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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON NON-METRICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NEOLITHIC SKELETONS FOUND AT BAN KAO, KANCHANABURI

by
Sood Sangvichien

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Thon Buri

The discovery of neolithic skeletons at Ban Kao by the Thai-Danish Prehistoric Expedition immediately struck me as a wonderful opportunity to attempt to throw some light on the problem of the origin of the Thai people; a question upon which there has been much conjecture and which remains unsettled.

Previous study concerning the origin of the Thai clearly evidences a fundamental disagreement over the types of people who inhabited this part of the world now called Thailand in early times. On the evidence of language, tales, Chinese annals and of culture, most students of Thai history seem to think that the present Thai territory was inhabited by a group of people called Mon-Khmer. They believe further that the Thai at this time lived in the southern part of China, and even earlier in the area between the Huangho and Yangtze rivers; that the Thai were driven by pressure from the Chinese to their present situation. Two studies, however, seem to contradict this idea. One is that of Professor Credner who, noting that the Thai are rice-cultivating people who prefer a tropical climate and do not inhabit mountainous slope-lands, thought that the Thai must have lived originally in low-lands near the sea; the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in China, for example. The second dissenting study, by a student of Chinese history, Dr. Mote, claims that there is no evi-

1) First presented at a Seminar in December 1964 on the question “Who are the Ancestors of the Thai” organized by the Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University.
2) See Credner, W., Cultural and Geographical Observations Made in the Tall (Yiinman) Region With Special Regard to the Nan-Chao Problem (Translated from the German by Major Erik Seidenfaden), Bangkok, 1935.
ence at present to indicate that the Thai ever lived in the northern or even in the middle part of China. And, in fact, in the Kingdom of Nan-Chao, which most people believe was developed by the Thai, they were but a minor group. The people who might be related to the ancestors of the present Thai lived in the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung.

To date these differences have not been resolved. I would now venture to attempt this.

When we Thai began to take an interest in our own history, our neighbors, guided by the West, and already made much progress in the study of their histories and prehistories. Whenever we in Thailand made any find of importance it was compared with what had already been found in neighboring countries. Our studies were mainly concerned with surface finds: special structures, buildings and artifacts found inside them. We took very little interest in excavation. The skeletons discovered during the excavation at P'ong Tük, for example, were ignored by students of Thai history. When the finds in Thailand corresponded to what was found in neighboring countries it was concluded that present Thai territory was occupied by similar peoples. From this it followed that the Thai must have been elsewhere, and no place was more suitable than the southern part of China where Thai-speaking people live today. Assuming, instead, that the present territory of Thailand was inhabited by ancestors of the present Thai we would account for that similarity in cultural elements with neighboring countries through natural diffusion. For example, the principal art styles in Thailand (the dates of which overlap generously, to the confusion of those who take an interest in Thai history) are: Dvaravati, 6th-11th centuries A.D.; Srivijai, 8th-13th centuries; Lopburi, 11th-14th centuries; Chiengsaen 12th-16 centuries; Sukhothai, 13th-14th centuries; and U-Thong, 12th-15th centuries. Assuming that relations with neighboring countries caused these styles—Dvaravati, Srivijai, Lopburi, Chiengsaen, Sukhothai, U-Thong—to be introduced during the 6th-15th centuries, we

5) See Dodd, W.C., The Thai Race, Cedar Rapids, 1923.
would eliminate entirely the question of mass migration and the dispersal of those people supposed to have occupied this area previously.

To prove or make this idea acceptable, one has to find evidence that the Thai people or the ancestors of the present Thai lived in this area during prehistoric times. The evidence cannot depend on the study of history or what is called proto-history but must proceed from the study of prehistory. The kindness of the Thai-Danish Prehistoric Expedition members, and especially Mr. Per Sørensen who permitted me to work at the excavation, the Committee of the National Museum of Copenhagen who invited me to study the skeletons, and Professor J. Balslev Jørgensen of the Laboratory of Anthropology at the University of Copenhagen, who supervised technical aspects, have allowed such study. Though the work is not yet complete (comparison with Thai skeletons at the Department of Anatomy, Faculty of Medicine and Siriraj Hospital is, in fact, just beginning) and I can now give only a preliminary report based on 37 skeletons, the findings thus far encourage the belief that the Ban Kao neolithic skeletons will indeed yield evidence pertinent to the question of the origin of the Thai people.

The life span at Ban Kao was short: 26 skeletons are those of people of an estimated age of less than 30 years; only two of more than 40 years. Physical condition appears to have been rather inferior; many long bones are weakly developed with femurs curved forwards. Stature was nearly the same as that of the present Thai.

The inhabitants of Ban Kao had short ovoid skulls, as is found in the present Thai (fig. 1), with medium and broad faces, broader than the present Thai (fig. 2). The Ban Kao skeletons show a broad and flat root of the nose; a good number of the present-day Thai skulls also show a broad and flat root of the nose (fig. 3). The skulls at Ban Kao have slight alveolar prognathism; a mild degree of alveolar prognathism can be seen in present-day Thai skulls, especially in female ones (fig. 4). The skulls at Ban Kao have a short, wide, deep palate; the same can be seen in present-day Thai skulls (fig. 5). The mandibles of the neolithic skulls6 appear to have been weakly

6) The report of my investigation of the mandibles of the neolithic skulls is being prepared by the Committee of the National Museum in Copenhagen.
developed, but the sides diverged at the symphysis menti so that the bicondylar and biconial diameters were enlarged, which would make the mandible prominent in life; the same condition can be found in the skulls of present Thai (fig. 6). In the Ban Kao skulls the four front teeth of the lower jaw lie in a straight line, disrupting the smooth curve of the dental arch which bends at an angle in the region of the canines; this condition has been found in some skulls of present Thai (fig. 6). The shovel characteristic of the upper incisors of the neolithic skulls is not so pronounced as that found in other Mongoloids (following Dahlberg's classification it falls in the groups "a" or "b"); similarly this characteristic is not pronounced in present Thai skulls. The Ban Kao skulls have many caries in their teeth with masticating surfaces quite worn down; caries can be found in large numbers in present Thai skulls, but the masticating surface is different. Erosion of the labial surface of the crown in some teeth from the Ban Kao skulls, due perhaps to eating citrous fruits or using a hard brush made from the root of a tree, is not found in present-day Thai skulls.

Two artificial deformities of the teeth were found in the skeletons at Ban Kao. One was the extraction of the lateral incisors and canines of the upper jaw on both sides about the time of puberty (fig. 7). This is not found in present-day Thai skulls but one out of seven bronze age skulls found at Lopburi evidence such extraction (fig. 8). The extraction of teeth at puberty is still practiced by Australian aborigines. The other deformity noted was the filing of the labial surface of the upper incisors (fig. 9); this also cannot be observed in present-day Thai skulls, though some claim that the filing of teeth was practiced some 50 years ago in the southern part of the country. I have not found substantiating evidence of this, but two interesting reports from which I should like to quote speak of this custom. Dr. Mote notes that in Chapter Four of the Man Shu the customs of the Mang-man are described as follows: "The 'black-teeth' tribesmen use lacquer to paint the teeth; the 'gold teeth' tribesmen wrap thin sheets of gold around their teeth. When some matter arises that they must go out to meet people, they put on this gold as adornment, but they
take it off when they eat ...”. While giving no indication of the practice of filing, this indicates that that branch of the Thai race living on the southwestern border of the Nan-Chao Kingdom did something to their front teeth. A note by Dr. Wales reads as follows: “In the meantime the drawing made at the museum [Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons] which illustrates my article, shows the tooth-filing very clearly [fig. 10] One cannot fail to notice a strong resemblance in this respect to the filed teeth of the neolithic skulls recently found by the Thai-Danish Prehistoric Expedition higher up the same river Meklong. Perhaps the P’ong Tük skulls could be those of a similar people who by the early centuries of the Christian era had come into the possession of iron weapons”.8

Dr. Wales has expressed himself differently at different times on whether the skulls found at P’ong Tük belonged to ancestors of the Thai or not. In 1937 he held that: “All we can say is that, so far as the present evidence goes, it appears to point to the conclusion that Thai colonies were already established in the Meklong valley (and presumably the Menam valley also) in the early centuries of the Christian era: and thus it may be that the existing theories on Thai migration into Siam will have to be revised.”9 In a ‘correction’ published in 1964 Wales stated that he had learned that filing of the teeth is not a custom of the Thai and that the four Thai skulls in the Royal College of Surgeons collections showed no trace of tooth-filing. He wrote to Professor Cave who had examined and compared the P’ong Tük skulls in 1937 to ask whether any error could have been made. Professor Cave replied: “Whatever skulls I did use for comparison with your excavated specimens, must have shown filing of the teeth and must have had Siam as their locality although such specimens may have represented Malays hailing from Siam rather than genuine Thai people”. Consequently, Wales concluded: “In view of such frankness it is hardly necessary to emphasize that any supposition

that the P'ong Tük skulls provide any evidence for early Thai occupation of central Siam must be finally abandoned."

Though we cannot come to any definite conclusion concerning the relation of the P'ong Tük skeletons to the present Thai as no other racial characteristics have been studied, we have discovered that tooth-filing has been practiced in this country from neolithic times to early in the Christian era, and, assuming there is no doubt about the statement of Professor Cave, the custom was practiced somewhere in Thailand or Malaysia during this century.

Another characteristic which might prove significant is that in skeleton adult Lü II11 (in addition to other features such as a broad, flat, root of the nose with a wide and deep palate) the bones of the skull were the thickest (11 mm) of the series; thicker even than that of the mesolithic skull discovered at Sai-Yok (figs. 11 and 12). The thick, coarse diploic tissues are very similar to those found in the skull of a young Thai girl who died of chronic anaemia (fig. 12). It has been found recently that one common cause of chronic anaemia in Thailand is abnormal haemoglobin E and thalassemia. In a survey, again recent, the haemoglobin E trait was found in about 13 per cent of the total population; in some 42 per cent of the people in the northeastern part of the country.12

Formerly it was believed that this trait did not occur among the Chinese, but a recent survey by McFadzean and Todd disclosed haemoglobin E in four families and haemoglobin E/thalassemia in two brothers from the southern part of Kwangtung.13 All claimed Chinese ancestry. This incidence, however, is by no means as great as that found in Thailand. (In fact, the characteristic might be used

10) Quaritch Wales, 'Some Ancient Human Skeletons Excavated in Siam: A Correction,' op. cit., p. 121.
11) 'Lü' is the place of excavation, named in honour of Nai Lü, an old man in the village of Ban Kao, who led the expedition team to the site. Two skeletons were found at Lü II; that of an adult and a young child.
as a criterion for subdividing the Mongoloid major groups). If we could show that skeleton adult Lui II died of chronic anaemia and could relate this condition to thalassemia E disease, we could come to the important conclusion that the disease has not appeared recently but existed among people who inhabited the present territory of Thailand more than 3000 years ago, and that, perhaps because of some selective advantage factor, the abnormal genes have persisted.

Though much study is necessary to any definite conclusion, what has been studied thus far seems to indicate that the present territory of Thailand was occupied by people who had some characteristics not very different from the present occupants. Solheim\(^{14}\) after examining these skeletons in Copenhagen came to the conclusion that there are numerous similarities between the neolithic population of Ban Kao and the present-day Thai; that is, there are no important differences between the two populations.

There are at present some misunderstandings about the way in which racial characteristics are inherited. Most people think that as a result of mixing over many generations characteristics would be so blended that there would be no characteristic pure to any race and there would be no possibility of telling one race from another. The idea is partly true, as some characteristics, such as height, weight and skin colour, are controlled multifactorially. But some characteristics still follow Mendel's law concerning 'the unit character segregate in hereditary transmission'. This law postulates a situation in which a certain characteristic, or a certain factor contributing towards the possession of a characteristic, appears in some of the offspring but is nearly or entirely lacking in others. Physical anthropologists are now studying those characteristics which yield percentage differences in various races.

We may not have presented here a convincing argument for the origins of the present Thai; indeed, such an hypothesis must await much research in various branches of study. But three years ago

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there appeared an article in which Kwang-Chih Chang abstracted works of J.K. Woo and included a picture of a Liu-chiang skull from Kwangsi. This skull has many characteristics common to both Ban Kao and recent Thai skulls (fig. 13). Kwang-Chih Chang wrote: "This new discovery of the Liu-chiang human fossils with such primitive Mongoloid feature in Kwangsi of South China, as well as the Tzu-yang skull uncovered in 1951 in the southwest Szechwan province, seems to indicate that South China might be a part of the birth place where the Mongoloid race originated and also to show that the Mongoloid group was in the process of formation and differentiation in the late Pleistocene".

Fig. 1. An ovoid form is evidenced by both Ban Kao skulls (here, skeleton P) and modern Thai skulls (S 144).

Fig. 2. Norma facialis of Ban Kao skull (skeleton M) and modern Thai skull (S 144) show medium and broad face.
Fig. 3. Two modern Thai skulls showing broad and flat root of nose.

Fig. 4. Lateral view of Ban Kao skull (skeleton Lu II) and modern Thai skull (S 156). Both evidence alveolar prognathism; marked in the latter.
Fig. 5. Norma basalis of Ban Kao skull (skeleton P) and modern Thai skull (S 359). Both evidence wide and deep palate. Note slight backward bend to incisors in Ban Kao skull.
Fig. 6. Similar mandibles of Ban Kao skeletons (A; skeletons XIII, F) and recent Thai skeleton (B; skeleton S. 144, S. 10). Note divergence of sides from symphysis menti and angulation of dental arch.
Fig. 7. Extraction of lateral incisors and canines in Ban Kao skeletons.
Fig. 8. Skull of bronze age (?) discovered at Lopburi showing extraction of both lateral incisors.
Fig. 9. Filed teeth in Ban Kao skull (skeleton IV).
Fig. 10. Skull excavated from P'ong Tūk (Siam) by Dr. H.G. Quaritch Wales evidencing tooth-filing (reproduced from Man, vol. 37, 1937).
Fig. 11. Skull of skeleton Lii II. A piece was cut from the right parietal bone to show unusual thickness of the skull; compare with skulls shown in figure 12.

Fig. 12. A) Skull of modern Thai showing thickened bone due to chronic anemia (nature?). B) Thickness of skulls: a) Adult Lii II, b) Sai Yok, mesolithic man, c) skeleton IV, d) skeleton 2.
Fig. 13. A) Liu-chiang skull from Kwangsi; B) Ban Kao neolithic skull (skeleton IV); C) modern Thai skull (S. 100).
MALAYA: WHAT'S IN THE NAME?

by
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Malaya is a Sanskrit word meaning a range of mountains. It is used to refer to the range of mountains in and adjacent to the Malayalam country (present-day Kerala) which was called Male by the later Greek and early Arabian geographers. The word appears to have been derived from the Dravidian word mala (mala in Malayalam and malei in Tamil). Mala means hill or mountain. The people inhabiting the region west of the mountains originally denoted by the Sanskrit word Malaya are called Malayalis and their language Malayalam. The country is sometimes referred to by the inhabitants as malanādu (hill country). Some of the Arab geographers called it Malabar (mala + harr, Arabic for continent, or mala + bār, Persian for coast and also for kingdom). The Portuguese seem to have accepted this name and given it wide currency.

Malaiyūr, the name mentioned in the Tanjore inscription of Rajendra Chola means a hill town, mala, hill and yūr, town (in Tamil). In South India yūr is a common ending for place-names; for instance, names like Chittūr, Manalūr, Malayattūr, Chengannūr.

Most of the names mentioned in the inscription seem to be Tamil or Malayalam. When Sanskrit affixes appear, they are such as would usually be found in compound words in Malayalam.

It does not seem reasonable to assume that though they were indigenous names, they were given a Dravidian form in the inscription. The Dravidian form may have been due to their Dravidian origin, and one can account for this origin if one may reasonably assume that the

2) Ibid.
4) Could the Maleoukolon of Geographike Hephegesis be a corruption of Malayūrkōti, kōti meaning a cape, as in Dhanuškōti in South India?
5) In Malayalam it would mean a town or village or any locality.
dominant groups in the population of these countries were Dravidian or that their king was of Dravidian origin. If he were a Hinduized native ruler, inclined to Indianise his kingdom, one would expect to find Sanskrit place-names rather than Dravidian ones. Considering all the relevant circumstances, one may safely say that if the place-names indicate anything, they tend to support the assumption that Rajendra Chola led his victorious army against a Chera king and his people.

_We may now consider in some detail a few of the place-names._

_Palam_ in _Mappāpalam_ approximates to the ending in place-names like _Ottappālām_ and _Mundupālam_, where _pālam_ means a bridge. It could as well be a contraction of _pālayam_, a camp. Anyway, there is an unmistakable Dravidian touch about the name. The same may be said of most of the other names also. In _Valaippandūru_, _uru_ is the same as _ūr_ and connotes a locality (town or village). _Valai_ may mean an enclosure. It could also be that _Valaippan_ stands for the name of a person. If so, it would mean the town or village established and/or lived in by Valaippan. _Talaittaṇkōlam_ has in it two, if not three, Dravidian words, _tala_ (head) and _kōlam_ (pond). _Itta_ is the name of a genus of palms distinguished by their pinnate leaves. If the name is split into _talai_ (Tamil, head) and _takkōlam_, the second word may stand for _illicium anisatum_. Probably the division of words given first is to be preferred, as many place names end in _kōlam_ (or _kulam_), for instance _Kāyamkulam_ in Kerala and _Teppakulam_ in Madras State. In _Ilamuridēsam_, _dēsam_ (Sanskrit, _dēsa_) is village and _muri_ is a Malayalam word meaning piece or division. _Ila_ may stand for land or earth. The name may therefore suggest a village formed by a new division of land. _Ilamuri_ with a short _a_ will mean a tender piece; it may therefore be applied to a division that is newly effected. _Mānakkavāram_ may correspond to the Necuveren of Marco Polo

6) This would be more in accord with the penultimate consonantal sound in Mappāpalam. Compare place names like _Metippalayam._

7) _andu_ (for _ante_) in _Valaiippanduru_ clearly suggests the sense of possession.

8) In Malay the word is spelt _kolam._

9) _muri_ by itself would indicate a division of a district.

10) K.A. Nilakanta Sastri translated it as “the great Nakkavaaram” in his article _Sri Vijaya_, _Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient_, vol. 40, 1940, p. 286.
and may be the Nicobar Islands. It is of interest to note that the ending vāram may be from the Malayalam suffix vāram seen in words like adivāram and malavāram (foothills) or it may be from Sanskrit vāra (region) with the addition of the Dravidian ending am. Ilngasokkam may be Langasuka. Ilango, however, was the name of the author of the famous Dravidian epic Śilappadikāram. He was the brother of a Chera king. In spite of its obvious suggestion of Lanka (Ijām, Ceylon) and its people Ilavan? it is not improbable that Ilngasokkam had some association with the name of the great poet.

Paṇṇai in Tamil means ‘cultivated land.’ But the name Paṇṇai may be a corruption of paṇṇya, that is, salable (goods) and may, therefore, stand for a warehouse. As a place name it may denote a place where there was a warehouse.

A discussion of the name Kadāram bristles with difficulties mainly because of all that has been written about it. It would appear that Kadāram and Kidāram could be equated with Kaṭāhanagaram. Kadāram and Kālam may also stand for the same place, in spite of Coedès’s clear misgivings about it. Coedès points out that it is probably because Kadāram means ‘a dark brown colour’ and Kālam ‘black’, that the author of Divākaran was induced to identify the two; and Nilakanta Sastri remarks that the employment of synonyms from one and the same or different languages even in referring to proper names is a well-established practice in India. Wheatley’s suspicion that there is some substance in Coedès’s objection because in a gloss on the Śilappadikāram we find mentioned both Kidāravan aloeswood and silk from Kālagam, may be removed when it is realised that it is not unusual for Indian poets to refer to one and the same thing by different synonymous names in the same poem and sometimes in the same stanza.  

14) This may sometimes be because of the requirements of metre; but sometimes it seems to be merely for variety.
Kalagam and Kadāram, according to Caldwell, are "poetical equivalents" of Karur,\(^{15}\) which, as Tamil tradition has it, was the ancient capital of the Chera kings.\(^{16}\) Karur in Tamil means black town. Seeing that Arabian travellers have used both the names Kalāh and Kalābār, it is not improbable that in Kalagam, the literary or poetic form of Karur, Sanskrit kala (black) was adopted and Tamil akm\(^{17}\) (interior) indicating a region was added to it. The resulting compound 'Kalakam' appeared to approximate to kalagam and the ingenuity of the poets may have gone further and applied to the place concerned synonyms of the word. The Arabian traveller\(^{18}\) who referred to the place as Kalābār was probably translating into Arabic or Persian the Tamil-Malayalam akm as barr or bār and affixing it to kāla.

The abundance of Dravidian words in the names of these places would indicate the predominant position the Dravidians had in the new settlements to which they seem to have given names of their own making. If Kalagam is admittedly a poetic equivalent of Karur, it is probable that the people who gave their new capital that name were Cheras. It is unlikely that the English would call a place in the New World by the name of a Dutch town; in fact, New Amsterdam was re-named New York by the English when they took over from the Dutch. Similarly, Kalagam would be an appropriate and new-fangled name for a capital of the Chera settlers, as, while maintaining separate identity, it would remind them of their far-away homes.

We have already referred to Malaiyūr where the settlers were content with using a Dravidian compound. But some of the kings

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15) Generally identified with the town of that name in the Coimbatore district which formed part of the Chera kingdom. See Caldwell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94. One may also note that the Tamil dialect spoken in Malabar used to be called Karintamil (black Tamil).

16) Caldwell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94.

17) Compare Tamilakam (the Tamil country).

18) In the \textit{Journey of the Arab merchant Sulayman in India and in China}, written in 851, we read that from Langabalus ships sailed to a place called Kalābār and that the same name bār was given to both a kingdom and a sea coast. Cited in Przyłuski, J., 'Indian colonisation in Sumatra,' \textit{Journal of the Greater India Society}, vol. 1, p. 95.
who held sway over Malaiyur seemed to have preferred, according to the age-old Indian practice, to call their royal dynasty by a Sanskrit name. The Sailendras, in all probability, adopted for their dynastic name a translation of Malayalam *mala-arayar* (Tamil, *māla-arasar*), the kings of the mountain. The Mala-arayar are at present a hill-tribe inhabiting the Southern Ghats. They speak corrupt Malayalam in the northern part of the range where Malayalam is the prevailing language, and corrupt Tamil, with a tinge of Malayalam, in the southern, in the vicinity of Tamil-speaking districts.¹⁹

The *Mala-arayar* in the higher ranges of southern Kerala keep lamps burning in cairns attributed to Parāsurāma who, according to legends, reclaimed the land of Kerala from the sea. This, according to V.R.R. Dikshitar, indicates that they are directly or indirectly connected with the Parāsurāma cult from ancient times ... From their association with the Parāsurāma cult and from the name *Mala Arayans* we have to conclude that they are part of the so-called Arayan community who perhaps came in the wake of Parāsurāma's conquest of Malabar. That this is not impossible is seen from the fact that both in appearance and in standard of living they are distinctly apart from the other hill-tribes who are seen scattered in the different parts of Malabar.²⁰

One may or may not agree with Dr. Dikshitar's conclusion; but there can be no doubt about the fact that the name *Śailendra*, unwittingly or otherwise, is an exact translation of *mala-arayan*.²¹ Considering the widespread use of Dravidian names for places and for proper names in South-East Asia during the period, and considering also the fact that royalty invariably assumed Sanskrit titles, it is difficult to conclude that the assumption of this title by the Sailendras had nothing

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²¹) One may also note that in Tamil *Porayan* (from *porə* mountain; *porraiy* in modern Tamil) was the title of Chera kings. See Gundert, H., *A Malayalam-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Kottayam, 1962, p. 661.
to do with their origin, especially when the title referred to the dynasty and not to an individual king.

Even if the Sailendra kings had no connexion whatever with the mala-arayar, it is evident that one of the regions over which these kings ruled was called by a name similar to that of the country where the mala-arayar lived. As we have seen, this name, like names of the common folk, retained its Dravidian character. While Malaiyur remained purely Dravidian, names like Palembang and Minangkabau seem to have been formed by a combination of Sanskrit and Dravidian words. It may also be noted that Malabar is the name of a mountain in Java. From these it may reasonably be assumed that the first part of the name is from the Dravidian word mala.

We find in the name Funan the same image of mountain. Funan is the modern pronunciation of two Chinese characters which were pronounced biu-nam in the old days. They are considered to be the Chinese transliteration of the old Khmer word bnam which meant mountain. According to the inscriptions found in Han Chei Temple and at Kuk Pra Kot, the rulers of Funan called themselves by the Sanskrit titles, parvatabhupala and sailaraja, both meaning king of the mountain.

The name Kundunga of the East Borneo inscriptions probably meant chief of the mountain or hill.

It may also be mentioned that the “name Malaya is very com-

23) See Stutterheim, W.F., ‘Note on Cultural Relations between South India and Java’, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Landen Volkenkunde, 1939, p. 83. From this mountain springs a river called Tarum. Dr. Stutterheim calls attention to the fact that in the Javanese inscriptions of the 4th and 5th centuries a kingdom known as Taruma is mentioned, while a charter of Kulottunga Chola in 1070 mentions a Tarumapura which is said to be situated ten miles north of Cape Comorin.
mon in Sumatra. There are a mountain and a river of that name; there are four villages called Malaya and a tribe of that name. 26

The recurrent image of the mountain in the names of dynasties, kings, countries, towns and villages, cannot be ignored as being due to mere chance coincidence. Nor can it be attributed to a prevailing Saiva cult in all these instances. From the inscriptions found in Kutei it is not possible to identify with certainty the religious cult practised by Kundunga and his descendants. 27 We are again not sure whether the kings of Funan were Vaishnavite or Saivite. 28 The Sailendras are known to have been Buddhists, 29 and were therefore unlikely to have assumed a dynastic name which was designed to honour Lord Siva. We have therefore to look for mundane grounds for the adoption of the name.

According to Vlekke, 30 it was Vishnu's son who assumed the title "Sri Mahārāja Śailendra-vamsa..." and Vishnu had married the daughter of a ruler of Funan who was, of course, "king of the mountain" (śailarāja). Could it be that Vishnu's son claimed the dynastic name through his mother?

Apart from these references to hill countries and kings of the mountain, there is at least one reference to a South Indian tribe in the ancient inscriptions discovered in South-East Asia. An inscription found in Cambodia 31 refers to an abode of Brahmins in Kurumbanagara. The Kurumbar, after whom the town appears to have been named, are a tribe of nomadic shepherds inhabiting the hilly regions of the present day States of Kerala and Mysore. According to Sir Walter Elliott, "[t]hey are stated to have been engaged in trade and to have owned ships and carried on a considerable commerce by sea". 32 Kurumbar is the Tamil-Malayalam form of the name which

29) Hall, op. cit. p. 49.
30) Vlekke, op. cit. p. 33.
31) Discovered by R. Dalet at Neak Ta Dambang Dek; see note 33 below.
in Canarese is *Kurubaru*. It is the Tamil-Malayalam form that appears in the inscription. At the date of the inscription Malayalam may not have developed into a distinct language. All over the Chera country it was Tamil that was spoken. The ancient Tamil work, *Silappadikāram*, for instance, was written in Cranganore (Muchiri) by a brother of the Chera king. There are references in *Keralotpatti* to the Rajas of *Kurumbarnād* who were powerful in medieval Kerala.  

A bronze statuette discovered by Dr. Bosch in Sumatra may also indicate the influence of Malabar in South-East Asia. Commenting on this find from Padang Lawas, Tapanuli, Longhurst wrote: "I should imagine the female figure represents a portrait statuette of a lady who made a gift to the vihāra. The style of the image suggests the 15th century as its probable age. In pose and dress, the figure is not unlike the *Satī* images of the 16th century and earlier, so common in this presidency, but of course, the style of dress and coiffure were common long before that period, and both may still be seen in Malabar at the present day."  

Dr. Bosch thinks that the image has to be assigned to an earlier period, with the tenth century as the highest limit.

O.C. Gongoly referring to the *meru* style of temple architecture found in Bali has written: "Somewhat similar slope-roofed temples have survived in Kerala, in the sanctuaries of Cochin and Travancore which, by the way, preserve may early relics of ancient Indian culture which have disappeared from other parts of India."

The significant mention of Paraśurāma in a lawbook regarded as of the highest authority in Java during the Majapahit period may

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33) Coedēs thinks that the inscription dates from the reign of Jayavarman of Funan who died in 514 A.D. See Coedēs, 'A New Inscription from Fun-nun', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1937, p. 117.


point to the impact of Kerala on the people of Java. In this lawbook, *Kuṭāra-mānava-sāstra* by name, one finds the following passage:

The *Manava-sāstra* was communicated by Mahārāja Manu who was like god Viṣṇu. The *Kutara-sastra* was communicated by Bṛgu in the tretāyuga; he was (also) like god Viṣṇu; the *Kuṭāra-sāstra* is followed by Parasurāma and by the whole world, it is not a product of the present time...  

In an inscription of 1358 A.D. seven judges are described as being *Kuṭāra-mānavādisāstra-vivecanatapara*, that is, persons versed in the understanding of *Kuṭarāmānava* and other lawbooks. In the Bendasari inscription of the middle of the fourteenth century six judges are said to have decided a civil suit in accordance with the principles laid down in *Kuṭāra-mānava*.  

Brandes thinks that the lawbook consists of two parts, one the *Kuṭāra-sastra* inspired by Bṛgu and the other, the *Mānava-sastra* inspired by Manu. He also refers to a Malay Chronicle which states that the lawbook was compiled under the direction of Surya Alam, king of Demak. Surya, in the king's name, may be a Malay version of Chera.  

The main reason given for the authority attributed to the lawbook, the very name of the book, the mention of Parāśurāma in it, the authorship ascribed to it—all these would tend to indicate its Kerala connection.

40) Ibid., pp. 3-4.  
41) Cited in ibid., p. 5.  
42) Bṛgu was the name of an ancestor of Parāśurāma.  
44) Ibid.  
45) Compare: Raja Siwaran.  
46) *Kuṭāra* is in all probability from Sanskrit *kuthāra*, an axe. *Kuthāra* was Parāśurāma's favourite weapon, one which he successfully wielded in his encounters with Kshatriya princes.
One may also note, for what it is worth, the reference in *Sejarah Melayu* to Sang Sapurba’s travelling to Java, Borneo and Bentan before he became ruler of Minangkabau. This account may be purely legendary, but it is significant that at least two of the countries he is said to have visited are those where one comes across references to the kings of the mountain. And Minangkabau happens to be the place where the impact of Kerala can be traced in social institutions.

When works of art as well as many other things point to Kerala influences in South-East Asia, can we choose to ignore the eloquent evidence of language found in the place names mentioned in ancient inscriptions? And the most prominent among these names is *Malaiyūr*.

In meaning *Malaiyūr* is almost identical with *Malabar*. There is no doubt that *Melayu* in the Malay language has been derived from *Malaiyūr* and that *Malaya* is the English equivalent for the Malay *Melayu*. This equivalent happens to be exactly the same as Sanskrit *malaya*, the word used to connote the mountain range near the boundaries of Kerala.


49) Malakka, the Dutch name for Malaya, is obviously from the name of the town Malacca which, in turn, appears to be from the name of a tree (Malayalam, *Malākkappēra, psidium pyriferum*). Malayalam, *malekka*, as a verb, would mean to grow thick, swell, “perhaps also to lie in heaps, form hills” (Gundert, *op. cit.*, p. 730). Wilkinson, however, traces the name to Arabic *malakat* (possession) which in Malay means a mart. (Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary*, London, 1955, p. 729).
PRINCE MONGKUT AND JESSE CASWELL
by
William L. Bradley

When the Protestant missionaries set sail from America to Siam in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, they went with the hope and expectation of saving the poor darkened heathen from the eternal penalties of hell. There is no evidence that they expected to find an educated elite in Bangkok who were in some ways more knowledgeable about European culture than themselves, and who were versed in several of the European languages. The first of the Protestants to visit Siam was Charles Gutzlaff, who was as favorably impressed as one could expect from a man whose chief purpose was evangelism. "Chaw-fa-nooi," he wrote, "the younger brother of the late king and the rightful heir of the crown, is a youth, of about twenty-three, possessing some abilities, which are however swallowed up in childishness. He speaks English; can write a little; can imitate the works of European artisans; and is a decided friend of European sciences, and of Christianity. He courts the friendship of every European; holds conversation with him, and is anxious to learn whatever he can."2

A few years later when Dean and Bradley reached Bangkok they were pleasantly surprised by the appearance of the homes of some of the nobles; in particular that of Luang Nai Sit (later to become the Regent in King Chulalongkorn's reign), over the door of whose

1) I am indebted to Miss Mary Walker, Librarian of the Board of Overseas Ministries of the United Church of Christ (formerly the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) for permission to reproduce materials from the records which are preserved in the Houghton Memorial Library of Harvard University, and to Mr. Don J. Caswell of Madison, Wisconsin, for copies of letters from Prince Mongkut to Anna Caswell. Mr. Caswell is in possession of the Journal, Daybook, and miscellaneous letters of his great-grandfather. A notebook kept by Jesse Caswell during the time that he was Mongut's teacher is now in the possession of Miss Clara May Hemenway, of Manchester, Vermont. She also possesses the Journals of Asa and Lucia Hemenway of Bangkok.

house was the inscription, "This is Luang Nai Sit's house—welcome friends."\(^3\) These missionaries were soon to be engaged in teaching English to men who had already at least an elementary knowledge of the language, and who were well acquainted with European civilization. Thus it is erroneous to think that western civilization came to Thailand with the Protestant missionaries from America. It came with the opening of trade and diplomatic relations centuries before, especially during the reign of King Narai.

However, there is one respect in which the American missionaries made a significant and unique contribution to Siam, and it is for this that they are remembered today. It was they who introduced Western science and technology to a group of noblemen eager to adapt them to the usages of their Kingdom. Bradley, Chandler, House and Caswell in particular were avidly curious about the world around them, and the data they collected proved to be of value to those who followed. It happened that there were in Bangkok at that time young men with a similar interest in the sciences, and this led to a friendly interchange of information which was profitable to both sides.

Curiously enough, the missionaries mistook Siamese interest in scientific and philosophical thought for a sign that the country was ripe for evangelism, and so they predicted that within a short period of time the country would be Christian. Perhaps the Protestants were never able to reconcile themselves for failing to convert the Siamese (a failure for which they held themselves responsible) but they never renounced the bonds of friendship because of ideological differences.

Prince Mongkut, to whom the missionaries referred as Chao Fa Yai during the years they knew him as a priest, had perhaps the greatest intellectual curiosity of all the Thai nobility. The reforms which he undertook as King were begun in several ways during his service as a monk, when he made widespread changes in the study of Buddhism and began the reconciliation of the religion with scientific

\(^3\) Bradley, D.B., 'Reminiscences,' *Bangkok Calendar*, 1870, p. 103. Although Bradley purports to be quoting from his *Journal* for Oct. 23, 1835, there is no mention of this inscription in the original entry.
discoveries, particularly in the field of astronomy. It seems that it was not by accident that Mongkut's interest centered on astronomy, for the influence of astrology on popular Buddhism was very strong, as it is even at present. Elements of magical prediction which run counter to the teachings of Lord Buddha constituted then, as now, serious intellectual threats to the anti-magical rationalism of pure Buddhist teaching.\(^4\) In fact, it was the King's interest in astronomy, and his desire to convince the astrologers of the validity of scientific prediction, that led to his contracting that fever to which he succumbed in 1868.

Prince Mongkut shared Bradley's interest in printing, and together with J. H. Chandler they worked for many years on the development of a satisfactory Siamese script. Both Bradley and Chandler were favorably impressed with the quality of Mongkut's work, and on one occasion when Chandler needed help Mongkut lent him the services of one of his punch-cutters for a year.\(^5\)

It was the Americans' interest and skill in science and technology which attracted them to Prince Mongkut, and in 1839 the latter requested Bradley to give him private lessons in English.

Choufah sent for me to visit his wat [reported Bradley in his *Journal*]. His desire was to engage me to become his teacher in the English language. The plan he proposed was that he would come down to a wat near my house where he would receive my lessons and instructions and would have one of his young men spend much of his time at my house in order that he might learn the English and be able in time to aid him as well as to fit the young man for a visit to England or America for information.\(^6\) Although now pressed for business day and night I did not feel willing to refuse to accept of

\(^{4}\) Mongkut's criticism of magic is similar to that of Sujib Punyanubhab's discussion of miracles in his recent work, *Some Prominent Characteristics of Buddhism*, Bangkok, 1965.

\(^{5}\) References to Mongkut's activities as a printer are to be found in Bradley's *Journal*, July 6, 1842, and the *Baptist Magazine*, vol. 26, 1846, p. 54.

\(^{6}\) Although Bradley may not have taught English to this particular young protege of Mongkut, he did teach Mom Kratai Rachothai, a member of the Embassy to England in 1857. See Bradley's *Journal*, July 31, 1867.
the request coming as it did from one of very great influence in Siam. I told him that I would try to teach him on five evenings of each week and his favorite young man daily at my home.\textsuperscript{7}

That some lessons were given, although perhaps not at this time, is indicated by Bradley's comments in his \textit{Journal} at the time of Mongkut's death in 1868, "The King was my acquaintance for thirty-three years, often times virtually my pupil when he was a priest as also the pupil of my old colleague Rev. J. Caswell."\textsuperscript{8} Whether Bradley actually taught the Prince according to this strict regimen is doubtful. There is no evidence that Mongkut's plan was put into effect until six years later when Caswell agreed to become his teacher.

Jesse Caswell was closest to Prince Mongkut of all the Americans. This might have surprised those who had known Caswell in his student days, for he was characterized by President Joshua Bates of Middlebury College as one "who has no peculiar talent for obtaining access to strangers, or acquiring a personal influence over companions: for these purposes, I should think him too reserved."\textsuperscript{9} Apparently Caswell's scientific interests (he kept weather charts during his years in Bangkok) as well as his natural reserve and serious interest in Siamese culture attracted him to Mongkut. Whatever the reason for his being singled out, Caswell received a request from Prince Mongkut to become his teacher on a regular basis, and the pages which follow show how close a relation there was between them.

Jesse Caswell, Jr., was born in Middletown, Vermont on April 17, 1809. He graduated from Middlebury College in 1832, served as an Assistant Teacher at Potsdam Academy for two years, then enrolled in Andover Seminary to prepare for the ministry. At the end of the first year he moved to the newly founded Lane Seminary in Ohio in order to assist in its establishment, and was graduated in 1837. He married Anna Hemenway in 1839, and in 1840 the Caswells reached Bangkok, accompanied by Anna's brother and the latter's wife.

\textsuperscript{7} Bradley, \textit{Journal}, December 18, 1839.  
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Ibid.}, October 2, 1868.  
\textsuperscript{9} A.B.C.F.M., \textit{Candidates File}, 1838-43, no. 188.
When Jesse Caswell died suddenly of erysipelas on September 24, 1848, a very promising career was brought abruptly to a close. Five months later the young widow returned to America with her children. When Mongkut became King he remembered his friend, first by erecting a monument in his honor, and subsequently by sending gifts of $1000 and $500 to Mrs. Caswell by Dr. House. The manner of delivery of the second gift was to cause a serious rift within the missionary community, when it became known several years after the occasion that Dr. House had received the money from King Mongkut in hard currency but paid Mrs. Caswell in Greenbacks which were worth less than half their face value. Fortunately for King Mongkut this fact was not disclosed until several years after his death.

To the best of my knowledge nothing has been published about the relations between the Prince and the missionary as seen through Caswell’s eyes, even though there is considerable material on the subject in the records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Houghton Memorial Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In addition to the letters which were sent by Caswell to the Board, there exists a small notebook in the effects of the Rev. Asa Hemenway which is clearly the work of Jesse Caswell during the period of his daily visits to Wat Bavoranives. The notebook, which is now in the possession of Miss Clara May Hemenway of Manchester, Vermont, consists of two parts. The first contains notes of conversations between Caswell and Mongkut. The second consists of “Historical Notes on Siam by Mr. Caswell,” and is a digest of a work consisting of thirty books, apparently similar to that which Bradley printed twenty years later.

The facts which are stated by Caswell in the first part of his notebook do not shed new light on that period of Bangkok’s history, save as they reveal the knowledge which Caswell was able to glean.

10) Facts dealing with this case are found in Chandler’s letter to Bradley, Aug. 31, 1868; House’s letter to his wife, Aug. 24, 1871; General Partridge to the Department of State, Sept. 19, 1873. Chandler’s letter is in the possession of Mrs. W. Harding Kneedler of Davidson, North Carolina. House’s letter is in the records of the Missionary Library of the United Presbyterian Church in New York City. Consul Partridge’s letter is in the National Archives in Washington.
through his conversations with the young nobility. The notes and letters corroborate from the American side what has been taken from Thai sources in recent years. For example, H.R.H. Chula Chakrabongse, Alexander Griswold and Abbot Low Moffat mention the fact that Prince Mongkut's reforms of Buddhist literature and life were done at the request of King Rama III and constituted official acts of the Monarchy. This is a fact which was insufficiently understood by Western reporters from the time of Gutzlaff, who expounded the myth that Mongkut had simply taken refuge in the priesthood to avoid assassination by his jealous half-brother. Caswell's letters show some awareness of the official sanction given Mongkut to pursue his reforms, although there is an understandable tendency to attribute the changes to the arrival of the American missionaries in 1828-30. Caswell wrote to the American Board that "the commencement of liberal views, as marked by the liberal party themselves, took place very soon after the visits of the first missionaries,—Gutzlaff, Tomlin, and Abeel,—to Siam." Caswell shows an ability to overcome his evangelical bias, however, when he reports that "the rise and progress of these views are to be traced directly to Chau Fa," and then gives credit to the King as well: "How far the hand of the king is in these reforms, it is impossible to say. That he knowingly tolerates them is, I think, quite certain."

Following are the letters which Caswell wrote to the American Board during the time that he was teaching English at Wat Bavoranives. These letters reveal the kind of intellectual ferment which was apparent in the circle of nobility surrounding Mongkut a few years prior to his coronation, and also help us glimpse a bit of the personality of Jesse Caswell which set him apart from most of his colleagues in the Protestant missions.

12) Caswell to Anderson, July 1, 1843; published in the Missionary Herald, 1844, p. 199.
13) Ibid. It is noteworthy that Bradley's Journal nowhere exhibits that bias against King Rama III characteristic of Western writers until the time of Vella.
Caswell's Letters to the American Board

July 4, 1845

On the 14th of last month I received an invitation from Chau Fa, the priest, to spend a little time in teaching English in his wat, to himself and several priests and others connected with him. As an inducement for me to comply with his invitation, he offered me the occupancy, rent free, of a neat convenient room adjoining the wat ground, to be used—as it was his own proposal—for preaching and distributing books. He offered also to fit up the room in any way I might choose. For a long time I had been desiring to find a room in a place less public than the tract house, and yet public enough to secure a good number of calls, where I might preach the gospel. But I could find no place of the kind. When Chau Fa’s invitation came, wholly unsolicited as it was, it seemed so already the finger of God that I could not hesitate respecting the path of duty. I commenced teaching the first of this month, and expect in a few days to begin to occupy my room for preaching. I have a class of 16 or 18 young men, partly priests and partly body servants of Chau Fa. In spend about three-fourths of an hour with the class and then give a few minutes to Chau Fa himself in explaining any difficulties he may have met with. I propose to go on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursday and Fridays, and spend the whole forenoon in teaching and receiving visits at my room. My hopes in respect to the results of this new attempt at teaching English are not at all sanguine and I should not feel at liberty to engage in it, except in consideration of the room allowed me for preaching. The fact that this is the first station we have ever had inside the walls of the city is perhaps of some little interest and also that the place is granted by one so high in rank. It is a mile and a half from our mission compound, and some what more than that distance from the ‘tract house’, situated on one of the principal streets of the city.

July 26, 1845

I took possession of my room on the 14th inst. Thus far this place seems to me more favorable to the quiet preaching of the gospel than the tract house. Going and returning from my work furnishes me with three miles of walk which is very favorable to my health. My class in English has increased to about twenty five. It is not often however that more than half of them are present at the same time. Chau Fa himself is much

14) Included in Amoy, Siam, Borneo, 178, ABC: 16.3.3, vol. 1, nos. 123, 125, 127. Portions of Caswell’s letters dealing with matters other than relations with Siamese priests and nobles are omitted.

15) Interestingly enough, it was the very public situation of the Tract House that appealed to the missionaries when it was offered to them for lease by a Major General of the Army. See Bradley, Journal, August 2 and 14, 1838.

16) This suggests that had Caswell received that request made of Bradley in 1839, he would have rejected it.
more persevering than I expected him to be. Formerly his brother the prince commenced taking lessons in English, but gave a specimen of his natural fickleness in not taking the second lesson. The priest never misses a lesson and plies me with so many questions that I commonly have to tear myself away from him. I frequently have some of the lay members at my room to listen to my conversation. It is well understood by them that I do not intend to spend any of my time at my room in any other way than in preaching the gospel. Soon after Chau Fa began his lessons in English, a Roman Catholic priest advised him not to study English, as it would spoil his pronunciation of Latin. He says the R.C. priests praise his pronunciation of Latin very much. He studied it many years since, and made, I should think, commendable progress. But he well understands, that if he would become acquainted with modern sciences, he must seek some other medium than that afforded by the Latin language. Chau Fa has 48 Ceylonese residing in his wat, 32 of them priests. All but two of them came in a ship which the king sent to Ceylon last year, and which returned a few months since.

October 1, 1845

At the time of my last quarterly report I had just entered on the labor of teaching at the wat of Chau Fa the priest. My impressions respecting the place he gave me for a preaching stand were favorable from the first, but I had so often had my hopes of doing good by teaching English dashed, that my expectations in regard to that department of my labors were not at all sanguine. After the experiment of three months, I can now say that the place considered with reference to the great business of preaching is even more favorable than I had anticipated. I seldom have fewer than six hearers and very frequently from ten to fifteen, and most of these stay and listen quietly until I dismiss them. During the three months I have labored there I do not recall more than two persons who have been at all noisy or disputatious. Almost without a solitary exception, those who turn aside to hear me are perfectly respectful. This I believe to be an entirely new thing for Bangkok. There are several things which conspire to produce this result, but that which stands at the head is the fact that Chau Fa is my disciple in learning the English language and himself treats me with respect. This procures for me the respect of all the priests of his wat and of all the neighborhood. Excepting the one or two cases I mentioned above, I do not recollect of hearing one disrespectful word, or witnessing an act to disrespect towards me either in the wat, or in the vicinity for a great distance around. After trying to preach the gospel for four years in the midst of strife and contention, you may well suppose that I should feel some emotions of gratitude, when, unexpectedly

17) This attitude was characteristic of the Protestant missionaries, who considered anything except preaching and the distribution of tracts as extraneous. Chandler thus complained to the Baptist Board, "You suggested that I might do something for the Princes in Mechanics etc. But as sure as they begin to call on me for my services there will be an end of mission work" (Chandler to S. Peck, American Baptist Missionary Society, Valley Forge, Pa., File 1843-49, Feb. 14, 1844).
and without the least planning of my own, I have been, by the hand of God as I must believe, set down in such a field. I commonly have one or two members of my class in English to hear me at my preaching exercise...

With regard to my English class in the wat, I can say that I have been agreeably disappointed. About ten young men have persevered till the present time. Once or twice they were discouraged and it seemed to me that I should lose them; but by calling in the aid of Chau Fa I succeeded in rousing them to effort and I have now hope that they may be held to study till they shall have conquered the difficulties which arise early in the path of our studying the English, and till they have acquired a taste for the language. Chau Fa himself is indefatigable in his efforts to acquire the English. He has missed but one lesson during the whole three months that I have taught. I devote from 9 to 11 A.M. to teaching; the first hour to the young men, the last to Chuu Fa. "But," you will ask, "suppose you succeed according to your mind in this effort to teach English, where is your hope of accomplishing the ends of missionary labor?" I answer first, negatively, it is not in the fact that a knowledge of English is imparted, nor that discipline or the mind is secured, nor is it in the amount of religious instruction which they (my scholars) get through the English language. That which first moved me to engage in this work was the fact that I thus secured a good preaching place. This fact, in present circumstances, I think is sufficient to justify my devoting two hours four times a week to such labor as this. But I gain, as you already see, more than a good preaching place—an influence over the minds of those who hear me that, so far as we can see, could not be secured in any other way. This I did not foresee when I accepted C. F.'s invitation. It is something which comes in to confirm the decision already made up on other grounds. Having such evidence of being on the path of duty it is often comforting and cheering to dwell on some other considerations which seem to be among the "all things working together for good." One of these is the influence I obtain in the four other ways which, either in whole or in part, sympathize with C. F. Another is the facilities I have for extending my acquaintance with the Siamese language. The hour that I spend with C.F. is often times much more profitable in this respect than the same time would be, spent with my teacher. But there is another consideration which I sometimes think, may, in the mind of God, weigh more than all those mentioned, both primary and secondary. The school of which the C.F. is the head—the liberal school—is probably destined to increase in numbers and influence. It is just that in the priesthood that Chau Fa the prince, and Pra Nai Wai and those with them, are among the people. Chau Fa, the priest, is really a learned man and has great influence over those of his school. This class, in and out of the priesthood, embraces those who, so far as we can see, would be most

18) An excellent illustration of the missionaries' inability to recognize the qualities of graciousness and altruism as normal constituents of any religion but Protestant Christianity.

19) H.R.H. Chula Chakrabongse (op. cit., p. 185) indicates that such a change was inhibited in part by King Mongkut's care not to impose his will upon the priesthood.
likely to embrace christianity. At the same time, from the peculiar posture of their minds, they are more likely perhaps to run off into rank infidelity than the old school. How important then that we should have free and easy access to him who emphatically stands at the head of such a party. Chau Fa himself is full of scepticism, and yet it is not that settled scepticism which is found among a certain class in Christian communities. He seems to have a strong love of truth. (Of course, not the peculiar truths of revelation.) He loves to have solid ground pointed out to him on which he may stand. At least, so I think. We have frequent conversations on topics connected with the question of the divine origin of the Christian Scriptures. These conversations are always introduced by himself, and have never yet, in one instance, run into dispute. At one time he alluded to the apparent inconsistency between the acknowledged fact that the earth is spherical and that part of the account of the temptation of Jesus in which he is represented as having all the kingdoms of the earth shown to him in a moment of time. At another time he could not see how the suffering such men as Gaudama and Mohammud to rise and delude so large a part of mankind, could be reconciled with the existence of an Almighty and Benevolent Creator. These are specimens of the difficulties which he proposes. You can easily judge the importance of clearing up these difficulties at the fountainhead.

I also enjoy special advantages for becoming acquainted with the true state of the Siamese mind and with the progress which is made. This is to be learned more from accidental remarks, than from anything direct. For instance, a few days since, C.F. related the substance of a conversation between him and several others at the Praklang's. One of them asked in a playful way, who of the company had joined the missionaries, (meaning by the question, who were believers in the spherical form of the earth.) Chau Fa says, “as for me, I joined them fifteen years ago, before they came here.” Said Pra Nai Wai, “I joined them thirteen years ago.” Pra Nai Si, a brother of Pra Nai Wai, said he became a disciple only one year ago, that he never believed till the missionaries published their Astronomy.20 Upon this, Payü Si Bipat a brother of the Praklangs declared with impatience that he was no believer at all—he never had and never would. Chau Fa says that correct views in Astronomy already prevail extensively among the young...

P.S. I should have said a word... of the preference which C.F. manifests for the bible in his reading of English. I have put several books into his hands, and among them a neat bible. Hitherto he has confined his reading mostly to Mitchel's Geography, Parker's Grammar, and the Bible. He has a mind to be interested in grammar and he is so; but he chooses to spend most of his time in reading the bible.

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20. The Almanac and Astronomy was published by A.B.C.F.M. Press in January, 1843, and met with instant success among Siamese intellectuals. Caswell was the author, and Bradley the translator into Siamese. Bradley lists those who requested copies in his Journal, Jan. 26 and 27, 1843.
January 20, 1846

... At first I visited this preaching station but four times a week, but for several weeks I have practised going every day except sabbaths... I feel confident that the intercourse I have with C.F. and his head priests, with the other opportunities I have of becoming intimately acquainted with what is going on the wats, and especially of informing myself of the real state of feeling and views in the enlightened class of the priesthood, will here after be of incalculable value to me. Seldom is a day passed that I do not feel on my return that I have obtained important information which I could not have obtained from my teacher. My conversations with C.F. and his chief priests are without any restraint and invariably without any unpleasant feelings being excited.

From six months intimacy with the inmates of this wat I have been led to conclude that there is a strong tendency in the new school of priests to the rejection of every thing in religion which claims a supernatural origin, or that has any thing to do with other than the present state of existence. A Buddhist is ipso facto an atheist, as he does not acknowledge a Creator and Supreme Ruler. Still his religion is full of the supernatural—full of the past and of the future. Chau Fa and his followers, are strongly inclined, if I mistake not, to deny the existence of a heaven and a hell, and of any kind of a future state. And yet they do not openly declare this as their creed. They are obliged to preach the Buddhist religion. When they broach these infidel notions they speak of them as held by some third person. "There are those in Siam who hold so and so." They dare not say that they adopt them themselves... For the sake of giving you a clearer idea of the posture of mind of C.F. and his followers, I will give you an extract from my journal.

Jany. 2, 1846. I am getting a clearer insight into the character of the peculiar views of the new party in the priesthood. There is a strong tendency among them to the rankest atheism, but at the same time, there seems to be something that is praiseworthy lying at the foundation of this party. C.F. and his priests have several times of late inquired whether there are any enlightened scientific men in America who do not believe in the existence of a God, of angels or devils, or of a future state of rewards and punishments. When I have replied that there are some such, they say, 'there are such here,' yet in such a way as that none could accuse them of indulging such a belief. When informed that those who embrace such views in our country are usually of the vile sort, they reply that it is not so here. "The great body of the priesthood," they say, "are constantly fleecing the people of the little they have by telling them that giving to the priests will merit heaven, while witholding exposes them to hell. But there is a class who pity the common people and despise this kind of teaching, and, seeing that heaven and hell are used in this despicable way, they are disposed to swing off to the opposite extreme and entirely abandon the use of these sanctions." They slide over the whole subject by saying to the people, 'if there be a heaven, or hell, a God, devils, a future state etc. you will know it after death...'

About two months since all the priests belonging to my classes in English suddenly absented themselves except C.F. and his head priests.
William L. Bradley

could not well account for this as they manifested much interest in studying English. A few days since I learned from C.F. that they had been frightened by a few words they heard the King had spoken respecting the study of English in Ceylon. There are nine or ten young men, laymen, pursuing the study besides C.F. and two of his head priests. I have hopes that C.F. and one of his priests may, ere long render important service to the mission by translating books for children, a considerable variety of which we need. They have both expressed a willingness to do this. To induce them to do this I have told them that their services should be rewarded by presents which, though not costly, would be valuable to them. A little money expended in purchasing a few articles of apparatus illustrative of scientific truth may probably obtain that for the cause of Christ which is greatly needed, and cannot be obtained from any other quarter, while at the same time it contributes to enlarge the minds of those who render the service and qualify them the better to operate on the minds of their fellow countrymen.

The lessons continued through 1846, but there are no further entries after that of January. This is probably because the death of Mrs. Bradley had restricted the activities of her widower to the care of his young children, and accordingly increased the heavy burdens of Jesse Caswell.

But there is another reason also. The ideological ardor of Caswell and Bradley was accepted with less kindness and patience by their fellow missionaries than by Mongkut and his associates. There developed a serious rift within the mission over a difference in doctrine, until at last the American Board, which was faced with financial problems at home, decided to close its mission to Siam. Most of the missionaries were reassigned to posts in China or Hawaii, but Bradley and Caswell, the two men closest to the Siamese but the most contentious with their brethren, were persuaded to resign completely from the A.B.C.F.M. Dr. Bradley was in America at the time, and arranged with the American Missionary Association to sponsor the two families in their work. The A.M.A. bought the property from its sister board and thereafter gave only moral support to the young mission. That is why Bradley turned to printing as a full time business and was led to publish Siamese works which otherwise might not have been put into print.

However, Caswell suddenly fell victim of disease and his work which gave much promise was brought to a close. As Anna Caswell
and her children prepared to return to the United States, Prince Mongkut sent presents to the family as a remembrance of their father’s friendship with Mongkut. In a note to young Francis, he said, “I think of your father mostly as he was my teacher of English. I wish you to keep this my note with you for my remembrance. Your father’s Pupil T.M. Chaufa Mongkut.” 21

21) Prince Mongkut to Francis Caswell, Dec. 30, 1848,
AN **EKAMUKHALIÑGA** FROM PENINSULAR SIAM

by

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There is in the National Museum in Bangkok a *liṅga* (fig. 1) on which a head of Śiva is represented. It reportedly was found at Jaiyā, a center of ancient Hindu-Buddhist settlement on the east coast of Peninsular Siam from which many antiquities of pre-Thai occupation have been recovered.¹ While a number of *liṅgas* have been recorded from sites on the Peninsula such as Nagara Śrī Dharmaraja, Satinthra, and several places in the Merbok Estuary area of Kedah, the Jaiyā emblem is the only one to bear a face (*ekamukhariṅga*). It is thus one of the rare anthropomorphic representations of Śiva in the art of the Peninsula, and it affords some interesting parallels with several objects related to the pre-Angkorian art of Cambodia—that is the art of the empire of Funan and the kingdom of Chen-la and its successors—and to an isolated *ekamukhariṅga* found in western Borneo.

The Jaiyā *ekamukhariṅga* is divided into three parts in accordance with the prescriptions in the Śiva āgamas.² The base, the *Brahmabhaga*, is cubic in form and is 47.8 cms high. The middle section, the

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Virūṇabhāga, is octagonal in shape and is approximately 43 cms high. The topmost section, the Rudrabhāga, is cylindrical and is approximately 51 cms high, while the superimposed face measures 29.5 cms from the bottom of the chin to the top of the jaṭā. The two lower sections of the liṅga would not normally be visible, since they would be enclosed in the pedestal (pāṭhikā). It would thus not be apparent to the worshipper that there was a disparity in the relative sizes of the three principal parts of the liṅga.

Such a highly conventionalized and simple form as the liṅga resists easy chronological classification. This is especially true in an area such as Peninsular Siam where there is not a great number of liṅgas available for study, but it is possible to draw some analogies with liṅgas studied elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

In his pioneer study of the pre-Angkorian art of Cambodia, Henri Parmentier found a number of liṅgas that appeared to be rather naturalistic in conception and he was inclined to place them anterior in time to representations that were more conventionalized. His distinction has been given added force by the discovery in the Transbassac area of a number of liṅgas that are distinguished by their greater realism. Their statistically greater incidence in the territory of the lower Mekong, the area considered to be the center of the political community of Funan, has argued in favor of viewing the realistic representations as earliest in time. Professor Malleret would date the most realistic liṅgas from the Transbassac area from the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the sixth century.

The Jaiyā emblem is lacking in the anatomical fidelity characteristic of the earliest of the Transbassac liṅga in which the filet and the contours of the gland are outlined in pronounced relief and is

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3) For sectional drawings and photographs of the arrangement of the various elements of liṅga and pāṭhikā, including a stone deposit box on which the liṅga stands, see Coedès, 'La destination funéraire des grands monuments khmères', BEFEO, vol. 40, pt. 2, 1940, pp. 331-33 and plate 13.


almost certainly posterior to them in date. The realistic lingas are notable for the greater dimensions of the Rudrabhāga relative to the two lower sections. Frequently one of the lower sections is suppressed entirely. The Jaiyā emblem, on the other hand, has three clearly defined units of approximately equal length, and on this basis, together with its attenuated realism, it would fit into the category which Malleret calls "conventional emblems".

Within this last series there is an ekamukhaliṅga found at Oc-Eo (fig. 2), an ancient Funanese port city, which gives evidence of sufficient naturalistic tendencies to be one of the most ancient of the 'conventional' emblems. Its realism consists of the swelling ovoid form of its top section, the strongly marked gland, and the disproportion between the size of the top section in comparison to the octagonal and cubic sections. The measurements of the three sections beginning with the base are: O m. 21; O m. 21; O m. 23. It would thus appear that this liṅga would follow rather closely the earliest type of liṅga and may therefore belong to the end of Funanese art or the beginning of the art of Chen-la in the late sixth or early seventh century.

A comparison of the ekamukhaliṅga from Oc-Eo (fig. 2) with the Jaiyā emblem (fig. 1) indicates that the latter is considerably more stylized in its treatment of the Rudrabhāga. It has neither the swelling ovoid distention, nor the accentuated gland of the Oc-Eo emblem. The face on the Jaiyā liṅga is much larger than that on the Oc-Eo emblem. The coiffure on the Oc-Eo liṅga is difficult to read from the available photograph but Professor Malleret describes it as "deux masses globuleuses formant a chignon étrangle a sa base par un lien". Such a coiffure is rare in the pre-Angkorian statuary of

6) For examples of liṅgas of the realistic type see Ibid., plate 80 a and d. Also, Parmentier, H., 'Relevé Archéologique de la Province de Tay Ninh (Cochinchina)', BCAIC, 1910-1911, page 71, fig. 2 L. Two liṅgas found in southeastern Siam, at Prac'inburi, would appear to match the realism of the Transbassac liṅgas. See Dupont, P., L'archéologie mône de Dvāravatī, Paris, 1959, figs. 317 and 318.

7) Malleret, op. cit., p. 383, no. 107, pl. 81.


9) Malleret, op. cit., p. 383.
Cambodia, probably because of the infrequent representation of Śiva in anthropomorphic form, but it is quite common on a number of mukhaliṅgas considered to date from the period prior to the ninth century. One of the singular features of these pre-Angkorian mukhaliṅgas is the fusing of the jatā with the filet on the gland of the Rudrabhāga (fig. 2). That is, of course, a function of the relative realism of the representation, and it is a feature which the Jaiyā sculptor did not find necessary to include. This is further indication of a later date for the Jaiyā liṅga.

In any event, the jatā on the Jaiyā liṅga is somewhat more complex than that displayed on the Oc-Eo emblem. There is, however, an ekamukhaliṅga from Vat Sak Sampou (fig. 3) which displays a coiffure which is very much like that worn on the Jaiyā liṅga. Both wear the hair in a chignon constricted by two lateral ligatures on the top of the skull. The remainder of the hair falls in loops on either side of the head. In both, the head from the hairline to the top of the head is treated as a flat surface without any modulation to indicate tresses. In general configuration, the jatās are sufficiently alike to indicate either a common prototype, or some cultural and artistic contacts.

There are, however, a number of differences between the objects which would suggest a difference in chronology. The liṅga from Vat Sak Sampou is considerably more realistic than the Jaiyā liṅga. The face on the Jaiyā liṅga is much larger than that on the pre-Angkorian liṅga. Śiva on the Jaiyā emblem displays the third eye and wears the crescent moon in his hair. Both features are absent on the other liṅga. It would be tempting to consider the pre-Angkorian emblem a later and badly understood copy of the Jaiyā liṅga. The attenuated realism of the latter argues against that however.

10) Several examples are illustrated in Pierre Dupont's *La Statuaire préangkorienne*, Ascona, 1955, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum XV*, plate 21 B and C. The coiffure is also present on the Śiva from Kompong Cham Kau (*Ibid.*, plate 20 B), an image which occupies a marginal place in the corpus of pre-Angkorian art.

The style and types of Cham lingas have been surveyed recently by Jean Boisselier. He notes the rather distinctive and independent character of the Cham lingas although there is some evidence of influence from Khmer and Indonesian art. While the Cham lingas, in Boisselier's view, offer insufficiently distinctive characteristics on which to develop a chronological classification, there is some evidence that those which are most realistic are the most ancient. None of the lingas illustrated by Boisselier bear any similarity to the Jaiya emblem in general configuration, and neither do the Cham mukhalingas offer any direct analogy.

There is one mukhalinga in the Indonesian Archipelago which is of interest. It is located in Western Borneo, at Sepaoek on the Sepaoek River, a tributary of the Kapuas. It is a type closely related to the pre-Angkorian emblems of Cambodia, a fact noted by Professor Malleret. It bears a small head of Śiva on the Rudrabhāga. It is a conventional emblem with a cubic base, an octagonal mid-section, and a cylindrical top. The three sections are of equal length. The small face of Śiva is surmounted by a jaṭā caught by a horizontal sash, and the globular form above this sash merges with the filet of the Rudrabhāga in the manner typical of the pre-Angkorian lingas. While the size of the face and the coiffure are somewhat different from their counterpart on the Jaiya linga, there is a similarity between the lingas in overall configuration and in their attenuated realism.

Our survey has revealed similarities and equally important discontinuities between the Jaiya emblem and ekamukhalingas from Cambodia and Borneo. The Jaiya ekamukhalinga displays the same kind of coiffure as that worn by the Śiva on the pre-Angkorian emblem from Vat Sak Sampou. There are, however, significant

16) Bosch, 'Oudheden ter Westerafdeling van Borneo', op. cit., figs. 1 and 2.
differences between the two monuments in total configuration, degree of realism, and in size of the faces. The same air of elusive kinship can be found between the Jaiyā emblem and the ekamukhalihga from Western Borneo.

It is entirely possible that cultural interchange arising from trading relationships in the South China Sea is responsible for the similarities to be found between these ekamukhalihgas. It also seems very likely that the ultimate prototypes for these ekamukhaliningas may have been Indian Gupta models. For example, the simplicity of the coiffure on all of the emblems would argue for a Gupta prototype.17 An ascetic on the left of the Ramayana panel from the late Gupta temple at Deogarh wears a jaṭā which is quite, but not exactly, similar to the coiffure on the Jaiyā emblem.18 The simple neck ornament (hāra) of the Jaiyā figure would seem to accord well with Gupta adornment. It is not the simple single strand of pearls (ekāvalī), or the multiple twisted strands of pearls so favored during Gupta times, but it may be a string of pearls to which has been added a solid oblong piece with geometric design.19 The crescent moon and the third type of Śiva are all present on the Gupta ekamukhalihga from Khoh.20

It would thus seem that some Gupta ekamukhalininga, such as the early fifth century and very simple emblem from the cave temple at Udayagiri,21 is the ultimate prototype behind the Jaiyā emblem and the other somewhat similar ekamukhaliningas of Cambodia and Borneo. Given the very simple form of the liṅga and its rather early conventionalization into three discrete geometric shapes, the essential type may have persisted with small modifications long after the collapse

17) See Sivaramanumurti, C., 'Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography', Ancient India, no. 6, January 1950, fig. 36.
18) Coomaraswamy, A., History of Indian and Indonesian Art, New York, 1927, plate 44, fig. 167.
of the Gupta ateliers. The grudging nature of change in the type and style of Buddha images of the Theravāda is well known. A similar conservatism may be operative in such a simple emblem as the ekamukhaliṅga. This may account for the similarities and differences between the Jaiyā monument and the ekamukhaliṅgas from Cambodia and Borneo. Chronological differences are almost certainly involved as well as factors of local inflection. It is not possible to offer an exact date for the Jaiyā emblem but seventh through the eighth centuries would seem a reasonable guess.
Fig. 1. *Ekamukhaliṅga* from Jaiyā. National Museum, Bangkok.
Fig. 2. Photograph from Malleret, L., *L'archéologie du delta du Mekong*, Paris, 1959.
Fig. 3. *Ekamukhaliiga* from Vat Sak *Sampou*. Photograph courtesy of Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient.
BANGKOK AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY; MONGKUT AND CHULALONGKORN ENTERTAIN THE WEST

by
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King Mongkut (Rama IV, 1851-68) was 'a man of liberal sentiments, and far in advance of the generality of his countrymen', but he 'realized that his progressive views did not find favor with everyone, and some of the opposition were not without influence. As... Siam needed unity, he trod his way warily and made sure that the change from the old to the new was gradual'. The 'new' was nothing less than the introduction of progressive, alien Western techniques and ideas into the backward, conservative setting that was Thailand; the initiation of 'the wise policy of compounding with the advance of Western civilization, instead of resisting it'. 'He mounted the throne... when European imperialism was tearing Asia to pieces', but Thailand 'preserved her independence when by the end of the nineteenth century all the other states of South-East Asia had come under European control'.

Western influence was invited to Thailand by the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Great Britain in 1855. Its main feature was the fixing of duties payable on both imports and exports by British merchants—no small concession by the Thai government, for in the words of its negotiator, Sir John Bowring, it meant 'a complete revolution in the financial system of the country, as it destroys many of the present and most fruitful sources of revenue'.

1) 'News of the beginning of the 4th Reign in a Singapore newspaper', quoted by Chakrabongse, H.R.H. Prince Chula, Lords of Life, 1960, p. 179...
2) Ibid., pp. 189-90.
4) Griswold, quoted by Chakrabongse, op. cit., p. 196.
sion of this treaty ... speedily attracted the attention of other powers, and ... similar treaties ... were made with France and the United States in 1856, Denmark and the Hanseatic cities in 1858, Portugal in 1859, Holland in 1860 ... Prussia in 1862 ... [and] In 1868 ... with Belgium, Italy, and Norway and Sweden. The effect on commerce, if not on the entire country, was, of course, extraordinary, but Mongkut ensured modernization along Western lines—albeit grudging and gradual—by employing Western advisers, teachers and technicians.

Rama II (1809-29) had added buildings in both the Chinese and European style to the Ayutthayan-type structures raised by his father, laid out a 'garden' complete with a large islanded lake on the palace grounds and conceived and initiated the construction of a number of wats, including the c. 250 foot tower of Wat Arun (see figure 1) which dominates the west bank of the Chao Phraya. Rama III (1829-51) had replaced many temporary wooden structures by brick buildings, dug a number of canals (including one 33 miles long) and widened and deepened existing canals and streams in order to facilitate inland shipping and continued the beautification of the Grand Palace. But his main interest lay in wats: nine new temples were constructed and more than sixty were renovated or enlarged. Even Chakrabongse (a distinguished and most sympathetic member of the Chakri dynasty) bemoans 'this artistic and architectural impulse of the time [which] has become a burden to the Government ... for the number of temples and the separate buildings within each are now so great that it has become impossible today to ... keep them up to the desired standard'. But, though temple building reached the proportions of a fad under Rama III, the construction of wats was more than an 'artistic and architectural impulse' for a wat was a public school, library, hospital and garden, as well as religious center.

King Mongkut built and restored wats, added structures to the Grand Palace (including some in European style) and dug canals—usual undertakings entered into with no less zeal by his predecessors.

7) Hall, op. cit., p. 581.

Unfortunately, as this downstream view was apparently taken from a point close to the northern end of the Palace of the First King (see figure 3), it is rather more of Wat Arun (the c. 250 foot tower on the western bank of the Chao Phraya) than of the city. However, it does present an unstylized, though murky, river-level impression.

**Figure 1**


Actually this view looks downstream from the Thon Buri (western) side of the Chao Phraya near Wat Arun, and shows only the southern extensions of the city. A remarkable engraving however, photo-like in its detail. Note 'tall-masters' in mid-stream anchorage.

**Figure 2**
BANGKOK, 1870

As this tract is occupied by Gardens, Orchards of Coconuts, Durians, Pomegranates, Oranges, Betel, Cerei, etc., being densely inhabited and well watered by innumerable canals generally a small size.

The city proper of Siamese being copied from a chart of the survey of the Second King of Siam.

The other parts of the city, through not very accurately surveyed, will it is believed be found quite a tolerable approximation to correctness.

The black border of the chart indicates the wall. The round white spots on the wall indicate the watch-towers. The Gates are of two kinds, the large and the small thus.

The double line parallel with the inside of the wall is a street extending around the city. The open space outside the wall is also a street. The black lines are the canals. The black dots in the river are the places of the floating houses. D.B.B. 1870.
Beyond this, though results were by no means immediate, King Mongkut did achieve a partial basis for change while introducing a number of physical improvements and innovations in the capital and its immediate suburbs, inconsiderable though these works might appear to the casual Western eye. The initiation of a road and bridge building program, the construction of several ‘modern’ streets within the walls and Charoen Krung Road (or New Road, as it was and is known to the English-speaking community) atop a former track which ran behind the commercial and industrial establishments, churches, wats and consulates which lined the river immediately south of the city proper, and the erection of nearly a half-mile of continuous blocks of rentable commercial premises along both sides of that portion of this new road within the walls, were truly innovations (see figure 3).

Except for the digging of several canals, construction outside Bangkok appears to have been limited to the restoration of P’ra Patom Chedi, the ruins of which King Mongkut is supposed to have discovered when a roaming monk. (The restoration, or rather, reconstruction, was completed by his successor, King Chulalongkorn, and now forms the focal point of the town of Nakhon Pathom.)

King Mongkut had made a definite, but only a modest beginning. 'There was no fixed code of laws; no system of general education; no proper control of revenue and finance; no postal or telegraph service. Debt slavery was not fully abolished; the opium laws were badly administered; there was no medical organization . . . There was no army on modern lines; there was no navy at all; there were no railways and almost no roads' among other wants and deficiencies, when Chulalongkorn became king in 1868. During a reign of al-

10) King Mongkut constructed New Road only after being petitioned by the now relatively numerous foreign community. Construction began in 1862, but the five mile road was not completed and opened to traffic until March 1869. See ‘Historical Growth’, Technical Monograph, Bangkok-THONburi City Planning Project, Litchfield, Whiting, Bowne & Associates; Adams, Howard & Greeley, 1959, p. 7 and Chakrabongse, op. cit., p. 207.

12) King Chulalongkorn, being but sixteen when King Mongkut died, was under a Regent until 1873.
most half a century (1868-1910) King Chulalongkorn attempted to
supply these needs and overcome deficiencies; an aim which required
the reformation of every aspect of Thai life—indeed, ‘a revolution
from the throne’. But, obviously, such a task is not quickly ac­
complished—even given a large, diversified and dedicated force of
Western ‘advisers’—and, in fact, the administration itself showed
hardly a sign of efficient organization prior to the last decade of the
nineteenth century. Nevertheless, ‘against the background of deeply­
 ingrained traditionalism, one may assess the achievements of Chula­
longkorn’s reign as truly remarkable’.14

Whether the reforms accomplished by the turn of the century
were more the outcome of over fifty years of patient effort or the
alarmed reaction to the increasing tempo with which the British and
French—particularly the French—were acquiring Southeast Asian ter­
ritory is a moot point, but the latter activity could only have acted as
a sharp spur. In 1892, having already lost whatever vague suzerainty
had been claimed over the greater part of Cambodia and a large part
of northern Laos, and with the surrender of all claims to land east of
the Mekhong imminent, the Thai government reorganized the admi­
nistration of the provinces. Centralization of power was imperative,
for if Bangkok could not maintain effective control over the provinces,
if territorial claims were in any way indefinite, then it was probable
that the suzerainty of either Great Britain (to the west in Burma and
to the south in Malaya) or France (to the east in Cambodia and to
the north in Laos) would extend over the area in question.

Theoretically, centralization was simple. Provincial adminis­
tration was made the responsibility of a single agency—the newly
created (1892) Ministry of the Interior. Provinces were reorganized,
given equal status and grouped into Monthon (Circles) administered
by a ‘lord-lieutenant’ directly responsible to the king; all provincial
personnel from district officials to the governor became civil servants

13) King Prajadhipok (Rama VI, 1910-25), quoted by Chakrabongse, op. cit.,
p. 238.
14) Hall, op. cit., p. 590. A readable discussion of these reforms and the manner
in which they were attempted is presented by Chakrabongse, op. cit., pp.
216-67.
with fixed and adequate salaries; and the provision of administrative facilities (public buildings, offices and residences) was undertaken by the central government\(^{15}\). Practically, centralization was difficult. Qualified personnel were lacking, transportation facilities were hardly developed beyond the canalized basin of the Chao Phraya, and even to the indefatigable first Minister of the Interior (Prince Damrong) it seemed 'not an exaggeration to say that every city [provincial capital] has to be reconstructed [and] it is very likely that we [will] have to face the serious problem of a lack of funds'\(^{16}\). Even so, by the end of King Chulalongkorn's reign (1910) eighteen monthon had been established, and it seems hardly a coincidence that territorial cessions ceased from this date\(^{17}\).

The absence of 'efficient' lines of communication within the northern, north-eastern and southern provinces, and the fact that the central government 'bestirred itself' in this direction only after the French had encroached upon the eastern frontier and began discussing the diversion of the trade of the Northeast from Bangkok to Saigon,

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\(^{15}\) Most writers grant this reorganization the proportions of a revolution; crediting even the creation of districts, communes and villages to this period; see, for example, Meksawan, A., *The Role of the Provincial Governor in Thailand*, Institute of Public Administration, Thammasat University, 1962, p.106. Hall (*op. cit.*, p. 586) goes so far as to maintain that 'The reform of local administration was...carried out by...[introducing] the system developed by the British in Burma. The whole kingdom was divided into eighteen monthons, each with a resident High Commissioner at its head. These were subdivided into provinces, villages and hamlets.' It may even be argued that the monthon had already been prescribed by that subdivisioning of power which occurred beyond the area under Bangkok's direct control tacitly acknowledged by the central government as early as 1874 when a royal commissioner was sent to Chiangmai; but, obviously, provinces, districts, communes and villages had already enjoyed an existence prior to the reign of King Chulalongkorn, although, to be sure, their relationship with the central government underwent a considerable alteration (at least in theory) at this time.

\(^{16}\) Quoted by Meksawan, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Prior to the reforms, all provincial offices, 'public' 'buildings and administrators' residences were the private property of either the governor or his subordinates. In fact, the governor's residence generally served as provincial headquarters, court and jail.

\(^{17}\) By this time, Chiangmai, that is, Northern Thailand, had been administered more or less directly from Bangkok for about a quarter of a century. A Royal Commissioner appointed in 1874 had somehow managed to quietly assume the power of the northern princes.
never fails to excite Western reprobation—interpreted, as it is, as evidence of Bangkok's disregard for the welfare of the outer provinces, or, at best, oriental laxity. It is, of course, true that prior to the last decade of the nineteenth century, improving the system of communications meant improving the canal and river system in the delta region, and that 'The decision to construct a railroad system was political rather than economic'\(^\text{18}\), but there is no need to invoke some 'irrational' causation, for these circumstances have a sufficient basis within the Western rationale. As late as the beginning of the present century the population of Thailand (even including the Cambodian and Malayan provinces) approximated only to some five million\(^\text{19}\) and, of this total, considerably more than one-third lived in the delta region, while at least another third were located in areas within easy access of either one of the four major rivers of the North or the waters of the Gulf—by far the country's most productive territories. The sparseness and the uneven distribution of the population was quite apparent to those 'advisers' whose duties required sojourns in the provinces. Smyth was

\(^{18}\) *A Public Development Program for Thailand*, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1959, p. 120. Though the distinction between politically and economically based activity is rather indistinct, that the preservation of the state was indeed the decisive factor in initiating any major communications line—particularly railroads—is no secret, and, in view of the circumstances outlined above, seems eminently logical. Chulalongkorn himself placed these variables in their proper perspective in a speech delivered at the opening of the Northern Line from Pak Nam Pho to Phitsanulok in 1907 (quoted by Graham, A.W., *Siam: A Handbook of Practical, Commercial and Political Information*, 1912, vol. 2, p. 145):

> The construction of railways has not only the greatest influence upon the development of a country but is also the most striking evidence of that development... By bringing the different parts of a country within close communication the railway renders possible that close and beneficial supervision which is necessary to effective administration. By furnishing rapid and easy means of transportation, it adds materially to the value of the land and its products... The railway wherever it goes carries with it enlightenment and encourages the growth of that national feeling which is so important an element in the welfare of a country.

struck...most...[by]the vast amount of rich open country undrained, and unclaimed except by the buffalo and the heron, where the wild solitude was made audible by the unceasing sighing of the wind and the monotonous chirping of the insects in the grasses. All over the lower Me Nam delta...

McCarthy noted that 'Nearly the whole population [of the plain north of Nakhon Sawan] lives on the river-banks, the villages inland being small, with few inhabitants'. Hallett stated rather succinctly of a particular valley north of Chiengmai what he had remarked about many of the northern valleys; that 'Owing to the sparseness of the present population, only a small portion of the rich plain was under cultivation...

The whole of the Mekong region beyond 50 miles north and east of Korat [Nakhon Ratchasima]...suffers from...the want of inhabitants and isolation...For days and weeks almost, even on the main routes of communication, a traveller will pass villages which number only a few squalid huts...

Keith reported of the area now included in the provinces of Prachuap Khiri Khan and Chumphon, some 2,200 square miles of the King of Siam's kingdom...about 3 3/4 square miles only...under cultivation. And Louis neatly summarized in Yala what was usual throughout the peninsula,

very sparsely populated...There may be said to be no interior to this state, the whole active life of which is confined to the river Patani...[which] in its whole course...presents nothing on either side but a series of low sand banks, covered with dense jungle, relieved by an occasional village...

22) Hallett, H.S., A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States, 1890, p. 364.
Even had finance been available (which it apparently was not, prior to King Chulalongkorn’s fiscal reform) it would have been uneconomic to engage in any large-scale communications program beyond the improvement of waterways, which were by no means already adequately developed. In the basin of the Chao Phraya ‘Not one quarter . . . [was] under cultivation, for the simple reason that without canals, or with its canals blocked and silted up, there . . . [were] no means of access and no means of irrigation.’

Before 1900 tangible evidences of King Chulalongkorn’s reforms were so scanty as to encourage their careful enumeration in descriptions of Bangkok, which otherwise were content to reiterate the observations of a half-century earlier. But during the first decade of this century ‘modern’ construction proceeded with a certain rapidity, and by the end of his reign a discernible change had been wrought in the appearance of the capital.

Great sections of the massive crenellated wall had been demolished to provide road metal for some of the hundred and twenty miles of carriage ways that crossed the network of canals on substantial bridges of iron and marble; including the 200 foot wide, two mile long, tree-lined boulevard (Ratcha Damnoen) connecting the recently built Grand Palace with the complex of ornamental gardens, princely villas and the summer palace (Dusit) which had been laid out immediately north of Khlong Padung Krung Kasem (see figure 4), and the Samsen Road—New Road’s complement to the northeast (see figure 5).

A rough ‘quartering’ had become apparent: the port area along the southern half of New Road—‘an eastern Rotterdam [of] mud banks, wharfs and jetties, unlovely rice mills belching smoke, houses gaunt on crooked wooden piles, dykes and ditches . . . steam launches by the dozen, crowded rows of native rice boats, lines of . . . lighters, and . . . towering even above the ugly chimneys of the mills, British

27) See for example: Bock, C.A., Temples and Elephants, 1884; Caddy, F., To Siam and Malaya, 1889; Macgregor, J., Through the Buffer State, 1896; Campbell, J.G.D., Siam in the Twentieth Century, 1904.
Even the substitution of a graceful Thai roof for cupolas fails to relieve the massive ugliness of this mid-19th century European architecture.

Both the architectural style and the marble in which it is constructed came from Italy.
‘New Road’ c. 1920
Façade typical late 19th century ‘colonial’. Note uneven architectural perspective and juxtaposition of traditional and modern modes of transport and dress.

The Port, c. 1900
From Carter, A.C. ed., *The Kingdom of Siam*, 1904, facing p. 114
Anchorage remains in mid-stream though steam has replaced sail. Note chimneys of rice and saw mills along river-front.

Figure 5
The grand market of Bangkok; a better 'avenue' in the Chinese quarter, where every house is a shop. Note distinctive Thai-style teak gable-end.

Usual Bangkok habitat. Stilted houses lining canal constructed of woven bamboo and attap; native craft moored to tall bamboo poles to secure against tidal drift.

Figure 6
European architectural styles have been adopted for all manner of public buildings, but temples remain inviolate, containing much that is peculiarly Thai.

Apparently riotous, Bangkok gardens effectively produce a variety of fruits and vegetables. Note bridge—variation on usual slim log, demanded by width and 'rise' of tidal channels.
steamers, and Norwegian and Swedish... ships\(^{28}\) anchored in a line
down the middle of the river (see figure 5); the consular and
European residential area with its 'verandahed houses, flagstaffs,
tennis-lawns and flowering trees'\(^{29}\) along the river immediately south
of Khlong Padung Krung Kasem; the 'market' area of Sampeng—a fair
facsimile of a quarter of a Chinese city—where 'The houses, of every
size and shape [though usually of one storey] stand as close together
as possible', where, with the exception of several broad streets there
are only 'narrow alleys often not twelve feet wide, where crowds of
people [burry] ... all day and where the lives and property of
strangers [is] not safe at night', where 'Almost every house is a shop
... and an immense amount of trade is carried on... by a population
herded together under the most revoltingly insanitary conditions\(^{30}\)
(see figure 6); the Siamese residential areas where 'here and there a
row of older thatched dwellings persists and a few floating houses
still cling to the banks of the river and principal creeks\(^{31}\), where 'the
boats lie thick, the children bathe and run, and the \(W\at\) gables uphold
their gaudy tiles to the sunshine' and where the gardens are 'not ...
such as we know, but gardens run wild, plantations of tall palms,
recast places, trees and greenery\(^{32}\) (see figure 7); and finally the
administrative, religious and cultural focus of Thailand—the 'Grand
Palace a maze of delicate spiral roofs, flashing with gold and silver,
overlapping white castellated walls with surrounding green lawns,
white roads and imposing temples and public buildings\(^{33}\) juxtaposing
traditional Thai and contemporary European architectural styles.

Banking facilities, hotels, a hospital and a nursing home, a
university and several secondary schools, a library and a museum,
one of the finest race-courses in the East and a number of social-
cultural-athletic clubs were provided among other of the amenities
necessary for 'modern' living. Water was piped into the city and

\(^{28}\) Smyth, \(op. \text{cit.}\), vol. 1, p. 9.
\(^{30}\) Graham, A.W., \textit{Siam: A Handbook of Practical, Commercial and Political
\(^{32}\) Smyth, \(op. \text{cit.}\), vol. 1, p. 18.
available from a number of artesian bores, and electricity lit street lamps and moved the trams that shared the clogged roadways with a never-ending stream of jinrikishas, horse-drawn carriages, bullock carts, bicycles, small omnibuses and an increasing number of motor cars.

Though the Public Works Department was fast providing Bangkok's half million inhabitants with a semi-Europeanized 'city of bricks', the communications system linking the capital with the more densely populated portions of a sparsely settled country was being extended at snail's pace, and, to judge from what are, at best, unenthusiastic descriptions, even larger provincial capitals manifested not a single concrete item in evidence of the great reform. Absence of notable development in the provincial centers may be quite reasonably ascribed to that unavoidable delay between the introduction of new forms and their acceptance and dissemination. To censure the Bangkokian administration for sapping provincial revenues (though, undoubtedly, this must have had an adverse effect upon the immediate development of provincial centers) seems rather superficial and is certainly premature. Our sympathies go out to that 'disconsolate provincial governor ... [who] spreading wide his fingers towards a canal in Bangkok beautifully embanked with a charming road on either side,' cried, 'That's all our money. I have had to roof my courthouse at my own expense.'

But the central government, itself hardly conversant with or recovered from the great reorganization and yet groping for a coordinated plan of development, is surely deserving of no less compassion.

Indeed, since teachers were few, the people illiterate and revenues insubstantial, transmission to the provinces of the new modes seems an impossible task; further, the huge expenditure involved must have appeared out of all proportion to the inconsiderable populations. Chiengmai—the largest of the provincial capitals—

34) This is the revised estimate of the 1909 census figure of 628,675 for Bangkok and suburbs. In 1920 a 'census' of the 'city proper' returned an estimate of 345,000.
had a population that approximated to no more than fifteen thousand; while Songkhla and Ayutthya could boast of some ten thousand inhabitants only by generously delimiting their ‘suburbs’. Chon Buri possibly contained close to eight thousand people and Nakhon Ratchasima, the largest center in the Northeast, may have held as many as seven thousand; but other ‘large’ centers (Ubon and Nong Khai in the Northeast; Nan, Tak and Lampang in the North; Chainat and Nakhon Sawan in the Center; Rat Buri and Phet Buri to the west, and Chanthaburi and Chachoengsao to the east of the head of the Gulf; Chaiya and Nakhon Si Thammarat in the south) reckoned their populations—liberally—at no more than five thousand. And, even these larger provincial centers were in reality, ‘like most . . . muangs [provincial capitals] so scattered as hardly to be called a town’.

37) Two estimates of the population of Chiangmai are available for the turn of the century: Black’s (op. cit., p. 447) of 12,000 for 1896 based on observation; and Campbell’s (op. cit., p. 58) of 50,000 for 1903 based on hearsay. In 1924 Graham (Siam, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 26) estimated the number of inhabitants in the city and ‘suburbs’ at 30,000; the official 1943 estimate was 37,844. Allowing for that remarkable increase in the Thai population which has characterized the recent half-century; the undoubted inflation of Graham’s estimate through the inclusion of what must be reckoned a substantial number of the considerable agricultural population surrounding; and considering that the estimate of 12,000 for 1896 was not only based on observation but on the observation of the ‘First Assistant of Her Majesty’s Consular Service in Siam’—a population of 15,000 seems a reasonable, if not generous, award.

38) Nakhon Si Thammarat had yielded its commanding position in the peninsula to Songkhla some decades earlier. Doubtless a contributing factor to this cession was the silting up of Nakhon Si Thammarat’s river—in 1855, ‘deep and navigable . . . on which the junks carry on a considerable trade . . . ’ (Bowring, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 50); but in 1893, a ‘sludgy smudgy creek’ navigable only by canoes (Smyth, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 123-4). Too much may be made of this, however, for Nakhon Si Thammarat had been engaged in coastal trade only for at least two hundred years previously and there is no indication that the port’s deterioration resulted in a drastic reduction in this activity. In addition, Songkhla, though providing a secure and commodious harbor, did so only after requiring a rather tricky negotiation of the bar across its mouth. It seems more probable that the principal reason for the shift was the desire of the central government to secure the more southerly provinces more effectively (particularly when the British began consolidating the Malay States), and, incidentally, to further reduce the influence of a long eminent center; which was also being effected by redistributing the control of much of Nakhon Si Thammarat’s dependent territory.

BOOK REVIEWS


Margaret Ayer, 'author-illustrator of eight books for children and, as a free-lance artist... [illustrator of] over 150 more' has obviously mastered the technique of talking to youngsters. None of *Made in Thailand's* twenty-one chapters exceeds fourteen pages of large 'Caledonia' type text (which on a full page allows some 175 words), and none lacks either a line drawing or a photograph; in fact, there are usually more than one of each—in one instance six illustrations nicely interrupt a thirteen page narrative. Within each chapter all over-long themes, all semblance of that continuity which distresses a child's concentration is carefully avoided. And all ideas are explained clearly, in simple down-to-earth English words arranged in short sentences. Occasionally, of course, the ideas being presented become somewhat distorted through simplification, and, regrettably, a bit of misinformation has crept in here and there, but in attempting to instil such material into the minds of the young it appears necessary to overemphasize, to exaggerate in order to effect even a transient impression.

Actually Miss Ayer discusses much more than 'a country's arts and crafts', in fact she offers a bit of everything, but when speaking of Thai handiwork she obviously has something to say. And not only to the youngsters. Particular sections and fragments in the chapters entitled 'The Thai Work With Metal', 'The Thai Make Pictures', 'The Thai Make Music', 'Weaving', 'The Bountiful Soil' and 'Beauty From Mud' should prove informative even to those who consider themselves well versed in things Thai.

Parents can introduce offspring to Thailand in no better way than to present them with this book ($3.95); Thai parents, in particular, will doubtless appreciate its value as a means to further their child's command of the English language.

The appearance of a review three years after publication might well be regarded askance; when, in fact, the book being considered consists of ‘three lectures delivered at Smith College in April 1947’, first printed in 1949 and now reprinted a second time to ‘meet a small but continuing demand’, suspicion may resolve itself into outright annoyance. But Cora Du Bois’ slim volume is no ordinary treatise, for (in the words of its flaps) it ‘rises above statistical science and narrow specialization’ in presenting ‘exciting theses and stimulating ideas for both factual investigation and creative speculation’. Though Dr. Du Bois herself conceives of the purpose of these lectures as merely ‘to give interpretive insights such as essayists often advance’, we are not overbound by modesty to deny that recurring stimulation that derives from and is the hallmark of art.

Each of the lectures forms a chapter in *Social Forces in Southeast Asia*.

The first of these, entitled ‘Some General Concepts’, is concerned with simply outlining several ideas deeply engrained in cultural anthropology. It appears to have no place even in this svelte setting, but, fortunately, it occupies but half the number of pages of each of the other chapters. The discussion is indeed that which would, of necessity, be included in a series of lectures to a body of eager collegians; here it constitutes rather an impediment, if not an imputation. It might have enhanced, however, had the material been presented in the form of argumentative footnotes nicely complementing the ‘interpretive insights’ of the pertinent essays.

It should not be inferred, however—certainly it is not implied, that there is here to be found no stimulating material, no theses fostering speculation; in fact, there are presented exciting hypotheses aplenty. And, even a brief consideration will serve to remove any doubts unintentionally instilled.

Firstly, in speaking of the Great War, Dr. Du Bois makes the point that ‘stark and inescapable necessities of the military situation forced consideration of social data... [as] facts with which to deal.
Social theories went by the board largely because they were not adequately illuminating to practical action. Here, in subtle repose, the theoretical/practical dichotomy; a dichotomy falsely drawn, yet, in its appealing simplicity, universally embraced. Obviously, and particularly in this instance, social data are compiled on the basis of some theory as to what constitutes pertinent information; they are not in themselves basic abstract facts (in fact, there are no such things) but 'facts' in a particular schema. Further, and simply, 'practical action' proceeds according to some hypothesis-some theory-concerning an expectation; the theories of so-called 'practical' men differ from those of so-called 'theoreticians' only, perhaps, in degree. In this instance, social theory of the time, apparently inadequate in the situation, was replaced.

Again, in pursuing this misguided course rather more plainly, Professor Du Bois acknowledges that

The relation between man as a biologic and psychologic unit on the one hand, and as a product of his geographic and social environment on the other hand, has been widely perceived both theoretically and practically but without a structured theory adequate to guide practice.

That 'a structured theory adequate to guide practice' in this instance has not yet been forthcoming might possibly be due to difficulties inherent in separating out man's supposed component parts; if so, the promise of this 'structured theory' is cause for apprehension. For Dr. Du Bois' two men are one; the separation is effected only through wholesale qualification. To then consider each separate and distinct, endowed with extreme values of superimposed categories, and attempt to put them back together again is nonsense.

Cora Du Bois' 'Nothing can be more tedious than quarrels about definitions' must evoke a responsive twitch from anyone who has even once become entangled in academic debate. Definition (and Dr. Du Bois proceeds immediately to her own) is, of course, absolutely necessary to communication; apparently the tediousness involved stems from attempting to reconcile differing ideas about the meaning of certain symbols, that is certain words or phrases. But
why are there differing ideas about these meanings; why do some prefer one definition to another; and why is this matter not settled somehow so that time might be spent more profitably? Might it not be that, since inherent in any definition is an assumption or a set of assumptions, allowing a certain definition, in a logical system, is tantamount to accepting a particular conclusion; that is, a conclusion from which apparently but little variation is possible. And, might it not be, then, that for some the particular conclusion is unacceptable. An example is provided by Dr. Du Bois herself, when, in examining the institution of marriage, she states that

first every known society has some form of marriage—in other words, it is a universal institution; second, when marriage as it is found in many different societies is compared, the only common denominator that remains appears to be the device of associating men and women in order to localize children in their society.

Obviously, if this 'common denominator' is for me an unacceptable definition of marriage, then the institution of marriage ceases to be universal. And, if it is not universal than perhaps, and by way of example, it should not be equated with institutions that are in propounding a relevant hypothesis.

Pulling up what is fast becoming a full trot into things by-the-way, and leaving such as 'Culture is constantly changing. At no time and in no place has it been observed at rest' and 'There is little room at the top of a pyramid' (of course stood on its head . . . ), yet Dr. Du Bois' conclusion to this lecture prods comment. Allowing that the concepts she has discussed cannot be rapidly tested through research for all the world and, further, that speculation based upon concepts and data possessed can lead to no definitive results, 'Yet so urgent have the practical problems of certain parts of the world become that even dull tools are better than none [my italics]. This do-something-don't-just-stand-there and some-facts-are-better-than-none philosophy has somehow managed to delude even learned folk like Dr. Du Bois into thinking it synonymous with progress. The do-nothing-till-you-hear-from-me and a-little-knowledge-is-a-dangerous-thing school hasn't a hope; its 'reactionary'. Dull tools are not incisive, they tear.
In Southeast Asia makeshift solutions may, in fact, cause considerable, even irreparable damage, not only in the particular situation or to the 'developing' country involved, but to the prestige (and, thereby, the ability to make amends and offer better answers) of the developer.

Though the bulk of the discussion in 'Some Social Factors Discernible in the Southeast Asia of 1940'—the second lecture in the series—is devoted to a gross consideration of antecedents, itself deserving of extended comment, and the opening remarks plus 'map' warrant a non-too-constructive criticism, Professor Du Bois offers a number of apparently reasonable diagnoses; the more so for having been based on 'only a few social structures about which a little is known and on a few attitudes unscientifically estimated'. The 'factors discernible' are grouped, undoubtedly for purposes of presentation, for the 'classes' are emphatically interdependent, under four main headings: class structure, economy, European philosophical values and prestige.

However much we may sympathize with Dr. Du Bois in her lack of definitive information (a point which, though emphasized, is placed in too discrete a position as regards the hypotheses) this must not dissuade criticism of a too liberal generalizing, a gross simplifying or an unfounded classifying. In Southeast Asia the basic work, the unique investigations, from which generalization must evolve has not yet been accomplished. A discreet silence need not be maintained in such a situation, though wisdom would so counsel, but any hypotheses offered should be couched in terms unmistakably humble. Professor Du Bois' discussion of social aspects of the Southeast Asia of 1940 is decidedly not humble; but perhaps this necessarily results when, is using a pre-stressed form and allocating observations therein, matters become irresistibly clear. The discussion of class structure will serve to indicate the general tenor of the hypotheses offered throughout. For example it is stated flatly that

Economically these overseas Chinese are a source of considerable wealth to the homeland. Remittances flow steadily from Southeast Asia to China.

Now, though basically true, this statement is deplorably bald; for it
disregards completely the fact that it was Chinese labor and enterprise which produced the wealth from which remittances were drawn off.

Again, apparently through extending the naively compartmentalized class structure form, Dr. Du Bois is enabled such statements as by 1940 the upper Asian class had split into the carefully preserved museum pieces on the one hand, and on the other, into the new intellectual group.

and

Today the Chinese in Southeast Asia are... split into... the landless wage earners on the one hand, and on the other, the moderately well-off, and occasionally very rich, entrepreneurs.

Now, what is common to both the 'carefully preserved museum pieces' and the 'new intellectual group' which allows them to agglomerate into the 'upper Asian class'? At worst, an argument stressing transition within the class as opposed to a difference in extremes would have to contend with birthright as the agglutinant. Assuming this, then, the genesis of the new intellectuals, that is, those who had been exposed to Western ideas and ideals (granting an equal exposure), may be pondered. It seems, and Dr. Du Bois agrees, that the 'intellectuals' must have been fostered by those 'carefully preserved museum pieces' who allowed, nay, encouraged, study abroad or at transplanted Western institutions. This suggests that some 'museum pieces' were less 'carefully preserved' than others. Similarly, the landless wage earner/entrepreneur dichotomy does not enhance an appreciation of the Chinese position in Southeast Asia; to 'see' these two groups requires blinkers closely set, for not only does each embrace a motley membership but the one grades into the other; and, in this regard, differences within the two classes may well be greater than those between.

Taken somewhat further this gross delimiting leads to such subtleties as

There is little in common between the Chinese colonial in Southeast Asia and the bourgeoisie of Europe, except that both have thriven and grown powerful between upper and lower millstones.
Dismissing the rather peculiar concluding analogy, the question is who is the Southeast Asian Chinese colonial and who the European bourgeoisie? Do such caricatures warrant consideration in an hypothesis?

Despite an unfortunate oversimplifying, though, to be sure, in some instances because of it, there is much in this lecture which stimulates thought.

The discussion of the more social aspects of the economy of Southeast Asia in 1940, for example, includes several imaginative theses. One such conceives of the areas of deficit food in southern Asia as a 'by-product of the introduced European economic system' which severely dislocated indigenous economies. Though to my knowledge rice shipments from 'king's stores' to impoverished areas had occurred intermittently long before the introduction of European economic systems, certainly both the magnitude and the permanence of this trade awaited that commercial organization afforded by Western and, latterly, Chinese enterprise. Whether the introduced Western economic systems caused inadequate food supplies through dislocating native economies (granting that such dislocations did indeed occur) and introducing a more pliable labor force, or whether a more efficient organization merely allowed deficits to be made up economically, and in so doing gave greater notice to impoverished areas; well, this is debatable. It might well be that receipt of foodstuffs at reasonable cost allowed relief from the extension of an unprofitable cultivation.

Again, in discussing the effects of the introduced plantation system Dr. Du Bois deplores European capitalistic enterprise [which] failed to establish, in time, that nice balance between what it was extracting from Southeast Asia and what it could put back into the area in the guise of purchasing power. It was defeated by its own preoccupation with what was proved to be, in the long run, uneconomical profit.

Might it not be that the failure to establish a 'nice balance' and that certain 'preoccupation' simply reflects inadequate profits? That 'extracts' from Southeast Asia were siphoned off to aid the relatively
rapid development of certain European nations is not denied, but these alone would not have allowed that progress. 'European capitalistic enterprise' acted to allow a certain concentration of wealth sufficient to a development greater than that which would have accrued from a mere adding together of profits. Such progress was not accomplished easily; and I submit that no area was more 'dislocated' than was Europe in the process. Further, I am inclined to suggest that that already 'put back' into Southeast Asia is infinitely greater than that which has been extracted; that the condition being 'treated' by the West, and in some measure (I would hope in large measure) due to its interfering, is symptomatic of healthy change.

Regrettably, to the detriment of the ideas here presented, though detracting not one whit from their stimulating effect, there are dispersed throughout remarks which, having no basis other than in 'common knowledge', are the more insidious for being made offhandedly. For example, when discussing the essentially subsistence peasant economy in 1940, that the peasant lived 'on his own lands' is imparted in a modifying phrase. Now, in truth, this idea, which has waxed axiomatic by dint of repetition, has never been critically evaluated. Certainly, at present, no one having even a nodding acquaintance with the entangled systems of land tenure and land ownership in Southeast Asia would hold this to be a valid generalization. On the basis of a limited experience I would, in fact, be inclined to dispute it. But why must such information be introduced so baldly; particularly in that here, as elsewhere, Dr. Du Bois' argument would be enhanced through indecisiveness.

I find the third lecture—'Potentialities of These Factors', that is, the factors discernible in 1940—prosaic; a series of commonplaces concerning attitudes engendered by World War II, anticipated changes resulting from great population increases, anticipated intellectual, political and economic forces, possible future leader-nations within Southeast Asia, and the probable role of Southeast Asia nations in the new international scene. And, therein lies its strength; for it is now almost two decades-two decades of unprecedented change—since Dr. Du Bois' prognostications, yet I may regard them with dispassion.
We may argue with her immediate post-bellum denunciation of the Japanese (such characterizations as boastful, deceitful, violent and hateful are difficult of apprehension) and the almost complete disregard for Japanese potential in Southeast Asia; we may even go so far as to deplore the projection of India as the 'best bet' for future leadership in the area (in this regard Dr. Du Bois, in assessing her forecasts in the preface written ten years later, believes her prediction of India's role in Southeast Asia to have been 'cautious' and to warrant no revision); we may balk at the thesis which suggests Thai 'uneasiness about her Burman neighbor' was directed 'more toward the British in Burma than toward the Burmans', and wonder at 'Thai Irredentism used to be a matter of some concern to certain British officials'; we may puzzle over an assessment of cultural forces which accounts science and the arts 'genuine social indicators', while rejecting 'radicals and reactionaries' as muddiers of 'the waters of current life'; we may, in fact, suspect that the theses qualified might as easily have qualified hypotheses opposite; but we must conclude that this was an awfully good throw.


The professed aim of this small book (some 230 pages) is to provide a history of South, East and Southeast Asia for 'persons living in Southeast Asia, and more particularly in Malaysia'; the 'appropriate' means to this end is seen to involve a 'history written from this centre'.

Dr. Purcell has successfully provided. His abbreviated history of this vast area, couched in simple terms, is remarkably free from printing errors, liberally sprinkled with maps (generally easily read), without cumbersome explanatory footnotes and almost entirely devoid of references, and provided with 'A Note on Books for Further Reading' which could only be improved upon through the inclusion of books in languages other than English. In short, Southeast Asian students will find this an admirable summarization; and only occasionally puzzling: as, for example, when the practice of execution-
by-elephant is termed 'barbarous' or when a former king is described as a 'ruffian'. Again, some may instinctively wonder at protestations of Southeast Asian unity, but they will not fail to evince conviction in an argument that appeals to the savants Coedès, Winstedt, Krom and Hall.

Cambridge, where Dr. Purcell is ensconced, may, indeed, be termed the 'Malaysian centre', being but a stone’s throw from London; and, so, here again, he has successfully concluded a most difficult but most 'appropriate' task: American effort in the Philippines, latterly in Thailand and its eastern neighbors, is regarded superciliously; Indochine is yet another French fiasco; the Dutch mismanage the Insulinde business; and Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak (as India and Pakistan) proceed to independence under the stalwart guardianship of Great Britain.

Though the 'advanced student' must be referred elsewhere, South and East Asia Since 1800 is a most readable memorandum.

Larry Sternstein
Samantapāsādika, Commentary of the Vinaya, part I, tr. into Siamese by the faculty of the King Mongkut University, University Press, Bangkok, pp. 429 octo, 2508.

This volume was published as a memento of the attainment of his father's age by His Majesty the King in August 1965.

From the University's preface we are told that the Vinaya consists of five sections, namely the Mahāvibhanga, the Bhikkhu-vibhanga, the Mahāvagga, the Cullavagga, and the Pariyāra. The Indian scholar, Buddhaghosa (B.C. 1,000) translated the whole work from the Sāhalese into Pāli. The volume under review is the first of three of this Siamese translation from the Pāli by the Ven. Pāra Debavārābhorn, deputy abbot of Wat Padumavarārūm, who has since died.

The Samantapāsādika is a set-book in the syllabus of the University of King Mongkut. Its sources are stated in the original work of Buddhaghosa to have been the Mahā-atthalwtha, coupled with the commentary called the Mahāpaccari and the commentary called the Mahānadi, of which no information is given here.

The gist commences with the First Synod of the Buddhist Hierarchy summoned immediately after the Master's death under the presidency of the senior disciple Kassapa, when a thorough revision of the Vinaya and Sutta sections of the Canon were discussed and agreed upon for acceptance, 'never to be tampered with' in future.

The Second Synod, when the Canon was confirmed as hitherto handed down, is described in the usually accepted mode.

The account under the heading of the Third Synod gives prominence to the Emperor Asoka. Interesting, if hardly acceptable in view of the history of the development of Buddhist art, is the incident of Asoka's request to the Nāga-King to fashion an image of the Master. It is worthy of comparison with our story of the Sihinga Image, mentioned in our review of Recent Siamese Publications no 321 (JSS LIII, 2, 1965).
Our narrative now switches to the missionary movement to neighbouring lands at the time of Prince Mahinda, son of Asoka, paying special attention to the Buddhist movement in Sihala, which led to the summoning of the Fourth Synod by Tissa, the Beloved of the Gods, King of Sihala. From this synod on the Mahayana Church ignores our enumeration of these Synod Councils; whilst the Burmese Church accepted this one and the next only. Here the historical narrative ends.

What follows in great bulk is largely didactic: such things as the virtue of the Master, as summed up in the *credo* 'Namo tassa...', discussions of the *jhana*, and, finally, the incidents occurring in Veran̄jā so popular with mediaeval Buddhist scholarship.

The *Samantapāsādikā* is, in fact, regarded by mediaeval Si̱halese scholars as a sort of bible. Our great respect for it can be traced no doubt from the Si̱halese influence on our Church since the time of Sukhodaya down through the era of Ayudhyā and the earlier Bangkok era up to the time of Prince Mon̄kut's reform of the Church. Even now it has a considerable hold on Church education.

The same portion of the *Samantapāsādikā* translated by faculty of the King Mon̄kut University had previously been translated into Siamese by the Ven. Dr. Sthiraboṣ. It was reviewed in JSS LII, 1, 1964.


This is another version of the *Samantapāsādikā*, part I, mentioned in the review above. The translation seems quite independent; and is, in fact, longer, going on to actual commentary, word for word, of the *Samantapāsādikā* dealing with the four *Parājika*, the extreme penalty of a monk's offenses against disciple necessitating expulsion and disrobing from the *Sangha* Brotherhood. The nature and method of its commitment is dealt with in detail, occupying pp. 294-576. The material is quite technical and does not hesitate to state facts plainly.
For the general public it hardly deserves much attention but of course for monastic practice and the interpreters of the Vinaya one could presume it invaluable. The Pārājika offenses are four in number: the first, sexual intercourse; the second, theft; the third, manslaughter; and the fourth, claims to possess supernatural powers.

340. Sammohavinodani, สมุทรมหัศจรรย์. Commentary of the Vibhanga section of the Vinaya, part I, tr. into the Siamese by the Ven. Pra Debagunābhorn of Wat Srakes, one of the scholars in the Commission for the translation of the above work, Samantapāsādikā part I, also a ninth grade scholar of the Ecclesiastical Syllabus, Rajadāromya Press, Bangkok, pp. 316 octo, 2508.

The Vibhanga is the second of the books of the Abhidhamma-pitaka, continuing an analysis of the ‘factors of Existence’, or dhamma, as enumerated in the first book called the Dhammasaṅgani. The reviewer admits his incompetence to pass a judgment on the publication since the Abhidhamma has never appealed to him as reading material. It is merely hoped that this notice will place those interested in a position from which the standing of this part of the philosophical ensemble of the Abhidhamma may be realized.

Nos. 339 and 340, as well as further items hereafter were published in dedication to His late Holiness the Patriarch of Wat Srakes on the occasion of the cremation of his remains in November 1965.


In the preface the Fine Arts Department points out that the custom of the Sovereign submitting interrogations to the Church from time to time has existed since the days of Ayudhya; the earliest date from the reign of King Nārāya. It has not been possible to ascertain how many interrogations have been put to the Clergy, but thus far the
Department has collected from various sources some 71 of them. Three of these, together with a summary for reference of those published formerly, are the subject of the volume under review. None of these publications have as yet been reviewed here since they were published prior to our notices or reviews of Siamese publications; the first of which appeared in JSS, XXXVI, 2, 1947.

In the volume under review the first of the three interrogations was put to the Clergy by King Rāma II, not so much in the usual form of an interrogation but for advice and comment on the proposal of His Majesty to revive the celebration of the Viśākha, the anniversary of the birth, enlightenment and death of the Buddha, traditionally reckoned as having occurred on the same date, the 15th of the waxing moon of the month of Viśākha of the lunar calendar. The custom has been kept up to these days and forms an important date in the Court calendar. His present Majesty has added to it a similar celebration on the same day in the more important centres of Buddhism in the Kingdom; and in attending these personally, he allows his subjects to participate with their sovereign in this religious dedication.

The second interrogation originated from King Rāma III, who wanted an explanation as to what kind of merit had resulted in his succeeding to the throne and what had been the cause of the many deaths occurring since in the rank of the Royal Family and the officials in his service. The interrogation, separately replied to by individual abbots, bore a gist of the usual scope of interpretation that all good or bad action was due to individual conduct the result of which might regulate the span of individual life and the amount of individual success in life.

The third interrogation is as late as 1923, when, at the news of the murder of Emperor Nicolas of Russia, King Rāma VI consulted the Clergy as to how he could give expression to his sense of gratitude to the dead monarch who had been personally kind to him in the days when as a young Hereditary Prince he was often sent to represent his father at various court functions in the capitals of Europe. The usual practice resorted to by the average Siamese Buddhist in the case of the dead of his own faith would have been a memorial service of chants
and sermons. The Clergy, headed by His late Royal Highness Prince Vajirathana Varoros, then Supreme Patriarch of the Kingdom, replied that in the light of the wide tolerance of the Buddhism practiced here it would have been just as legitimate to celebrate a similar service in dedication to a non-Buddhist. Such a procedure was actually adopted in the chapel of Wat Beñcamabopit with the Supreme Patriarch himself delivering the sermon.

Appended to the main part of the text under review is a summary of the five volumes of Royal Interrogations published on former occasions. In the first volume some of King Narai's interrogations are quite interesting. Two may be cited here as being of possible interest to the historian or the general public. In one of these King Narai asked whether the ejection of a monk from a monastery on being accused of having criticised the King for favouring foreigners more than his own subjects was justifiable. A certain Pra Prom, possibly an abbot by the name of Pra Promamuni, replied that a monk who criticised the King acted wrongly; but, the abbot asked the King's messenger, whether the King had heard the criticism himself. The answer was that he had heard it from a reporter. The abbot answered "In that case I do not reply because neither the King nor myself heard the remark to be objected to". The King further sent a messenger to the same monk with a question on a similar topic, thus:

"Nowadays many foreigners come into the country. What would the abbot feel about this problem?"

Pra Prom answered:

"His Majesty's good name is widely known. It is the result of his good name that they come in in such large numbers."

The messenger asked further:

"But if a great many more come in, what is your opinion thereon?"

The monk's answer was:

"The problem of the large influx of foreigners is already within the King's judgment."
The historian cannot but be tempted to identify this problem with the influx of Dutchmen and the French at the time. In fact, it is recorded that when King Narai was on his deathbed Pedrajá used the identical argument to rid the country of the French soldiers and Constance Phaulcon, responsible for their introduction, who had acted to deprive the King of power.

It should be noted also that most of the interrogations attributed to the three Kings mentioned in this first volume were answered by Somdečpra Buddhakoṣācārya. We have no means of knowing whether it was the same monk throughout, though the period covered was not after all too long for one man’s life-span, but the answers are intelligent and must have been from a renowned intellectual or intellectuals.

The bulk of the Interrogations are from King Rāma I. Occupying Volumes II and III, they treat of religious and traditional questions. We have been accustomed to look upon this King as a soldier who when entrusted with the responsibility of Kingship adapted himself to the civil and juridical side of the administration with great success, though without neglecting the intellectual side of life which he made efforts to restore to the level of the last days of Ayudhya. The contents of these two volumes show how deep an interest he took in intellectual pursuits.

The fourth volume consists of King Rāma III’s interrogations, which clearly indicate the King's practical intelligence. Some of these interrogations have been translated into English elsewhere; see, for example, the reviewer’s Monarchical Protection of the Buddhist Church.

The fifth volume contains many of King Moṅkut’s interrogations, a great number of which are concerned with linguistic matters in connection with ecclesiastical usage. King Chulalongkorn put two interesting interrogations to the Clergy. For the first of these there is found only answers; the interrogation being seemingly lost. It concerns the nature of the nibbāna and is replied to by no less than 18 high monks; monks renowned even today for their scholarship. The gist of their answers may be summed up to be that the nibbāna is the
cessation of evil. None says it is the cessation of life. The second interrogation inquires into the origin of the custom of raising the sand cedi, usually moulded to celebrate the former new year of the Soňkrânt.


This is the present year’s publication in the Lenten series which the Fine Arts Department issues as a complimentary gift to members of the Clergy who visit the Museum during the Lenten holidays. As the author points out, the young Sakya prince who later became the Buddha was attributed with marks of the superman and as such should grow up to be a universal sovereign or a saviour of of the world in the person of the Buddha. As a universal sovereign he would be expected to possess the seven jewels of power one of which was the jewel wheel or discus, the ‘cakra’. The tradition is told at length in the Mahâ-Sudassana-sutta of the *Mahâvagga* in the *Digha Nikâya*.

Now, the young prince had no worldly ambition but chose instead the life of a recluse in order to be able the better to pursue what in modern terminology would be called individual research to find salvation for mankind. The solution, when discovered, he referred to as an accession to spiritual domination in which he wielded the *cakra* of righteousness—in other words the *Dharmacakra*. It was a wheel not capable of being “turned by any recluse or brahman, or a celestial, or māra or the god Brahma or any one whomsoever”.

The book goes on to describe the historically successive representations in art of this wondrous wheel or *dharmacakra*, with profuse illustrations. These, in fact, form the bulk of the volume under review; specimens from various Buddhist centres in India and south-east and north Asia being depicted. It is perhaps the only book in Siamese dealing with this aspect of Buddhist art throughout the world.
343. Wat Srakes, Its History with an appendix on the Kapilavastu Relics ประวัติวัดสรรเพชulenิยามหมายเหตุเรื่องพระวัดวารีคยิ่งกษัตริย์พิภพ พิพ. in dedication to the memory of His late Holiness the Patriarch of the Kingdom and incumbent of the monastery, sponsored by the Council of Ministers, Government Press, pp.129 octo, 2508.

As stated in the preface, the publication contains (a) a biography of the deceased with a list of the 15 former Patriarchs since the establishment of the new capital after Ayudhya; (b) a history of the monastery itself; and (c) an account of the Kapilavastu Relics believed to have been genuine remains of the Master. The book contains excerpts from state papers dealing with the Kapilavastu Relics which were presented to King Chulalongkorn by the Indian Government.

Wat Srakes, originally Wat Sake, derived its name from the fact that King Rāma I, on his return from the campaign in Cambodia from which he was recalled by an invitation to reign over the Kingdom, received an anointment from the waters there by way of a purification. Like Wat Pra Jetubon, it was built on an old site by King Rāma I and renovated on an extensive scale by his grandson, Rāma III, who was also responsible for the erection of a gigantic stupa. The latter however succumbed in the next reign on account of the low-lying nature of its ground. It was left to remain as an artificial hill of debris. A shrine on top of it was later made use of as a depository.

In 1897 the Archeological Service of India discovered the relics beneath the Piprahva Tope. They were enclosed in two caskets placed one atop the other; but the officer in charge emptied the contents of the upper casket into the lower, thereby making suspect any differentiation of the relics of the Buddha from those thought to belong to his relatives. At any rate the contents could be taken to include those of the Master as stated in the inscriptions.

King Chulalongkorn decided to accept the relics, and to distribute portions to other Buddhist communities from Ceylon, Burma and Japan, whose governments had requested them. The distribution was carried out with pomp and ceremony, and the remaining portion was enshrined in the depository on top of the Boromabanpot, popularly referred to as the Phukhaothong—the Golden Mount.
The book was written by Mr. Vichien Bamrungphol of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Ministry of Education, who deserves credit for his lucid presentation.

344. Amarūbhirakkhit, the Ven. Pra: *Pubbasikkhāvamanā* บุพพธิศิล-

Published under His Majesty’s sponsorship in dedication to His late Holiness the Patriarch of the Kingdom on the occasion of the cremation of his remains in November, this is a new edition of an old text book for advanced study in the Church curriculum. It is hoped that this new edition will be useful for reference.

It consists of 88 pages of an elucidation of the virtues of the Triple Gems of Buddhism—the person of the Master, his teaching and the *sangha* or hierarchy of monks. The bulk of the treatise is naturally an exposé of the various monastic offences as ordained by the *vinaya*. The style of writing belongs to that of the later XIXth century, when the ‘King’s Siamese’ began to be standardised. It does not suffer too much from the pedantic phraseology of monastic writing.

345. Sukhabānij, K.: *The Initial Steps of Thai Journalism* ท้าวมาบ
หลวงพ่อปิย์พิพิธพันธ์ในประเทศไทย published in dedication to the memory of the late Luang Bunyamānob, Thaihamiyakār Press Ltd. Bangkok, ill. pp. 72 quarto, 2508.

In dedicating the book the author sketches the initial steps of Thai journalism from the third reign when the *Bangkok Recorder* made its appearance in Siamese under the editorship of Rev. Dr. Dan Beach Bradley. To this pioneer, the Siamese public owed not only the idea of a Thai newspaper but also the invention of types and printing machinery. Journalism progressed in the fourth reign when the Rev. S.J. Smith and Rev. J.H. Chandler were champions of the venture. Under King Chulalongkorn the first newspaper owned and managed by Siamese nationals, *Darunovād*, appeared under the management of the King’s brother, Prince Kshemsant ancestor of the now large family
of a similar name. The Prince is better known to the present generation by the title to which he was elevated of Kromamun Prohm and later Kromaluan Prohm. This was succeeded by the Court, devoted principally to news of the Court and the Government and was edited by some ten of the younger princes of the Royal Family with the sixteen year old Prince Bhanurangsi as editor-in-chief. The Siam Samai was the last of these journalistic pioneers, again an American effort. Most of the newspapers mentioned are quoted in the book and some of their illustrations reproduced.

Bangkok, 22 December 1965
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SALVAGE PROGRAM;
NORTHEASTERN THAILAND—FIRST SEASON

Wilhelm G. Solheim II and Chester F. Gorman

The research on which this report is based was carried out during the 1963-64 field season by the University of Hawaii-Fine Arts Department Expedition with the support of the United States of America National Science Foundation. This research was the first season of a proposed three-year program. It is hoped this will be the pilot phase of a comprehensive salvage program eventually to cover all of the areas to be inundated or otherwise disturbed by the Lower Mekong Valley Project (Solheim and Hackenberg, 1961). Areas included in this report are the future sites of five reservoirs to be retained by dams, construction of which is now or will soon be underway in the northeastern provinces of Thailand. These dams are on the Nam Pong, Nam Phung, Lam Pao, Lam Pla Plerng, and Lam Oon (see map, Figure 1). The first two of these are connected with the larger Lower Mekong Valley Project; the last three are supervised by the Royal Irrigation Department of Thailand.

The planning and organization of this program was begun in August 1962 at a meeting held in Bangkok. Those present were: the Director General of the Fine Arts Department, Dhanit Yupho, Chin You-di of the Fine Arts Department, Miss Elizabeth Lyons, an American Specialist working with the Fine Arts Department, and Dr. Wilhelm G. Solheim II of the University of Hawaii. Without the assistance of Miss Lyons and the help of Mrs. Kenneth Todd Young and the American Ambassador to Thailand, Kenneth Todd Young, the program would not have matured. Mr. Donald Rochlen of the United States Information Service was also helpful in this early organizational stage.

We would like to extend our sincere appreciation to those who have assisted us in this initial survey. They include: Fine Arts Department Director General Dhanit Yupho, Fine Arts Department Officials Chin You-di, M.C. Yachai Chitrabongse, Manit Vallibhotama,
Fig. 1. Northeastern Thailand and the locations of the reservoirs on the Nam Pong, Nam Pung, Lam Pao, Lam Pia Plerng and Lam Oon.
Prayoon Phiboonsuwan, Niwat Kochabongse; Royal Irrigation Department Director General Xujati Kambhu, Royal Irrigation Department Officials M.L. Jeongjan Kambhu, Uthai Ploysankwarl, Pira Vattakanon; Udom Rukjanya, and the cartographers who helped us superimpose the reservoir boundaries onto our topographic maps; Engineering Consultants Incorporated personnel Robert P. Clark, Logan H. Stewart; Dr. Robert V. Burns, Walter H. Jorgensen, Richard L. Mehan, Clem H. Dodson; National Energy Authority Secretary General Dr. Boonrod Binson, Officials Dej Tewtong, Siva Chareornpongse, Prapath Pramanani, Kitiwat Sutchartpongse, Dr. Frantz; Dr. Charles N. Spinks and the Cultural Affairs staff of the United States Information Service, Louis Gardner of USOM, and Mr. Timothy C. Brown. Our particular thanks to the Director General of the Department of the Interior for his having circulated a letter from Director General Dhanit Yupho to all Nai Amphurs in Northeastern Thailand advising them of our presence and our purpose in their areas. Our gratitude goes to others too numerous to mention but including especially all the Headmen and villagers who offered their hospitality and their invaluable knowledge.

Financial support for the expedition came primarily from the U.S. National Science Foundation. We are indebted to Esso Standard Eastern for all petroleum products used during the second half of the season's work. For this we would like to thank Mr. O.R. Underhill, General Manager, and Mr. Vilas Manivat, Public Relations Manager of Esso Standard Eastern.

Personnel on this season's survey included Dr. Wilhelm G. Solheim II, Director, representing the University of Hawaii; Nai Vidya Intakosai, Deputy Director, representing the Fine Arts Department; Nai Charern Pholtachar, Fine Arts Department Representative to the Northeast; and Mr. Chester F. Gorman and Allan W. Mosher. Dr. Solheim and Mr. Mosher joined the field party in early March, 1964, after the work at Lam Pla Plerng and Lam Pao had been completed. Active field work started in November, 1963.
Field survey for the purpose of Salvage Archaeology is perhaps the most grueling and often unrewarding branch of archaeology to which the researcher can apply himself. It is necessitated by the future destruction or inundation of a potentially important archaeological area which when explored may or may not yield materials valuable for archaeological research. The purpose of this type of research is to obtain as much information as possible from an area while there is still access to that information. Programs of this type have recently been carried out in Egypt, China, the United States, and many other countries with much success.

We had planned to cover all the reservoir areas in a preliminary survey this first season to determine if there had been sufficient prehistoric occupation to warrant a second year of more intensive survey, and if so to locate worthwhile sites for excavation so that both a survey crew and an excavation crew could be operated in the field the second year. Time was the most detrimental factor to the realization of this objective. We covered the Lam Pla Plerng, Lam Pao and Nam Phung areas, but were unable to complete the survey of the largest area, the Nam Pong. This survey will be continued next season. Nor were we able to survey the Lam Oon area, for the exact location of the reservoir had not yet been announced by the Royal Irrigation Department when our field season came to a close.

The actual survey procedure varied from area to area. Where we were fortunate enough to have hamlets dispersed throughout an area we relied on information supplied by the villagers in response to a structured set of questions. This approach was based on the assumption that the villagers would possess much greater knowledge of their area than we could possibly hope to obtain in the time available. Entering a hamlet, we would contact the Headman and explain our position. If there was a wat we would ask the Headman to accompany us there and introduce us to the monk in charge. We usually set up our camp in the wat building meant for travelers and used this as our headquarters for several days while traveling to hamlets in the area.
Where the area was sparsely populated we hired guides, preferably local hunters who knew the area well. We explained to them the purpose of our survey, and described natural features and surface evidences which might indicate areas of earlier occupation. In many instances their knowledge of the area led directly to the locating of a worthwhile site(s).

This season's survey has yielded mainly site information and isolated finds of the proto-historic and historic periods. Three or four prehistoric sites were found and a few surface finds of a prehistoric nature.

Site Survey

The site descriptions below are meant to give the reader some impression of the relevant geography. The exact locations of sites are on record at the Fine Arts Department and those wishing more specific information should contact the Department through the National Museum.

The sites are presented in the order in which they were found. As the survey was conducted in four reservoir areas, each site is signified by the name of the reservoir area in which it is located plus a number attached at the time a surface collection was made. The sites are referred to hereafter by an abbreviation of the area and a number; LLP 1, for example, refers to Site Number 1, the first site from which a surface collection was taken in the Lam Pla Plerng Reservoir area. The other abbreviations are LP for the Lam Pao area and NP for the Nam Pong (Pong Neeb) area. Since no sites were located in the Nam Phung area, it has no such designation. As mentioned, the Lam Oon area has not yet been covered.

Lam Pla Plerng Survey

The future reservoir of the Lam Pla Plerng Dam, now under construction by the Royal Irrigation Department, will lie entirely within Changwat Nakornrajsima, Amphoe Pak Tong Chai. The dam itself will be approximately one km upstream from Ban Bu Hua
Chang; the reservoir will extend another 25 km upstream ending in the vicinity of a small village, Ban Wang Khon (not shown on most maps). For the first 12 km the reservoir will be narrow (at no place more than 1 km wide), for the river valley is immediately bordered on either bank by high bluffs. Some 13 km upstream these bluffs are terminated on either side by two slightly higher mountains each of which slopes off abruptly onto the large tropical grass plain which comprises the topography for the remainder of the reservoir area. Judging from the topographic maps the reservoir will spread out slightly as it fills into this plain. This being upstream, however, the elevation is such that again the reservoir must follow a narrow course close to the present meandering stream-bed.

In general it is the lower reservoir area, lying between the high bluffs, which seems of most archaeological interest. The present river valley has eroded through alternating layers of shale and red sandstone. This shale, being geologically less permanent than the layers of sandstone, has in many places weathered away leaving numerous sandstone overhangs. The bluff above the east bank seems literally dotted with these small shelters; the bluff above the west bank is less so. This lower area is difficult to survey because of the dense jungle which covers the valley from the top of one bluff to the top of the other. The vegetation here consists of large hardwoods with trailing vines, dense undergrowth, and an occasional bamboo forest (Plate Ia). Small animals are plentiful, also a large species of bird somewhat resembling a goose. Larger animals include deer, jungle bears, tigers, and crocodiles. The area is infested with snakes and one must be particularly watchful for King Cobras, Cobras and Vipers. The reservoir plans call for the clearing of this area, and with this accomplished our future more detailed survey should prove rewarding. In this preliminary survey the following two prehistoric sites, both in the lower area, were located.

**Lam Pla Plerng 1 (LPP 1)**

Approximately one-half km upstream from the main axis of the dam, on the bluff overlooking the east bank, we found a small rock shelter measuring roughly five meters wide by six meters deep by two meters high (Plate Ib). This was near the plus 260 meter contour
level and opening to the west it offered a nice view of the river valley. The rock forming the shelter overhang was of sandstone; the floor was composed of fine-textured light brown soil. A number of boulders were scattered about on the surface, and a small talus slope appeared to drop away to the valley floor (Plate IIa). We excavated two one-meter square test pits keeping a 10 cm vertical control down to 90 cm as no cultural stratigraphy was evident. Below the surface were large boulders which were for the most part left in situ (Plate IIb). Material recovered included numerous shells, land snails, small animal, fish, and bird bones, several pieces of worked stone, and sherds of predominately unglazed earthenware. This shelter will be inundated by the future reservoir. Artifacts: Pottery—Two sherds of stoneware were recovered, probably from related vessels. Both had a grey paste and a light green glaze. One of these came from 10-20 cm in ON-1W and was probably from a small jarlett. The other came from 38-56 cm in OE-ON and was from a small lid about 5.5 cm in rim diameter (Figure 2a.).

Earthenware pottery in small quantities was recovered down to 70 cm. These sherds were all of the same clay body, tan to grey in color, with shades of brown the usual color, and sand temper. All sherds were very small, averaging less than two gms per sherd. Their thickness varied from one to seven mm and most were from three to five mm. In pit ON-1W plain sherds went from two in the top level, through 31 in the second level (10-20 cm), 15 in the third, four in the fourth, one each in the fifth and sixth, and three in the seventh (60-70 cm). In the second level there were also three impressed: carved paddle (parallel ribs) and one possible impressed: bound paddle (fine basket); in the third there were two impressed: bound paddle (cord-marked), and two applique and modeled where lenticular impressions were pinched horizontally on a ridge of clay applied on the vessel side; and in the fourth layer there was one impressed: bound paddle (cord-marked) (for an explanation of the descriptive pottery terms see Solheim, 1964; pp. 7-10)*. In the 60-70 cm level was found a fragment of what had probably been a fired clay sphere about two cm in diameter.

* The only pictures available of the artifacts from Lam Pla Plerng are those taken at the time of excavation. The day before leaving Pimai (headquarters for the program, furnished by the Fine Arts Department) pictures were taken of these artifacts. In developing, the film was ruined in Bangkok and it was impossible to return to Pimai to retake the pictures for this report.
Fig. 2. Cross sections of sherd and stone tool (in cross sections, the body of all vessels is to the right of the section): a. stoneware lid, LPP 1; b. stone chisel, plain view and cross sections, LPP 1.
Stone—Examination of the numerous stone flakes and fragments from each level quickly convinces one that many of these were definite artifacts. Not only the purposeful flaking and occasional retouching, but the several distinct patterns of tools makes this obvious. While several tool types were noticeable from the small pit at this site and Site Number 2, it was felt it would be better to leave type descriptions for the report on the full excavation of these sites when a much larger number of tools would be available for the type definitions. It was further decided that rather than detailed descriptions of these tools here, this should also be left for the type descriptions and so the pictures would be the major source of information on these tools for this report. Unfortunately, the film was ruined developing so only a very incomplete presentation can be made of these tools at this writing.

All of the possible and definite stone tools excavated were of the local sandstone and most of them were flakes or made on flakes. The most prominent of these could be called a handaxe (Plate IIIa), of which there were several examples. Several different types of scrapers were evident, varying from thumbnail scrapers about two cm in diameter to large, end scrapers over 12 cm long. The most obvious repeated pattern was a concave, sharp edge, sometimes sharply concave, other times slightly concave, found on several differently shaped stones (Plate IIIb). One apparently composite tool (70-80 cm) had one of these concave edges on one side, a point at one end, and a sharp edge on the other side. One possible chisel was recovered from the 60-70 cm level (Figure 2b). Pointed flakes were found in all levels, some of them showing some chipping due to use. The flakes with the concave working section were found in levels 10-20 cm, 20-30 cm, 70-80 cm and 80-90 cm; scrapers were found in levels 0-10 cm, 10-20 cm, 30-40 cm, 40-50 cm, 60-70 cm, and 70-80 cm; and knives were found in levels 10-20 cm, 20-30 cm, 70-80 cm, and 80-90 cm. In level 80-90 cm was found a fragment of a stone disk about seven cm in diameter and six to seven cm thick. The richest levels in stone artifacts were the two at the bottom. There were not a sufficient number of stone artifacts to give any indication of a change in types during the use of the site.
Other—Small bones, land shells and charcoal were found through all layers, diminishing in quantity in the lower levels. The charcoal was not sufficient for dating purposes in this pit but enough was present to indicate that it should be possible on extensive excavation of this site next season to collect several samples at different levels for C-14 dating.

Lam Pla Plerng 2 (LPP 2)

Approximately one-quarter kilometer upstream from LPP 1, on the same bluff at about the same elevation (probably formed by the same stratum), we located another small rock shelter similar to LPP 1 but having a small natural passage running from the rear of its inner wall under the sandstone strata and into the bluff. The passage is so small a person can only enter it on hands and knees. This shelter is approximately five and a half meters wide by three meters deep by two and a half meters high. It opens onto a small flat terrace which extends beyond the overhang about two meters and then falls away to the valley floor in a steep slope. The vegetation here, as at LPP 1, had been partially cleared by the project workmen. We cleared away the remaining vines and small brush, and excavated a test pit of the same type as at LPP 1 into the flat terrace about one meter back from its edge. The soil, after the surface had been cleaned, was fine-textured, grey-brown, and compacted into a definite surface which we brush-cleaned and photographed. Artifacts recovered were similar to those from LPP 1. The pottery, however, was greater in quantity and more varied in type.

Artifacts: Pottery—No stoneware or porcelain was found in the test pit. Earthenware pottery was recovered from the surface to 60 cm. A total of 103 sherds of three different wares was found. The most common ware appears to be the same as that from LPP 1 with a sand temper. The thickness varies from two to seven mm and the weight averages less than two gms per sherd. No pottery was recorded from the 40-50 cm level. Plain sherds of this thin ware went from one in the first level, six in the second to 18 in the third (20-30 cm), 11 in the fourth, and 10 in the sixth (50-60 cm). Of the same clay body
there was one impressed: simple tool (diagonal impressions on a ridge, Plate IV a) in the 10-20 cm level and one in the 20-30 cm level; two impressed: carved paddle (parallel ribs, Plate IVb) in the 20-30 cm level, 10 in the 30-40 cm level and two in the 50-60 cm level; and one plain rim in the 20-30 cm level, but not enough remaining to give an idea of its form.

The sherds of the second ware are larger in all dimensions than those of the first ware. Their average weight is 3.7 gms per sherd and their thickness varies from 2-12 mm, averaging five to nine mm. The outer surface is tan to red-brown while the inner surface and clay body are black. While the thin ware has a well smoothed surface, the thick ware has a coarse surface with many holes, probably from a fiber temper. All of these sherds are plain. None were found in the first or second levels, six in the third, 23 in the fourth, and 10 in the sixth.

One sherd of the third ware was found in the 50-60 cm level. This was applique and impressed: bound paddle (cord-marked), with brown surface and clay body, clay temper, and five to six mm in thickness. Table 1 presents the relationships of the total quantity of sherds (by number) for each ware.

<table>
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<th>Ware</th>
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<th>50cm</th>
<th>60cm</th>
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<tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1  Number of sherds for three pottery wares from LPP 2 per 10 cm level. "Clay" is the ware with clay temper.

Numerous fragments of fired clay were found in the 50-60 cm and 60-70 cm levels. These may have resulted from the burning of
a wattle and daub type structure as their form indicates that they had been modeled partially around small sticks.

Stone—The flakes and stone artifacts from this site are essentially the same as those from LPP 1 with the addition of a few varieties, possibly due to this site being somewhat richer. The forms found here but not encountered at LPP 1 are: hammer stones, notched stones (Plate V d), ovoid balls, a possible drill, a knife with blunt back, small (3-12 mm) fine-grained pebbles in all levels except 30-40 cm and 60-70 cm (pit excavated to slightly below 80 cm), and one conglomerate made up primarily of fine-grained pebbles. A few of the tools from each level were photographed in the field and are here presented to give some idea of the range. They do not show all of the varieties noted on examination in the laboratory. The type best represented in the pictures is the tool with the concave working edge (Plate IVc-d, f, i, and VI). Further classification of this material is left for next season.

Other—Land shells, bones, teeth, and charcoal were found in about the same quantity as in LPP 1. The bone material from both sites is primarily from small rodents that probably died a natural death in the site.

General

In most of the lower reservoir area we were hampered in conducting a detailed survey by the dense vegetation. For the most part we relied on the inhabitants of the three local hamlets, and our guide, to inform us of caves or rock-shelters which we in turn examined for archaeological content. Although this survey method no doubt exposed most of the sheltering formations, next year's field party, with more time allotted to this area, will undoubtedly uncover other shelters considered by local informants either too small or too difficult of access to bring to our attention.

Once the upper grassland plain is reached, more traditional field archaeological techniques are applicable. We stayed several days in this area, crossing the plain on two different occasions to contact villages lying along the margin of the proposed reservoir area. As we passed unusual natural phenomena such as wells or large
rock outcrops, we looked closely for surface evidence of prehistoric occupation. We found a few sherds of Ming ware but were unable to locate any large concentrations. The villagers had seen no evidence of earlier occupation, nor were they able to supply positive information as to caves or rock-shelters. Indeed, there seem to be no formations in the area capable of containing such features and the chest-high tropical grass makes it extremely difficult to recognize open sites unless one is directly upon them.

Thus far, the area to be inundated has yielded no evidence pointing to a dense prehistoric occupation. That the area was inhabited seems evident from the finds at LPP 1 and 2 both of which would appear to be small way-stations or temporary shelters. If these are indicative of travel through the valley one would expect to find larger sites on the upland plain, or on the now densely-populated area below the dam. We did, in fact, have reports of large upright stones towards the southwest of the upper end of the reservoir area. This was, however, reported to be a considerable distance from the reservoir area, and we could not justify the expenditure of time and money necessary to check the report.

Conclusions

The earthenware pottery recovered from the test pits of LPP 1 and LPP 2 is similar to pottery recovered in the Kanchanaburi excavations done by the National Museum. The only really distinctive sherds—the two modeled sherds from 20-30 cm at LPP 1 and the two simple tool-impressed sherds from 10-20 cm and 20-30 cm at LPP 2—share their distinctive decoration with the Kanchanaburi pottery of Ban Kao. This pottery at Ban Kao is associated with bronze and iron and appears to have evolved in this area from the neolithic pottery found nearby.

LPP 1 had stoneware only near the surface and LPP 2 produced none. It is likely that these two sites were used off and on over a considerable span of time, the upper layers being related to the Kanchanaburi prehistoric “Iron Age” finds and the lower levels covering the Neolithic, possibly extending back into the Mesolithic. These will be the first sites excavated next field season.
Lam Pao Survey

The second area visited was the future reservoir area of the Lam Pao Dam, now under construction by the Royal Irrigation Department. The dam itself is located on the Lam Pao approximately 22 km north-northwest of Kalasin. The reservoir to be contained by the completed dam will extend upstream some 70 km bearing away to the northwest and filling the large rice-cultivated depression bounded by Ban Khon Kaen, Kham Di and Tha Kantho. Water will be backed up the many small streams flowing into the Lam Pao between the large depression and the dam, and a large inundated area will follow the Huai Sangka flooding the lowlands to the northeast in the vicinity of Sahatsakan.

There are some 70 hamlets in and about the reservoir area, and the inhabitants proved knowledgeable of their areas, calling our attention to many evidences of prehistoric and early historic occupation. The topography is quite uniform, level for the most part with occasional gently rolling hills and depressions. The vegetative cover is predominantly of two types: irrigated rice fields and tropical scrub-forest, usually comprised of broad-leafed hardwoods. Wild game is scarce; birds few and seldom seen. The soil varies too greatly for a general description. Frequent outcrops of laterite are visible though actual rock formations such as sandstone are rare.

Archaeologically this area proved quite interesting. Several shouldered adzes were examined, but not collected as they were privately owned and valued greatly by the villagers. Other artifacts personally owned but shown to us for examination included a socketed bronze celt, a socketed bronze spearhead, bronze bracelets and pottery vessels of practically every known historic period. Although once removed from their original context these items lose considerable archaeological value they nonetheless illustrate the presence of a wide range of artifactual material. These items were found locally; the few that had been introduced by the villagers from other locales were not credited to this area. The actual sites uncovered in this survey are listed below. Changwat and Amphoe are included after site designation.
Lam Pao 1 (LP 1) Kalasin, Sahatsakan

This is probably a cremation site rather than a larger habitation site as was originally thought. The surface evidence consisted of sherds of Ayuthia and Ming wares mixed with numerous bits of bone, charcoal, and shell. Portions of two small stoneware jars were recovered from a small pit excavated to 10 cm. Inside these jars were remains of cremations. One small fragment of bronze was found, but in general the site lacked depth and horizontal distribution. We examined the surrounding area closely, but found no other surface remains. The entire area was covered with tropical scrub-hardwoods.

Artifacts: Pottery—Sherds from two stoneware jars, one porcelain bowl, and one earthenware vessel were recovered from the surface and the small pit. One jar was grey with a grey clay body four to seven mm thick. It had a flat bottom about 5.5 cm in diameter, a high narrow neck with a rim diameter of about four cm (Figure 3a cross section of rim) and a rounded body. It was incised on its shoulder using a four pronged tool to make parallel wavy lines around the jar and below this a pair of parallel horizontal straight lines. The second small jar had a violet-grey surface and clay body. The outer surface has a metallic luster while the inner surface is rough and pitted. It has a flat bottom about six cm in diameter, a narrow neck, and a rounded body with maximum diameter of about 12 cm. A number of concentric circles were impressed on the shoulder while the jar was turned. The porcelain bowl has a light grey clay body and is about 12 cm in rim diameter. It has a green underglaze decoration of strokes and blobs of paint possibly in a kind of floral pattern. A ring on the upper surface of the foot is unglazed but is heavily spotted with glaze. The lip of the ring foot is unglazed but on the inside the foot ring has a neutral glaze like the rest of the bowl. The lip of the ring foot is triangular in cross section so that the bowl sits on the sharp edge.1

The earthenware vessel may be a shallow saucer (Figure 3b rim cross section). It has a light tan, plain but crackled surface and a light tan clay body 1.5-10 mm thick. Most of it is about three mm thick. It has a clay temper about the same as the clay body. No positive indications of form are present but it has no angles or sharp
Fig. 3. Cross sections of rims and bases: a. rim of stoneware jar, LP 1; b. rim of earthenware vessel, LP 1; c. base of stoneware bowl, LP 2.
curves. There is one plain sherd with a black to grey surface and clay body, with red clay temper.

*Other*—There is one fragment of a copper or bronze cup, bowl, or wide bracelet. It has an indistinguishable decoration in a band parallel with its edge.

Fragments of burned human bone, primarily from the two small stoneware jars, indicate that this was a cremation site.

**Lam Pao 2 (LP 2) Kalasin, Sahatsakan**

Approximately nine km northwest of the dam site is Ban Nong Phai. About one km to the southeast of Nong Phai, on the east bank of the Huai Ling, we examined what appears to be a primary open site evidenced by sherds of Lopburi-Khmer, Sukothai, Ayuthia, and Ming wares. These were visible upon the surface, over an area approximately 100 meters long by 40 meters wide. The lip of an Ayuthia vessel was visible from the surface (Plate VIa) and when excavated (Plate VIId) this nearly complete jar (Plate VIc) yielded numerous cylindrical lead (?) weights, other fragments of metal, metal chain, and many cowrie shells with tops removed (Plate IXa). Adhering to the neck section of this jar was an earthenware sherd with an *impressed: carved paddle* decoration of square latice (Plate VIb).

Local villagers had extracted several Ayuthia vessels from this site. In the right hand jar of Plate VIIa they had found a number of iron tools (Plate VIIb-d), and lead weights similar to those from the jar we excavated. They had also found several polished stone artifacts here, including one large (15.4 cm long, 9 cm wide) shouldered-adze (Plate VIIe) and a black fine-grained stone (18.9 cm long) of unknown function (Plate VII f).

This site is cut by two small waterways: one the Huai Hua Ling, the other a small man-made drainage canal. Both are eroding into the area where the site seems to be. The vegetative cover is tropical scrub-forest with scanty under-growth. Rice fields border the Huai Hua Ling and previous to their cultivation the site may have extended into this area. The villagers mentioned finding occasional sherds in these fields.
A test pit 150 cm square with a 10 cm vertical control was excavated. Pottery was the primary artifactual material recovered. The pit, and other small pits dug in several locations, found very few sherds more than two or three cm below the surface and no cultural layer of any kind. The Ayuthia vessel first excavated was obviously in situ so there is a site here of some kind. We tried to locate a living site nearby from which the surface finds could have eroded but found none. Further testing will be carried on here next season if time allows.

Artifacts: Pottery—Numerous stoneware and porcelain sherds were found on the surface and of these 21 stoneware and four porcelain sherds were collected. The majority of the stoneware sherds are called Lopburi by the staff of the National Museum. These are from large vessels, possibly only two or three and including the one from test pit A, with a mottled brown to olive green glaze (Plate VIIIa-b) and a grey clay body and surface, in some sherds zoned to a purplish grey. Some sherds are incised with concentric rings at the base of neck or just below the neck (Plate VIIIc). Some sherds have ridges, with (Plate VIIIc) or without (Plate VIIId) vertical simple tool impressions on the ridge. On one jar a series of Xs had been incised in bands around the jar using a four pronged incising tool (Plate VIIIc). The brown glaze settled in the incised lines and makes them look painted rather than incised. On this same jar (interior neck diameter about 20 cm) there had been an applique handle between the top of the shoulder and the neck. Another sherd with the prepared base from which an applique handle had broken (Plate VIIId) shows that these heavy handles were also applied solely on the body. One plain sherd with grey clay body and surface has a blue-green glaze. One incised sherd found on the surface was a part of the jar that was in the top of the excavated jar (Plate VIId). A second incised sherd has 15 concentric circles around the base of the neck, and a third is incised with alternating bands of straight and wavy lines made with a four pronged tool (Plate VIIIe). This sherd is 10-12 mm thick. One incised sherd of a different ware has a grey to tan clay body and surface, and a heavy green crackle glaze (Plate VIIIj). This was the
A base of a large bowl (Figure 3c) with a foot diameter of about 17 cm and, on the outer surface, wide vertical grooves extending upwards from the ring foot. The four porcelain sherds are all blue on white, one of them a section of the ring foot of a small bowl (Plate VIIIg) with a foot diameter of about six cm.²

Three earthenware sherds were retained. Two of these were impressed: carved paddle (square latice), one, with a dark grey surface and clay body and a reddish sand temper (Plate VIIIh), is three mm thick and the other, with a light grey surface and clay body and sand temper, is four mm thick. These were probably of the same ware. One plain sherd was in the process of being made into a disk but had been broken before this was completed (Plate VIIIh).

A small pit was excavated to remove the first located jar (Plate VId) and a few sherds were recovered from this pit. From the surface to 10 cm, sherds from two stoneware vessels were recovered, these being the pieces pictured in the mouth of the jar. Ten of these were from a stoneware jar with a flat base about 18 cm in diameter with its side 6-10 mm thick. Their surface and clay body are grey. It has two or more bands of incised concentric rings on its shoulder, the lower band with eight rings and the upper with five. One sherd from this jar was found on the surface nearby. One stoneware sherd is from the base of a flat bottomed jar, the side of which rises vertically rather than at an angle as most of them do. This has a light grey speckled surface and dark grey speckled clay body with numerous fine holes in the body. From 30-40 cm (the lowest level excavated in this pit) there was one stoneware sherd probably from the same jar as were the 10 sherds found in the top level and there were 10 sherds of a flat bottomed jar, probably the same jar as that represented by the single sherd in the top level. The latter has a base diameter of about 18 cm.

The 150 cm square test pit was set up surrounding an accumulation of large stoneware sherds which, it was hoped, was the top of another jar in situ. As it turned out, the accumulation of sherds was on the surface and in the top few centimeters, though one sherd from the jar was found as deep as the 30-40 cm level. A concentration of similar sherds was noted on the surface nearby where the surface
slopes into the ditch. This was collected and, as expected, most of these sherds match those from the test pit. Several sherds that had been found on the surface elsewhere in the nearby area were also found to fit this jar. In spite of the several sources for sherds of this jar only a small portion of it was recovered, both the base and rim sherds are missing. The inner surface and the clay body are grey while the outer glazed surface is a mottled brown. Wall thickness is 8-10 mm, 14 mm at the ridges. Around the shoulder of the jar, just above the maximum diameter (about 46 cm), run three parallel ridges. Between the lower pair of ridges are sets of three chevrons with their points up (Plate VIII j). Between the second pair of ridges are a series of overlapping open triangles. Probably just below the maximum diameter of the jar were three more parallel ridges, the area between the ridges being plain. Somewhat above the incised area on the shoulder is an area where an applique handle had broken off. From the test pit were found two sherds from this jar in the 10-20 cm level, three from the 20-30 cm level, and one from the 30-40 cm level. With the sherds from this jar found in the surface concentration near the test pit was a sherd from the shoulder and neck of a jar with six horizontal circling grooves at the base of the neck and out onto the shoulder. There were also three sherds from an incised jar with the same clay body as the others but with a lighter brown glaze on the outside and a grey to grey-brown slip on the inside making this surface smoother than the inner surface of the other jar sherds found which were not slipped.

Seventeen earthenware sherds of the same clay body as the two impressed sherds were found in the pits: three impressed: carved paddle (square latice) one from 30-40 cm in the pit with the jar and one (four to five mm thick ) in the jar itself, and one in the top level of the test pit; and one plain sherd seven mm thick from 10-20 cm, and five plain sherds from 30-40 cm in the test pit.

Other—A few fragments of metal, an iron ring, and small pieces of charcoal were found in the two pits. From 30-40 cm in the test pit came two small pieces of resin. The jar itself was filled with cowrie shells and metal. The cowrie shells had their tops cut off
They weighed a total of 1,500 gms, but much of this was soil as most of the shells were filled with earth. There were two metal bars (upper left Plate IXa), one (bent) oval in cross section 5 x 3.5 mm and 82 mm long; the other, rectangular in cross section three to four mm by five mm and 81 mm long. This second bar was slightly curved with small concave sections four to eight mm long on the concave side.

There were 3,285 gms of metal which came from the jar. Most of this was a badly deteriorated chain with links from 15-20 mm in external diameter. This was apparently made from a heavy wire two to four mm in diameter which was bent into a circle and the ends joined with heat. The joints in numerous cases are noticeable as a small lump, but in many cases the joint is not clearly noticeable. The largest remaining piece of chain is 94.5 cm long (Plate IXa, outer strand). There are several hundred metal cylinders, possibly net weights, as the chain also could have been, from 19-40 mm long and 8-12 mm in diameter (Plate IXa). In general, the longer ones are the smaller in diameter. The holes, usually not centered, are from three to nine mm in diameter (Plate IXa). Most of the cylinders have a greenish color, but a few are rusty and several are almost white. Two are perforated through the side, one with a single perforation three mm from one end (far left cylinder second row from bottom), and the other with two perforations on one side, one on the opposite side four mm from the end, and one in between the two holes at the end (second from right, bottom row). There were also several pieces of the same metal, of random shape, probably from melted or hammered cylinders (Plate IXa center left).

Discussion—The scattered nature of the jars, found at several levels in the pits and some sherds from the nearby surface, indicates some sort of disturbance to this site even though at least the one jar appears to have been in situ. One possible explanation for this is that the jars, broken or practically whole, were found in neighboring fields previous to the time of the present inhabitants and out of reverence or fear were replaced more or less as found in this area nearby; this had not been done recently. Further exploration may present the answer.
Three km to the southwest of Ban Nong Phai, near Ban Sao Lao, we uncovered a large almost complete jar of the Lopburi style (Plate IXb).

Lam Pao 3 (LP 3) Kalasin, Sahatsakan

On a large mounded area some 300 meters northeast of Ban Sao Lao we examined what appeared to be a large habitation site. A small waterway cuts through one side of this mounded area exposing a longitudinal profile in some places two meters deep. In places, from the surface down to the two meter depth, sherds and bits of broken brick protrude from this exposed bank. Sherds appear to be in greatest concentration on the surface of the mound over an area measuring approximately 60 by 90 meters. Some of the sherds collected from this site have been tentatively ascribed by museum officials to the Davaravati Period. The two C-14 dates from the two test pits excavated do not bear this out.

The surface vegetation consists of a light scrub growth with occasional large hardwoods. A small garden plot is slightly off the main area of sherd concentration, but even there numerous sherds are visible in the tilled soil. The soil over most of this mound is a dark grey, changing on the eastern section to a lighter sandy loam.

Test pits: Pit-A—A test pit 150 cm square was excavated centrally in the western end of the site. Other than a very slight mound on the surface of the larger mound, there was nothing apparently different about this specific spot than any other location in this area. The pit was excavated in 10 cm levels over the total area to 30 cm depth. Between 30 and 40 cm several large bricks and numerous brick fragments were encountered, on the north side of the pit, forming a straight line. Feeling that this might be the top of a wall, a 25 cm baulk was left bordering it and the rest of the square taken down to 40 cm. At 40 cm a 40 cm wide step was left along the west wall, south of the assumed brick wall and the pit carried down at 10 cm levels to 120 cm, where the soil became sterile (Plate Xa). Looking at the south wall, five different levels or layers can be seen (Plate Xb): at about 40 cm a line of light colored spots can be seen. These are
brick fragments and this level corresponds to the top of the assumed wall. Above this level there are relatively few cultural remains other than brick fragments. Below the brick fragments there is about a 20 cm layer of light colored earth in which there is about five times the amount of potsherds that was present above the fragments. Below this there is a darker uneven layer of 10-15 cm (between 60-80 cm from the surface) that has the richest cultural content of the pit. Below that the cultural content falls off quickly but continues fairly evenly from 80-110 cm. Below 120 cm the ground is sterile in this area.

A charcoal sample was sent to the Carbon 14 laboratory at Gakushuin University in Tokyo from the level of heaviest cultural concentration and this was dated as modern (Gak-470, Modern ± 240 B.P.). This would mean that the time of greatest use of at least this portion of the site was probably not earlier than Early Bangkok period.

Examination of the supposed wall showed that it was not a wall but just a layer of heavy concentration of bricks and brick fragments (Plate XIa). The presence of whole bricks and the straight edge marking the heavy concentration would probably indicate that some structure very close by had fallen. The very small cultural content above this relative to what was below would probably indicate that the site was abandoned at about the time of the collapse of this structure. Historic records are sparse for this area of Thailand and though this is late in the historic period no historic reference is known to this site and the local people do not know it by tradition.

The examination of the supposed wall proceeded by cutting in with a vertical face and as a result there was no vertical control in its removal. The step mentioned above was removed in the same way. Therefore, below 30 cm the sherds removed under vertical control came from less than half of the total area of the 150 cm square pit.

Pit B—This pit was situated more centrally to the mound as a whole than was Pit A but it was slightly towards the eastern end of the mound. Its specific location was determined by the trees in the
Wilhelm G. Solheim II and Chester F. Gorman

general area that was selected to test. The same size test pit was excavated to 110 cm in 10 cm levels. The surface of the ground was relatively level in this area with a slight depression near the center of the north side. When the pit was down to 70 cm it was noticeable in the north wall as well as in the floor, that the surface had been uneven at the time the 70 cm level was the surface with more of a depression there at that time (Plate XIb). When the floor had been taken down another 10 cm this was even more noticeable (Plate XIc).

Four distinct layers and three distinct lines are clearly discernable with examination of the pit walls (Plate XIIa-d). The top layer, light brown, 25-30 cm thick, contained relatively few sherds. The second layer, dark brown, from 25-60 cm on the south side and about 30-70 cm on the north side includes the heaviest concentration of sherds in the pit. The third layer, light brown, from 60-90 cm on the south side and from 70-110 cm on the north side is still culture-bearing but with a rapidly diminishing number of sherds in each 10 cm layer. At the bottom is a dark brown, very hard layer in the south, west, and southeast sides, but going just below 100 cm in the northeast corner, which is sterile. Very approximately marking the bottom of the rich dark brown layer is a dark line which is sterile. Between 15 and 20 cm below this is a second sterile dark line. These two lines are probably the result of floods with the resultant mud deposits. The third line is the boundary between the third layer, light brown, and the fourth sterile layer, dark brown. This bottom sterile layer could be the mud from a much heavier flood than the two higher ones and it would be well to go down another 30-50 cm to be sure that there is nothing of interest at deeper levels.

The one feature found in this pit was a portion of an earthen-ware jar found in the southeast corner just on top and extending into the second “flood” line at 64 cm (Plate XIIIa). Sherds from this jar were found nearby in the 60-70 cm and the 70-80 cm layer. It was obvious that only a portion of the jar was here. One explanation for its presence is that during the flood it was washed into the slight depression in which it was found. In support of this, besides the small depression here in the thin mud layer, immediately within the
protected area of the curved jar was more of the mud, considerably thicker than elsewhere (see Plate XIIIa). The jar fragment could have been in this slight depression before the flood came and then been partly covered and protected by the mud deposit. Associated with this jar fragment was a small amount of charcoal which was dated by the laboratory at Gakushuin University as modern (GaK-471, Modern ± 240 B.P.). This would tend to confirm the first date for Pit A and the site as a whole, with its major occupation sometime during the Early Bangkok period. The associated charcoal was primarily in the dark mud and was probably washed in during the same flood.

Artifacts: **Pottery**—The earthenware pottery is not described in detail. This will be done in next year's report when we have a larger body of material with which to work. The earthenware rims are presented in some detail but not classified. A total of 57 stoneware and three porcelain sherds were recovered from the vertically controlled portions of the two pits. As stoneware and porcelain is somewhat known, this small quantity is presented descriptively in table form, though not classified. Table II presents the stoneware and porcelain from the surface of the site and Pit A and Table III from Pit B. “No.” refers to the number of sherds, “Wt.” to their weight in grams, and “Size” refers to the thickness of the sherds in mm. Where a rim is illustrated in cross section the thickness is not entered.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Surface and form</th>
<th>Clay body</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surface</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td><em>glazed</em>: light blue-green crackled on outside, inner surface very thin; lid, formed like top of apple (Figure 4a, Plate XIIIb); impressed circle 3.1 cm in diameter with 12 radiating impressed lines to lip of rim; rim diameter about 7cm³</td>
<td>light grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>glazed</em>: light green, fine crackle on inner surface and varied bluish-white on outer surface; rim diameter about 18 cm (Figure 4b)³</td>
<td>light grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>grey (1)</td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>incised</em>: 2 parallel lines 3 mm apart</td>
<td>greyish violet outer surface, violet inner surface and body with few large inclusions up to 7 mm long (2)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>impressed</em>: groove and ridge on shoulder below which is an undetermined impressed decoration</td>
<td>same as 2 plain sherds above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>grey (2)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

violet (1)
Fig. 4. Cross sections of stoneware rims, shoulders, and bases from LP 3: a. surface; b. surface; c.-d. 40-50 cm, Pit A; e.-f. 60-70 cm, Pit A; g.-i. 70-80 cm, Pit A; j. 80-100 cm, Pit A; k.-l. no level, Pit A; m. 20-30 cm, Pit B; n. 40-50 cm, Pit B.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level No.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Surface and form</th>
<th>Clay body</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>violet to grey (2 from same)</td>
<td>7-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ditto; (1)</td>
<td>9-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>, ; with few brown pebbles (1)</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>grey with numerous slate grey pebbles up to 2 mm long</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>glazed: mottled olive green outside; transparent green, up to 1 mm thick outside, thinner inside; streaky mottled olive green, below unglazed rim (Figure 4c), most glaze flaked off, rim diameter 11.2 cm, maximum diameter 14.0 cm (Plate XIIIId-e)</td>
<td>light grey with few pebbles up to 2 mm long (1); light grey (1)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>violet grey to brown (6)</td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>glazed: same as 6 above; impressed 2 concentric circles around lid (Figure 4d), rim diameter about 14 cm, probably lid to vessel just above (Plate XIIIe)</td>
<td>violet grey to brown (2)</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>glazed: mottled olive; impressed with 4 concentric grooves with ridges between, on center ridge incised row of Xs</td>
<td>violet grey to brown</td>
<td>6-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Wt.</td>
<td>Surface and form</td>
<td>Clay body</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td><em>plain</em>, remnants of glaze</td>
<td>light grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>glazed</em>: apparently a mottled green; with a portion of a circular element in relief</td>
<td>dark grey, with numerous brown and black pebbles</td>
<td>4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td><em>glazed</em>: mottled green; impressed parallel wavy lines between pair of grooves and ridges (plate XIIIc)</td>
<td>light grey, with numerous brown to black pebbles</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>grey to brown (4)</td>
<td>5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rims (Figure 4e) (Figure 4f)</td>
<td>orange-brown zoned to light grey; grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>impressed</em>: 2 concentric grooves at base of neck</td>
<td>light brown surface, light grey body, few pebbles up to 6 mm in diameter</td>
<td>5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>grey</td>
<td>3-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>80</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rims: 2 about 17 cm in rim diameter (Figure 4g); 1 about 30 cm in rim diameter (Figure 4h)</td>
<td>grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>glazed</em>: very slightly greenish-white, on inside all way to base, on outside not to base, rim diameter about 16 cm (Figure 4i)</td>
<td>cream to grey surface, light tan body with red and light grey clay temper; light grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>porcelain: light blue glaze inside and out, no glaze on flat bottom, bowl with vertical ribs on side, rim diameter about 7 cm, base diameter about 5 cm</td>
<td>white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Wt.</td>
<td>Surface and form</td>
<td>Clay body</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>grey-brown</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>glazed</em>: thin light green, crackled, on outside of lid; a series of impressed concentric grooves and ridges (Figure 4j), rim diameter about 10 cm, height 3.4 cm</td>
<td>light grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no level</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rim, probably from a lid (Figure 4k)</td>
<td>tan surface, orange to light grey body, small pebbles and fine clay temper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rim, diameter about 30 cm (Figure 4l)</td>
<td>grey to brown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table II Porcelain and Stoneware from the surface and Pit A, LP 3.
Table III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Surface and form</th>
<th>Clay body</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>plain; made on fast wheel, thickness cut down using a sharp-edged tool with nicks in edge shown by horizontal striations on outside with sharp pairs of lines less than 1 mm apart and vertical ripples varying consistently from 1.0-2.5 cm apart</td>
<td>light grey</td>
<td>8-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>plain rim (Figure 4m)</td>
<td>light brown surface, sandy grey body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>outer surface missing</td>
<td>dark grey, with darker grey nodules of about same texture as body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>porcelain: light greenish-white glaze outside, few strips of very thin transparent glaze inside</td>
<td>white, fine texture but in break gives coarse appearance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>light tan with few dark brown pebbles up to 6 mm in diameter</td>
<td>8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Wt.</td>
<td>Surface and form</td>
<td>Clay body</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50 cont.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rim (Figure 4n)</td>
<td>grey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>tan, zoning in wall from very light grey to tan, 4 distinct layers in wall, clay and pebble temper, pebbles up to 6 mm in diameter (1);</td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>glazed</em>: varying thickness, transparent where thin and green where thicker, thin glaze on portions of inner surface</td>
<td>orange-tan outer surface about 1 mm deep zoned to very light grey (1);</td>
<td>5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-80</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>light tan with small dark brown grains and a few pebbles up to 6 mm maximum length</td>
<td>4-5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table III* Porcelain and Stoneware from Pit B, LP 3.
The white glazed stoneware found from 70-80 cm in Pit A has been tentatively identified by Dr. Charles N. Spinks as a Sawankhalok white glaze bowl.

At least three different tempers were used in the earthenware pottery recovered and in some cases two were used together. It is questionable whether it will be possible to use temper by itself as the major criteria for distinguishing different wares. The three different tempering materials noted are sand, clay, and some kind of fiber which burns out leaving fine holes in the paste. Some sherds have a sandy texture but some of the smooth sherds have sand temper. Color appears to vary considerably. Subjectively it seems that the sand tempered sherds tend to be an orange-brown to brown in surface color while the fiber tempered sherds tend to be considerably darker. This does not hold in all cases, however. It is possible in a few sherds that shell was used for temper. In the two tables that follow no attempt is made to distinguish tempers. The variety of rim cross sections is presented and some detail on the decoration. Fragments of brick were found at all levels where pottery was found. Table IV presents the earthenware pottery of Pit A and Table V of Pit B.

### Table IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Surface and form</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>4-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rim (Figure 5a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td><em>impressed</em>: parallel broad line 3-4 mm apart</td>
<td>5-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>375</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>3-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>300</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rim: 4 sherds from same pot similar to Figure 6, diameter about 28 cm (¼ of circumference present); 4 sherds making total rim, 12.5 cm in diameter (Figure 5b) about 1/8 of pot present weighing 190 gms; 1 sherd (Figure 5c, Plate XIVa-b); 1 sherd, form not certain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 5. Cross sections of earthenware rims and shoulders from Pit A in LP 3: a. 20-30 cm; b.-c. 40-50 cm; d.-e. 50-60 cm; f.-m. 60-70 cm; n.-s. 70-80 cm; t.-x. no level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Surface and form</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40-50 (cont.)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>325</td>
<td><strong>impressed</strong>: parallel broad lines; 9 sherds, 2 sets of 2 lines, 7 cm between sets and about 4 mm between lines, rim diameter 14.3 cm, maximum diameter 28 cm, before final smoothing with smooth paddle, a carved paddle was used with two rows of large crescents at an angle (Plate XIVa-b); 3 sherds from three different vessels with same decoration</td>
<td>4-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>275</td>
<td><strong>impressed</strong>: parallel broad lines and grooves and compound tool, 4 concentric circles just above maximum diameter of vessel, 7 grooves with ridges between just below neck with 7 pronged tool impressing diagonal points up to right, usually 4 to 5 prongs were all that marked (Plate XIVa), maximum diameter about 38 cm</td>
<td>4-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>370</td>
<td><strong>plain</strong>: 1 probably from a high somewhat narrow necked vessel, outer surface with vertical polishing marks</td>
<td>3-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td><strong>plain rim</strong>: 1 from pot of Figure 5c; 1 (Figure 5d); 1 (Figure 5e); 1 not sufficient to tell form</td>
<td>4-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>110</td>
<td><strong>impressed</strong>: parallel broad lines; 5 sherds from vessel in Plate XIVa-b; 7 each from different vessels</td>
<td>4-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td><strong>incised</strong>: parallel lines, same design as impressed lines; 2 with 3 lines; 1 with 2 lines, made on a wheel</td>
<td>4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Wt.</td>
<td>Surface and form</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>880</td>
<td><strong>plain</strong></td>
<td>2-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>115</td>
<td><strong>plain</strong> rim: 1 like Figure 6j; 1 like Figure 5d though at slightly different angle; 4 sherds (Figure 5f-i); 1 with irregular edge that appears to have been cut with sharp edged tool without further finishing (Figure 5j); 1 (Figure 5k); 2 similar to Figure 6n, rim diameter about 28 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><strong>impressed:</strong> parallel broad lines, part of jar in Plate XIVa-b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><strong>plain</strong> rim: probably from a ring foot about 12 cm in diameter, made on a wheel (Figure 5I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td><strong>plain</strong> and carved tiny bowls: 1 with oval cutouts in the rim (Figure 5m); 1 similar (Plate XIVd); 1 plain (like Plate XIVf), all about same size as Figure 5m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-80</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td><strong>plain</strong>; thickest sherd has piece of rusty iron (?) in wall</td>
<td>2-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>295</td>
<td><strong>plain</strong> rim: 5 sherds Figure 5n-r, with rim diameter about 18 cm but rim curvature very uneven looking almost oval; 1 with lip cut with sharp edged tool (Figure 5s), rim diameter about 16 cm; 3 from similar bowl to l with lip cut at same angle but much less regular, rim diameter about 14 cm; 2 probably from same vessel as Figure 5k but varying profile of body; 1 possibly from same pot as i; 1 similar to l; 1 without sufficient amount to tell form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Wt.</td>
<td>Surface and form</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>impressed: bound or carved paddle; 2 apparently bound paddle similar to cord bound but no twist, (like those in Plate XIVg-h)</td>
<td>2-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cont.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 with parallel ribs</td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>incised: parallel lines, with 3 lines, from same vessel as in layer 60-70</td>
<td>5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>plain tiny bowl like Plate XIVf, 3 cm total height</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-100</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>2-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>plain rim: too fragmentary to make out the form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-110</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>2-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>impressed bound paddle; 6 sherds from 4 different vessels, looks like cord-marked (Plate XIVg-i) but no indication of twist, elements vary from about 1/3 to 1 mm in diameter, 1 sherd has slight rounded angle with the impressions smoothed over on one side of the angle (h); 1 sherd lines very faint, possibly incised</td>
<td>4-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110-120</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>3-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no level</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain and carved tiny bowls: same as in 60-70 and 70-80 cm levels, 2 with carved lip (Plate XIVe), 1 of these is 4.8 cm in maximum diameter, 3.1 cm height, 3.1 cm in base diameter; 1 plain (Plate XIVf) rim diameter about 4.4 cm, 2.7 cm high, 2.5 cm base diameter</td>
<td>5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Wt.</td>
<td>Surface and form</td>
<td>Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no level</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>175</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rim: 1 rim diameter about 30 cm (Figure 5t); 1 rim diameter about 14 cm (Figure 5u); 1 rim (Figure 5v); 1 rim diameter about 34 cm (Figure 5w) with wavy impressed line at base of neck, probably from edge of a carved paddle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cont.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>incised</em>: parallel lines, 2 just below shoulder (Figure 5x), probably made on a wheel, with remnants of a pale yellow glaze on outer surface, maximum diameter about 11 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV  Earthenware pottery from Pit A, LP 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Surface and form</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>relief; badly weathered</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>impressed: <em>simple tool</em>, an arc, impressed in two directions (Plate XIVj)</td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>65</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>4-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>glazed and impressed: simple or compound tool; thin, olive green glaze on outside, impressed pattern probably from compound tool multiple pronged with triangular heads (Plate XIVk)</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>85</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>3-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>plain</em>; probably wheel made, a small bowl with flat bottom about 11 cm in diameter (Figure 6a).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>plain rim</em>: 2 from same vessel (Figure 6b); 3rd much the same profile.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>incised: straight lines; 1 with faint single line; 1 with 2 parallel lines as concentric circles just above angle of shoulder (Figure 6c).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>190</td>
<td><em>plain</em></td>
<td>4-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><em>plain</em>: layered; 1 with apparently 2 different clays, surface layers about 2.5 mm thick, center layer about 4 mm thick, different colors and texture; 1 similar (?)</td>
<td>9 7-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 6. Cross sections of earthenware rims, bases, and shoulders from Pit B in LP 3 and LP 9: a.-c. 20-30 cm; d.-e. 30-40 cm; f.-i. 40-50 cm; j.-n. 50-60 cm; o. 50-80 cm; p.-q. 70-80 cm; r. 90-100 cm; s.-u. from LP 9.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Surface and form</th>
<th>Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30-40 (cont.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain rim: Figure 6d-e</td>
<td>4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>impressed: broad line; 1 line or 2 parallel lines</td>
<td>4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>490</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain: some with carbon coating outside, some inside</td>
<td>3-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain rim: each from different vessel, 4 profiles (Figure 6f-i)</td>
<td>4-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>impressed: parallel broad lines, 2 or 3 concentric grooves; 1 with 2 just below curve of the neck</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>545</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>2.5-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain rim: cross section of 2 can not be made out; 1 similar to Figure 6g; 3 rim (Figure 6j-l); 1 (Figure 6m) rim diameter about 28 cm; 2 (Figure 6n) rim diameter about 17 cm</td>
<td>5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>impressed: parallel broad lines, 2 or more; each from a different vessel</td>
<td>5-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>355</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain</td>
<td>2.5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>relief: with rib around vessel on shoulder, can not tell whether it has been applied or modeled; similar to sherds from Johore Lama in Malaya and Santubong in Sarawak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>incised: parallel lines; 2 lines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>305</td>
<td></td>
<td>feature: portion of a plain jar found in situ at 64 cm with several fitting sherds nearby from 50-80 cm; about 1/8 of pot (Figure 6o); associated with charcoal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary of the quantities of sherds from Pit A and Pit B is presented in Tables VI and VII. Further summary from these tables shows that for Pit A, figuring by the number of sherds, 93% of the earthenware sherds are plain and 7% are decorated, while figuring by weight, 80% are plain and 20% are decorated. For Pit B, these percentages are quite different with 99% plain and 1% decorated, by number, and 98% plain and 2% decorated, figuring by weight.

Other—Very little material other than pottery was recovered. Three pieces of fired clay, with impressions suggesting they were used in wattle and daub construction, came from level 100-110 cm in Pit B. From the surface of the site came a triangular worked piece of fine sandstone. Its sides are slightly concave, two of them 32 mm long and the third 35 mm. It is 11-13 mm thick and has a small hole, 1.5 mm in diameter and 2 mm deep, in the center of one of the shorter sides. Two fragments of sharpening stone were found in the 70-80 cm level of Pit A. In the 80-100 cm level of Pit A was found a piece of slag (?) and a few bone fragments, while a fragment of a mammalian tooth was found in the 100-110 cm layer of Pit A. Numerous pieces of charcoal were found in most levels of both pits.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Pl. Rims</th>
<th>Imp. L.</th>
<th>Incised</th>
<th>Bowl</th>
<th>Imp. P.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Stoneware</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1 &lt; 5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-70</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>880</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-80</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-100</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-110</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110-120</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>3430</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VI Quantities of potsherds found in Pit A: "Pl. Rims"—Plain Rims, "Imp. L."—Impressed Lines, "Imp. P."—Impressed Carved or Bound Paddle, "No"—Number of sherds, "Wt."—Weight of sherds, and "Gm/S"—Grams per sherd.
TABLE VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Plain</th>
<th>Pl. Rims</th>
<th>Imp. L.</th>
<th>Incised</th>
<th>Imp. Tool</th>
<th>Misc.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Stoneware</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10 1.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>65 2.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>85 2.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15 5.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 2.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>190 2.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15 7.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15 7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>490 3.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45 7.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>545 3.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>95 10.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15 3.7</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>173</td>
<td>355 2.1</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>70-80</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>145 1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10 5.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>80-90</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>60 1.4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>90-100</td>
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<td>35 1.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10 10.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>100-110</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>&lt;5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>1980 2.5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>190 8.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20 2.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5 2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VII Quantities of potsherds found in Pit B; "Imp. Tool"—Impressed: simple or compound tools (not including those sherds from the feature at about 64 cm)
Conclusions: The quantitative summary of Pit A shows that the 40-50 cm level is unusual. For all varieties of earthenware present in that layer, the size of the sherds is much greater than in any other layer. This is the layer immediately below the level of the brick fragments. An inference that could be made from this is that there was an unusually high amount of whole pots that were broken in a short period of time with little use of the area immediately following, so that the large sherds were not broken into smaller pieces by daily traffic over them. Combining this inference with that advanced for the layer of brick fragments and the apparent brick wall one could infer that the town had been partially destroyed, though apparently not burned, and then abandoned. The brick structure hypothesized probably fell during or shortly after this destruction and the town was not rebuilt. Stoneware sherds were considerably more common in the 40-50 cm layer than in any other. This excessive breakage of stoneware vessels would fit with the above inference.

The decorated sherds in Pit A are not of sufficient quantity to be able to make well-based inferences but they do suggest a few inferences which will be interesting to test with future excavation. The vessels with impressed lines were found only above 70 cm, incised sherds were found only between 80 and 50 cm, and the tiny bowls only between 80 and 60 cm. The paddle impressed sherds were found only below 70 cm. These may be changes due to time. The incised sherds and those impressed with parallel lines are considerably larger than all other body sherds. Assuming that these sherds are not of a stronger ware (subjectively this assumption seems valid) some other reason must be present for their breaking into larger pieces. The one vessel of the impressed pottery (Plate XIVa-b) looks like a fairly large storage jar. Storage jars, with a low center of gravity so that they are reasonably stable and will not tip over, are in less constant use than cooking pots and may be somewhat less subject to breakage. Also, they may be a bit thicker than cooking pots, and so when they do break might well break into larger pieces. Therefore, I would suggest as a possibility that the parallel line impressed and incised sherds came from storage vessels while many of
the plain sherds came from thinner cooking pottery, and further, that the paddle impressed pottery is probably more closely related to the plain pottery in function than to the other decorated pottery. I do not suggest that there were no plain storage vessels.

Comparison of Pit A and Pit B shows similarities and differences. From the Plates, rim cross sections and descriptions of the pottery in Tables IV and V, it is seen that the pottery in the two pits is little different. There are considerable differences apparent, however, between Tables VI and VII. The sherd size in Pit A is in every case much larger than in Pit B. By count, more pottery came from Pit B than Pit A, but by weight, well over twice as much pottery came from Pit A than from Pit B. Recalling that below 30 cm where the great majority of the sherds were found, the portion of Pit A, excavated with vertical control and thus covered by Table VI, is less than half that of Pit B, it is obvious that Pit A is much richer in quantity than in Pit B. This is also true for quality. By weight, 20% of the pottery of Pit A is decorated while only 2% of the pottery from Pit B is decorated. There is four times more stoneware in Pit A than in Pit B.

On the basis of richness and size of sherds, two opposed inferences can be made: 1) The western end of the site, where Pit A is situated, was where refuse was deposited while the eastern end of the site was where the people lived. In this case, much of the broken pottery would be found in the refuse area, thus accumulating more sherds there. The sherds that were not collected from the living area had much more traffic over them than did the sherds in the refuse area and thus were broken into smaller pieces. 2) The second inference does not hypothesize a refuse area but places the main living area closer to Pit A than to Pit B and puts Pit B on the edge of the living area. Refuse was not removed to any particular area but just left where it fell or, at best, just moved out of the house into the street, or below it. Movement over the total area of the mound was common and some of the refuse deposited in the primary living area was slowly moved by the general traffic and the weather into the outlying areas, becoming more broken up as it moved.
Two independent bits of data tend to support the second inference over the first. Not only was there the inferred brick structure close to Pit A but there were many more and larger fragments of brick in Pit A than in Pit B (this is subjective judgement, supported by the large number of brick fragments that can be seen in Plate Xa-c and not to be seen in Plate XIIa-d). From this one would infer a brick building (s) was/were closer to Pit A than to Pit B. This does not necessarily place the living area closer to A than to B but does place a specific feature of the settlement closer to A than to B. The other bit of information is in the percentage of rims found in the two pits. In Pit A rim sherds make up 6% of the sherds by number and 15% by weight, while in Pit B it is 3% by number and 8% by weight. Flat and small pieces, on a gently sloping surface, would move more easily than curved (in three planes) and larger pieces. The rims, which usually include a portion of the neck and have relatively sharp angles, would not move along the surface as easily as flat sherds because in half of their laying positions a projecting portion would tend to hold them in place. Not only their angularity but their larger size compared to the body sherds would tend to keep them in place relative to the body sherds. There is an other factor in this question of sherd movement, however. Some portions of a broken vessel may be selected for use after that vessel is broken, and such a portion would then be kept in or near the house. When a large vessel is broken, but only slightly, if the rim is whole, the body is often purposefully broken away and the rim and neck used as a pot stand for a round bottomed pot. Large curved body sherds are often kept as small water containers or cups or to hold chicken feed (rice winnowings) under the house. This would also support the second inference as this would retain in the living area both whole rims (eventually to be broken) and larger body sherds, further accounting for larger sherds and a larger percentage of rim sherds in the living area than at the edges of the town. Whether the second inference is more likely or not, Pit A is of more interest than Pit B; excavation to follow in the future will be concentrated at the western end of the mound.
The dating of the site has been discussed in the section on the test pits. There is a question on this late dating, however, brought up by the presence of the Sawankhalok sherd in the 70-80 cm layer of Pit A. This could have been an heirloom piece and not disagree with the date. Another possibility is that the lowest 30-40 cm represent a much longer time span than do the layers above and thus that the beginnings of the site go back to the 13th or 14th century or earlier (See note 3). Further excavation is called for.

Lam Pao 4 (LP 4) Kalasin, Sahatsakan

We found what appears to be a curbing or low wall composed of roughly rectangular laterite blocks while surveying the area between Ban Sao Lao and Ban Nong Bua. These are exposed by a road cut and would otherwise be undetectable from the surface, covered as they are by 40-50 cm of sandy soil. This is not a natural formation for the blocks are resting on sandy soil, and the five blocks still in place all have the same cross section, 50 by 30 cm, and roughly uniform length (80, 60, 100, 100, and 90 cm). These blocks are laid in a southwest to northeast line and can be traced away from the road, on the opposite side, by a line of laterite rubble at approximately the same level as the tops of the blocks which are still in place. Several blocks are lying alongside the roadbed, evidently moved there when the road was being built.

The area on either side of the roadway is now under rice cultivation and there are no nearby hamlets. There is no indication as to the purpose of this wall and no associated surface finds. Its outline could no doubt be traced with a probe and this should give some indication of its function.

Lam Pao 5 (LP 5) Udorn Thani, Kumphawapi

This site is a complex of surface features including sandstone uprights of two basic types, a mounded area, and associated surface finds. The upright stones enclose a rectangular area approximately 25 by 8 meters with the mounded area located in the southwest corner. The entire area is covered with dense undergrowth. The
inhabitants of nearby Ban Tha Hai have cleared a small trail to the mound on which they have erected a small spirit-house. The site was shown to us by a villager who called our attention to two large holes purported to have been made many years ago by vandals who looted the mounded area. Aside from these two holes the site seems undisturbed.

The first type of upright is square in cross section, averaging about 40 cm to a side (Plate XVa-b). The tops are fashioned in a pyramidal form; the stones range from 70 to 100 cm in height. The second type is a roughly worked slab with a rounded top. These in some respects resemble uprights attributed to the Davaravati period found in some of the Northeast wat enclosures. Of the former type, six specimens were located and of the latter, two. An interesting addition to several of the uprights was a small piece of what appears to be coral conglomerate placed at some relatively sheltered spot around the base (Plate XVc).

Artifacts: Collected from the surface of the mound were one fragment of sharpening stone, six fragments of roof tile, and one potsherd. The roof tile was orange to tan with a brownish clay temper and a few small brown pebbles. The sherd is impressed: carved paddle (parallel ribs) from the bottom of a large pot, and is 8-15 mm thick.

Pra Meao: Not far from Ban Tha Hai is located a small wat known as Pra Meo, or Wat Si That. Here we were shown three uprights which, while not constituting a site, we feel deserve description. Two of the uprights are almost alike and similar to the first type from LP 5. These have a well executed lotus flower motif forming a border completely around the base (Plate XVd). These uprights are of red sandstone and measure 47 cm to a side and 140 cm from the surface of the ground to the top of the pyramid.

The third stone upright was in all probability not originally intended for use as an upright. It is circular in cross section with an inscription in Khmer which has been translated by Coedès (Coedès, 1964). This inscription is meant to be read when the stone is lying in a horizontal position. One end of the stone, together with a part of the inscription has been broken off and is missing.
After questioning the local villagers we found that these stones had all been brought to the wat from a nearby rice field. We visited the rice field and spoke to its owner who showed us yet another stone still imbedded in the ground (Plate XVIa). We found no associated surface material.

Lam Pao 6 (LP 6) Udorn Thani, Kalasin

Ban Nong Mak Kha lies about three km to the southeast of Ban Tha Hai. Less than one km from Nong Mak Kha we were shown a small habitation site. Surface evidence included many Ayuthia and Ming sherds and several almost complete Ayuthia vessels. Part of this area is under rice cultivation, but a mound extends up into an area covered with a dense undergrowth. Beneath the vegetation we found several more sherds. We did not have time to excavate a test pit, and therefore could not estimate the depth of the cultural deposit.

Artifacts: A few porcelain, stoneware and bone fragments were collected. A major portion of one porcelain blue on white bowl was recovered (Plate XVIc) with a ring foot diameter of 4.8 cm and height of six cm. One stoneware rim, apparently from a small cup, had a cream surface color and grey clay body with small black pebbles. It had a thin olive brown glaze on the outer surface. Two fragments of burned bone found may have been human.

Lam Pao 7 (LP 7) Kalasin, Sahatsakan

A short distance from Bang Nong Mak Kha is a small raised mound surrounded by large upright stones of the Dvaravatī (?) Period in an oval about 9 by 18 meters (Plate XVIIa). This is located near a small wat. The monks living here informed us that the stones had been found there in place, but that some of them which had fallen over had been set upright. These uprights are of the second type described for LP 5, but are in much better condition than those of LP 5 and their tops show a much more pronounced gabled effect. Some of these have a raised narrow ridge running
from the peak of the gable to ground level. This ridge is on both front and back of some of the uprights. One of them has a border around the base just above ground level (see Plate XVIIb).

Ban Tha Muang: One and a half km to the east near Ban Tha Muang we examined a large, apparently shaped stone still partially embedded in the ground (Plate XVIIb). While not constituting a site proper, this stone should be mentioned. It measures roughly 76 by 71 cm and gives the appearance of a square. It is about 12 cm thick. The material is probably a grey sandstone conglomerate; there is nothing similar to this nearby. The surrounding area is covered with tall brush, and though we conducted a thorough search we were unable to find any associated surface material.

Lam Pao 8 (LP 8) Kalasin, Sahatsakan

This site is composed of six stone uprights scattered about on the surface of a small mound (Plate XVIIb-c) in the community of Non Sila, Sahatsakan. Only a few of the stones are upright, but the mound itself seems little disturbed. The stones are similar to those from LP 7. There are no structures built on the mound and it appears to be an excellent place to conduct excavations to determine what contextual material, if any, is associated with this type of upright. The soil of the mound is dark grey and finely textured, and there is no covering vegetation other than short grass.

Lam Pao 9 (LP 9) Kalasin, Sahatsakan

We examined what appeared to be a large Ayuthia burial site on a farm near Ban Khok Hang, not far from Sahatsakan. Many vessels of the Ayuthia Period containing the remains of burned bones have been found by the owner, and the field is littered with sherds of Ayuthia and Ming ware. Most of the site is under rice cultivation, but it no doubt continues into a neighboring area covered by scrub brushwood.

Artifacts: Four earthenware sherds and seven stoneware sherds were collected. Three of the earthenware sherds were plain, 8-11 mm thick and one was impressed: carved paddle and 8-10 mm thick. The
impressed sherd may have been meant to be plain as part of it was plain and the impressed portion so worn or smoothed-over that the pattern was not clear. Two of the stoneware sherds were plain, one with grey surface and clay body, six to seven mm thick, and the other with a brown surface and clay body, 8-10 mm thick. The latter sherd had a partial finger-print on its surface. Two glazed stoneware body sherds were saved, one with a grey surface and clay body and a brown glaze on the outside, body seven to eight mm thick, and the other with a grey surface, violet-brown clay body, and brown glaze outside, body seven to eight mm thick. Three stoneware rims were recovered: one with a brown interior and grey exterior and clay body, rim diameter about 18 cm (Figure 6s); one with grey surface and violet-grey clay body while on the outer surface there was a shiny slip of a darker grey than the surface, rim diameter about 22 cm (Figure 6t); and one with grey surface and clay body and a mottled brown glaze over the inside of the neck and rim and halfway down over the outer surface of the rim, rim diameter about 24.5 cm (Figure 6u).

Lam Pao 10 (LP 10) Udorn Thani, Kumphawapi

The village, Ban Tha Hai, was given a site designation for it is located upon a mound which also saw earlier historic occupation. The villagers are in possession of numerous vessels of the Ayuthia Period. These are in excellent condition and were removed from the mound during the building of homes, roads, etc. The village now covers the entire mound, but the villagers are quite interested and offered to show us spots which seemed to have large concentrations of the older ware. The vessels we saw during the survey were of many different types, glazed and unglazed (Plate XVIIIa).

Scattered Artifacts

Numerous finds were reported by villagers in several of the hamlets visited. In most cases the locations where these finds originated was examined and no further artifacts were discovered.
At Ban Lao Luang a store keeper had an Ayuthia vessel with a
dark grey surface and clay body and dark brown glaze (Plate XVIIc).
It had contained numerous bits of iron and fragments of two bronze
(?) bracelets. The jar had been found on the bank of the Huai Khe
about two and a half km from its confluence with the Lam Pao.

At Ban Sawang the Headman had a socketed bronze axe-head
(Plate XVIIb) that he had bought from one of the villagers. It is
9.7 cm long, 5.6 cm wide and approximately 1.3 cm thick. The location
where it had been found was not known.

Three Ayuthia jars were examined. At Ban Kut Hae the
Headman had found two Ayuthia jars (Plate XVIIIa) on his farm.
At Nong Waeng we were shown a jar and a small bowl that served
as a lid (Plate XVIIIe) that had been found by the main road not far
away. Inside of this they had found an apparent cremation.

Two shouldered adzes were found approximately one km south
of the town of Sahatsakan. They had been found by a local Amphoe
official who guided us to the spot where he had found them. They had
been found together during the digging of a small drainage canal. No
further artifacts were found but there were several mounds in the area.
Due to a deadline return to Udorn these could not be tested. The
adzes are of a dark grey-green fine-grained stone. One is 4.4 cm long,
by 3.3 cm wide and .8 cm thick (Plate XVIIIf). The other is 6.6 cm
long by 6.0 cm wide and 1.2 cm thick (Plate XVIIIg).

Nam Phung Survey

The third area visited was the future reservoir area of the Nam
Phung Dam, now under construction for the National Energy Authori-
ty. The dam is being built some 32 km south of Sakol Nakorn along
the Sakol Nakorn-Kalasin Road. The dam axis is located some four
km off this main road, and when completed will retain a small reser-
voir filling the river valley for nine km upstream. It will back up
numerous small tributaries flowing into the Nam Phung, and two of
these, the Huai Kam Luang and the Huai Hang Suer, branching off
near the end of the reservoir area will form sizable extensions of the
main reservoir.
This project is located high in the hills and there are no villages located in the area to be flooded. The vegetation is scrub-forest with occasional small grassy clearings and rare, large Yang and Daeng trees. We were told that game was plentiful to the east of the reservoir area, but in the area itself we saw little evidence of wild life.

This area being small we decided to conduct an intensive survey on foot. Working from a topographic map we covered the main stream bed, the bluffs on either side, and the small ravines of the tributaries previously mentioned. We were fortunate in having the same guide who had guided the dam project surveyors.

The area contained many large, dry, well-protected shelters far superior to those of Lam Pla Plerng, yet these contained nothing but sterile deposits of riverine pebbles and sand. Since these shelters were several meters above the present high-water level, any earlier human occupation would certainly have resulted in the deposition of cultural debris over this water-washed fill. The only conclusion we could draw was that the area had either been only lightly populated, if at all, in prehistoric times, or the settlement pattern was such that these shelters were not in demand. Adding to evidence against earlier occupation is the quantity of negative information obtained from the four hamlets lying to the northwest of the reservoir proper. An interesting question is here raised by the apparent complete absence of prehistoric (or historic) occupation, even in the choicest of shelters. This area will be dropped from next season’s work.

Nam Pong Survey (Pong Neeb Dam)

Approximately 47 km north-northwest of Khon Kaen the Nam Pong flows through the high sandstone ridge which in that area politically divides Changwat Udorn Thani from Changwat Khon Kaen. Where the river flows through this ridge the Pong Neeb Dam is now under construction. It is being built along the line of this ridge, allowing the formation to be utilized as a natural dike running both north and south from the dam (Plate XIXa). The reservoir retained
by the dam will (very generally) form three fingers. A northern finger some five km wide will extend north about 15 km into the area of Non Sang. A longer southern extension, some 11 km wide just behind the dam and narrowing to an average of about 4 km, will extend 37 km south into the area of Amphoe Muang Khon Kaen, King Amphoe Nong Rua. The central finger will follow the present bed of the Nam Pong some 35 km to the west extending out from either side of the present river bed about three km. This finger will inundate areas of Amphoe Non Sang and Nong Bua Lamphu of Changwat Udorn Thani, and Amphoe Phu Wiang of Changwat Khon Kaen.

This is the largest reservoir included in our salvage program, but during available time this season it was not possible to cover either the southern extension or major portions of the central section.

Most of the area of the future reservoir is well settled and here, as at Lam Pao, we relied to a great extent on the villagers’ knowledge of their area. For the most part they were quite willing to show us artifactual material in their possession, but sometimes we were not allowed to see more valued objects for fear they would be confiscated, as occasionally has happened in the past. After staying a number of days in certain villages photographing, cataloguing, and returning local finds, we were finally allowed to see a few of the more important items. The confiscation of archaeological items from local villagers is clearly not in the best interest of scientific archaeological exploration. Objects deprived of their context are only of scientific value in that they indicate possible earlier occupation, or may aid in distributional studies. For either of these purposes, good photographs and careful measurements provide all the information necessary. Confiscation results only in distrust and the with-holding of valuable data, silencing a valued source of site information.

The first five sites are from the northern extension of the reservoir. This is a relatively flat area lying between the ridge that runs north of the dam and a high saucer-shaped sandstone mesa called Phu Kao. What area is not under cultivation or in hamlets is covered with a low brush and light open forest. Sites six to nine are in an
area about 35 km west of the dam in Amphoe Phu Wiang. The reservoir in this area will occupy much of the lowland between the similar sandstone formations of Phu Kao and Phu Wiang. There were several sandstone shelters located in this area, but in only one of them (NP 9) did we find definite evidence of prehistoric (?) occupation. Unusual weather started heavy rains at the time these last four sites were found and it was impossible to dig any test pits or to remain longer in this remote area.

Nam Pong 1 (NP 1) Udorn Thani, Non Sang

About one km west of Non Sang we were shown the remains of a stupa base, composed of laterite blocks and brick, which originally had a facing of mortar. It was overgrown with trees, brush, and vines and the northern side was badly eroded (Plate XIXb). The slightly raised earthen platform on which it was built was rectangular measuring 950 cm in the north-south direction and 555 cm east to west. The platform may have been edged with brick but now all that can be seen are the corner bricks and a few more forming a portion of the south side. The stupa was apparently set symmetrically on the platform though the south side is all that can be measured accurately. The base of the south side is 350 cm in from the edge of the platform and the southeastern corner is 140 cm from the eastern edge of the platform. Assuming that it is symmetrical, this would make the stupa 250 cm north-south and 275 cm east-west, with its long axis perpendicular to the long axis of the platform.

The west face of the stupa appeared to be flat from its base to a projecting row of laterite blocks 220 cm above the base (Plate XIXc and XXa). Only a small amount of its original plaster surface remains. The south face is in the best condition and after removal of about one meter of soil from a portion of this side the original plaster surface was found in fair condition (Plate XXb). Only laterite block can be seen in the standing portion of the stupa but there are a number of bricks in the fallen rubble. Measurements of the one complete brick found are 24 cm by 13 cm by 7 cm. This brick must have been used in the construction of the upper portion of the stupa.

Artifacts: A collection of sherds was made from the surface in the general area of the stupa and a second collection made of materials directly associated with the stupa. From the general area 31 plain
Sherds were collected of two different pastes. Twenty nine sherds had a grey to brown uneven surface and clay body with a coarse gritty texture and some of the sherds with brown pebbles in the body. Thickness varied from 3-14 mm and two sherds had an impression of a fine cloth with a simple over-under weave. Two sherds of the second paste had a dark to light grey surface and clay body, a reddish clay temper, and were 3 mm thick. There were 46 impressed: carved paddle (parallel ribs) of the same color and clay body as the 29 plain sherds and with the same thickness (3-14 mm). There is some variation in the thickness of the ribs (Plate XXg) and one of these may have been impressed: bound paddle (basket marked) (Plate XXf). Three plain rims were probably from the same carved paddle-impressed pot, with a rim diameter of about 22 cm (Figure 7a). There were six plain stoneware sherds. Five of these were probably from the same jar with a rough, light grey surface and grey clay body, 8 mm thick. This jar probably had a glaze which was completely flaked off. One sherd had a different textured grey surface and clay body and was 5-6 mm thick. One blue on white porcelain sherd was collected.

The collection from the base of the stupa, except for one blue on white porcelain sherd, was made up of fragments of brick and plaster. The most common brick is a red-brown, surface and has a paddy temper, in some areas not even carbonized. These bricks are soft and friable. Two much less common bricks are smaller and better made. They are a light grey color and like cement, with no indication of firing. The light grey plaster fragment is a finer texture than the two grey bricks, but otherwise similar.

Nam Pong 2 (NP 2) Udorn Thani, Non Sang

In a rice field about 75 meters east of the stupa base (NP 1) we found numerous sherds and bits of bone. We decided to excavate a 150 cm square test pit to determine the depth of the cultural deposit. We put this pit down in an area where the surface concentration of sherds seemed to be the richest. A 10 cm vertical control was kept, and we noticed a change in the pottery as we progressed through the 20-30 cm level. Sherds were recovered to a depth of 40 cm where sterile soil was encountered. The 10-20 cm level sack was lost.

Artifacts: The artifacts recovered from the test pit, primarily pottery, are presented in table form (Table VIII).
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<th>Level</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Gm/S</th>
<th>Artifact</th>
<th>Size</th>
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<td>51</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>plain sherds, color and clay body same as the majority of sherds of NP 1; 1 sherd 1-2 mm thick</td>
<td>3-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain rim; 2 same clay body and shape as Figure 7a; 1 light grey to black surface, black clay body with sand temper, possibly a straight rim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>impressed: carved paddle (parallel ribs), same paste as plain sherds</td>
<td>3-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>impressed: carved paddle (triangular pattern), same paste (Plate XXk)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stoneware, plain, grey surface and clay body, dark brown glaze</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shell; 6 bone frags.; limestone; brown pebble, brick frags.; fired clay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>plain sherds, similar paste to those above but not as coarse nor are sherds as thick; 1 sherd was worked with a carved paddle (square lattice) before final smoothing</td>
<td>3-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>plain rim; 2 same as Figure 7a; 1 with same clay body with impressed: carved paddle (parallel ribs) body (Figure 7b)</td>
<td></td>
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Fig. 7. Cross sections of rims and bases from Nam Pong sites: a. NP 1; b. 20-30 cm NP 2; c.-f. NP 5; g.-m. NP 6; n.-s. NP 7; t.-w. NP 8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Wt.</th>
<th>Gm/S</th>
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<th>Size</th>
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<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td><em>impressed: carved paddle</em> (parallel ribs), same clay body as above, average thinner than above (Plate XXI)</td>
<td>3-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>red <em>slipped</em> sherd with a ridge, surface and clay body cream with very fine texture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>porcelain sherd, light grey clay body, polychrome overglaze(^5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pipe bowls, molded, grey surface and clay body, with row of punctations around near top of bowl (Plate XXm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>metal, (part iron), cylindrical, 7 mm diameter, 24 mm long</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brick fragment; bone; 1 white stone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td><em>plain</em> sherds, same clay body</td>
<td>4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td><em>plain</em> rim, same as Figure 7b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td><em>impressed: carved paddle</em>, (parallel ribs) same clay body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>porcelain sherd, with red overglaze decoration, possibly from same vessel as in 20-30cm level(^5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fired clay; 3 bones, 2 of them ribs from a large fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VIII  Artifacts recovered from test pit of NP 2
The quantity of sherds from the test pit is so small that it is questionable whether they are representative of the site as a whole, but as there is nothing unusual about them we review them briefly. For a total of 135 sherds from all levels the average weight is 4.9 gm per sherd. The average weights per level are 5.0 gm/sherd for the 0-10 cm and 20-30 cm layers and 2.1 gm/sherd for the lowest layer. For all levels the plain sherds averaged 4.5 gm, the plain rims 5.7 gm, the impressed: carved paddle 5.3 gm. The differences in weight between classes are all in the same direction as those from LP 3, so the same inferences as to function could hold here. The only change noticeable with increasing depth is the decrease in size, both in weight of the sherds, as far as the plain sherds are concerned, and the thickness of the pieces. The considerable drop in size of the sherds in the lowest level may or may not be meaningful as only seven sherds came from this level. Though in Thailand this carved paddle surface decoration is usually taken to indicate considerable age, there is no indication in this case of any great age.

**Nam Pong 3 (NP 3)** Udorn Thani, Non Sang

This site consists of the badly preserved remains of a stupa base similar to the one at NP 1 (Plate XXIa). It is located approximately two km to the west of Ban Kho. The torso of a seated Buddha image is placed on the lower portion of the platform (Plate XXIb), and the place is evidently used from time to time as a local shrine. There were no surface remains to indicate an area of habitation. Heavy scrub undergrowth surrounds the site.

**Nam Pong 4 (NP 4)** Udorn Thani, Non Sang

To the northwest of Non Sang is the large sandstone formation of Phu Kao. Located on the inner slope of the eastern rim is a large sandstone shelter. The outer facing above the shelter has numerous geometric designs (Plate XXIIa) that have been worked into the surface of the rock. Some of these designs, especially one in the shape of a celt with concave sides, are repeated many times (Plate XXIIb). On the floor of the shelter we found numerous unglazed earthenware sherds, but there did not appear to be an accumulated
cultural deposit. Above the outer facing of the shelter is a second small shelter completely in the rock. On the sloping floor there is a circular depression which may have been a bed rock mortar, and further geometric markings (Plate XXIIc).

Artifacts: Only a few of the numerous sherds noticed were saved. Of two plain sherds one had a brown clay body two to three mm thick and its outer surface was covered with carbon; the second had a brown surface and clay body seven to eight mm thick with fine parallel horizontal striations crossed by vertical shallow short lines apparently resulting from the method of manufacture. We saved four impressed: bound paddle (cord-marked) sherds with a brown to grey surface and clay body four to six mm thick. The paddle had been struck twice at an angle making diamond shaped lozenges (Plate XXIc-d). The cord was about 1 mm in diameter and with such a tight twist that it could hardly be made out. There is one impressed: carved paddle (parallel ribs) with brown surface and clay body with some sand temper. The parallel ribs may have formed a band of decoration around the vessel below the neck (Plate XXIe). We saved one fine grained, light tan stone that was oval in cross section, 24 mm long by 8 by 10 mm in cross section.

Nam Pong 5 (NP 5) Udorn Thani, Non Sang

Approximately two km southeast of Ban Non Ta Na, in the middle of a large rice field, we found what appears to be a large open site evidenced by numerous sherds of both glazed and unglazed wares. Whether we are dealing with one site or a group of sites cannot be determined without further underground exploration. The entire surface of this site(s) is now under rice cultivation. Numerous finds were in the hands of the villagers of Ban Non Ta Na and many more than they now possessed were reported to have been lost or broken and discarded soon after their discovery. This porcelain, stoneware, and earthenware pottery, and these metal artifacts are presented in Plates XXIf and XXIII-XXIVg.
Artifacts: Only a few earthenware sherds were collected as all that were noticed were plain. Included among these were sherds with clay temper, sand temper, and fiber temper. Five plain stoneware sherds were saved, four of them with a light to medium grey surface and clay body two to six mm thick and one with an orange-brown surface, orange-brown to light grey clay body in portions, clay temper, and the body seven to nine mm thick. Five glazed stoneware sherds were saved: one with violet surface and clay body 11-12 mm thick and the badly weathered glaze a grey-green with many small holes; one with dark tan surface and clay body six to nine mm thick and a clay temper and a weathered dark blue glaze; one with a grey surface and clay body five to six mm thick and on the outer surface a very thin speckled grey glaze; one with light tan inner surface, a dark grey outer surface, and the clay body varying from light tan to dark grey with diffuse bluish particles, body seven mm thick, and weathered dark olive brown glaze; one light grey surface and dark grey clay body seven mm thick with a sandy texture, no remnants of glaze except the sandy base from which it had flaked. Five incised stoneware sherds were recovered: two with a light grey surface and clay body four to five mm thick and speckled with dark particles, straight line incising covered with a brown glaze, one sherd glazed on both sides the other only on the outside; one light grey surface and clay body four to six mm thick, incised with concentric circles at the base of the neck; one light speckled tan to grey inner surface, dark grey outer surface, clay body varying between the two, pebbles in the body up to seven mm long, body seven to eight mm thick, incising a series of high (6 cm) narrow (3-4 cm) arches, four in a set (one inside of the other), three of them very close together at the base but further apart at the top, while the fourth is just a short arc at the inner top; one streaked brown inner surface, dark grey outer surface, dark grey clay body 11-12 mm thick with pebbles up to six mm long, incised hanging arcs between ridges (Plate XXIVh), with dark brown glaze inside and out. Two plain stoneware rims: one with light speckled grey surface and clay body varying to a dark grey and tan with remnants of an olive brown glaze, rim diameter about 17 cm (Figure 7c); one speckled grey outer surface and grey inner
surface and clay body with incised wavy lines on the body parallel with the rim done with a four pronged tool (Plate XXIVf, Figure 7d). We found one stoneware flat base and one rim of a large lid: the base, possibly from the same jar as the rim in Figure 7c, has a light speckled grey inner surface while the outer surface is a speckled tan and the clay body varies from tan to dark grey with a dark olive brown glaze on the outside (Figure 7e); the lid sherd has a tan upper surface and a light grey inner surface and clay body, except where it is dark grey at its thickest portion (Figure 7f).

Surface finds

The five sites described to this point are all from the northern extension of the reservoir area. Several surface finds were made or reported from this area that can not be included with specific sites.

A questionable stone adze/axe was found one morning on the surface when we were on the way to examine a cave reported in the east ridge north of the Nam Pong River and about three km east of Ban Nong Tanah. The cave turned out to be sterile but on the way back to the hamlet the tool (?) was found. It is a sandstone conglomerate, 24 cm long, 3.8 cm thick, and 8.3 cm in maximum width, with an oval cross section (Plate XXIVj).

Three polished stone adzes were seen. Two of these from Ban Kho, were lenticular in cross section tapering toward the butt (Plate XXIVk), and the third was rectangular in cross section with possible low shouldering.

Nam Pong 6 (NP 6) Khon Kaen, Phu Wiang

This site is probably restricted to a large mound lying about one and a half km west of Tambon Na Kham. The surface of this mound is rich in sherds of Sukothai, Ming, and Ayuthia vessels, and many sherds of unglazed earthenware. In other areas, the kind of earthenware found here is considered by the staff of the National Museum as indicating prehistoric occupation so it is possible that this site, and the others following, may have had prehistoric begin-
nings. Clay pipes, slag, a small quantity of bronze, which perhaps fell to the ground in a molten state, and a large marine mollusk (Plate XXVa) have been gathered from the surface by the land-owner. During surface collecting a broken tektite was found in surface association with the cultural material (Plate XXVb).

The surface of part of this mound was cultivated for the first time last year, and many portions of the mound are still covered by high grass and occasional small trees. The soil was damp, but appeared to be dark grey in color. An area under cultivation showed cultural material to a depth of 50 cm. How much deeper it may go will require test excavation to determine.

Artifacts: There were two kinds of paste found in most of the sherds saved. One of these had a sandy feel and a small amount of clay temper; its surface and clay body was from tan to brown and thickness from 3-12 mm. The second does not have the sandy feel, has more clay temper, is tan to black in surface and clay body, and is 4-15 mm thick. Other pastes are present. Fifty six plain sherds were collected, including one base with a ring foot. Eighty impressed: bound paddle were collected, 79 of these cord-marked (Plate XXVe-j) and one possibly basket-marked (Plate XXVh). One of the cord-marked sherds had a slight angle and the cordmarking has been smoothed over on one side of the angle (Plate XXVe); one sherd came from a flat bottomed vessel with an angle between the bottom and side. The cord used varied from about 1/3 to 1 mm in diameter. Ten impressed: carved paddle sherds were saved, six of these with parallel ribs and four with a square latice pattern. Eighteen plain rims were collected: two of these are similar to Figure 7a, one similar to Figure 6t; two like Figure 7g; one of these with a rim diameter of about 22 cm; and the others like Figure 7h-m. Six plain stoneware sherds were saved: five with a grey surface and clay body 6-10 mm thick, two of there are flat bottoms, one 14 cm in diameter is flat inside and the other 7.4 cm in diameter comes to a point inside; one with tan surface and clay body five to six mm thick. One incised stoneware sherd was found (Plate XXVI) with grey surface and clay body five to six mm thick and a band 2.5 cm wide of nine straight
lines. Five glazed stoneware sherds were saved, four with brown glaze, three of these with grey clay body one with brown clay body, all seven to nine mm thick, and one with a light grey clay body 7-10 mm thick and light green crackle glaze. Seven blue on white porcelain sherds from small cups were saved. There were portions of four clay pipes (Plate XXVm-p) the bowl of the largest 3.7 cm in outer diameter and the bowl of the smallest 2.0 cm in outer diameter, all made in molds. Besides these pot sherds there were fragments of fired clay, the marine bivalve (Plate XXVa), the broken tektite (Plate XXVb), and the pieces of metal.

Nam Pong 7 (NP 7) Khon Kaen, Phu Wiang

This site is located about a half km to the south of Ban Na Di on a small mound now partly under garden cultivation. Surface evidence, consisting primarily of unglazed earthenware sherds is spread over most of the mound and onto the surrounding rice cultivated plain. Examination of the side of the mound shows sherds to a depth of 70 cm. How much farther below this they extend requires test excavation to determine.

Artifacts: The sherds found here had the same pastes as found at NP 6 except that there was a higher percentage of sherds with the sandy texture. Twenty seven plain sherds were collected, including one with a flat base and one that had impressions of whole paddy grains. The 41 cord-marked sherds collected were all of the sandy paste. The twist of the cord is somewhat more obvious on these sherds (Plate XXVq-u) than on those from NP 6. Fifteen plain rims were collected, four of them (Figure 7n) from one vessel with the impression of a textile weave on the lip. There were five other simple rim forms (Figure 7o-s). One was cord-marked right up to the edge of the square lip but the sherd was so small a cross section would be meaningless. Six plain stoneware sherds were found, three with grey surface and clay body, three with brown surface and clay body, all six to eight mm thick. One stoneware sherd was incised with parallel wavy lines done with a four prong incising tool. It had a grey surface and clay body. Four foreign stones were found,
one a crystalline sandstone and three a red-brown fine grain stone, one of them with a polished surface.

**Nam Pong 8 (NP 8) Khon Kaen, Phu Wiang**

This site is located atop a large knoll of decomposed laterite some two and a half kms north of Ban Nong Waeng. It extends over an area perhaps 30 by 90 meters, and is the densest accumulation of sherds uncovered during this season’s survey. All sherds seemed to be unglazed earthenware except for one porcelain sherd. Clay pipes, bone, slag, and a possible spindle whorl were also recovered. Several small waterways are eroding the mound, and in the small eroded zones there appears to be an almost solid accumulation of sherds to a depth of 60 cm or more. The cover consists of scrub-forest with occasional thorny underbrush.

Artifacts: The sherds collected are predominantly of the same two pastes as at sites NP 6 and NP 7, except here the plain and carved paddle impressed sherds are primarily of the paste with the greater quantity of clay temper and the cord-marked sherds are primarily of the sandy paste. Of the 25 plain sherds collected 24 had the clay temper. Eighteen impressed: carved paddle were collected of which 15 are parallel ribbed—a few of these may be basket marked (Plate XXVv-w)—one has a square lattice pattern, and two have a triangular pattern exactly the same as from NP 2 (Plate XXh). One sherd may possibly have a fine basket pattern impressed from a bound paddle. Eighteen sherds are cord-marked (Plate XXVx-bb) and 16 of these have the sandy clay body, three to nine mm thick. Two of those with the sandy clay body also have many pebbles and they are 16-24 mm thick (Plate XXVcc), one with an incised line around the cord-marked area outside of which is some other kind of impressed decoration (Plate XXVdd). One cord-marked sherd with the sandy clay-body three to four mm thick has three wide, parallel grooves (Plate XXVee). There are eight plain rims: three sherds with the same form have the clay temper and one of the these has parallel ribs or basket marking on the body (Plate XXVff, Figure 7d), five with the sandy clay body, two the same form with cord-marking
on the body (Plate XXVgg, Figure 7u); one rim (Figure 7v); and two, of such sandy texture and so well-fired that they almost seem like sandstone, are heavy rims, one from a jar and the other from its lid, that fit closely together, the rim diameter of the lid being about 34-38 cm (Plate XXVhh). The spindle whorl mentioned above is of the sandy clay body (Figure 7v). One blue on white porcelain sherd was found; one fragment from the stem of a clay pipe; one piece of metal slag; one tanged iron blade, sharp on one edge (Plate XXVii); nine stones foreign to the area, one of them a dark violet crystalline stone that may have been worked; mammal bone, turtle bone, water buffalo teeth, teeth and lower jaw of fish or amphibian, and snail shell were also found.

This site may well be a major prehistoric site and will be tested early in the next field season.

**Nam Pong 9 (NP 9) Khon Kaen, Phu Wiang**

On the inner slope of the western rim of Phu Wiang we found a large sandstone shelter, apparently formed by the erosion of a supporting stratum leaving the upper stratum overhanging. In the rear wall of this shelter is a small opening leading to a chamber some 2 meters wide by 1 meter high. On the wall above this opening are red outlines of nine human hands varying in size from those of a large adult to those of a child of seven or eight years (Plate XXVIa). Some of the outlines are sharper than others; two are faded and ill-defined. All of the outlines are of the left hand, either an odd chance or a significant choice.

There was no time to test the floor of this cave but it would seem to be a likely site.

**Reported Megalithic Site**

In September 1963 the Fine Arts Department supported a brief survey trip to the Nam Pong reservoir area to give us some idea of the problems our program would encounter in the field. While visiting hamlets in the general area of the dam site we heard several stories about what sounded like a classical dolmen site well up the
river and on the western side of Phu Kao. The party went to visit this site and found a spectacular natural stone formation, much like a dolmen site but of gigantic size (Plate XXVIb and XXVIIa). No archaeological site was noted, but an interesting Buddhist altar was found under one of the larger rocks (Plate XXVIIb). With the central Buddhist figure were numerous other figures of wood and stone, no doubt locally made, of a style unknown to the members of the Fine Arts Department present (Plate XXVIIIa-c). This area will not be damaged by the reservoir waters but it would be well to make an extensive survey here for sites before the tourists move in.

Summary

A total of 21 archaeological sites were found in three reservoir areas and it was found that there are no sites in the fourth area (Nam Phung). The fifth area has not yet been surveyed. Of these sites, two from Lam Pla Plerng and two to four from Nam Pong appear to be prehistoric. All sites found in the Lam Pao reservoir area are historic on the surface but some of these may have been started in prehistoric times.

The most common artifact recovered was pottery, with earthenware much more common than stoneware, though stoneware was present in many of the sites. Porcelain was present in many sites but always in small quantity.

No sites that can be called cities were located but several sites can be considered fair sized towns. None of the areas investigated appear to have been heavily occupied at any time.

Conclusions

Major conclusions are being left for next season's report after a number of the discovered sites have been extensively excavated. The few conclusions presented here are more in the way of pointers for future work.

The areas investigated have no natural features which would help to locate prehistoric sites. From the few prehistoric sites located and the scattered surface finds by the locals of both polished stone
and bronze celts it would appear that there was widely scattered prehistoric population of long duration. These sites are so far underground that the usual plowing does not turn them up. It is hoped that when a greater length of time can be spent in one small area for the excavation of a site, it will be possible to find a few of the probable hidden prehistoric sites.

The presence of polished stone adzes in a site does not mean that it is prehistoric. The "Ayuthia" people seem to have collected adzes, as do the people today.

The two sites in the Lam Pla Plerng reservoir area would seem to be related to the Neolithic and Early Iron Age sites in Kanchanaburi. Excavation of these sites will help to clarify the distribution in Thailand and in Southeast Asia of what appears to be a distinctive prehistoric culture.

References


Solheim, Wilhelm G. II

1964 The Archaeology of Central Philippines; A Study Chiefly of the Iron Age and its Relationships, Monographs of the National Institute of Science and Technology, Monograph 10, Manila, Bureau of Printing.

Solheim, Wilhelm G. II and Robert A. Hackenberg

1961 The Importance of Anthropological Research to the Mekong Valley Project, France-Asie/Asia, No. 169, pp. 2,459-2,474.
Notes

1. Several of the porcelain and stoneware sherds were shown to Professor Emeritus H. Otley Beyer of the University of the Philippines. His identifications are presented in the notes. The bowl from LP 1 was dated by Beyer as 16th century.

2. Chinese, 16th or early 17th century.

3. Siamese or possibly Chinese 16th century. This would suggest that despite the essentially modern C-14 date the site was in use 400 years ago, and, as these sherds were found on the surface, probably goes back some time before this.

4. The translation by Coedes is as follows:

   "Traduction

   1. .... cet ascète honoré par les brahmanes a érigé cette pierre tenant l’office de borne, avec les bhikṣu.

   2. En čaka .... dan ’1 année Čuci*, le divième jour de la lune croissante de Caitra, cette borne a été fixée par l’Assemblée.

   *Čuci est peut-être un synonyme de qukla, nom de 1a 3e année du cycle sexagénaire. Dans ce cas, on aurait le choix entre les années 611, 671, 731."

5. Siamese or Chinese, probably 15th-16th century.

6. Chinese, 16th or early 17th century.
Plate I. The Lam Pla Perng reservoir area: a. general view; b. cleared area near dam including LPP 1 under the sandstone outcropping in the shade, center.

Plate II. Test pit at LPP 1: a. before excavation, looking west; b. after excavation, looking east.
Plate III. Stone tools from LPP 1: a. "handaxe" 10.2 cm long; b. sharp working edge including a shallow concave edge at the upper right side.
Plate IV. Potsherds and stone tools from LPP 2: a. ridge with diagonal impressions; b. *impressed: carved paddle* (parallel ribs); c.-e. tools from 0-10 cm; f.-h. 10-20 cm; i.-k. 20-30 cm.
Plate V. Stone tools from LPP 2: a.-c. from soft pit 20-40 cm; d.-f. 30-40 cm; g.-i. 40-50 cm; j.-k. 50-60 cm; l. 60-70 cm.
Plate VI. "Ayuthia" jar from LP 2, in situ.
Plate VII. "Ayuthia" jars and contents (a.-d.); e.-f. polished stone tools found in jars from LP 2 by local villagers.
Plate VIII. Stoneware, porcelain, and earthenware from LP 2 (h.-i. are earthenware sherds).
Plate IX. a. Examples from contents of jar pictured in Plate VI; b. "Lopburi" jar found near Ban Sao Lao.
Plate X. Pit A, LP 3: a. top of supposed brick wall and supporting baulk; b. south wall.
Plate XI. Test pits at LP 3: a. north side of Pit A showing that layer of bricks and fragments is not a wall; b.-c. different levels of excavation in Pit B showing unevenness of old surfaces.
Plate XII. The four walls of Pit B, LP 3: a. north wall; b. east wall; c. south wall; d. west wall.
Plate XIII. Pottery from LP 3: a. portion of earthenware pot found in situ, Pit B; b. stoneware lid from the surface; c. stoneware sherd 50-60 cm, Pit A; d.-e. stoneware jar and lid (e) 40-50 cm, Pit A.
Plate XIV. Earthenware pottery from test pits of LP 3: a.-b. potsherds from 40-70 cm, Pit A; c. sherds from impressed vessel, 40-50 cm, Pit A; d.-f. tiny bowls 60-80 cm, Pit A; g.-i. impressed: bound paddle sherds 100-110 cm, Pit A; j. impressed: simple tool sherd 0-10 cm, Pit B; k. glazed and impressed sherd 10-20 cm, Pit B.
Plate XV. Stone uprights from sites in the Lam Pao Reservoir area: a.-c from LP 5, note small stone nestled against stone in c.; d. upright with lotus flower motif around base.
Plate XVI. Worked large stones and porcelain from sites in the Lam Pao Reservoir area: a. stone in rice field near Wat Pra Meo; b. stone in brush near Ban Tha Muang; c. blue on white bowl, LP 6.
Plate XVII. Stone uprights from sites in the Lam Pao Reservoir area:

a. LP 7;  b.-c. LP 8.
Plate XVIII. Stoneware, metal, and stone artifacts from the Lam Pao Reservoir area:
a. LP 10;  b. bronze celt;  c. base of “Ayuthia” jar and a portion of its contents;
d. “Ayuthia” jars;  e. cremation (?) jar;  f. g. shouldered adzes.
Plate XIX. Nam Pong Reservoir: a. view of reservoir area from top of ridge about one km. north of dam site; b.-c. north and south sides of cleared stupa, NP 1.
Plate XX. Stupa of NP 1 and ceramics from nearby: a. west face; b. south face; c.-j. earthenware sherds from surface of NP 1; k.-l. impressed sherds, NP 2; m. fragment of clay pipe bowl, NP 2.
Plate XXI. Nam Pong Reservoir sites and pottery:  a. stupa base, LP 3;  b. close up of stupa base showing torso of small seated Buddha in center of light area on rock;  c.-e. impressed sherds, NP 4;  f. porcelain vase, 21 cm tall, NP 5.
Plate XXII. Stone marking at NP 4: a. on the rock facing above shelter; b. detail, showing several celt-like designs; c. on slanting floor of upper rock shelter.
Plate XXIII. Stoneware vessels from NP 5: a.-e. different views of small Sukothai effigy jar; f.-h. unglazed jars, maximum diameter of f. 22 cm, rim diameter of g. 10 cm, and of h. 21 cm.
Plate XXIV. Pottery, metal, and stone artifacts from northern extension of Nam Pong Reservoir area: a.-i. NP 5; a. stoneware jar, maximum diameter about 35 cm; b. earthenware jar with low ring foot and shallow vertical grooves, rim diameter 11.7 cm; c. brass cup, rim diameter 6 cm; d. socketed bronze spearhead 35.2 cm long; e. socketed iron spearhead, 29.1 cm long; f. brass (?) bell for water buffalo, 9.2 cm long; g. tanged iron spade head, 20.0 cm long; h. glazed stoneware sherd; i. incised stoneware sherd; j. stone tool (?); k. polished stone adze.
Plate XXV. Finds from NP 6 (a.-p.), NP 7 (q.-u.), and NP 8 (v.-ii.): a. mollusk, length 18 cm; b. tektite fragment; c.-k. earthenware sherds; l. incised stoneware sherd; m.-p. fragments of clay pipes; q.-u. cord-marked sherds; v.-w. possible basket-marked sherds; x.-cc. cord-marked sherds; ff. rim sherd with parallel ribbed or basket-marked body; gg. rim sherd with cord-marked body; hh. two closely fitting rim sherds; ii. tanged iron blade.
Plate XXVI. a. Stenciled hands, in red, on wall of shelter NP 9; b. large natural stone formation in the Phu Kao, next to the Nam Pong Reservoir area.
Plate XXVII. Large stone formation in the Phu Kao (a.); b. Buddhist altar beneath rock.
Plate XXVIII. Wood and stone figurines from altar in Plate XXVIIb.
NOTES AND COMMENTS

NOTES ON KRUNG KAO

by

Larry Sternstein

Mr. J.J. Boeles, Director of the Siam Society's Research Center, kindly brought to my attention Nai Sumet Jumsai Na Ayutya's 'Notes Concerning Ayutya' which appeared under the Notes and Comment section of The Social Science Review (mainly in Thai) vol 3 no 2 for September 1965, pages 85-86. Since, two further articles on Krung Kao by Nai Jumsai have appeared; one in Journal of the Office of Town Planning,1 the other in ASA.2 As these journals are virtually unknown outside Thailand (in truth, being rather specialized, they are little known inside Thailand) brief resumés of the pertinent articles are warranted; more particularly in that there is advanced an argument different from that in 'Krung Kao: The Old Capital of Ayutthaya', an article which appeared in the January 1965 issue of The Journal of the Siam Society.

The gist of Nai Jumsai's remarks in 'Notes Concerning Ayutya' concerns the dating of a plan included as figure 6 in 'Krung Kao ... ' and labeled Dutch Oblique Plan-View of Ayutthaya; c. 1725. Reproduced from a recent color reproduction, this is referred to the original in Valentyn, F., Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, vol 3, 1726. Nai Jumsai points out that the so-called original in Valentyn is actually a copy of an earlier 'water colour painting in Johannes Vingboons' atlas preserved at 's-Cravenhage [sic], Algemeen Rijksarchief and dated c. 1665', and, further, that this 'original water colour version itself' was probably based on an earlier Siamese version since it


bears distinct traces of native handling'. Continuing this line of reasoning, in introducing the existence of a quite similar oil painting of Ayutthaya preserved at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam captioned: 'cat. nr. 87. Anonymous Dutch School, 1st. half of 17th cent. Judea ... canvas 97×140 cm.', he concludes that it is quite probable that both these efforts date from the 1630's when Joost Schouten was Dutch factor at Ayutthaya. I cannot but agree with this hypothesis (though from the information supplied it appears that the water color in Vingboons' atlas may well have proceeded from the oil in the Rijksmuseum); hastening to add that though well acquainted with the nature of Valentyn's work—it being a compilation of others' observations rather than those of his own—yet this significant fact did not intrude at the proper time to cause me to consider possible antecedents to the included plans. Again, misgivings attended the positioning of this plan-view at the end of a sequence of maps dated some thirty-five to forty years previous, for I could not reconcile the obvious sophistication of the 'earlier' European plans as compared with the 'later' Dutch view—more particularly, indeed, because this 'later' view is Dutch. Finally, the style of the plan-view, being of a type current in Europe during the early 17th century (employed, for example, in the civitates orbis terrarum), occasioned a certain hesitancy.

Nai Jumsai's critical information, then, allows a redating of the Dutch Oblique Plan-View of Ayutthaya to the early 17th century (probably c. 1635) and consequently, a relieving repositioning at the beginning of the sequence of 17th century maps of the capital and an end to puzzlement over style. The source note (wanting a more precise reference) should read: 'A recent color reproduction after that in J. Vingboons' Atlas at 'sGravenhage, Algemeen Rijksarchief, c. 1663'; the caption may be retained minus the phrase 'a century before'. Similarly, Portion of a Dutch Map of the Chao Phraya; c. 1725, should, in all likelihood, be redated as early 17th century, the source note altered and the last line in the caption deleted. A repositioning, then, as the first in the sequence of 17th century plans referred to would allow for a reasonable continuity in presentation since this view encompasses a much greater area than do the others.
The first eight pages, in Thai, of 'นิยามชื่อ พระนคร 1350-1767', that is, 'Ayutthaya A.D. 1350-1767' which appeared in the Journal of the Office of Town Planning, set out the aims of the paper, briefly discuss (through quotes) the so-called history of the planning of Ayutthaya, and offer the author's proposal for restoration and preservation of the site as a National Historical Park—the last being, in fact, one of two professed goals;

The other aim for presenting Ayutthaya here is directed to students of Siamese history, sociology, urban hydraulics, urbanism, urban geography, etc., and especially, those engaged in the particular case-study of Ayutthaya.3

Nothing in the Thai section deserves further notice here, and though the English portion of the text merely alludes to its contents, this is sufficient. A 'map' supplement together with the 'Notes and references to plates' included in the English section 'probably constitute the most complete working material up to date'4—an invaluable compilation.

Among these plates is one indicating the evolution of major Ayutthayan waterways; here faithfully reproduced5 in order that the difference between Nai Jumsai's conjecture and my own—here diagrammed from the discussion in 'Krung Kao . . .' pages 86-90—may be made clear; particularly in that there appears to be no reason to alter my original argument. Nai Jumsai's reasoning, while discernible from the diagram, is perhaps more readily grasped from the following:

The geographical advantage was inherent in the given ox-bow as formed by the Pasak river . . . The city could be quickly defined, defended, serviced and drained by

3 Nai Sumet Jumsai Na Ayutya, 'นิยามชื่อ พระนคร 1350-1767' ('Ayutthaya A.D. 1350-1767') op. cit., p. 38.
4 Ibid.
5 An 'Exposition Ayutth'ya', held by Nai Jumsai at the Alliance Française, Centre Cultural in Bangkok during November 1965 included a blown-up reproduction of this plate. Oddly, it was shown lacking unequivocal identification of the ox-bow as being formed by the Pasak, without indication of the Chao Phraya's location east of the ox-bow, and minus the '1st' in '1st moat'—the very argument at which I balk.
the simple method of completing the ox-bow with a canal or moat joining its narrower part and rendering it thereby into an island.\(^6\)

Chao Phya river at first ran east of the ox-bow but was joined on to the latter by means of a canal during the early period of Ayutya well after Utong's reign.\(^7\)

Phya Boran's foot-note 2 discounts any other first moat than ขมิ้นิ which is the present channel of the Pasak river.\(^8\)

Thus Nai Jumsai's argument considers neither the 'exterior moat . . . in addition to the already existing moat'\(^9\) dug about 1550 nor that the eastern wall was 'pulled down and re-erected near the river bank'\(^10\) in 1580, points which profoundly influence my conjecture. Again, unfortunately, the source from which was derived information of the Chao Phraya's former course east of the ox-bow is not indicated and

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\(^6\) Nai Sumet Jumsai Na Ayutya, 'ภูมิศาสตร์ จิตร ภูมิ สมัย ตำแหน่งหัวเมือง' ('Ayutthaya A.D. 1350-1767') *op. cit.*, p. 38.

\(^7\) Ibid., p. 41.

\(^8\) Ibid. But Nai Jumsai includes also the following possibilities gathered 'From a conversation with Phya Anuman Rajadhon':

1. ขมิ้นิ or its traces might have existed before as a moat or canal to the city of Ayotya (11th century) immediately to its eastern side, having in mind that Ayotya was an outpost for Louvo. it[sic] was possible that ขมิ้นิ also acted as the by-pass canal for the Lopburi-Pasak ox-bow to shorten the distance from the Gulf up to Louvo (Lopburi) in which case Ayotya would have also been a garrison town guarding this important by-pass canal, much in the same way as the citadel of Bangkok which in turn guarded the by-pass canal for Ayutya.

2. That Phya Utong constructed (or reconditioned) ขมิ้นิ in order to separate the old town of Ayotya from his newly founded city of Ayutya, apart from its being merely a moat.

Note that if the 'moat or canal to the city of Ayotya . . . [was] immediately to its eastern [my italics] side' than no amount of construction or reconstruction would enable a separation of Ayotya from Ayutya.


my research has not disclosed it. Phya Boran, of course, has the ‘former’ Chao Phraya forming the ox-bow\(^{11}\) and H.R.H. Prince Damrong has the Chao Phraya to the south and west, the Pasak to the east and the Lopburi to the north—the latter streams being connected, subsequently, by a short canal rendered the ‘peninsula’ an island (this argument is depicted on figure 1).\(^{12}\) Since Nai Jumsai is well acquainted with Phya Boran’s work and, in all likelihood, with that of Prince Damrong, this siting of the river must spring from an unimpeachable source. However, it appears that only a change of name could be involved (though that Nai Jumsai has the Chao Phraya joined by a canal to the ox-bow at a later date would argue against his holding this view): an original location east of the ox-bow would behead the so-called original Chao Phraya making it an unlikely candidate for receipt of so auspicious a title, and the wholesale movement of the Chao Phraya to its present course would require an east-west sidling through at least two major stream channels. My basic reasons for questioning the contention that the present Pasak channel was the former 1st moat are, I think, already clear and will be augmented presently.\(^{13}\) Here, however, I would introduce an argument used by Nai Jumsai (gleaned from Groslier) to account for the innumerable parallel east-west canal traces at Ayutthaya, that ‘it was easier in the days when dredging could not be done, to dig a new channel rather than trying to deepen the old one’.\(^{14}\) Though I think this doubtful-

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11 See Phya Boranrajadhanin, พระสุธิวงศ์กรุงศรี (Annals: A Compilation) part 63, 1936, Fine Arts Department, footnote 2.

12 See Damrong, H.R.H. Prince, เทวทัศน์ทางประวัติศาสตร์ และวรรณกรรมของกรุงศรีนครistical (Tour by Railroad and information about Nakorn Ratchasima) in ประวัติศาสตร์ ได้แก่ พระราชาจุฬาลงกรณ์ จำลองครั้งที่ ซุป ner พระราชาจุฬาลงกรณ์ ผู้สืบสานพระราช禀 (แสง อยุธยา) ณ เมรุสันนิธิ์สุข จังหวัดนครราชสีมา วันที่ 22 เมษายน 2505 ที่ ๒-๑ (Cremation Memento for Amatri Phra-Pol-Rat-Bamrung (Saeng Utainsut) at Samanmitr Crematorium; Nakorn Ratchasima, 21 April 1962, pp. 9-12); or an English version: Ayudhaya, Guide Book to the Chief Monuments of Bangkok, Bang Pa-In, Ayudhaya and Lopburi with an Introduction on Thai History and Religion, The Bangkok Time Press, Ltd., August 1930, pp 27-30.

13 The argument may be found on pages 88-90 of ‘Krung Kao...’, op. cit.

14 Nai Sumet Jumsai Na Ayutya, ‘Some Comparative Aspects...’, op. cit.
more particularly in that the area experiences a marked dry period, accepting this as true may we not question the widening (to ten wa) and deepening (to three wa) of the 'Pasak' 1st moat during the reign of King Maha T'ammaraja (1569-90)\(^{15}\)-particularly in that the eastern wall was 'pulled down and re-erected near the river [my italics] bank'\(^{16}\) at this time?

The geomantic principle in the siting of the Royal Palace\(^{17}\) is wholly discounted in 'Some Comparative Aspects of Angkor Thom and Ayutthaya', in which it is proposed to introduce the 'problem of water as a sculptural medium to urbanism and to examine...the two extremely interesting plans and systems of Angkor Thom and Ayutthaya'. Groslier is relied upon for Angkor Thom; personal research for Ayutthaya. Here, we need briefly consider only the pertinent portion of Nai Jumsai's general conclusion that at Ayutthaya axiality was 'incidental' to an overall informality\(^{18}\) while Angkor was 'a definite axial scheme'. Now, in truth, much hinges on the position of the original พระเมรุ. For, in placing this moat at the present Pasak channel, Nai Jumsai's argument, which sees no design in the siting of the Royal Palace, in fact, it is stated flatly that 'the Royal Palace was not intended to be the city centre'\(^{19}\), follows quite naturally. In

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15 See Phya Boranrajadhanin, *op. cit.*, footnote 2.
16 Frankfurter, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
18 Here, Nai Jumsai confusedly holds that 'the idea of a definite centre for an amoeboid form is hardly valid and as in the amoeba, the centre or nucleus is necessarily one which is in a constant movement and has flexibility for its positioning'.
19 The reason for the 'incidental' order present is laid, simply, to the fact that 'a conglomeration of up to one million inhabitants needed to be organized and coordinated into some social, spiritual and physical frame work'. That Ayutthaya, generously delimited, ever held even a half-million inhabitants is doubtful and that but a small proportion of the total population actually occupied the 'ordered' area would seem to argue against 'needs of the people' as good cause for that amount of 'incidental' planning evident. No, though benefits obviously accrue to the people, I believe we must look to reasons other than these; to factors—such as those underlying the internal arrangement of wats and the ordering of the Palace area—which would necessitate planning regardless.
assuming that the palace was centrally sited (amongst other things) I am led to position the first moat west of the present bed of the Pasak.20

To my mind, the matter is in doubt and will remain so until further evidence allows a choice between, or perhaps rejects, these hypotheses. At present, however, I find Nai Jumsai's argument less satisfying than my own.21

Thinking to aid further constructive criticism, I wish to indicate several minor discrepancies in the published text of 'Krung Kao . . .' which might cause difficulty in interpretation: on page 83, substitute

20 In this regard, though acknowledging the 'convenience and practicality' of such a channel, Nai Jumsai rejects the possibility that the Makamriang canal could have been an early moat for

according to the Dutch map and painting dating back to the 1630's . . . it was a natural and meandering water way. This must have silted up at some point and was completely redug and straightened out by the 1680's as could of course be seen in the French plan of 1687 and in Dr. Kaempfer's plan of 1690.

Now, clearly, the Dutch view has not that 'exactness' necessary to such use (in fact, there is shown a canal which could be the Makam-riang) and it is folly to so base an unequivocal rejection.

21 I have experienced some difficulty in interpreting Nai Jumsai's English; apparently, he has also had some trouble in following mine and that of others as well: for example, footnote 20 to 'Some Comparative Aspects . . .' op. cit., reads

Phya Utong, founder of medieval Siam shifted his capital from Utong to Ayutya for the prime reason of strategic and therefore political factors, namely that the new capital would control the sea trade and communication-wise, the major rice growing area of the Central Delta and the northern states up to Chiangmai. Cf. Prince Damrong: 1959 : Siamese History Prior to the Founding of Ayutya, Selected Articles from the Siam Soc. Journal, vol 3. An epidemic outbreak at Utong was a secondary reason as held by Dr. Sternstein. Op. Cit p. 85.

In fact, Damrong, sensibly, does not consider 'sea trade' in his brief remark in this regard and I do not 'hold' the traditional reason for the move from U Thong—an 'epidemic outbreak'—a secondary cause. Nai Jumsai's gross misrepresentation, of my argument is immediately clear from a reading of Krung Kao . . . ' op. cit., p. 86.
site' for 'side' in line three; on page 92, insert ‘well as’ between lines nine and ten; on page 94, insert ‘Kingdom, and the seat of the’ between lines three and four; on page 99, substitute ‘straitned’ for ‘strained’ in line six from the foot; on page 106, close parenthesis after ‘copper’ in line sixteen of the paragraph; on page 108, substitute ‘of’ for ‘or’ in line ten of the quote; on page 110, delete ‘both’ in line three from the foot; and on page 111, insert ‘coast’ between ‘east’ and ‘at’ in line five from the foot.
A NOTE ON TAMIL RELATIONS WITH SOUTH THAILAND AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF PTOLEMY'S TACOLA

by
J.J. Boeles

Western historians have warned time and again against an exaggerated view of early Indian influence in the Far East. They make their point by reminding us that none of the countries in this area have ever been under colonial rule by any Indian Power;¹ that each of the countries in the Far East has developed its own identity whilst incorporating outside influences compatible with its national character. In this light, let us briefly discuss—as have many before us, an aspect of Tamil relations with South Thailand. The epigraphical evidence available consists of two Tamil stone inscriptions: one found in district Takuapa, province Phangnga, on the west coast of peninsular Thailand: the other at Vat Mahādhātū in the town of Nakorn Srithamarāj (Ligor) on the east coast of peninsular Thailand. Both inscriptions have been published by Coedès² who says that the only document on the Malay Peninsula which may be attributable to the first half of the ninth century is the Tamil stone inscription found at Takuapa. This mentions that a tank or pond named Avaninārāyanam, dug by the chief of Naṅgūr, was placed under the protection of the members of the Manigrāman, residing in the military camp. Coedès points out that Avaninārāyaṇa, being a surname of the Pallava King Nandivarman III who reigned from A.D. 826 to 849, may indicate an approximate date for the inscription³—one of the few documents found

¹ Coedès, G., Les peuples de la péninsule indochinoise, Paris 1962, p. 54.
² Coedès, G., Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam, IIe Partie, 1961, stone inscriptions XXVI and XXIX. According to Prof. Hultzsch, translator of inscription XXVI, the language is Tamil and the script Tamil of an archaic type. The language of the second face of Inscription XXIX is also Tamil as is the script, though of a later date than that of Inscription XXVI—possibly Chola period.
outside India, in a vernacular of that country. Unfortunately, the Tamil inscription from Wat Mahādhātu, dating from the Chola dynasty, is too damaged to yield much information.

The site of the discovery of the Tamil inscription at Khau Brah Nārāyana close to Takuapa (takua = lead and formerly also tin; pā = jungle, forest), yielded also three damaged stone sculptures: a standing four-armed Hindu deity, which, as Coedès suggests, could possibly represent Śiva, and a male and female deity. These are illustrated by le May in his Buddhist Art in Siam (figures 41 and 42). The style of the figures being clearly South Indian, more specifically Pallava, these could well date from the same period as the Tamil inscription found nearby. In fact, we may even speak of a Tamil influence in the Pallava style of these three almost life-size stone sculptures now partially covered by a tree. Obviously no longer in situ, the original site of the figures and the inscription has not been established with certainty.

The implications of the inscription and of its position relative to the related Pallava-style sculptures at Takuapa, has been most recently discussed by Alastair Lamb. Following a visit to the site he proposes that the Tamil inscription and the three stone figures were removed from an original location on the plain called Tung Tük (tung = plain, tük = stone [brick] building) on Kakao Island at the mouth of the Takuapa River. Further, from surface finds at Tung

5 A third Tamil inscription known in the Far East, is that of Lobu Tuwa in Sumatra which dates from A.D. 1088. See Krom, N.J., Hindoe Javansche Geschiedenis, The Hague 1931, p. 304.
6 For the story of the discovery of the three stone figures and the Tamil inscription, see Bourke, W.W., 'Some Archaeological Notes on Monthon Puket', Journal of the Siam Society vol 2, 1905, pp. 55-57 with facsimile of a portion of the inscription.
8 Prof. Lamb uses the name 'Kakao Island'. Apparently this is meant to be the name of the island Koh Ko Kao (Koh Ko Kao) in which Tung Tük is situated.
Tük, Lamb is led to believe that this could have been the site of 'an entrepôt situated at the mid-point of the sea routes between the ports of the Indian Ocean and those of the Chinese Seas.'\(^9\) This is an important conclusion; however, it is one long since arrived at. In 1935, F.H. Giles (Phya Indra Montri), late President of the Siam Society, from information supplied by Scott, an eyewitness, remarked that 'it seems quite clear that Tung Tük was a great emporium or mart where traders met, and it is probable that the gold dust he [Scott] refers to as having been found in the sand amongst the ruins was either an article of trade or the currency used.'\(^10\) Giles also indicates why the watershed between the Takuapa and Menam Luang rivers was of importance in establishing an overland route across the peninsula from Takuapa to a site on the Bay of Bandon close to the ancient town of Jaiyā which may have been a centre in the maritime Śrīvijaya Empire.\(^11\)

The gold dust of Takuapa brings to mind the considerable number of gold ornaments which have been excavated from the Funan site at Oc-Eo in the region of the delta of the Mekong; more particularly in that the beads associated with the Funan civilisation have also been found at Tung Tük. Though Lamb’s surface finds suggest a seventh to tenth century civilisation at Tung Tük,\(^12\) we are reluc-

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9 Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 82. Trade routes crossing the Peninsula are discussed by Coedes, *Les États... op. cit.*, p. 60.

10 See ‘Remarks on the Land Routes across the Malay Peninsula,’ *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol 28, 1935, pp. 79-84. In Mr. Scott’s relevant letter, dated 4th January 1934 and included in *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84 it is stated ‘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’. Mr. Scott, a tin miner, makes it clear that this gold must have been brought to the site by man.

11 This route has been explored by H.G. Quaritch Wales, see his ‘A Newly Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion,’ *Indian Art and Letters*, vol 9 no 1, 1935 and the romantic *Towards Angkor*, in the *footsteps of the Indian Invaders*, 1937. See Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82 regarding the possibility of a west-east route across the peninsula between Śrīvijaya on Sumatra and Nakorn Thom, a centre in the Khmer Kingdom, via Śri Mahaphotī in Thailand.

12 Lamb, *op. cit.* p. 82.
A section of *INDIA EXTRA GANGEM* from Ptolemy's woodcut map, circa A.D. 1541
| T A B V I A V N D E-
| cima Asiae |
| continet Indiam extra Gangem, et |
| Sinarum regionem. |

| S I A tabula undecima |
| continet Indiam extra Gangem, & Sinas. |
| Parallelipipeds medius sene |
| ex Indiam rationem habet |
| quam meridianus. |

| Circumferitur aure tabula |
| Ab ortu terra incognita. |
| A meridiesius magni, & Gangeticus, qui |
| in pelago sunt incundo. |
| Ab occidente India intra Gangem, |
| A septentrionibus parte Saccarum, & Scy- |
| thia extra Imaim monte, atque Serica. |

| Insigni velis cubiculis Indiae extra Ganges. |
| Tacola maximam diem habet horarum equi |
| noctialium 12, 4. Et distat ab Alexandria |
| oribus ortu ho. 6, 4. Hic quoq; fol bis in |
| anno sit supra uesticem, distans a tropico |
| astro ab uram parte gr. 79 1. |

| Zaha maximam diem habet hor. 12, 4, & |
| aliquid plus. Distat ab Alexandria oribus |
| orum hor. 7 1. Hic quoq; fol bis in anno |
| sit supra uesticem, distans a tropico astro |
| ab uram parti gradibus 78 4. |

| Tofala maximam diem habet hor. 12, 4. |
| Et distat ab Alexandria oribus ortu ho. 6, 4. |
| Hic autem sol semel in anno sit supra uesti- |
| cem in ipso tropico aestiue. |

| Tiguma maximam diem habet hor. 13 3, 4. |
| Et distat ab Alexandria oribus ortu ho. 6, 4. |
| Hic quoq; fol bis in anno sit supra uesti- |
| cem, distans a tropico astro ab uram parti |
| gradibus 78 4. |

| Trilingu maximam diem habet hor. 13, 11, 18 |
| Et distat ab Alexandria oribus ortu ho. 6, 4. |
| Hic quoq; fol bis in anno sit supra uesticem, |
| distans a tropico astro ab uram parti gradibus 79, 4. |

| Vndecima Asia tabula continet a parti |
| bus 136. aut per fontes Diamonis flum- |
|inis, qui Gangi admissentur 134, 1. usq; |
| ad partes 186. Et est Longitudinis partis |
| aut 44. aut 46. 4. Latitudo ab aequino |
| cial ad Borcam partibus 37. Ab 30aut |
| notialibus ad asprom 84, vel 9. Fiteq; |
| Latitudo 45 4, aut 46. 25 |

Ptolemy's reference to Tacola and Cattigara, in Latin, on back of map, circa A.D. 1541
BOOK REVIEWS


In a refreshingly strong, straightforward fashion, unhoped for in such things, the official record of King Mongkut's significant reign-commissioned by King Chulalongkorn—is now made available to the West. I admit to having read it through as an entertainment; I will, as, indeed, will all interested Western scholars, gratefully lean upon the wealth of critical information contained in future—information on audiences, ceremonials, royal tours, public works, treaties with foreign countries and the like. Volume One covers the first decade of the Fourth Reign; Volume Two, the remaining seven years. Volume Three: Notes, containing 'footnotes by the Editor of the Thai Text as well as detailed annotations and commentary on the text by the translator', is to appear shortly. Our debt must become incalculable as our appreciation is heightened; for, in truth, a translation cannot be considered apart from the translator.


'If you are seeking for a serious review of Siamese history, politics, social customs, religion, folklore, or anything else, you will not find it in the following pages. This book contains, in fact, no information which is likely to be of practical use to anybody.'

Having thus freed himself from the rigor of a scholarly utterance, and, incidentally, reassured the reader, Mr. Wood proceeds to a thoroughly delightful series of short-short stories based, for the most part, upon his experiences. However, as a student of things Siamese for sixty-nine years must, he fails to offer nothing of practical value. Mr. Wood himself admits to a 'personal experience of Siamese Courts and justice [which] greatly exceeds that of any other Consular Officer either before or since ...' and we may presume that his
knowledge of Consular Courts and justice is similarly unrivaled. Certainly the several chapters devoted to the law retain an authoritative presence despite the ‘heightening’ of events. Again, the several chapters concerned with spirits of different species, clearly evidencing an enviable store of information in this sphere, will undoubtedly be culled by future generations of social scientists. (Here, may I submit the following: Mr. Wood’s hesitancy in accepting the so-called ‘water elephant’—chang nam of northern Thailand or ye thin of Burma, described under ‘Oddities’, as a bona fide supernatural being appears well-founded. For while ‘a tiny beast about as big as a rat... formed exactly like an elephant, trunk, tusks and all’ has not yet been reported, a tiny beast about as big as a rabbit—the hyrax—is, strangely enough, the closest living relative of the largest of land animals; bearing immediate affiliations, upon examination, in the shape of the skull and in the two miniature tusks which serve as front teeth.) And who cannot but learn of elephants from one who has ‘been for many years in charge of a good number of elephants, and had to do with dozens of others’, of beetle fighting from one who has ‘kept a stable of five rhinoceros beetles, all tethered to sticks of sugar cane’, and of jails from one who has ‘spent three years and three months in the lock-up’?

No, there is much of value here. And if you are seeking insight into Siamese history, politics, social customs, religion, folklore, or anything else, you will find Mr. Wood a Consul in Paradise Extraordinaire.


But for the stong philosophical bias, Why Buddha Smiles would be a few hours pleasant diversion with Jørgen Bisch in Burma (and Bangkok and Angkor) in search of ‘giraffe women’—camera-shy Padaungs whose necks are purposely elongated through encircling copper spirals; fifty-one brilliant colour plates include these wonderous subjects.

Strangely, despite a ‘lightening course in Buddhism’ (the author, in fact, is initiated into the monkhood; unfortunately, the chronicle
of this episode is remarkably sterile) or, indeed, perhaps because of it, Jørgen is compelled to compare East and West and, unsurprisingly, finds the latter wanting:

...when you hear the Burmese laugh and see their happy smiles—and then compare these with the love of money in the western world, with the competition for social prestige, a radio, a television set and other brain-washing machines, and when you think of the mental pressure brought about by the western way of life, of the surliness, bad nerves, high blood pressure, gastric ulcers and heart disease, you may well wonder whether the Burmese, without even a shirt to their backs, are not happier than we are.

...I was talking about the smiling friendliness I had met everywhere in Burma.

"What are people like in other countries?"...

"It is difficult to generalise, but when I have asked the way in New York the man I have asked has often rushed away, almost offended that I should delay his way of living! In Africa, on the other hand, I have always been able to get an answer, but have several times been put on the wrong road, because a negro would rather give wrong information than acknowledge his ignorance. In Hong Kong I have been driven half-way round the town so that the taxi-meter should clock up the greatest possible figure, and in Cairo I have been asked an exorbitant price for assistance..."

"And in your own country?"...

"Oh, yes, in Denmark it is an article of faith that we are the best and the nicest and most helpful people in the whole world, but I am afraid that we could nevertheless learn an awful lot from the Burmese."

In the West, Christianity seems to be stifled by those very worldly things against which it is always preaching. But in the East, a man's ambitions are not set so much on accumulating wealth but rather on bringing the inner life into a kind of philosophical harmony with the outside world.

...that Buddhism is primarily a philosophy of life is surely one of the reasons why it has never produced fanatics, has never started a religious war and has only sent forth a very small number of missionaries. It would not dream of disseminating the thoughts of Buddha by force and the sword,
and still less of buying 'souls' with knives, beads and brilliantly coloured cottons, as Christian missionaries have done for centuries.

The more I learned about Buddhism the more it seemed to me that there was a place for its ideas in the cynical materialism of the western world, to combat our worst evils: competition for social prestige, the economic rat-race, the political press and all the stress that afflicts the modern world. If Buddhism were introduced everywhere war would be theoretically impossible.

...wherever the Buddhist philosophy prevails you never see the cruelty to animals which is so common in many other parts of the world.

"We under-developed countries are very behindhand in comparison with you," he said.

"Yes, but you have the spiritual values. You have time to enjoy your family, or a sunset, time to be happy and to laugh and smile."

"But we are poor,...

"No, you are rich,... "For you can afford to ignore the rat race. In our Western world almost everything is measured in terms of money, and so we have less interest in the spiritual values, nor have we time to devote to them. I believe that we are under-developed, and that we have a lot to learn from you.

It is tempting to account for such naivety through analogy with the week-end guest who, being asked to sample the host family's life without involvement, finds it a beautiful union in complete happiness. Indeed, who would fail to find good in such a situation; more particularly when the invitation was advanced, no doubt, because of an obvious compatibility? Or, again, perhaps these simplicities represent recollections of early childhood; remembrances of things past when the world was a better place because we weren't actually in it? Certainly when speaking of Bangkok (to which place Jørgen worked passage when but sixteen) the author is revelling in the good old days when 'the bare feet of...rickshaw coolies smacked against the road,' when 'girls collected around... communal water-taps in the streets, and the old petrol-cans, carried on yokes over their shoulders,
sounded like gongs as they clanked against each other' and 'Behind... bamboo walls and curtains Siamese families were lighting... carbide lamps and sitting around chewing betel... men were playing cards and... women were embroidering... fine silken fabrics'. In truth, much has passed, but in recognizing this we are not obligated to think only well of that which has gone before, and we must not perpetuate a strangely remembered past—a past from whose realities we are safely withdrawn; as safely withdrawn, indeed, as is a week-end guest. But Jørgen Bisch has traveled extensively in Africa, Asia and South America since the age of sixteen; has taught, imported timber, dug for gold, been a tailor's agent and a mechanic as well as a photographer and writer; has fought with an anaconda, climbed an erupting volcano and consorted with head-hunters—in short it is difficult to see how he could not get involved; perhaps, then, the illusion I speak of is reality.

Why does Buddha smile?

He is content.

*Larry Sternstein*
RECENT SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS


This is a cremation memento dedicated by Mrs. Nitya Agrabandhu to her father, Luang Sārakīč-ぴけān, to whom she wrote a touching message.

Although much has been said about the great poet, Bhū, and much of his poetry has been published from time to time, the present Compendium is by no means superfluous. It has been well planned and well edited. The volume consists of a biography written by Prince Damroŋ quite a few years ago but still the authoritative work; a critical examination of the authorship of the Farewell Poem of Praiën Donray, hitherto considered an integral part of Bhū's repertoire but now thought by Dr. Dhanit Yūpo to have been written by a contemporary, Nai Mī; and, lastly, the bulk of the poet's work consisting of nine Farewell Poems which form the main subject of the Compendium.

Bhū's popularity as a poet is too well known to need further comment here. His style was simple and graphic; his rhyming was good; and his diction easy and sonant though often broad and lacking in refinement. He has been compared to Shakespeare by way of raising him to the premier place in the Siamese poetical world. It is a bit difficult to agree to such honouring, for there is the author of Inao, whom Bhū in fact served as Private Secretary and for whom the poet expressed unreserved devotion and appreciation, and Rama II excelled as much in eloquent word-pictures, was equally the master of presenting patrician as well as plebeian scenes of drama, was unequalled in the portrayal of human sentiment and was sharp in his refined repartee. Modern readers no doubt are unattracted by Rama II's writing because it takes for granted the polygamous society of those old days when it was not illegal nor immoral as now. And yet the very same apostles of morality think nothing of the irregular relationship of the sexes so delighted in by Sunthorn Bhū, who can almost
be said to have anticipated modern moral standards. Both poets wrote excellent verses which were rhythmic and eloquent; both were gifted with a high sense of humour; but Bhū was broad and often lewd even by old standards. To the argument that writers of plebeian birth should be excused for their lack of refinement, it might be said that Bhū's contemporary, Nai Mi, did not have to resort to such broad language to gain poetical stature. The latter's eloquence is admitted by Dhanit Yūpo himself in his critical comments, and his work, in fact, was good enough to have been believed to be that of Bhū himself.

347. Rājanītī, राजनीति attributed to the Brahmans Anantaṇān and Ganāmisaka, in Pāli verse, 2509, pp. 47 octo.

This publication was sponsored by the heirs of the late Lt.-Gen. Prayū Śrisorārājahākdī at the cremation of whose remains it was distributed as a memento.

The Brahmans to whom this old work on polity was attributed were said to have written several other unnamed Pāli treatises in verse. The Pāli here does not seem to be older than the legal treatises of King Dhammačedi of Burma and may have been written about that time.

According to Tōŋ Hoŋsladārom, a parien and once owner of the Pračand Press, Bangkok, the text used for the edition under review was found at Wat Rājābūrṇa, originally transcribed by him from the Khom into Siamese script and published twice, once at an unspecified date and again in 2470. On the later occasion the text was carefully examined and made consonant with those from Ceylon and Burma by Kasem Buñšri, also a parien and incidentally a former Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Siamese translation here published is by Mr. Hoŋsladārom.

The Rājanītī consists of 153 Pāli stanzas dealing with the duties and ideals of kingship. There is an interesting alliterated stanza (no 24) which runs:

Nonnānunnonānānuno nānānunnonānunununo
Nanunannonnonānunānā nanennonanonunānānāna.
The translator's Siamese version may be rendered in English thus:

Overwhelming one of lower worth is not praiseworthy
nor is overwhelming one of lesser prowess a manly act;
Winning over one of stronger prowess is good;
but no feat is it to overwhelm a slave or one weaker.

The stanza reminds one of the oft-quoted Sanskrit alliteration from Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (15th canto):

Na nonanunno nunnono ṅāṅṅā ṅāṅṅāṅṅaṅṅa ṅanu
Nunno 'nunno nanunneno ṅāṅṅaṅṅa ṅununannanuṭ.

Compared to the *Rājasavanī* of Wījčand, analysed by Finot in his *Littérature laotienne*, also a treatise on polity, the work under review is more limited in scope, for it deals with only the duties and ideals of a king whereas the other touches on general aspects of polity according to old traditions. The Siamese work is attributed to two Brahmanas, that from Wījčand has no allusion to authorship; doubtless both were inspired by earlier works of Indian origin.

348. Rāma I, H.M. King: *The Dance-Drama of Unaruth* บุษบกภาน
เร่อนแสดง การรำราขันธ์ Prachand Press, Bangkok, 2508, pp. 266 octo.

The cremation of the remains of the late Prince Chatramongol Sonakul at Wat Debasirindra last December was the occasion for the publication of the last of the four dance-dramas, thereby forming a phalanx of the dramatic restoration of that sovereign. Of these four classics the chief was undoubtedly the *Rāmakien*, which, in spite of its mediocre rhetoric, is acknowledged to be the standard version of the story and has exerted considerable influence on later literature. It has been published several times, the latest being the edition of the Teachers' Association in four large-sized volumes which was reviewed in JSS XLI, part 1, 1953 (Recent Siamese Publication no. 118). The later edition in the *Klāṇwityā* series in 1963, being merely a reproduction, has not been reviewed. King Rāma I has also been accredited with writing a dance-drama of *Inao*, but as it was incomplete and could not rank in point of literary merit with the later version of King Rāma II, it never received much public attention. The King's
third dance-drama, the *Dālay*, was first reviewed in *JSS XLV* 2 (Recent Siamese Publication no. 186). The story was critically analysed in *JSS XLIII*, 2, p. 113. With the *Unaruth* the cycle is complete.

In the volume under review there is the usual biography of the deceased to whom his widow, Her Royal Highness Princess Churairatna, dedicates the memento. He was educated for the military in Harrow and Sandhurst; and served his King and country up to the age of forty-six when he was retired in 1932 with most of the other members of the Royal Family who were of general's rank. Devoted to his family, he spent the remaining thirty-odd years of his life educating his four children at home as well as in England.

In the introductory section Dr. Dhanit Yūpo, the Director-General of the Fine Arts Department, critically examines the venue and character of the romance. The learned doctor points out that the story, obviously taken out of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, at first appeared as the *Aniruddha in chanda* which dates from Ayudhya times. It formed again, in the first reign of the Bangkok regime, a dance-drama of *Unaruth*. The names of the characters in the two versions differ: the earlier conforming closely to the original Sanskrit; the latter deviating therefrom considerably. The story however does not vary overmuch. In the dance-drama under review the hero's name has been transformed from Aniruddha to Unaruth; the confidante Citralekhā in the *Purāṇa* becomes Pičitralekhā in the poem *Aniruddha* of Ayudhya and Śubhalakshma in the dance-drama of King Rāma I; King Bāna of Śonitapura in the *Purāṇa* is King Pān of Ratana in the dance-drama; but the name of the heroine remains practically unchanged (*Uṣhas-Uṣā*). The state to which the hero belongs, given in the *Purāṇa* as Dyārakā, becomes the etymologically impossible Narojkā.

The plot of King Rāma I's dance-drama commences with the libertine King Pān of Ratana assuming the form of Indra the Lord of Heaven and seducing his Queen Sučitrā. The latter discovers the masquerade and is disconsolate. She leaves heaven and descends to earth where she is adopted by a hermit. Meanwhile in the state of Narojkā, Vishnu assumes the incarnation of Krishna who had a son
called Kraisut, the Pradyumna of the Indian classics, who has a son named Unaruth.

The plot develops on almost identical lines with the Ayudhyan Poem of Aniruddha. Unaruth, on an excursion in the forest, loses his way and falls asleep upon exhaustion under a venerable Banyan tree. The sylvan god of the Banyan, pitying the youth, transports him, under a trance, to the chambers of the beautiful Usā in Ratana who falls in love with him. The prince, however, is brought back by the god to his tree in the morning. The two lovers are distraught at their sudden separation, and Usā commissions her confidante, Subhalakshana, to search for her unknown lover. The confidante, whose name in every version suggests that of an artist, succeeds in bringing back a number of drawings of young noblemen from all quarters of the earth and even the heavens. Usā has no difficulty in recognising the likeness of her lover who turns out to be none other than Unaruth of Narokā. Subhalakshana now undertakes a further commission to bring him to the princess’s chambers. Here our part of the story ends.

According to Dr. Dhanit Yūpo, the drama must have been written before the Rāmāyana or Inao of the same reign. Its identity as a work from the pen of Rāma I is proved by the existence of a ban phnēk, a preface which is invariably attached to all of the writings of that sovereign. The preface gives the date of the conclusion as Wednesday the third of the waxing moon of the first month of the year of the goat, having taken the royal author 5 months and 10 days to consummate. This has been calculated to correspond to the 12 December B.E. 2330 (1788 Christian Era).

349. The Holy Bhagavadgītā คำรีมุกุลกวิภิกา Sanskrit text in Siamese characters with a Siamese translation by Dr. Sēŋ Manawiūn and an introduction by the Association of Social Sciences, which includes the preface to the first printing by the late Swāmi Satyānanda Puri, Social Sciences Association Press, Bangkok, 2509, pp. 223 octo.

Those responsible for this publication are to be congratulated for undertaking to make accessible to the Siamese public the great
philosophical poem of India. The reviewer, long champion of Oriental studies—Chinese and Indic—as being important to the study of the development of Siamese language and literature, cannot but declare his enthusiasm for such endeavour.

A Siamese translation of the Bhagavadgītā was made by Dr. Manawiūn and published as long ago as 1935. It was later touched up by C. Tōnpasroeth in conjunction with the translator and published in part by the Mahācālaloṅkorn University. The translation in the present work has been carefully revised and concorded by the Editorial Staff of the Social Sciences Association.

An interesting feature is the inclusion of Swāmi Satyānand Puri’s preface to the earlier work which deals, in a scholarly manner with the age of the Bhagavadgītā. Western scholars, in Puri’s opinion, were inclined to attribute it to the Buddhist period of Indian history, in order to make it derivative from Greek thought and culture—proving their contention by the occurrence of the technical term nirvāṇa. Puri rightly contended that the term was used in the Upanishads which pre-dates Buddhism, basing his argument in philosophy, political history and linguistics. In any case, he concluded, Siam and India had a common cultural origin though Siam was only a part heir.


To one belonging to the present generation—in fact to any generation—the name of this work does not convey much meaning. The Fine Arts Department describe it on the frontispiece as Rūay Somdeč Praboromasop, adding to this the explanation that it is a record of a royal cremation in the days of the former capital, published with King Chulāloṅkorn’s comments. Then comes the preface, signed by the Department, from which we learn that the manuscript was first discovered in the archives of the Royal Scribes Department and was published for preservation as an historical document in the periodical Tēvābhīd (vol X no 60, Ratnakosind Era 129). It was republished five years later with Prince Damroj’s introduction in dedication to
Prayā Dvārāvadi, the Honorary Governor of Ayudhya. It is interesting to note that the Fine Arts Department quotes Prince Damroj's introduction in explaining that the original manuscript bore the name *A Record of the Somdeś Praboromaśop* but that scholars were in the habit of calling it shortly *Somdeś Praboromaśop*. For present readers the original title would convey more meaning, since the honorific *somdeś* is now confined to personalities. The old Ayudhya record seems to use *somdeś* to mean *exalted*, a term not necessarily confined as now to personalities. Prince Damroj explains further that the cremation recorded was that of the remains of Her Royal Highness Kromaluan Yodhadeb; a daughter of King Narai who married his successor Petrajī, was exalted to the rank of the King's left consort, and bore a son, Trasnoy, of whom the record notes only his reaching maturity. (Sorasakdi, who was known to be a cruel man, used a stratagem to kill off the elder son of his stepfather and many other courtiers but seems to have tolerated this young prince). The Princess, Kromaluan Yodhadeb, on becoming a widow, retired to the south bank of the river and, assuming the robes of a nun, built a house near Wat Pūththaiswan where she lived and brought Trasnoy to manhood.

Next comes the usual biography of the deceased in whose honour the publication was issued.

Then follows an historical note by King Chulalokkorn which sums up the political intrigue and internecine strife which drained considerable Ayudhyan manhood and, thereby, weakened the capacity to govern for a period of 90 years. The note does not seem to form part of His Majesty's commentary on the *Record* under review for it is published apart from the latter and bears the date of November 1902. Whatever its origins it is most useful for an understanding of the successive murders and intrigues which historians are inclined—and quite rightly—to consider as the cause of the fall of Ayudhya in 1767.

Lastly come the records of two cremations and a detailed commentary on these by King Chulalokkorn. The first record bearing the date of the year of the ox, fifth of its decade, is extremely scanty and ends abruptly. King Chulalokkorn fixes this as the cremation of King Tāisra, to which history gives the same year. The description
The second cremation is described in greater detail. As to ceremonies there is not much that differs from present day practice, though details of the preparation for the cremation are minutely given, even to the fixing of curtains and the placing of decorations within the crematorium. The record refers to the lady as the Exalted (somm-deé) Nun (Pra Rüpcào). The King on learning of her death went down river to pay the customary respects to her remains, and had her body sealed in an urn and brought up river in formal procession to be placed in the audience hall of Çakravart in the front section of the Royal Palace. The customary ceremonies were presided over personally by His Majesty Boromakós. It is noteworthy that throughout the ceremonies preceding the actual cremation the King, who had not yet assumed residence in the Royal Palace, never stayed the night there even though he had to be on the scene almost at dawn on certain occasions. As the editor of the work under review points out, the civil war had but recently ended in his favour and he was perhaps not yet ready to trust himself to live in the Royal Palace—headquarters or the nephew who had disputed his succession.

The old records, unfortunately incomplete, must have been compiled by some one fully conversant with Court protocol for there is a wealth of detail even in such minor matters as the hanging of curtains and the serving of food to the monastic celebrants. The language of the document is archaic. The King is referred to as สมเด็จพระราชาธิราช, a term not often employed nowadays. The death of royalty is called a nippān, which term has since become obsolete. Many articles of the regalia and decoration are called the mahākathin, possibly from their primary use at a royal kathin presentation.

What presents most difficulty is the topography of the Royal Palace. The Çakravart Hall has now been fixed by King Chulalōn-korn, Prince Damroñ and Prayā Borān, who was for long Governor-General of the circle of Ayudhyā. The Pratinañ Benčaratna, whose
location has long puzzled historians has been identified with the Ṛtratīnāṇ Sūriyāmarind, the edifice nearest the river front north of the Palace. There is attached to the Record an old map still in good condition which has helped in these identifications.

The commentary of King Chulāloṅkorn, in which he was assisted by the two historians above named, is of great aid.

The Fine Arts Department, as editor, has added interesting footnotes. One tells us that some of the monks invited to take food at the crematorium, while eating their rice out of individual bowls, placed the condiments with which the rice was to be eaten in the covers, thereby doing away with the trays in use nowadays.

The work has not been too well edited. The summary, which King Chulāloṅkorn contributed, states that Kromaluāṇ Yodhādeb died in the year of the cock 1097, whereas that year was one of the rabbit. The Record states that the first cremation took place in the year of the ox, fifth of the decade. This was understood to have been the cremation of King Tāisra. History has Kromaluāṇ Yodhādeb dead two years later, this could be none other than the year of the rabbit.

351. Memento of Momluāṇ Sawdū Baryyobhasena อะตุระนัยสกุลบารยบุศยีโนฐานขณะพระยอภิเษกบารยบุศยีโนฐาน พระยอภิเสกบารยบุศยีโนฐาน Ṛtratīnāṇ Sūriyāmarind, the edifice nearest the river front north of the Palace. There is attached to the Record an old map still in good condition which has helped in these identifications.

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This unpretentious little booklet dedicated to his father by Sawdū Baryyobhasena, a Royal Household attendant, contains a great deal of material well chosen to perpetuate the good name of the line. Besides the usual biography of the deceased, a descendant of the fourth generation from the second reign Prince of the Palace to the Front, there is included no less than three interesting pieces of historical writing. First there is the Pathomawoŋś, an account of the antecedants of the ruling family of Čakri, written by King Moŋkut; secondly, an account of the anointing, as Prince of the Palace to the Front, of King Rāma II’s brother; and, finally, a broadcast by Momrājawoŋś Devādhirāj Mālākul concerning the ritual to be observed on the occasion of a royal birth.

The first piece is an authoritative account of the ancestor of the Čakri royal family, posthumously created Somdeē pra Pathom.
He served the Ayudhya régime and had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son cooperated closely with the King of Dhonburi in restoring Siamese independence after the Burmese conquest and became King Rāma I. The second son was his elder brother’s Prince of the Palace to the Front, being known previously as Čaoprayā Surasīh. The two daughters, older than the sons, actively assisted in reorganising the state. A third daughter, by another mother, became known as The Wat Pō Princess because she lived near that monastery. There was in addition a young son, by another mother, who was created Kromaluag Čakračesā by King Rāma I. The narrative goes on to enumerate the next generation in summary fashion.

The next section, an account of the anointing of the second Prince of the Palace to the Front—brother of Rāma II and confidant in statecraft and artistic creations, contains a wealth of information about ceremonial details. The second Prince of the Palace to the Front is, of course, ancestor to the Baryoñkasenā family to which the deceased belongs.

The final section consists of a recent broadcast by Momrājawōjs Devādhirāj Mālākul, formerly Master of Ceremonies of the Court, concerning the ceremonies attendant upon a royal birth.


Now that complete unpublished works are nearing exhaustion, panegyrics contributed by relatives and friends are often published as cremation mementos. Among the close circle of the family such works are undoubtedly well received; but to a wider public they are not so interesting and the memento is often discarded. The publication under review, though having the appearance of a panegyric, contains much that will interest the general reader. To begin with, there is an essay on Happiness by the Ven. Čra Dharmapidok of Samud Songrām, written in the classic style of dharma literature. Then follows an interesting article by Professor Sud Sēñwijian, Head of the Section of Anatomy in the University of Medicine. However, instead of treating an aspect of anatomy or medicine, the author speaks of
Kān̄chānabūrī’s Importance in Thai History. Starting with incidents from the romance of Khun Chāy Khun Êṭhēn, he brings us to the Second World War and the famous cemetery of those prisoners of war who worked on the Death Railway and the bridge over the River Kwai. The work of the Thai-Danish Expedition in discovering prehistoric remains all over the district is emphasized. That an anatomist has been able to present an account of this expedition convinces us that scientific work, whether to discover facts of prehistory or of natural science, lies along somewhat similar lines.

Another contribution, from Dr. Uay Ketusīh, Pharmacologist, is The Supreme Refuge. This refers, not to any aspect of pharmacology or physiology, but to the philosophy of Buddhism. It is a short and well-worded essay which can be read by all without boredom.

The last article, from a lawyer Dr. Karaiyawijian, Judge of the Chiangmai Court of Justice, is entitled The Law and Corruption. The subject deserves wide attention. The author sees corruption as a contagious disease in underdeveloped countries. The reviewer finds this difficult to digest. In days gone by when our nation was still ignorant of democracy and, for our modern progressives, less ‘civilised’, was there not less corruption than in the progressive times of today? Corruption was once something of which to be ashamed; is it now shameful to be corrupt?

The editor of the volume under review has got together a variety of interesting material; a collection that rises well above the usual volume of panegyrics and is certainly worthy of study.

353. Scientists of the Department of Mineral Resources: The Year’s Trip to Sukhodaya เขตห์ดอยสุก 2509, ill. w. maps, pp. 150 sexa.

This is the sixteenth in a series in which we have taken constant interest. Formerly called Books for Children, now entitled, more suitably, Books for the People these books are highly informative though written primarily for popular consumption. Former numbers of the series have been reviewed in JSS XLIX, 1 (A Tour of Wat Êṭhō); L, 1 (Pimai); L, 2 (Saiyok); LII, 1 (Ranoē); and LIII, 2 (The Wondrous Island of Gems).
The introduction to this volume on Sukhodaya evidences an imagination worthy of a writer who harbours not only a legitimate pride of birth and nationality but possesses an enthusiasm born of travel and knowledge.

"Standing on the ground of Wat Sapān-hin atop the hill of the Buddha's footprint, one could not help being struck with the clear view of the old capital to the east. Though Sukhodaya is now clothed with greenery, a vista of the capital as it might have been rises up into the mind's eye. From the thin smoke penetrating the tree-tops one could imagine a number of prāṇy and ṛedi mingled with spires of palaces and monasteries, softened by wafts of music and singing, of bells and gongs from afar; then arises a long procession of pilgrims stretching from the city gates to the hill upon which we stood. By a stretch of imagination the elephant of the King is seen trodding majestically its way surrounded by the cortège of guards and attendants with ladies of the court, all bent on coming to do homage to religion by paying reverence to the memory of our Lord the Buddha, personified by the dignified standing figure called the Atthāros Buddha. The noise of the royal progress comes nearer and nearer..... and then in a wink disappears altogether, leaving us ordinary mortals standing on a hill-top with its carpet of greenery and random wafts of smoke around the revered figure of the standing Atthāros.

Such indeed is the impermanence of appellation and form, nothing more than the sorrow of selflessness of existence. Similar was the fate of the old capital lying at the foot of our hill. That was Sukhodaya, which shot glamorously into being—only to disappear in a wink, never to be seen again in such an exalted state. Wherefore? The answer is Carelessness, a neglect to appreciate the ways of the world. It was the same with the ancient Thai who entered the Golden Peninsula. The error should have been learned and avoided; but again committed, cost the ruin of its successor, Ayudhya, the marvel of travellers from the west. One can but hope that the mistake has now been learned."
The introduction goes on to trace the history of the Thai in our migration southwards in some detail. It concludes:

"We could not remain bondsmen to others; it was not in our nature to submit that way..."

Though we would not care to vouch for the accuracy of all the historical data presented, particularly in view of recent research, it is yet impossible not to give credit for the sincere exhortation to our youth.

The tour commences by road from the capital of Bangkok. Just beyond Pyūhagiri, before crossing the river via the Dejātiwongs bridge to Nakon Sawan, the find some years ago of the fossilized bones of a hippopotamus is mentioned. The discovery seems to have led scientists to believe that in the long past these animals might have inhabited south Asia, later disappearing when the climate became too arid for them.

Highly interesting too is the description (pp. 21-23) of the marble industry of Saraburi which produces white marble with variations in grey and pink. The discovery of marble here is attributed to local men about a century ago for the industry was mentioned in the poem of Luang Padhanapōps of the Sukhyaṅga family who accompanied Čaoprayā Mahin on his expedition to the north-east.

Noteworthy also is the observation that our ancestors built their monuments of devotion in the form of a reliquary or ādāt which was surrounded by vihāras and cloisters if it happened to be considered important enough. The hall of assembly, or bōt, now the most important feature of such edifices, did not come to be considered so until the time of Ayudhya.

Detailed archeological descriptions are given of the ruins of the old capital of Sukhodaya supplemented, of course, by equally detailed references to metallurgical features. The main sanctuary of the Relics—wat Mahādhātu—is stated to have been built in three successive periods, on the authority of the great architect, His late Royal Highness Prince Naris. In the precincts of the monastery is a stone half buried in the ground which is believed by the people to be the
petrified remains of the Khmer officer sent to arrest the Thai leader, Pra Ruan, the former being duly turned to stone by the latter's curse. This stone is a sandstone with dots of felspar, pyrite and bornite and belongs to a type called Korat stone which might have existed some 135 to 230 millenia ago.

Names of scientists responsible for the information presented in this book are given as usual and the guide—presumably writer—is again Sombhob Čandraprabha.

D.
14 July 1966
The Annual General Meeting of the Siam Society terminating the year 1964 was held at the Society's Home, 131 Asoka Road (Lane 21), Bangkok, on Monday, 5th April 1965 at 8.15 p.m. with His Highness Prince Dhaninivat, Kromamun Bidyalabhb, President, in the Chair. The Meeting was attended by nearly 200 members and guests.

At the outset His Highness the President expressed to the Meeting his wish to remove himself from the nominations for President of the Society in view of his advancing years. However, he emphasized his pleasure in continuing to serve the Society whenever it would be possible for him to do so. He asked the Council to always feel free to call on him. The President nominated as his successor, the Senior Vice-President, H.H. Prince Prem Purachattra. While expressing their regret at His Highness' desire not to be re-elected, the meeting rejoiced in the nomination of H.H. Prince Prem Purachattra, and, respecting His Highness the President's wish, the meeting unanimously elected His Highness Prince Prem as President of the Society.

In accepting this position, the new President paid a moving tribute to his predecessor for all that he had done for the Society in his capacity as President over a period of 20 years. Evidence of his work is the building of the Research Centre, the new Library, his numerous lectures before members and his scholarly contributions to the Journal of the Siam Society. In recognition of this outstanding performance the new President proposed that H.H. Prince Dhaninivat, Kromamun Bidyalabhb be elected Honorary President of the Society. This proposal was unanimously adopted with much applause. The following new officers were then elected: H.S.H. Prince Ajavadis Diskul as Senior Vice-President and Luang Thavil Sethapanijkarn as Honorary Secretary. The other members of the Council were then re-elected en bloc. It was also noted with regret that Vice-President Chao Phya Sri Dharmadhibes had resigned from the Council for reasons of advanced age and health. The Minutes of the previous Annual General Meeting held on 24th March 1964 as well as the Annual Report and Financial Statement
for 1964 were adopted and Mr. Yukta na Thalang was re-elected Honorary Auditor for 1965. The meeting was followed by a showing, with His Majesty's Gracious Permission, of the royal films of His Majesty's Three Cycle Birthday. A running commentary was given by H.H. Prince Dhaninivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh.

The Council upon taking office co-opted the following Council Members as Vice-Presidents of the Society:

H.E. Monsieur Ebbe Munck
Lt. General Phya Salwidhan Nidhes

The Council also re-elected the following standing committees for carrying out the activities of the Society:

1. Finance Committee
   The Senior Vice-President (H.S.H. Prince Ajavadis Diskul), Chairman
   The Honorary Secretary (Luang Thavil Sethpunijkarn)
   The Honorary Treasurer (Mr. V.F. Hemmingsen)

2. Editorial Committee
   The Honorary Editor of the Journal (Mr. Kenneth J. Mac Cormac), Chairman
   H.H. Prince Dhaninivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh
   H.E. Monsieur Ebbe Munck
   Mr. J.J. Boeles, Director Research Centre

3. Natural History Committee
   Lt. General Phya Salwidhan Nidhes, Chairman
   H.E. Monsieur Ebbe Munck
   Mr. Ariyant Manjkul
   H.S.H. Prince Piyarangsit Rangsit

4. Exchange Committee
   H.S.H. Prince Subhadradas Diskul, Chairman
   Phya Anuman Rajadhon
   H.H. Prince Sukhuma Paribatra
   Mr. J.J. Boeles

5. Travel Committee
   Mr. Sanya Dharmasakti, Chairman
6. **Research Committee**

H.H. Prince Prem Purachattra, Chairman  
H.S.H. Prince Ajavadis Diskul, Deputy-Chairman  
Mr. Kenneth J. MacCormac  
Mr. V.F. Hemmingsen  
H.E. Monsieur Ebbe Munck  
Luang Thavil Sethpanijkarn  
Mr. Kraisri Nimmanahaeminda  
Mr. J.J. Boeles

The Council re-appointed Mr. Kenneth J. MacCormac and H.E. Monsieur Ebbe Munck as Honorary Editor of the Journal and Honorary Editor of the Natural History Bulletin respectively. Both gentlemen are to be congratulated for having produced the following highly commendable publications for the Society:


It was with regret that, later in the year, the Council was forced to accept the resignation of Mr. MacCormac from the Editorship of the Journal of the Siam Society and from office as member of the Council. The resignation was necessitated by his transfer to Washington D.C. in July 1965. In recognition of his devoted service to the Society, Mr. MacCormac was elected a Corresponding Member.

To fill the vacancies, the following three members have been co-opted to sit on the Council:

Professor Dr. Prasert na Nagara, Professor Ouay Ketusinh M.D. and Dr. L. Sternstein as Honorary Editor of the Journal. The Society is fortunate in securing the services of these gentlemen.

The year 1965 was publication by the Society of a number of important monographs:
1. Gunnar Seidenfaden and Tem Smitinand:
The Orchids of Thailand, a preliminary list Part IV, 2 (1965).
With this last section, this monumental work in 6 parts is now completed.

2. Charles Nelson Spinks, Ph. D.;
The Ceramic Wares of Siam, Bangkok 1965.
An authoritative monograph on the subject, by Council Member, Dr. Spinks who has now returned to the United States.

Presented to His Highness Prince Dhaninivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh Bridhyakorn.
These two volumes were presented by the Council to H.H. The Honorary President on the occasion of His Highness' 80 birthday on 7th November 1965. The Council is particularly proud of these two volumes because they contain original scholarly contributions presented to His Highness by 37 scholars from 12 countries. The publication is a product of the Research Centre with its Director as Editor.

The Council is pleased to report that our publications have proved of greater interest than ever before.

The Council held 11 business meetings during the year. The Society's membership at the end of 1965 was 1,132 as compared with 1,026 at the close of 1964. This is the highest on record.

The classification of membership is as follows:

Royal Patron and Vice Patrons: 4
Honorary Presidents: 2
Honorary Members: 3
Free Members: 5
Corresponding Members: 15
Life Members: 209
Ordinary Members: 894

Total: 1,132
The Society also has 28 subscribers to its *Journal* and *Natural History Bulletin*.

The Society elected 184 new members and recorded 98 resignations and deaths. The number of visitors to the Library and Research Centre increased to 1,702 for the year.

The financial position of the Society under the direction of our Honorary Treasurer, is satisfactory. Notwithstanding the higher income obtained from the increase in the membership fee for ordinary members to Baht 150.00, the balance sheet shows a small deficit of Baht 5,701.22 for this year. The deficit was caused by the greater number of publications paid for by the Society and the expansion and improvement of the Kamthieng House.

At the end of September the second and final grant of the Ford Foundation of US$ 43,000.00 was terminated and from that date the operation of the Research Centre has been financed by the Society itself. Since it is the wish of the Society that the operation of the Research Centre be continued and since this could not be financed from the regular income of the Society, the Council decided to establish an Endowment Fund with an ultimate goal of Baht 3 million from the interest of which it would be possible to finance the Research Centre’s operations on a permanent basis.

An initial appeal to the business community resulted in donations totalling Baht 181,000.00. An appeal to members has thus far yielded Baht 14,000.00. The list was opened with a donation by His Highness Prince Dhaninivat of Baht 1,000.00 on the occasion of His Highness’ 80th birthday. The Council is most grateful for this generous support.

At the end of the year the Society received two additional grants in support of the operations of the Research Centre and of the Library:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Danish Expedition Fund</td>
<td>Baht 60,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Asia Foundation</td>
<td>Baht 25,000.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Baht 85,000.00</strong></td>
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For this generous support of the work of the Society, the Council is particularly grateful to H.E. Monsieur Ebbe Munck, Ambassador of Denmark, and to Mr. Graham Lucas, Representative of the Asia Foundation. The operations of the Research Centre and of the Library are thus secure for another year.

Further notable grants are:

- The East Asiatic Co., Ltd. for the purpose of purchasing a rice granary in Chiangmai
  - Baht 15,000.00

- The Asia Foundation, in support of publishing the Felicitation Volumes in honour of H.H. Prince Dhaninivat
  - Baht 35,000.00
  - Baht 50,000.00

Thus in 1965 the Society has been the beneficiary of support from many sources. This is most encouraging.

As was announced in the previous Annual Report, the Siam Society became recipient of a grant of US$ 25,000.00 from the John D. Rockefeller the 3rd Fund which is to be used over a period of 3 years in acquiring and installing artifacts in the Kamthieng House, continuing development of the library, and creating an archive of the visual and performing arts of Thailand not already maintained by other cultural institutions in this country. In 1965 US$ 20,000.00 was received. From these funds a substantial collection of old teakwood carvings, mainly panels, was acquired from North Thailand as well as a number of farm implements. This aid will also allow completion of the Kamthieng House and the installation of modern lighting fixtures. Since considerable work will be necessary in preparing the Kamthieng House as the nucleus of an ethnological collection, it was decided to postpone the inaugural exhibition until November 1966. In order to establish an archive of photographs, and to obtain suitable pictures for the first exhibition in the Kamthieng House, the Society has launched a Nationwide Photographic Competition which will terminate on the 15th April 1966. An exhibition of photographs will be held in May.
The first prize, a ticket to Japan, is awarded by courtesy of Thai Airways International Limited. A cash prize of Baht 1,000.00 is also offered by the Society. The competition is being conducted with the cooperation of the Photographic Society of Thailand under Royal Patronage.

Meetings and excursions arranged by the Society during the year were as follows:

- **20th January**: Lecture by H.H. Prince Dhaninivat, Kronamun Bidyalabh, on “Figures of the Shadow-Play from the Leder Museum of Offenbach.” The lecture was accompanied by a showing of slides.
- **5th April**: Annual General Meeting and Showing of royal films of His Majesty's Coronation and Celebrations of His Majesty's Three Cycle Birthday.
- **13th-14th April**: Excursion to Chiengmai for Songkran Festival.
- **9th June**: Lecture by Mr. Michael Lau on Chinese Art.
- **6th July**: Lecture by H.H. Prince Prem Purachatra on “Sunthorn Phu as a Universal Poet”.
- **27th July**: Showing of colour film on the main Khmer monuments of the Angkor group by Mr. Kurt Mueller.
- **17th August**: Lecture by Dr. W.F. Beeser on “Introduction into Geology with Special Reference to Thailand”.
- **31st August**: Repeat showing of colour film on the main Khmer monuments of the Angkor group by Mr. Kurt Mueller.
- **28th September**: Lecture by Mr. B. St. Rainsborough on “Introduction to Chinese Porcelain”.
- **25th October**: Excursion to Rose Garden at Sampran and Nakorn Pathom for Kathin ceremony.
8th November  Loi Kratong excursion to the Rose Garden at Sampran.

24th November  Lecture by Mr. Kachorn Sukhabanij on “The Introduction of Modern Printing in Thailand”.

It is gratifying to observe that these lectures and excursions were much appreciated by members.

11th March 1966.
Membership Roll of the Siam Society

Having now compiled a complete roll of the membership of the Siam Society, the Council is pleased to comply with the Society's rule stipulating annual publication of the names of its members in the Journal.

Patron

His Majesty the King

Vice-Patrons

Her Majesty the Queen
Her Majesty Queen Rambai Barni
Her Royal Highness the Princess of Songkhla

Honorary Presidents

His Majesty King Frederik IX of Denmark
H.H. Prince Dhaninivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh

Honorary Members

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Dr. R.S. Lemay
Professor Giuseppe Tucci

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W.A.M. Doll, Esq.
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Mr. Jørgen Holm
Professor Robert Lingat
Professor Gordon Hanning Luce
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W. Nunn, Esq.
Mr. C.L. Sanford
H.E. Monsieur Gunnar Seidenfaden
Dr. Charles N. Spinks
H.E. Mr. Edwin F. Stanton

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Dr. Samak Viravaidya
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Father Chorin was early elected to serve on the Society’s Council. He remained for long a member of this body, eventually becoming its Vice President in which capacity he remained for some years until his resignation on account of failing health. The Bishop contributed an article to the Journal (Vol. L, part 1, 1962) entitled “From Paris to Ayuthia three hundred years ago, from June 18th 1660 to August 22nd 1662,” and the substance of a lecture he gave to the Alliance Française in 1922 entitled “Monseigneur Pallegoix, sa vie, son oeuvre au Siam”, was published by the Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique.

As a colleague on the Council and later as President I found Monseigneur Chorin most helpful and dependable. His counsel was both wise and reliable.

D.
Bangkok
6 June 1966
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Under Royal Patronage

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