que lui causa cette malheureuse affaire ne manquèrent sans doute pas de contribuer à détourner Bradley du journalisme. Mais sa détermination était prise bien avant le jugement qui devait le confirmer dans son amertume. Dès le 1er décembre 1866, c'est-à-dire avant même qu'Aubaret eût engagé les poursuites, Bradley écrit dans son Journal intime qu'il se sent de plus en plus convaincu qu'il est de son devoir de cesser la publication de l'édition anglaise du

\(^{(1)}\) Quelques-uns de ces articles ont été recueillis dans *ไขลานเดือนไม้* ตุ๊กบกประสงษฐานในพาะภัสนุพิสษณ์ราชสกุลในเรื่องผู้ใน, publié par la Bibliothèque Vajiravudh en 2457 บ. (1915).

Bangkok Recorder à la fin du second volume, parce que cette publication ne lui laisse pas assez de temps pour s'attacher comme il conviendrait aux œuvres essentielles de sa tâche de missionnaire.\(^{(1)}\) Dans le numéro du 5 janvier 1867 de l'édition siamoise, il annonce publiquement que l'édition anglaise prendra fin à l'achèvement du second volume, et il laisse entendre qu'il en sera de même pour l'édition siamoise. En effet le numéro du 16 février 1867 de l'édition siamoise contient une notice avertissant les lecteurs que le journal cesserá de paraître après ce numéro. Dans cette notice, Bradley explique sans détourn que la raison principale qui l'oblige à abandonner son entreprise est l'hostilité du gouvernement siamois.

"Au début, dit-il en substance, le gouvernement était favorable à ce journal. Aussi tout le monde s'accordait à le trouver éminement utile, et nombreux étaient ceux qui l'achetaient. Mais, dans la suite, le journal a cessé de plaire en haut lieu, et le nombre des lecteurs a diminué au point qu'il n'est plus possible d'en assurer la continuation qu'au prix de lourds sacrifices." En fait, le numéro du 15 avril 1865 de l'édition siamoise nous apprend que le journal était tiré à 300 exemplaires au plus. Le numéro du 31 janvier 1866 fournit les noms des abonnés à l'édition siamoise. Cette liste comporte 102 noms; en tête figure celui du roi. Cinq noms sont d'apparence européenne. D'une notice insérée dans le numéro du 15 mai 1866, il résulte que le journal se vendait à cette date à 150 exemplaires. Enfin, la notice publiée dans le numéro du 5 janvier 1867 porte que le nombre des exemplaires vendus n'atteignait pas 140. On comprend que Bradley, qui se plaint par ailleurs d'être insuffisamment aidé dans sa besogne d'éditeur, se soit découragé en se voyant si mal payé de sa peine.\(^{(2)}\)

\(^{(1)}\) Rev. George Haws Feltus, op. laud., p. 346.

\(^{(2)}\) Cette déception n'empêcha pourtant pas Bradley, trois mois après le dernier numéro du Bangkok Recorder, de s'intéresser au lancement et à la publication d'un nouveau périodique, The Siam Weekly Monitor. Bien que ce journal ait paru sous la seule responsabilité de E. D'Encourct, qui en était à la fois "Editor, Publisher and Proprietor," il résulte, en effet, des extraits du Journal intime de Bradley publiés par le Rev. George Haws Feltus que Bradley ne s'est pas borné à en assurer l'impression, mais qu'il en a surveillé la rédaction et y a collaboré plus ou moins ouvertement. Cette nouvelle entreprise ne lui rapporta guère que des déboires, et faillit même lui attirer des poursuites, cette fois de la part de son propre consul, J. M. Hood. La faillite de D'Encourct mit fin brusquement à la publication, au cours de la
En résumé, il convient de substituer aux notices consacrées au
Bangkok Recorder dans la Bibliotheca Indosinica les notices suivantes.

Bangkok Recorder.

Publication mensuelle de langue siamoise éditée à Bangkok par la
mission protestante américaine A. B. C. F. M. Le premier numéro est
daté de juillet 1844, le 16e et dernier d’octobre 1845. Forme un vol.
in-4° (240/280 mm.) de 48 + 16 p.

Bangkok Recorder. | A semi monthly Journal | Res politicae,
Literatura, Scientia, Commercium, Res loci, et in omnibus veritas |
(avec un peu de siamois dans les trois premiers numéros). Publication
bi-mensuelle de langue anglaise éditée à Bangkok par N. A. Mc Donald
et D. B. Bradley. Le premier numéro est daté du 16 janvier 1865,
le 24e et dernier du 30 décembre 1865.

Forme un vol. in-4° (310 à 330/250 mm. pour les quinze premiers
numéros, 310/230 pour les suivants ) de 2 f.n.n. + 244 p. Le premier f.
n.n. contient le titre ainsi libellé: | The | Bangkok Recorder. | A Semi-
monthly journal. | Edited By—Rev. N. A. Mc Donald A. M. | Printed
at the Press of the American Missionary Association | Bangkok—
1865. | Le second f.n.n. contient la table sous forme d’index.

Continué par D. B. Bradley seul, sous la forme d’un périodique heb-
domadaire paraissant le jeudi. Le premier le numéro a paru le 13
janvier 1866, le 52e et dernier, le 17 janvier 1867.

seconde année. La Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok possède une collection
très incomplète du Siam Weekly Monitor (Elle va du numéro 41 du Vol.
Manquent les numéros 43 et 47 du Vol. I et les numéros 1, 2, 5 et 9 à 14 du
Vol. II.—Cote Aa 1), mais suffisante néanmoins pour des indications bibli-
ographiques. On en profite pour les donner ici, la notice de la Bibliotheca
Indosinica ne contenant de renseignements précis et exacts que sur le nom du
périodique et la date du premier numéro :

Au-dessus du titre sont figurés: un éléphant, un oeil et un tigre.
Publication hebdomadaire ayant paru le mercredi pendant la première
année et ensuite le jeudi. Éditée à Bangkok par E. D’Encourt. Rédigée en
siamois et en anglais, mais l’anglais domine.
Le premier numéro est daté du 22 mai 1867, le quinzième numéro de la
seconde année et dernier, du 29 août 1868.
Chaque numéro comprend 4 p. n. n. in folio (365/305 mm. après rognage).
VIII

NOTE EXPLAINING THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE TOWN
Paknampoh in the Province of Nakorn Sawan.

I have often wondered why the name Paknampoh (ปากน้ำโพ) was given to the place of that name, and I think many others must have had their curiosity aroused in the same manner. The word Paknampoh means the mouth of the river Poh or Poh mouth. I have asked many Siamese where the river Poh is, and have not yet received a satisfactory reply, in fact, they express ignorance. I pointed out that centuries ago the lower reaches of the river Ping might have been called the Poh, and that this name has been forgotten, only remaining as the name of the town, but this suggestion did not elicit any information. To-day while turning over the pages of the abridged version of the history of Ayudhia published in B.S. 117 (A.D. 1898), and again in B.S. 120 (A.D. 1909), (p. 1 of the B.S. 117 ed.), I came across a reference to this river. This history states that a King of Chiengrai, having been defeated by a King of Satong (the
Mon capital, Thaton or Saterng), retreated taking away with him the population. He came south, and eventually crossed the river Poh to the western bank opposite Kampengpet. He found the remains of an old city at this spot called Muang Peh, and built a new one known as Krai Krueng (เจ้าครุ่ง) on the old site. Now this river Poh is the lower portion of the river Ping (ปิง), It is but reasonable to assume that in olden days, the river Ping from its source to its junction with the Me Vang (แม่แวง), above Raheng (เรานา), was known as the Ping river, but after the junction of these two streams the river was known as the Poh, hence Paknampoh (Poh mouth).

Some two days journey above Kampengpet, there is a Tambol called Pakyom (ปากยม), the mouth of the Yom. Can it be that the river Yom in ancient days found its outlet here, and that the present channel which joins the Menam Nan (แม่น้ำน่าน) near Chum Seng (จุม สรวง) is of comparatively modern date. If the Yom joined the Ping at the place called Pakyom, then it may be that the name of the river Ping was changed to the river Poh after its junction with the River Yom. I think for historical reasons that a survey should be made to ascertain whether the ancient bed of the river Yom came south, and the mouth of the river was at the place called Pak Yom.

H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanuphab in his diary of a journey down the Ping river to Paknampoh (ปากน้ำปะ) published in B.E. 2461 (A.D. 1921) was not struck by the idea that if there was a Paknampoh, there must have been a Poh river, for he calls the whole waterway the Ping river.

The history I have referred to would seem to have been compiled from the works of Prince Paramanuchit (พระพิศาลพุทธได) and the Chiengsen and Yonaka Chronicles.

F. H. Giles,
1/1/1935.

IX

Who was Dharmaratā I of Sukhothai?

The King who has been known up to now as Dharmaratā the first of Sukhothai was the fifth monarch of the Phra Ruang dynasty, otherwise named Lithai or Lideyya. He it was who succeeded
Laethai, his father, after encountering some opposition. He it was also who erected the stūpa of the Great Relic of Nakhon Jun, concerning which we have an important inscription (No. III in Coedès’ *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, part I). He it was also who invited a learned monk from Ceylon, received him with much pomp and hospitality, and finally took holy orders himself for a time under his preceptorship (Inser. IV, V, *ibid.*). Him it was that this learned monk wrote of as “Liberal as Vessantara, wise as .... and strict in his observance of the Code of morals as King Silava, worthy of the commendation of the learned, proficient in Astronomy ...... learned in the Holy Scriptures ......” (Inser. VI, *ibid.*). He it was also who is known to have written perhaps the oldest surviving treatise in Siamese Literature—the Traiphūmikathā, now known as the “Traiphūm Phra Ruang.”

With every diffidence in contradicting the assignation of this ordinal number to King Lithai, I am afraid that certain facts have rendered it impossible for me to accept it, for the following reasons:

(1) Of the first three kings of the Phra Ruang dynasty, there can be no reason whatever for calling them Dharmarājā, for no claim to the title has been known to have been advanced. Their relationship to one another too is unquestionable. The founder of the dynasty, Śrī Indrāditya, was father to both the second and third kings—Bān Muang and Rāma Kamheng.

Now, Inscription II (face I, lines 37-8) says:

“ศัพท์พจน์ถึงพระพุทธคุณสมบัติในพระพุทธศาสนา นับถึงพระปรมาภิชญาน”

The passage was translated by Coedès (*Recueil*, I, p. 64) thus:

“Un petit-fils de Ba Khun Śrī Indrāditya nommé Dharmarāja, connaissant les mérites, connaissant la Loi, était doué d’une sagesse sans borne .......”

Professor Coedès has also a footnote under “Dharmarājā” thus:

“Dharmarājā I.”

Since Rāma Kamheng was the son of Śrī Indrāditya, it would follow that the grandson of the latter must have been Laethai, the fourth king of the dynasty, and not Lithai who was not a grandson but a great-grandson. It is true that the description of his wisdom and learning conforms rather to what has been known of Lithai than his father Laethai, but there is really nothing to disprove that the father too might have been “wise and learned” for in fact we have almost no statement so far about his personality.
Unless therefore the meaning of the word नर्स्नि (i.e. grandson) could be stretched to cover another generation, there would seem to be more reason to regard Leethai as the "Dharmarājā" referred to in Inscr. II as quoted above.

(2) In support of the above I would beg to quote another source, quite apart from the inscriptions. The Jinakālamālīni says:

"Sumana took the relic and went to Sajjanalai, where a son of Dharmarājā named Lideyyarāša (i.e. Lithai) was then reigning". (Jinakālamālīni, Siamese transl., R.S. 127, p. 170; also Cœdès: Documents sur le Laos occidental, BEFEO, XXV, p. 96).

This evidence, admittedly not so reliable as the inscriptions, is nevertheless valuable in so far as it confirms their statement. The work was written in 1516 A. D. by a monk of Chiengmai named Ratanapañña. It is open to question as to whether he had any access to the inscription now before us. I am inclined to think he had not, for, if he had, he would not have recorded facts so contradictory to the inscription, such for example as saying that Rāmarājā (i.e. Rāma Kamhāng) succeeded his father and was succeeded in turn by Pālarājā (Ban Muang) his brother.

Professor Cœdès, in his "Documents sur la dynastie de Sukhodaya" (BEFEO, XVII, 1917, p. 45), thus commented on the passage:

"D’après J. (Jinakālamālīni), Lideyya en 1355 A. D., gouvernait Sajjanālaya en qualité d’uparāja de son père Dhammarājā, roi de Sukhodaya. Mais, dira-t-on, cette même Jinakālamālīni ne dit-elle pas un peu plus loin que Dhammarājā est un surnom de Lideyya; et ne s’agit-il pas d’un seul et même personnage? Pas nécessairement. L’épigraphie nous montre que le titre de Dhammarājā, porté par Lidaiya (= Lithai or Lideyya) l’a été aussi par ses successeurs jusque dans le courant du XVème siècle. Il peut fort bien l’avoir été par son prédécesseur, et il n’y a pas forcément contradiction entre les deux passages de la Jinakālamālīni." The italics are mine.

(3) The inscription of Nakhon Jum (No. III in the Recueil, I), set up in 1357 by King Lithai, commences by saying that King Lithai was the son of Lu’athai (i.e. Lethai) and the grandson of Rāma (i.e. Rāma Kamhāng). After setting forth its main object—the commemoration of the installation at Nakhon Jum of a holy relic brought from Ceylon, with admonitions of a theological character involving lengthy calculations of time so dear to the heart of that monarch—it goes on to enlogue King Lithai and then to relate of
the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom under his grandfather Rāmārāja (face 2, line 12). Although unfortunately this part of the stone is very mutilated, yet we have the mention, immediately after Rāma Kamhāng’s reign, of a successor “to the throne of his ancestors” (line 24) who ruled in righteousness (line 26), levying no duty on inheritance etc. (line 44, and was enabled by the merit of that righteousness to rule a long time (lines 46-7). It sums up (lines 29-30) by saying that “... ...(under Dhar) mīkārājā the kingdom was happy to live in.”

The point here revolves round the personality of the King “Dharmikārājā” or Dharmarājā. It has been understood up to now that the epithet here referred to King Lithai (Recueil, I, p. 78). Professor Cœdes summed up (ibid.) the passage from face I, line 64 to face II, line 47, as an “eulogy of the King” etc. I do not however think that it referred to King Lithai alone. The passage begins, it is true, with an eulogy of that King, but on face II line 12 it goes back to the time of Rāmārāja—as I have already pointed out, and even to a successor (line 24), whom it styles Dharmika (“the righteous”) (line 30).

Now, considering that the passage comes directly after detailing the prosperity and happiness of Rāma Kamhāng’s time, it seems but natural to expect that his successor—Loethai—must have been the next King to be mentioned, and that therefore the epithet “Dharmikarājā” applied to him. Besides, since King Lithai’s eulogy has just been concluded above, it seems hardly likely that he could be again referred to here in this way.

I have come therefore to the conclusion that in this last part of the inscription, after eulogies of his own wisdom and erudition, King Lithai had eulogies of his two immediate predecessors added on and that therefore the “Dharmikarājā” here referred to King Loethai and not his son as has been generally thought.

(4) The Buddha’s Footprint on Mount Sumanakūṭa at Sukhothai is again mentioned in a few other places and gives us further clues to the identification of King Loethai as the Dharmikarājā or Dharmarājā.

In Inscription VIII (Recueil, I) which commemorated the installation of the Footprint on this mount, we have the statement that the King came to pay his respects to the Footprint on Mount Sumanakūṭa ‘which his own father set up’ (face 4 lines 16-17).
The inscription is undated, but, since it names King Črī Suriyabongs Mahādharmarāja, it has been thought that the King was Lithai’s son, to whom this name has been attributed by scholars. I believe however that it could have been none other than Lithai himself for I have evidences of his having been called this name. King Lithai unfortunately bore both the names of Črī Suriyabongs Rāma Mahādharmarāja (Insc. IV, face I, lines 12–13; V, face I, line 14 etc.) and also Črī Suriyabongs Mahādharmarāja—without the Rāma—(Insc. III, face I, line 7; IV, face 3, line 58; VII, face II, lines 32–33 etc.). According therefore to my belief, the father who set up this Footprint was King Leethai, and the King who made the great pilgrimage was Lithai. In short I believe that we should move up one reign for both of these events.

To sum up then, I venture to submit that not only King Lithai and his successors, but also King Leethai, his immediate predecessor, was known as Dharmarāja or Dharmikarāja, both titles being identical, because:

1. Inscription II (face II, lines 37–38) says that the grandson of Črī Indrāditya (i. e. Leethai) was called Dharmarāja;

2. This is supported by the evidence of a similar statement from the Jinakālamālini—an independent source;

3. Inscription III mentions the successor of Rāma Kamhāng as Dharmikarāja, and that Dharmarāja had a Footprint of the Buddha made and set up on Mount Sumanakūṭa at Sukhothai. The epithets are identical.

4. Inscriptions III and VIII record the pilgrimage of King Lithai in 1359 to Mount Sumanakūṭa at Sukhothai where a Footprint had been made and set up by his own father (i. e. Leethai).

I also venture to suggest that in the light of the above data, King Leethai is naturally the first Dharmarāja while his son Lithai becomes Dharmarāja II and his successors hitherto, known as the second, third, and fourth of the name would become third, fourth and fifth respectively. This change of order will be followed in my paper on Thai Ceramics.

Besides the above there are parallels between Incription II and XI which are highly suggestive. Inscription II mentions a prince bearing the royal title of Phra Rāma. He was the son of a certain Phya Kamhāng, the son of Khun Pha Muang. He was also called in this Inscription by a name which he later acquired in holy orders, namely
“Somdec Cau Çrisaradhārājacakālamani, the jewel of the Island of Lankā”. This prince's pious actions resemble in a most striking manner the pious actions of some one in Inscription XI whose name cannot be found. The latter Inscription was set up by the benefactor who built the chedi of Rāma and the vihara of Rāma at the “monastery of Rāma on Mount Sumanakūṭa”, which monastery scholars have identified with the one on Khao Kob at Nakhon Sawan.

Among the parallels worthy of notice are:

**Inscription II**

*Prince Rāma, in his devotion to Religion:—*

(a) *decked two daughters with rings, and bangles, and gave (them?) to those who sought them*.

(b) *(at the monasteries he built, arranged men to)*

(wash the feet of the high monks etc. (as they enter the buildings))

(c) *went to Ceylon, where miracles happened in connection with the ‘great precious relic’ of the Buddha, (face 2 lines 49 to end) and the relic was brought back* (face 2 line 42)

**Inscription XI**

*Some one:—*

(a) *two daughters who were decked*.

(b) *(In building holy places he)*

(arranged for good men to)

(bring water to wash the feet of the holy brothers)*

(c) *went to India and Ceylon (face 2 lines 15-16), found the great relic (line 17), (after) ten years crossed over to Tanaosri (Siamese port now in Lower Burma) (line 19), and sought the presence of the King at Ayudhya (line 21).*
Now Inscription XI mentions that Phya Mahā Dhar (-marājā?) came to clear the forest, level rocks and stones, set up the Footprint and built a monastery and many other things in order to "dedicate the merits accrued therefrom to his younger brother Phya Phra Rāma."

Moreover, as this was dedicated to Phya Phra Rāma, it is quite likely that his exploits would be recorded on the back of the Inscription. Unfortunately the top lines of the back have been obliterated and we are left to guess whom it is all about. From the similarity of the deeds recorded in the two inscriptions, one is naturally tempted to suspect whether the Prince Rāma of the second inscription might not after all be identical with the unknown person of the eleventh.

I am also inclined to suspect that the "Phya Mahā Dharmarājā" of Inscri. XI who set up the Footprint might have been King Lœthai himself; and that the "Phya Kamhaeng" of the second inscription who was "father to Prince Rāma" might well have been King Rāma Kamhaeng too. As for Pha Muang, "the father of Phya Kamhaeng" (Inser. II), perhaps he was a father-in-law. Colloquial Siamese even nowadays, makes no fine distinction between a father and a father-in-law; it is quite common to hear him being called ณ simply.

And the result of this would be that the author of Inscription XI was none other than Lœthai himself.

Phya Nakhon Phra Ram.
REVIEWs OF BOOKS.

SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS IN B. E. 2474 (1931-1932 A. D.).

Statistics of Siamese publications sent to the Royal Institute (in compliance with the Press Act) and reviews of some of them have been published in the number of this Journal for July 1932 (Vol. XXV pt. 2, p. 216, sqq.).

The number of books received during B. E. 2474 shows an increase over that of the previous year and is distributed, according to the date of receipt and subject matter, as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Books</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
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<tr>
<td>April to June</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July to September</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1,176</td>
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<tr>
<td>October to December</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>418</td>
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<tr>
<td>January to March</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>574</td>
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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Books</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pali Texts</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>67</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>700</td>
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<td>Law</td>
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<td>History</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Journals, essays etc.</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>221</td>
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<tr>
<td>School books</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>169</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poetry and drama</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>652</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>137</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Thus the total for the year is 1178 books in 2362 volumes. But the books that are out of the rut are comparatively few and the present writer, at any rate, has found only eight books of this kind viz.
(1) "Nangsû Jon Jât Thai," a translation of Dodd's "Thai Race," by Princess Mondôrôb Kamalâsana, pp. 277. Printed for distribution at the cremation of Nai Sin Hun Ramrunghib B.E. 2474. Setting aside the question of any inaccuracy that may exist in the English book the translation is important in that it makes the contents of Dodd's book accessible to some extent to Siamese readers.

(2) "Songrâm lâa Śantîbhâb," a translation of Tolstoy’s "War and Peace" from the Russian, by Major Luang Yot Avudh, 2551 pp., in 4 vols. Price: Vol. 1, Tes. 4; Vol. 3 and 4, Tes. 3 each. The book is not a full translation, but has been popular with Siamese readers.

(3) "Boëânñûkrom Kot 'mây" a dictionary of Siamese legal terms, ancient and modern, by Khun Samahar Hitagati.

(4) "Mo Khvâm" ("The Lawyer"), a treatise on legal procedure, pp. 285. Printed for distribution during the funeral of Madame Lanûn Indramontri, December 2474.


(6) "Lak laa vidhi Kep Rakshâ Āhâr" on preserving and canning food, by 'Mom Sci Brohmâ Krîdâkor, pp. 129, Price Tes. 1.


(8) "Rûâng Thio Pradeś Tavan Ok" ("Travels through Eastern Countries") by Princess Síp Phân, pp. 263. Printed for distribution at the cremation of 'Mom Chao Davidhâbhisek Soñakul, B.E. 2473 (N.B. Recently a new edition of this book has been brought out for sale, price Tes. 1.25 per copy).

A brief and just review contributed by a well known scholar is given below:—

"The authoress, having undertaken a journey through Malaya, Hongkong, Manila, China, Japan, Cochin China and Cambodia in 1926, has elaborated her notes of travel with historical data and her own observations. As she already points out in the preface to the 3rd. edition, the aim of the book is to talk of her travels chiefly
to fellow women of Siam. It is therefore evident that for readers abroad the interest would lie mainly from a psychological point of view. It has been said by a critic that bearing in mind that she was brought up in the household of the late Queen Saovabha, receiving education at the same time at the Rajini school for girls, one would therefore be led to expect a product of modern education with a background of Siamese traditions. The book in fact reverberates the above tones with a modest and observant way of looking at things in general. Her treatment of China and Japan are especially noteworthy. China is regarded by the Siamese, as a close relative —the traditional "elder brother"—of Siam, the former fountain of culture and refinement, which has of late been engaged—most decidedly without success—in a political experiment. The authoress, writing before the Siamese revolution, moralises upon the political example. The same moralisation with a different conclusion will be found in the case of Japan. The latter, always a little understood comrade of Siam, is here considerably vindicated for her reserved character, and given her due place in the realm of arts, culture and above all duly appreciated for her national stability. Considerable space is devoted to Angkor, the Athens of the Siamese."
MEMBERSHIP.

The following changes in membership have been recorded during 1935:

ELECTIONS.

May 15th.—Phya Boromabat Bamrung, Mr. H. G. Deignan (restored).
July 17th.—Dr. R. L. Pendleton, Luang Medhi,
October 2nd.—Mr. F. R. Dolbeare, and The Taichoku University Library.
November 1st.—Phya Pananuchorn, Luang Saman Wanakit,
             Dr. H. Gerlach and Mr. J. Richard.
December 4th.—Luang Siribaed.

DIED.

The death of the following members is recorded with regret:—
Sir George Scott (Hon. member); H. H. Prince Prisdang;
H. E. Dr. E. Nord; and Phra Aran Raksa.

RESIGNATIONS.

1934

Mr. E. Eisenhofer,
Mr. R. Follet,
Lt.-Col. F. C. Fraser,
Mr. J. R. Gould,
                   Mr. R. P. Jones,
                   Mr. C. Notton,
                   Mr. C. Moninot,
                   Miss Porter,
                   Mr. A. Queripel,
                   Mr. H. Paschkewitz,
                   Mr. J. G. Shelley.

1935

Mr. J. Baxter,
Phya Bhakdi Noraset,
Phya Boromabat Bamrung,
                   Mr. H. M. S. Jacobi,
                   Mr. W. Haines,
                   Mr. A. N. Gould,
                   Mr. D. F. Mace,
                   Mr. P. Schweisguth,
                   Dr. O. R. Causey.

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