REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

SIR J. GEORGE SCOTT, K. C. I. E., *Burma and Beyond.* Grayson & Grayson, London. 349 pages, with 32 illustrations and one map.[1]

This is a very interesting work written by the late Sir George in his well-known, witty and humorous style, which has made his former publications—*The Burman, his Life and Notions*; *Burma: a Handbook*, etc., as well as his contributions to *The Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*—so deservedly popular. Sir George knew what he was talking about from long and intimate relations with the inhabitants of the country, where he proved himself one of the most able and gifted of British colonial administrators. He was a truly great man, but—and here comes the but—the ethnologist or historian will close his latest and last book in disappointment. Although it is brilliantly written, and not without considerable merit, it gives scant or often no information at all when the question comes up as to which race or language group this or that tribe belongs. The author often gives excellent characteristics of the various peoples, when describing their modes of dressing, living, courting, and so on; but much too often the racial or language question is left open. Sir George was an old man when he wrote this book, and one gets the impression after having read it, that it is more of a collection of chatty reminiscences than a standard work seriously treating of the various peoples and tribes described by him. Still with this reservation the book is well worth reading and the reading is enjoyable.

[1] Within the last couple of years several books of merit have appeared treating of the history, ethnology or archaeology of Further India, but lack of time and absence from Siam have, so far, prevented the writer from reviewing them in the columns of this Journal. As, however, at least two of the four books to be mentioned hereafter, have already been reviewed by competent pens, the following is only to be considered as a series of notes on the more outstanding subjects—culled here and there—from these books.

Only the last chapter (written by Lady Scott) treats of the Burmese, as the idea of the author was to limit his work to the races encircling Burma proper.

We are thus treated to a kaleidoscopic review of the peoples living to the east, north and west of Burma:—the "rag-bag of races;" the Karen; the Brè; the Padaung with their stiff giraf-necked belles; the Shan; the Palaung; Kachin; Chin, and, not to forget, the head-hunting "wild" Wā.

Most of what is told here is already known from "the Handbook," but this time the description is spiced with Sir George's personal experiences and exploits from the time when the Shan States were brought under British control in the eighties of last century.

On the very first page Sir George Scott asks "Who were the autochthones dispossessed by the Burmese in the 6th century B. C.?" and he thinks they were the Selu'ng or Proto-Malays. This may be correct, as it is now thought that the distant forefathers of the present Malays came from Eastern Tibet. These Proto-Malays may, however, have partly dispossessed partly absorbed the Melanesoids, who are surmised to have been the population of Indochina in remote times. Another érudit on Burmese matters, Mr. F. H. Giles (Phya Indra Montri), says as follows: "I think that the autochthones were the Riang, an ancient people who occupied most of the Shan States prior to the southern march of the Thai. The Riang are a Khā people of the Môn-Khmer race. When the Siamese speak of the Kariangs, meaning the Karen, they are speaking with the voice of racial memory. These people were very important and probably the autochthones; they are related to the Palaung."

With regard to the Burmese Mr. Giles says:— "The Burmese, as a race, did not exist in the 6th century B. C. The people we call Burmese to-day are undoubtedly a mixture of many peoples and tribes. Their language is so undeveloped that it is almost impossible to write a foreign word intelligibly in it. The Burmese language seems to lack all the elements of a cultured tongue. The Burmese are a composite people who would seem to have entered the realm of civilization only about a thousand years ago. The Burmese came from Tibet and moving down from the Tibetan plateau entered Burma along the valleys of the Brahmaputra, the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy rivers. Their movements south must have occupied centuries. The Burmese call themselves Myanma and Bhama. Both

these words are probably derived from the name of the river Brahmaputra down which some of the Tibetan tribesmen came.

It is certain that a portion of the Tibetan tribesmen came through the Chindwin because the Burmese are connected with the Nagas, Kukis, Mishmis, Lepchas, Abors, Bhutias, and the cognate tribes of the Brahmaputra valley.

It would seem that the earliest movement was along the Chindwin river. Several Tibetan words appear in the Burmese language, and there is an evident linguistic and ethnic connection between the Burmese and the Lashi, Marn, Hpon-Ngachang, Lissaw tribes found at the upper waters of the Irrawaddy. There is a close relationship between the Changs and the Burmese. The Burmese language cannot express the word "Chang" except in writing, but pronounce the word "Chin." The plains of Burma were occupied by the Shan (Thai), the Pyu and the Môn. As the Tibeto-Burmese tribesmen pushed south they dispossessed these peoples and established themselves in the rich plains.

The original ethnic formation of the ancient Burmese was composed of Tibetan tribesmen and the peoples they met with on their march south. In the first century A. D. the Pyu, the Kanyan and the Sak (called by the Burmese Thet) migrated to Pagān. The Sak were a Chin tribe. As time passed the original Tibeto-Burmese tribesmen mixed with these three peoples and it was thus that the race we call Burmese to-day came into being prior to the 11th century.

The Shan and the Môn people had both racially and culturally affected this composite mixture called the Burmese."

On page 13 the author suggests that instead of Thaton, the Môn capital sacked by the great Anawratā, one should read Angkor, which is rather improbable. We know at present the history of ancient Cambodia so well that this interpretation is out of the question. A war of conquest of the dimensions ascribed to King Anawratā, which should have resulted in the sack and plunder of Angkor Thom, would certainly have left traces if not in the inscriptions of Cambodia then otherwise. But there is nothing which can justify such a suggestion.

On page 16 Sir George says that the Môn are Dravidians. Now Dr. Hutton (Census of India) opines that early Mediterraneans brought the prototype of Austro-Asiatic languages to India, they

being followed by other Mediterraneans, in company with brachycephalic people from the Anatolian plateau, the Alpine Armenoids.

These other Mediterraneans spoke probably Dravidian, and they were responsible for the highly developed city culture in the Indus valley some 5,000 years ago.

The Môn, like the Cambodians, are a brachycephalic people speaking a so-called Austro-Asiatic language while the Dravidians are long and narrow-headed speaking a language widely different from that of the Môn-Khmer.

To identify the Môn with the Dravidians is therefore not possible.

It seems more probable that the original Môn-Khmer were a branch of the Alpine Armenoids. Recent study of the hair forms, colour of eyes, facial building etc. of the Lawā of North Siam seems to confirm the latter hypothesis.

To this Mr. Giles says:— "The Mahābharata speaks of the Asuras as being the builders of stone cities in Western India. The word Asuras is the same as the modern corruption Assyrian. I think that the Môn, Khmer, Lawā, Palaung, Karen and many other tribes, having various names, are sprung from the Khā who were the original inhabitants of Eastern Asia."

On page 18 the author says that the Môn Language is all but extinct. However, about a decade ago the language census of Burma gave the number of Môn-speaking individuals to be between 300,000 and 400,000 to which may be added another 50,000 in Siam. From private researches I am convinced that Môn language in its spoken form is still far from dying out in Siam.

The number of Burmese speaking people in Burma is given as a little less than half of the total population. If this is estimated at 15 millions the Burmese speaking persons number only about 7 millions which is considerably less than the number of Thai-speaking persons in Siam.

In his chapters on "a rag-bag of races" Sir George writes very entertainingly on a number of tribes of which now only small and scattered remains are left. He mentions thus the Danu, Dayè, Yaw, Kadu and Taungyo as living on the Myelat plateau or Middle country east of the Irrawaddy river.

Mr. Giles, however, writes to me that during the four years he was in charge of the administration of the Myelat he never met a single Yaw or Kadu there, but a few hundred Dayè living in Thamakan

who, like the Danu and Taungyo, speak an archaic form of Burmese.

Mr. Giles adds that the Danaw, who also live on the Myelat plateau, "have a language of their own, and although only a remnant of this tribe still exists in the State of Pendaya they are quite interesting people. The surrounding people say that the Danaw speak the language of birds."

The Taungthus, also living in the Myelat, are, of course, well known in Siam as wandering pedlars. Here we call them Dongsu. They are met with right over to the Mekhong river and even in Cambodian territory. Sir George thinks they are of Karen extraction. This is confirmed by Mr. Giles who says:— "The word Taungthu is Burmese and means a hill man. They call themselves Ba-o, and I am inclined to think that they are a sept of some very ancient Karen or Khā tribe, probably mixed with Pyu blood. There is a state called Thaton in the Southern Shan States, entirely populated with and governed by Taungthus, and three other Taungthu states; viz:— Loi-ai, Loi-maw and Pinhmi (in Tai, Pangmi) in the Myelat.

The word Taungyo is also Burmese and means the bone of the hill, for these people live mostly on the hills.

Their dress is the same as that of the Taungthus, only it is brown in colour instead of black."

About the famous leg-rowers of the Inle lake, the Inthas, the author states that they claim to have come from Tavoy and to be of Arakanese origin. Mr. Giles confirms this, saying "their ancestors were Arakanese prisoners of war, settled in Tavoy and eventually brought to this lake at the head of which stands the capital town called Yawnghwe after the State of the same name. There is a settlement of Tavoyans in Bangkok, also prisoners of war, being the same people as the Inthas. The word *intha* means son of the lake.

Sir George treats the Karens in two chapters but, though he says that they are not Thibetans, and are as much Pre-Chinese as the Thai are, he does not try to find out *what* they really are. That the Red and the white Karens speak allied languages is well known, but physically speaking they are very different. The Red Karens, by reason of their queer skull forms, present something of an anthropological puzzle, so much so that Mr. Giles believes that the Karen-ni or Red Karens belong to the Wā people, as there is, living south of the Wā country, a people very much alike the Red Karens.

It must, however, not be forgotten that the Red Karens are long

and narrow-headed, which presents a difficulty when trying to group them together with the bullet headed Wā.

The Brè people seem to be very unattractive and used formerly to be just as bad-mannered as the Karen-ni, kidnapping and murder being some of their pastimes. Mr. Giles, who knew them well, as well as their language, says there were four different divisions of them and that Brè is the Burmese way of saying Bghai or Red Karen. They are divided in the Lakü, the Hasiu, and the Manaw.

They live to the west of Karen-ni.

The many Karen beliefs which strikingly recall Biblical statements need not surprise one. The myths about the Tower of Babel and the Deluge, besides others, are not limited to the Karens but are found among many other tribes living in Indochina and Southern China. Such beliefs may be a common human heritage handed down from the times of our remote neolithic ancestors.

Mr. Giles informs me that the Karens known to him did not share such beliefs.

One of the most interesting and likeable tribes of the Shan States are the Palaung, the tea planters, who form a State of their own, Tawngpeng. A more rough and less sympathetic branch of them are the Rumai, who live in the northernmost part of the Shan States stretching over the border into the Chinese Shan States in Yünnan.

The Palaung are Môn-Khmer, their language showing a relationship with Lawā and even Khamu. They are hard workers, having large tea gardens and breed good ponies. Though somewhat addicted to opium eating, they are a homely and decent people, and have found their great mentor in Mrs. Leslie Milne, who describes them very sympathetically in her excellent book "The home of an Eastern clan." Of special interest are their quaint courting ceremonies, which are taught in regular schools!

Mr. Giles adds as follows:— "Tawngpeng is a Shan corruption of the Burmese word Taungbaing which means 'The Rulers of the Hill.' This term curiously enough is synonymous with the word *sailendra*, the name of a Malay dynasty, and also, I think, in Chaiyā Sailendra is simply Sela Indra. The name of the Palaung state is Loilaung (Doi Luang i. e. the great hill)"*

The Kachins, who are generally considered to be a gang of blood-

*According to Prof. Cœdès the emperors of Fu-nan for the first 600 years bore the title of "Kings of the mountains" or "çailarāja."

thirsty, headcutting savages—what they no doubt were in former times—seem, after better relations have been established with them, thanks to the British Raj, not to be without good points. Their men are brave at least, and made a good record for themselves during the last World War when they served in Mesopotamia.

The Kachins are no doubt Mongols, having trickled in from the north. The author mentions that types which suggest Negro blood (excepting the hair) are sometimes met with among the Kachins. This may be due to a remote mixture with a former Melanesian stock. Negroid traits are also found among the dwarfish Lutze to the north of the Triangle (in northernmost Burma) and in certain tribes in Northern Tongking. The "maiden's bowers" are not restricted to the Kachins, but are also met with, at harvest time, on the paddy fields of the Puthai and the Saek of North-Eastern Siam.

On page 183 the author is speaking of the knotted string language of the Mexicans. This is of course a slip of the pen for the Incas of Peru. Ideographic messages, like those used by the Kachins are also found among the Khamu around Luang Phrabang.

The Chins (whose real name is Chang), living on the hither side of Burma proper, are quite interesting, though as dirty as the Karens and the Kachins, and seem formerly to have possessed a kind of civilization.

When the British started to pacify their country, they were head hunters, slave dealers and raiders of the worst kind, living in cunningly fortified villages situated on the top of inaccessible hills.

All this has been altered for the better, and the Chins now make good soldiers of the King-Emperor. They are tall, nearly 6 feet high, and very enduring. They are expert in bowmanship, their bows being quite five feet across. Another remarkable thing is their erecting of stone monuments, which shows influence from the ancient Near East.

Sir George mentions the mythun, which he thinks is a cross between a cow and a buffalo! This animal is, however, a tame bison or gaur, the Kating of Siam, which is exclusively kept for sacrifices to the spirits.[1] The Chins have a vague belief in a Supreme Being, and they seem altogether to be well worth a thorough study.

The author knew the Shans better than most, but the reviewer

[1] *Vide* Colonel J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, pp. 31 and 32.

does not agree with him when he calls them "a waning race", nor when he says: "There is nothing that is so much calculated to excite despair as to the possibility of writing a history of the Thai." The writer is more optimistic on these points. Shan land is scattered over with ruins of deserted fortified towns which, if properly studied by competent archæologists, would no doubt assist greatly in patching together the history of the Shans (who, of course, call themselves Thai and Thai Yai, i.e., the great Thai, at that).

The Shans are excellent agriculturists, good traders and they do not smoke much opium. With such qualities it should not be too difficult a task to get something good out of them. And then their women are so pretty and winsome, adding to the attractiveness of an already attractive people.

Sir George seems (page 225) to consider Bishop Pallegoix's book the standard work on Siamese history and says that Siam became a kingdom in A. D. 1350! The first Thai kingdom in Siam (Sŭkhothai) was of course established a hundred years earlier. To say that Lāo, i.e., North Siamese, or Thai Yuan, is barely comprehensible to the (Southern) Siamese, as far as talk is concerned, is indeed to overstate the case. Furthermore Viengchan (and *not* Vienchan) is not identical with Lantsang, which is another name for Luang Phrabang, which latter town is certainly not the residence of the French Governor-General of Indochina, who resides at Hanoi in Tongking. The Résident Supérieur of French Laos resides, however, at Viengchan.

It must be said that the manner in which the British treat the Rulers, and their subjects, of the Federated Shan States is beyond praise, and might serve as a model for other States who have Thai rulers and Thai populations under their suzerainty.

The so-called Riang silk-weaving tribes are, as usual, not classified by the author, but we have seen that Mr. Giles does not hesitate in ranging them among the Môn-Khmer. The Riang Sek girls' dancing much resembles that of the Saek of Atsamat in Changvat Nakhon Phanom in N. E. Siam, while their band music produced by bumping lengths of bamboo of different gauge on the ground has its counterpart in that of the Semang pygmies in Malaya. Mr. Giles says about the Riangs:—"These people live in the States of Möng Nai; Mawk Mai; Möng Sit; Lai Kha and parts of Hsen-wi, and have even migrated to the State of Loi-long in the southern

portion of the Myelat." There are three divisions of the Riang:— The Yang-sek and the Yang-lam, both of whom he knew well and the Yang Wan Kun, whom he did not know, are found in the State of Lai-Kha, adjoining Möng Nai. They are, as already stated, a very ancient tribe, probably belonging to the original Môn group, and may be connected with the Lawā, Palaung and Rumai. The Yang-lam, or Black Yang, have become Shanized.

The Akha or Kaw and Lahu or Mussö, treated by the author in two different chapters, all belong to the Mussö people. Sir George evidently did not know that the Mussö are identical with the Mosso, who formerly formed an independent State in the eastern marches of Tibet, near Batang, on which the Reverend Father F. Goré has written a masterly monograph.[1]

The Mussö have, as the author says, been "remorselessly harried and oppressed by the Chinese and robbed of whatever happiness they might once have had."—The treatment of the pre-Chinese races in Central, Southern and South-Western China is a sad and revolting chapter in the history of the great Chinese people, utterly unworthy of a great nation. The Mussö are the kinsmen of the partly still independent and proud warlike Nosu, by the Chinese nicknamed Lollo, and physically and, at least formerly, spiritually, belong to one of the finest races of south-eastern Asia. It is a great pity that their well-ordered and civilized kingdom was destroyed by the Chinese as, if left alone, they might have gone very far. Their scattering and emigration southwards, right into the Shan States and Northern Siam, has not improved them, especially after they have taken to opium smoking. Still they are a picturesque and in many ways a very likeable people.

The Wā are divided into the "wild" and "tame" Wā, and are undoubtedly Môn-Khmer. Their language and that of the Lawā of North Siam is predominantly the same

The wild Wā, with their disgusting habits of head hunting, skull avenues and their indulgence in strong spirits, besides their dirtiness, do not call for much sympathy.

However, they are a virile race, conspicuously industrious, good agriculturists, well behaved when sober, and honest. They build formidable fortified villages approached by tunnels; they understand how to construct cane bridges and bring the water into their villages through bamboo aqueducts.

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[1] BEFEO, Vol. XXIII, (1923).

Their weakness for head-cutting is, of course, part of an ancient fertility rite shared by the Chins, Kachins and the Dayaks in Borneo. As the author says, the "wild" Wā possess a morbid attraction, and if treated in the right manner they may develop into something good. Add to this that their girls are comely—when newly washed!

Sir George does not think much of the "tame" Wā.

They are more alike to our Lawā who, however, are certainly not unsympathetic, as Mr. Hutchinson's and the writer's studies of them have shown.[1]

The ancient Lawā tombs in the form of long barrows and the memorial stones set up for the dead all point to a western origin of the Lawā, as of all Môn-Khmer people. Such graves are also found in the Maehongsôn district in North Siam and would be well worth a closer study.

The Shans, like the Thai Yuan and the Lão of Luang Phrabang, all admit that the Wā, Lawā and Khamu, were the original owners of the land, which is clearly proved by the participation of these people in the ceremonies of enthronement of princes and house warming still performed in all northern Thai States.

The last chapter in the late Sir George Scott's book is a sketch of of the Burmese people written by Lady Scott. It goes without saying that the beloved Shway Yoe's consort is pronouncedly sympathetic in her treatment of the Burmese people. They may be very likeable *now*, but to say that they are not cruel by nature is hard to believe when confronted with their cruel and almost incredible misdeeds committed during their frequent wars with Siam. The memory of Burmese devilry is sadly attested by the ruins of the former so splendid Ayudhya, besides thousands of destroyed temples scattered all over Siam from Chiengmai in the North right down to the Gulf of Siam. Lady Scott lays stress on the freedom of the Burmese woman as something apart among Oriental peoples. In this connection she forgets the social status of the Thai women, which has always been a very high one from ancient times, a fact attested by the description of the Nan Chao empire given by contemporary Chinese chroniclers. The general characteristics given of the Burmese peasant as being carefree, affectionate, kindly, good-

[1] E. W. Hutchinson and E. Seidenfaden *The Lawā in Northern Siam*, JSS, vol. XXVII, pt. 2, 1935

tempered and living simply, also applies to the Siamese peasant, who is even more attractive because of his strong and refreshing sense of humour.

As said in the beginning of these notes Sir George Scott's book, all its outstanding merits notwithstanding, does not fulfill the expectations of either the anthropologist or the ethnologist. A new work on these lines treating all the races of Burma is, therefore, very much needed; and we believe that the right man to write this book would be Major J. H. Green, who now for years has been studying these problems on the spot.

October 1935. ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

BEATRIX METFORD, *Where China meets Burma*. Blackie & Son, Ltd., London and Glasgow. 231 pages with 32 illustrations and one map.

This is a very charming book which seems to have been written by just as charming a lady.

The authoress is the wife of a British Civil Official who served for years in the north-eastern parts of Burma, principally in the Kachin-peopled district east of Bhamo, later in Bhamo itself, and, for a spell, as Consul in Tengyueh, the Chinese capital of westernmost Yünnan, Without pretending to be a savant Mrs. Metford gives us a vivid, sympathetic and very interesting picture of the various peoples among which she and her husband lived and worked. Her descriptions of the wild but beautiful and fascinating scenery in Northern Burma are excellent too, so excellent that they make one long to go and see it for oneself. The authoress gives a mass of interesting and illuminating information on the Kachin people, their life, manners and beliefs. As already said in the notes on Sir George Scott's book, these people may in their wild state be a dirty and somewhat disgusting crowd, but their contact with the British and the American Baptist missionaries has changed them much for the better. The Kachin maidens may be quite pretty, and their menfolk are *men*. It is typical of the manliness of the Kachin men that, while other people will swear by this or that god or spirit, the Kachin warrior will swear on his sword! It is surprising to hear that the Kachins only number 200,000 souls. Still had it not been for the timely advent of the British they would have overrun the Shan States and even Burma. The Kachins despise the Shans and have already penetrated well into their Northern States. The Kachins are pure

Mongols, and may really have come down from Thibet; their oral traditions and phenomenal memories are striking. Their main home is in the so-called triangle in northernmost Burma. One agrees with the authoress when she says:—"What a shame it is that education tends to make these tribes relinquish their old customs and native dresses!" This point was brought up before the International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology, held in London last year, and it was stressed that the aims of education, whether by the respective colonial administrations or the missionaries, should be to preserve all that is best in the native culture. This includes, of course, in most cases, the national and tribal dresses. The aims of Western education must not be to make Europeans or Americans of the natives but to enoble them within the circle of their own customs, manners and outlook of life.

Mrs. Metford comments on the tall and spare stature and straight or even aquiline noses of the Lissus or Lissaws. She suggests that this is due to an intermingling with tall Aryan tribesmen. Captain Kingdon Ward, the famous botanist, in his fascinating book "The mystery rivers of Thibet", makes the same observations about the populations of the upper reaches of the rivers Salwin and Mekhong, and suggests that such Aryan traits may be due to mixture with some of Alexander the Great's soldiers who penetrated into these mountainous wildernesses—the old story of "Alexander's lost legion", so entertainingly used by the late Sir Rider Haggard in his romance "Ayesha!" It might perhaps be well worth to study our Lissaws living in the hills of the Ampho' Muang Fāng district to ascertain whether Aryan traits are also to be found among them. Professor Credner in his book "A journey through Yünnan undertaken by the Geographical Institute of the Sun Yat Sen University" (reviewed by the writer of these lines in J.S.S. Vol. XXVI Part 2) also speaks of Lissaws with handsome almost European faces. The Lissaws are good fighters and some of them are found in the ranks of the Burma Rifles, one becoming an officer and even a King's Indian orderly officer! During Mr. Metford's stay in Tengyueh he and Mrs. Metford made extensive travels in the eleven Shan States which comprise that district. The great majority of the population is Thai, besides some Achangs, Palaungs, Kachins, and Lissaws. Chinese are only found in the market towns and the jade mines, because Tengyueh is famous for its jade and its Chinese craftsmen who are masters in the art of the wonderful jade carving. Yünnan

is probably one of our globe's most beautiful countries, with its blue, misty mountains, silvery rivers, sparkling cascades and almost incredible wealth of splendid flowers.

These Shan States or Chinese Shan States are remains of the former powerful Nān Chao empire, destroyed by Kublai Khan's troops in A.D. 1254. The Thai population is not happy under the Chinese rule and, though their princelets are proud of their Chinese origin, their orientation is always Burmawise. The authoress' description of the Yünnan Thai is very sympathetic and, when reading about these frank, hospitable and charming people, one wonders if the late Reverend J. H. Freeman's dreams of a great united Thai empire will ever come true.

October 1935. ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

R. O. WINSTEDT, C. M. G., M. A., D. Litt. (Oxon), *A history of Malaya*. London, Luzac and Co. 259 pages with 21 plates and 24 illustrations and plans.

This handsome and well-written book, based upon solid facts and the results of the studies of the foremost authorities on the history of Indochina and Insulinde, such as Prof. Cœdès, M. Mansuy, Mlle. Colani, Mr. Evans, Prof. Krom and Dr. van Stein Callenfels, represents, as a matter of fact, all what is known up till now of the prehistory, ethnology, archaeology and political history of Malaya, and as such is an invaluable source of information to all students of such matters pertaining to our part of the world. The author has spent a life time in Malaya and is himself a distinguised Malay historian, having written a series of excellent histories of the British Malay States, besides being an accomplished Malay scholar. After having carefully read his book, always with intense interest and often with enthusiasm even, one can only say that it redounds to his honour. This book will become the standard work on Malaya and it is a work which one will often turn back to and reread with pleasure and profit. Due to Siam's relations with Malaya, which politically date back to the end of the 13th century, Siamese readers should also be very interested in the contents of this book.

Sir Richard Winstedt treats, first of all, of the primitive tribes of the Malay Peninsula. Of these the Negritoes are, no doubt, the lowest on the rung of the ladder. Still the reviewer does not agree with the saying that "Take from the Negrito his bow and arrow, which presumably he borrowed from another people, and nothing is

left but a society that only differs from that of the apes in enjoying a greater skill in capturing game, in being able to communicate information to one another and in utilizing that information." This is certainly to underrate these little folks' spiritual qualities and their brain capacity. And it does not go well together with the facts that "greed and cruelty, lying and quarrelling, theft, murder and adultery are foreign to their simple nature, while the women are patterns of modesty." Surely in this respect the Negritoes might serve as models to us so-called highly civilized people!

Father Schebesta,[1] who lived in the camps of the Negritoes for a considerable time, considers them, and as it seems rightly so, as "wahre und volle Menschen." Their religious beliefs also exceed that of a fear of thunder and lightning and a hope of a life after this on "the western blessed isles." It seems now an established fact that the Semang, as well as their kinsmen, the Mincopies of the Andamans, the Aetas in the Philippines and the numerous pigmy population of the interior of New Guinea, possess a primitive monotheistic religion.

That some of the peoples of Indo-China are more or less infused with Negrito blood is not mere "guess work" but more or less proved, and will no doubt be proved a clear fact as soon as a thorough-going anthropological investigation, assisted by the new science of blood grouping, can be carried out. There are only about 2,000 individuals left of the Semang people; and of that number a couple of hundreds are found in Siamese territory.

The author asks the intriguing question: "When did the Semang reach Malaya? Did they arrive after the Sakai?" And he says that their skeletal remains do not appear before the late neolithic period. To this the writer would say that he still believes the Semang to be the autochthonous population of Indochina, and that he agrees with Dr. Hutton in his views (Census of India) that the Negritoes were the first, that the Proto-Australoids came afterwards, and that through the crossing of Negritoes with Proto-Australoids the Melanesian race was born. The discovery of skulls of Australo-Melanesoid, Indonesian and Negrito types by M. Mansui in the caves of Northern Tongking, goes very well with Dr. Hutton's theory. *Where* the Negritoes came from is another question, which is not likely to be solved for some time to come yet.

[1] Father Paul Schebesta, *Bei den Urwaldzwergen in Malaya*, reviewed by E. Seidenfaden in JSS, vol. XXIII, (1930) pt. 3.

There are some 20,000 Sakai in Malaya. The author says they are, in the remoter mountainous parts, a typical Indonesian, alias Nesiot, hill breed (on a substratum of Australoid-Melanesoids), akin to many hill tribes in Yünnan, South China, Indochina, the Philippines, Formosa, Borneo, Celebes and Sumatra. The writer thinks it would not be easy to name all the tribes the author has in mind, but would confine himself to say that the Sakai seem to be near relatives of the Weddahs of Ceylon and Hither India and most probably descend from a Proto-Australoid stock. Their skull forms and wavy hair should speak in favour of such a classification. On the other hand the language of the Sakai appears to be a Malayo-Polynesian one with a mixture of Môn-Khmer words, but language may be adopted and does not prove anything from the racial point of view when not coupled with anthropological facts.

The Jakun, also called Proto-Malays, which live in South Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Johore and the Riau archipelago and the coast of Sumatra, seem to have a strong admixture of Melanesian blood, so much that they, in Johore, resemble veritable Papuans. The Jakun are identical with the Selu'ng of Trang and Phuket and the Mawken of the Mergui archipelago. Though Kern, for linguistic reasons, placed the cradle of the Malay race in ancient Champā (Annam) it is now thought, on cultural evidence, to have stood somewhere north-west of Yünnan. The author says that all Jakun tribes are Mongoloids like the civilized Malays, most of them having bullet heads and lank hair. The Jakun talk even a purer Malay language than the civilized Malay do. In future one shall therefore have to class the Malays with other Mongoloids. Sylvain Levi, the late well-known French savant, thinks to have found evidence that India, several thousand years ago, received a pre-Dravidian civilization from seafaring Jakun people which, among other things, gave India the outrigger boat besides several place names. According to these theories the Proto-Malays, followed by the true Malays, would have migrated from the borderland of Eastern Thibet and marched down through present-day Burma till they reached the Bay of Bengal. Here they evidently developed into a seafaring people and spread downwards to their present southern habitats.

In that case the ancient Champā may have been peopled by a wave of Malays coming *up* from the Malay Peninsula.

With regard to the civilized Malay no one type does exist, due to the mixture down the ages with so many other peoples such as the

Achinese colonists in Perak, the Bugis in Selangor and Javanese in Kelantan and Patani. To this it must be added that the Malays of Perak and Patani are undoubtedly much mixed with Sakais and Semangs respectively.

When treating of prehistory the author says that only in three places in the Far East has a pure palaeolithic culture been found, namely in Mongolia, along with the Peking Man, and on the terraces of the Solo river in Java. He might have added to this Siam, where Prof. Fritz Sarasin[1] in certain caves in Central, Western and Northern Siam has discovered a purely palaeolithic culture which he calls provisionally "Siamian," and which he ascribes to a Proto-Melanesian people.

The later Mesolithic culture in South-East Asia has left numerous traces and its tools have been found in Tongking and in Sumatra, in the latter place by Dr. van Stein Callenfels. The implements belong to a type which in Europe are ascribed to the palaeolithic period though in the Far East they hardly date longer back than about 5,000 B.C.

Prehistorians have agreed to call the artifacts of the Mesolithic age Hoabinhian after the scene of their greatest incidence in Tongking—this name was adopted instead of Bacsonian, so called after the first place, also in Tongking, where they were found.

These implements are of three distinct sub-types:—(a) large roughly chipped tools, (b) smaller tools more neatly chipped and found mixed with protoneoliths (roughly chipped stones with polished edges), and (c) still smaller tools or retouched fragments rarely occurring with protoneoliths.

Everywhere there is abundance of Hoabinhian tools chipped on one face only, the waterworn surface of the other face being left as nature fashioned it. In Siam and on the east coast of Sumatra (with one exception) only Hoabinhian palaeolithics have been found. The artifacts found by Dr. Fritz Sarasin in some caves in Northern, Central and Western Siam belong to sub-type (a). They were by this savant ascribed to a Proto-Melanesoid people.

Researches in Perak have revealed two periods of Hoabinhian culture. At Gua Kerbau, also in Perak, grinding and pounding stones and grinding slabs were used throughout both periods.

To further quote the author:—"So about 5,000 B.C. a Mesolithic

[1] Fritz Sarasin, *Prehistoric Researches in Siam*, JSS, vol. XVI, pt. 2.

civilization using palaeolithics spread on the east to Northern Tongking and on the west to Sumatra. In Tongking this civilization developed a still rather rough series of protoneoliths with ground edges, which can be traced in Japan, the Liukiu Islands and Formosa, through Luzon to Sarawak, Dutch Borneo and Celebes, through Siam down to Malaya and in East Java. Whence did this polishing come? In Java's Sampoeng cave Dr. Stein van Callenfels found, above the lowest or arrow head layer, no stone implements but hundreds of bone and horn adzes, spatulas, fish hooks and spear-heads. In the caves of Northern Tongking among thousands of palaeoliths and protoneolithics were found a few horn and bone implements of the Sampoeng type, while in Southern Tongking fewer stone and more bone and horn implements were found." The author asks himself "Did a race emigrate from the Asiatic continent to Java, abandoning as it went its stone implements for bone and horn?" To this it may be said that a similar sequence is known from the cultural epochs in Europe, where the Magdalenian culture, though it was a continuation of the Aurignacian stone culture, introduced many implements of bone.—Dr. Callenfels' recent excavations of shell heaps (Kjøkkenmøddinger) on the main land opposite the Penang island resulted, not only in the finds of the skeletal remains of an Australo-Melanesoid race with Hoabinhian palaeolithics, but also of what may represent another race. Together with the skeletal remains of this other race were found ground neolithic axes of a type which is the nearest parallel to the Mongolian type. Perhaps this other race represents a wave of immigrants coming from the north, says the author. These shell eaters practised second burial and strewed red powder over the skulls of their dead. It is, of course, well known that the custom of strewing red powder over the skeletons of the dead is universal for the old stone age peoples, and that it probably was meant as a substitute for the life-giving blood, thereby showing these ancient forefathers of ours as believers in the continuation of life beyond the grave.

The author says with reason that all evidence points to the ancestors of the Papuans and Australian aborigines having passed down the peninsula leaving remains in the shell heaps and the caves as well as in the physical characteristics of the aborigines of Malaya.

The origins of the various neolithic cultures in East and South-East Asia still present a difficult problem and seem far from having

been solved. The author says that the earliest of these cultures is represented by stone arrowheads and that it spread from Japan to Java, without reaching the continent of Asia. The sharp-necked Dravidian axe of India, Japan, Celebes and Guam, or the Papuan axe, or again the Philippine adze, found in Hongkong, Celebes and Polynesia, are all unknown in Malaya. The neolithic types found in the West, in Sumatra, Java and Bali are, however, abundant in Malaya. Of particular interest was the discovery of a fine deposit of neoliths of slate made on the Tembeling in Pahang. Such slate implements have, according to Dr. Callenfels, hitherto only been found in Celebes.

As will be seen, here is still a rich field for study, and it will be of great interest to see how the savants will be able to unravel the interrelations of all these types, and thereby clear up part of the many migrations which, thousands of years ago, must have been taking place in our Far Eastern hemisphere.

The true axe is practically unknown in South-East Asia and only the adze is used. The reviewer has had the opportunity of studying large collections of neoliths collected during the last 7 or 8 years in Siamese Malaya, especially by a Dane, Mr. Havmøller, and he has not found a single true axe represented among several hundreds of such implements. However in Northern and North-Eastern Siam a few shouldered celts of a diminutive size have been found.

Formerly the presence of the high shouldered adze found in the Philippines, Indochina, Burma and India (Assam, Orissa and Chota Nagpur and in the Munda district) was associated with the area of the so-called Austro-Asiatic language family (made famous by the learned Father William Schmidt) but since Dr. G. de Hevesy, who identified the Easter Island script with the script of Mohenjo Daro in the Indus valley, has raised doubts about the existence of such a family, we may again be on unsafe ground.

The author says that there must have been wave after wave of races, and that the high shouldered adze may mark a wave of Indonesian culture that swept through India from the Further East later than that Indonesian wave which, about 2,000 B.C., carried the pointed neolithic, but not the high shouldered adze, throughout Malaya down to Insulinde.

All this discussion of various neolithic cultures shows, however, only how little positively we know of the migrations of the different races which by and by peopled the two Indies and Insulinde.

Patient labour and concentrated study for years on these problems coupled with systematic excavations in the thousands of Indochina's limestone caves will be necessary before we can hope to arrive at a fuller knowledge on some or all of these puzzling problems. So far one can say that the types of neoliths found in Siamese Malaya are all represented among those obtained in British Malaya.

Next Dr. Winstedt tells us about the megalithic culture of the Mundas, which somehow reached Malaysia.

There are three types of megalithic civilizations in South-East Asia. The first is the dolmen used as a grave and is found in East Java and the Sunda Islands. The stone sarcophagus also occurs in Bali. This type is associated with a late neolithic and the bronze age.

The second type uses the dolmen, not for burial, but for monuments in honour of dead chiefs or ancestors. Such monuments are also found in the countries of the Nagas and Kuki-Luchai and Chin tribes.

The third type are slab built graves. These are found in Sumatra, Java, the Philippines and in Perak.

As far as the reviewer knows, no megalithics of any of these three types have ever been found in Siam; but the giant stone jars, called Thuey Thevada, on Thung Chieng Khām in French Northern Laos, may belong to this cultural circle. Such jars have also been found in Celebes.

Throughout Malaya, Sumatra, Java and the lesser Sunda Islands upright stones or menhirs and rows of such, called alignments, are erected in the memory of deceased ancestors. It is not yet possible to decide to which of the above three megalithic types these menhirs and alignments belong. The important monument at Birhela Linna in Kelantan would indicate that it was erected by the second wave of megalith builders who entered Malaya and Insulinde about 350 B. C. Circles of upright stones have been found in two places in North-East Siam, namely one in Ampho' Mūang Samsīb, Changvat Ubon, at Ban Non Khu, where one sees eight linga-formed stones of a height of 1.5 m. arranged into two perfect circles; the other place is found in Ampho' Phak Bang, Changvat Chaiyaphūm, a little south of the branch district office of Ban Yāng. Here are 13 large stelae-shaped stones of red sandstone arranged in an ellipsoid circle. One of them bears an inscription in Sanscrit which Prof. Cœdès judges

to date back to the 7th or 8th century A. D.[1] These stone monuments may of course belong to the Indian Brahmanic culture and be the handiwork of Khmer and Indian colonists respectively, but they may perhaps also originally have been set up by people belonging to the second wave of megalith builders mentioned above by the author.

The interesting slab graves found in Perak have no counter-parts in Siam, so far, but stone quoit-discs, stone pounders and cord marked pottery have been found in Siamese Malaya too, the latter right up to Rajaburi's cave dwellings.

The bronze drums dug up in British Malaya are of the same pattern as our so-called Karen drums which again are identical with the drums found in Tongking and South China. Some 20 years ago such a bronze drum was dug up at Kalasin in N. E. Siam. Dr. Callenfels puts the beginning of Indochina's Bronze period at 500 B. C. and that of the Archipelago at 300 B. C. These bronze drums belong to an Indonesian art period which was followed by the Indian art introduced by the Hindu immigrants, who began colonizing "Greater India" probably some time before the birth of Christ.

The author ends his chapter on Malayan prehistory by saying: "The Indonesian was already a carver in stone and a worker in wood, he worshipped bulls and knew enough of agriculture to keep domesticated cattle and irrigate rice fields. Besides which the Proto-Malay knew enough of seamanship and stars to find his way in outrigger boats to India"—and Madagascar. We have still many Indonesians among the populations of Indochina proper; thus a great part of the so-called Moi or Khā tribes in Southern Annam belong to the Indonesian stock both linguistically and physically speaking.

The reviewer has dwelt so long on the first chapter of Sir R. O. Winstedt's book because its contents are of common interest to the study of all Indochinese prehistory, and much new light has been thrown on the various problems connected with the migrations and various cultures of Further India, thanks to the information given in this chapter.

The Hindu period has been treated by many competent savants, and we are not going to discuss its different aspects in detail here. Suffice to say that Malaya was colonized at the time of Christ by

[1] Commandant E. Seidenfaden *Complément à l'Inventaire déscriptif des monuments du Cambodge pour les quatre provinces du Siam oriental*, p. 7 and 35 to 36, BEFEO, vol. XXII, 1922.

parties of South Indian traders, priests and warriors. They talked a colloquial Prakrit, married into leading Indonesian families and introduced the Indian ideas of kingship. Both Brahmanism and Buddhism were introduced, the latter under the form of Hīnayāna. These Indian emigrants did not content themselves with colonizing Malaya but, having crossed the peninsula at the height of Bandon, spread to Southern Siam, Cambodia and Annam where they founded the well known states of Dvāravatī, Funan and Champā. It is curious to note how little in the way of sanctuaries or monuments these Indian settlers have left in British Malaya. It looks like this part of the peninsula was only used as a station en route to those countries where the Indian genius for statebuilding and art should, later on, celebrate their greatest triumphs in the empires of Cambodia and Java at Angkor and Borobudur. In Siamese Malaya, however, many remains are left of the Hindu occupation and ancient Ligor and Chaiyā were the capitals of highly civilized petty States before Cambodia or Java reached the zenith of their power and artistic glory.

As the question of the Çailendra dynasties is actual just now, and Dr. Quaritch Wales' latest discoveries may cast an entirely new light on the connection of the Srīvijaya empire in Sumatra with the peninsula, the writer shall not here pronounce any opinion on the author's treatment of this period in Malaya's history but wait till more clarity has been obtained with regard to these debatable matters. It seems that at the time the Thai threw over the Cambodian rule in Siam, Ligor, or Nakhon Srithammarat, was an independent state. But already towards the end of the 13th century the kings of Sukhothai had conquered the entire peninsula right down to Johore. The author's description of the Malay empire of Malacca, the Muhammeddan conquest and the subsequent disappearance of Hindu religion and customs makes interesting reading indeed. War and women play the most important rôle during those times, which did not see much constructive statesmanship. Next comes the Portuguese period with d'Albuquerque's conquest of Malacca in 1511. The Portuguese chapter in the history of Malaya is revolting reading, about treachery, cruelty, bigotry and wholesale massacres. Sir Hugh Clifford says in his excellent book[1] on the exploration of Further India that the Portuguese misdeeds in the Far East caused the bare mention of their name to stink in the nostrils

[1] Sir Hugh Clifford—Exploration of Further India.

of the natives. It was d'Albuquerque who sent an envoy to Ayudhya to the court of King Ramathibodi II, and from that time Portuguese mercenaries served in the royal Siamese bodyguard. Their descendants are still with us. The Portuguese were in their turn overthrown by the Dutch and though the latter also were severe taskmasters they were much more humane in all respects.—The author writes very interestingly on what he calls "The Johor Empire." The reviewer thinks, however, that the title of emperor given to the Sultans of a minor portion of Malaya and Sumatra is too ambitious, all the periodical splendours of these rulers notwithstanding.

The end of the 18th century sees the British on the scene, with great pioneers and far-seeing colonial administrators like Francis Light and Sir Stamford Raffles, the creators of present-day British Malaya. The chapter on Penang's relations with the reborn and powerful Siam, and their disputes about Kedah, is exceedingly interesting from the Siamese point of view also. It ended as we know with the cession of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu to the British in 1909. The last chapters of the book describe the state of bloody anarchy and lawlessness in the Malay States in the seventies and eighties of last century; the successive British interventions and the present state of well-ordered administration and general well-being of all the races living in the colonies, federated or unfederated States of Malaya. Here, as elsewhere, the British genius for treating non-European races has stood its test. The names of Swettenham, Maxwell and Hugh Clifford as well as the Sultans of Johore and other enlightened Malay rulers are intimately associated with this last stage in the history of Malaya.

October 1935.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

โบราณวัตถุสถานในสยาม ภาค ๑—หลวงบริบาลบุรีภัณฑ์ (ปั่วน อินทวงศ์) เรียบเรียง Antiquities and ancient sites in Siam, 1st part, by LUANG BORIBAL BURIPHAND (Puan Inthawongs). 62 pages with 61 illustrations. Bangkok 1933.

Luang Boribal Buriphand, the young energetic and well informed curator of the National Museum in Bangkok, has under the above title written a very readable and useful little book.

This book was written on the occasion of the author's 36th birthday, or when he had completed the first three cycles of his life.

In the preface to his book he takes the opportunity, and well may he do so, to express his gratitude, first of all, to the Nestor of all studies of things Siamese, Prince Damrong Rajanuphab, for so many years his august chief and teacher, and next to Prince Bidyalongkorn, the last President of the Royal Institute under its old form.

By antiquities the author understands pieces of art or cult and buildings which are more than a hundred years old. A rather low estimate one should think. Nor does one agree with him when he says that Khmer antiquities are all of the same style only differing in size. Whosoever has studied Khmer art and architecture and compared the primitive Khmer forms with those of the periods of Indravarman or the so-called classic (Angkor) period will certainly disagree with Luang Boribal in this sweeping statement of his.

The short but interesting chapter on ancient Buddhism in India also contains some statements to which one must take an exception. With all due respect for the lofty moral and ethic doctrines of the great Sage from Benares one must protest against the author's saying that only the stupid and ignorant profess Brahmanism.

If the author had ever read the Upanishads or studied the gospels of love preached by the South Indian Brahmanic teachers, he would not have pronounced such an unjust verdict.

With regard to the author's explanations concerning the Adibuddha and Bodhisattva ideas, the writer would say that while the Adibuddha belief arose due to a desire to explain the creation of the world, life and humanity, which desire is unfulfilled by the atheistic doctrine of Buddha Gautama, the belief in the Bodhisattva is simply a revival of the old Messianic longings which are met with in the religions of many ancient peoples, both in the old and the new world. Furthermore as the Bodhisattva idea is post-Christian it may well have been inspired by direct loans from the Christian religion.

On page 12 the author says that stone and brick buildings in India were unknown before the golden era of Buddhism under Emperor Asoka, well called the Constantine of Buddhism. He forgets, however, that early Indians have left us imposing ruins of stone-built and well-planned cities in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa (c^a 3000 B.C.) in the Indus valley.

In a following chapter we are told how the Buddha image was evolved by the two schools of Gandhara and Magadha, the latter school altering the European Hellenistic form of the great Teacher's

image into a more Indianized one. Foucher is, of course, the great authority on the origin of the Buddha image, but the author gives a very good and instructive description of the various attitudes of the Buddha with the characteristic mudras or signs of the hands by help of which one is enabled to define the particular event, in the life of the great Teacher, which the image represents.

This chapter is really helpful to students of the images of the Buddha, so is the note on unbaked clay ex-votos (Phra Phim) contributed by the learned Buddhist iconographer, H. R. H. Prince Damrong, who has proved, among other interesting things, that the unbaked clay Phra Phims found in the limestone caves in Siamese Malaya are composed partly of clay and partly of the crushed bones of Buddhist devotees who in this way hoped to acquire merit. This custom originated in Tibet and spread evidently downwards through the Srivijaya empire to the Malay peninsula. It is thus a Mahayanistic custom and reached here in the 7th-8th century A.D.

In treating of the so-called Dvaravati era the author has fully adopted the views of Prince Damrong, who supposes that Dvaravati embraced the, up till quite recent time, eight inner administrative circles (มณฑลชั้นใน) having for its capital Nakhon Pathom. The writer does not agree with the author about Nakhon Pathom for various reasons already set forth in his "Guide to Nakhon Pāṭhom,"[1] but would fix the capital more to the north either at Kampheng Sen, or perhaps at Lopburi. However, about the antiquity of the site of Nakhon Pāṭhom there can be no doubt. The beautiful stone images of the Buddha, dating back to the Gupta era of art (A.D. 317-807), prove that fully.

Whether the famous missionaries, Sona and Uthara, ever reached this country is open to doubt, and though the author claims that the term Suvarnaphumi covers both Burma and Siam extending over Cambodia right to the frontiers of Annam, it seems more than reasonable to suppose that by Suvarnaphumi is meant the coast of Southern Burma, at that time a Môn country, as this is situated just opposite the shores of India across the Gulf of Bengal.

Like Prince Damrong, the author presupposes that the original population of the former eight inner Monthons was Lawā. There is, however, no proofs whatever for this hypothesis. When the Indian

[1] Major Erik Seidenfaden, *Guide to Nakhon Pathom*, p. 9.

colonists arrived they most probably found a Môn or Proto-Môn population living in the Menam valley. This Môn population was no doubt mixed up with remnants of earlier tribes of Chaobun, Proto-Malays and even Melanesoids and Negritoes.

To state that the Buddha images from the late period of Dvaravati have Lawā faces is not correct either. If the author will study the photographs taken by the reviewer during Mr. Hutchinson's and his study trip to Bô Luang in November 1932, he will see that the Lawā faces are quite different from those of the Buddha images mentioned by him. Mr. le May, who is now working on his thesis on Buddhist iconography in Siam, and I have for years studied the evolution of the Buddha images of Dvaravati and we arrived at the conclusion that from a pure Gupta style in the beginning they deteriorated into first a Gupta-Môn, then Môn-Gupta and finally into a pure Môn type. The grotesque clay heads found at Phra Pathomchedi do not represent Lawā people but a negroid element or they may even be caricatures only.

With regard to the Brahmanic images representing Vishnu or the composition of Siva and Parvati wearing a tarbush-like headgear found at Mu'ang Srithep in the Sak valley, in the former Circle of Prachin as well as at Petchaburi and similar images found in many places in Cambodia, the author declares that neither he nor the French archæologists have been able to classify them for certain. They do not seem to belong to the Pre-Khmer period or that of Dvaravatī. However, as a Sanscrit inscription has been found at Mu'ang Srithep dating back to the 5th century at which time Fu-nan was the overlord of both Cambodia, Siam and Malaya we think that there is a possibility that these images may belong to an early school of art of that empire. The slender bodies of the images in question and the exaggerated proportions of the various anatomical parts seem to point the South Indian (Dravidian) style, which flourished during the early Pallava period in that country.

Under the period of Srīvijaya (A. D. 657-1157) the author mentions the beautiful Bodhisattva images, of which a very fine one of Lokesvara, now in the Bangkok Museum, represents a real treasure of art. As already stated in the writer's notes on Sir R. O. Winstedt "A history of Malaya" the relations of the Srīvijaya empire with Malaya will have to be taken up for renewed discussion after the latest discoveries made during the recent research work carried out by Dr. Quaritch Wales.

The last chapter of Luang Boribal's book is devoted to what he calls the Lophburi period.

In conformity with the views held by Prince Damrong, the author divides Siam into three districts or Anakhet, all of which he peoples with Lawā, namely, (1) Dvāravatī with Nakhon Pāṭhom as capital; (2) North Siam called Yāng or Yonok; and (3) North-Eastern Siam called Kotrabur or Panom with Nakhon Phanom as capital. These three States existed prior to the Khôm or Khmer, he says.

From what is known at present about the ancient population of Siam, i. e., at the time when Dvāravatī is supposed to have flourished, the writer can only agree in part with these ideas. First of all at what time were there no Khmer in N. E. Siam? The Khmer must have arrived very early in Indochina long before there was anything called Dvāravatī. As already said, the population of Dvāravatī was certainly a kind of Môn-speaking people mixed with remnants of Negritoes, Melanesoids and Malays. With regard to Northern Siam it is correct to assume that its population was Lăwa, as Mr. Hutchinson's and the reviewer's researches reveal, and this Lawā population even inhabited the banks of Lower Mê P'ing but, in spite of the name Lavo for ancient Lophburi, there is no proofs whatever that the Lăwa ever reached so far south. The nearest primitive Môn-Khmer to Lophburi, living a good distance away to the east in the Sak valley in Changvat Phetchabūn, are the Nia Kuol or Chaobun who speak a language quite different from that of the Lawā. The pre-Thai population of N. E. Siam is to-day represented by Chaobun in the north-west and south of the former circle of Khorat or Nakhon Rajasima; the Khmer in Eastern and Southern Khorat (Changvat Buriram), in Changvat Surin and Khukhan, besides the Oui people living in both of these changvats and in part of Changvat Roi Ett. The Môn-Khmer people, such as the Sô, Kalu'ng, Saek and Sui living in the changvats of Sakol Nakhon and Nakhon Phanom, are newcomers, having been deported hither during the wars with Viengchan and Annam more than a hundred years ago.

There are no traces of Lawā in N. E. Siam, whose original population must have consisted of above mentioned peoples with the Khmer predominating.

N. E. Siam represents, of course, the major part of the ancient Tchen-la of the land, by the Chinese called Wentan. Tchen-la of the land was at the end of the 8th century A. D. brought under the dominion of Fu-nan by King Jayavarman II.

The building of the chedi called Wat Kukut at Nakhon Lamphun is not a proof of the influence of Lavo but rather of direct influence from Ceylon, as this monument is a copy of the famous Sat Mahal Prasada, as already shown by Prof. G. Cœdès in his *Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental.*[1]

The author mentions the various famous chaussees built by the Khmer in order to keep up communications with the distant parts of their farflung empire. The first is the route from Angkhor Thom (Yasodharapura) to Phimai; the second, the author says, ran through Chantaburi to Lophburi. This is certainly a mistake. This second route probably ran westwards from Angkhor Thom through the Prachin Province, thereafter turning north-westwards to Lophburi. Remains of this route have been found and the writer hopes one day to be able to trace it up in its entire length. This route is no other than the legendary Thāng Phra Ruang soai nām.

The route said to have run from Lophburi through the Sak valley up to Pitsanuloke and Sukothai is unknown to the writer.

The author's hypothesis that there also were roads connecting Lophburi with Mu'ang Uthong, Nakhon Pāṭhom, Rajaburi and Petchaburi is interesting and well worth taking up for a closer examination in the field.

The author is speaking about a Lophburi school of art and architecture, but he is certainly too sweeping when he includes in this school all the Khmer temples of Inner, Western, North-Eastern and Eastern Siam. We do not see the reason why he should do so, as these temples are all built in the true Khmer style. It would be interesting to hear what the real difference is between the Khmer and the so-called Lophburi style. With regard to the images, however, one may speak of a Lophburi Khmer and a Lophburi Khmer-Thai style.

The author says that the difference between the stone sanctuaries constructed in honour of the Brahmanic gods and of the Buddha consisted in the former being built on an eminence while in the case of the latter their floors were level with the surrounding ground. This is not correct with regard to the Phimai temple, which is a Mahayanistic one and is approached by steps.

The author also says that the Phanom Rung temple was Brahmanic (because of its sculptures). The writer agreed with him formerly,

[1] BEFEO, vol. XXV, 1925 No. 1–2, p. 83.

but since a sculpture has been found representing Queen Maya giving birth to the Buddha one is not so sure. The explanation may be that this temple originally was dedicated to Brahmanism and later on made into a Buddhist sanctuary.

The writer is not sure that the author is right when he speaks about the two periods in Lophburi architecture, stating that the oldest buildings are those of bricks because so was the case in Cambodia, where the primitive Khmer used bricks to be followed by the stone buildings of the Angkor period.

Dvaravati was first conquered by the Khmer about A. D. 1000 when the Khmer had already substituted bricks for stones as building material. The brick built sanctuaries in Lophburi such as Thevasathan for instance are therefore probably built by Thai imitating the Khmer style.

When reviewing Luang Boribal's book the writer has been forced to criticize quite a number of his statements, but the impression as a whole is that here is a young, gifted Siamese archæologist, who is really trying to do something to spread the knowledge of and the love for archæology among his country-men, and as such he has done meritorious work.

October 1935. ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

เรื่อง พระพุทธสิหิงค์ กับ วิจารณ์ ของ หลวงวิจิตรวาทการ Concerning Phra Buddha Sihing and considerations (on the same)—by the same author—is a small book of 27 pages only. In this the author tries to prove that of the three images of the Buddha Sihing the one now kept in the National Museum in Bangkok is the true one. The images of Nakhon Srithammarat and Chiengmai both represent the Buddha in the attitude called Bang Maravichai, i.e., of Buddha's victory over the evil Tempter, besides resembling each other very much, the latter being in the true old Chiengsen style. The image kept in the Museum in Bangkok depicts the Buddha in the attitude called Bang Samathi, i.e., in his state of illumination and it bears unmistakably the imprint of Ceylonese handiwork.

The reason why the two first images resemble each other so much is, according to Prof. Cœdès, due to their styles both coming from the Kingdom of Magadha, during the period of the Pala dynasty (A. D. 730-1197) when its great Buddhist university, at Nalanda, was famous over all the East.

Having himself studied the Buddhist stone images preserved in the

fine Museum in Colombo, the writer is inclined to think that Luang Boribal is right in his conclusions and that the Bangkok image of the Buddha Sibing Nidana is really of Ceylonese handiwork. The image is certainly very old, though the legendary age of 1778 years seems less believable. It is a pity that the illustrations, nine altogether, of the images in question are so very badly reproduced.

Bangkok, October 1935. ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Review of "HISTORY OF INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND SIAM IN THE 17TH CENTURY," and "CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE AND SIAMESE KINGS AT THE BEGINNING OF TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE," by KIICHI GUNJI, Consul-General for Japan in Singapore.

My works on the historical relations between Japan and Siam consist of two books, written in Japanese. One is entitled "History of Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century"; and the other is "The correspondence between the Tokugawa Shogunate and Siamese Kings at the beginning of the Tokugawa period." The former was published in October 1934 by the Japanese Foreign Office, and the latter will be published shortly. The former deals with diplomatic intercourse, trade, voyages, and other negotiations between Japan and Siam from the time when international intercourse began to the end of the Seventeenth Century; and the latter chiefly deals with the national letters exchanged between the Kings of Siam and the Tokugawa Government, the despatch of Siamese envoys and various matters connected therewith from 1606 (the 11th year of Keicho) to 1629 (the 6th year of Kanyei). As a matter of course I inserted a chapter on the diplomatic relations between two countries in the former book. The latter, however, gives the detailed description of the same, taking out the chapter of international intercourse from the former.

The former book is made up of eight chapters and some supplementary articles. Chapter I is introductory, and explains the general ideas of the intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century. Chapter II. is entitled, "General appearance of Japan in 16th and 17th centuries from the point of view of foreign trade," and gives a few brief descriptions of the internal economic conditions and foreign diplomatic relations as a premise of the main subject, the above being chiefly secured from works of the present day. Then I entitled Chapter III. "General appearance of foreign relations of Siam in the

17th century," as I thought it necessary to give a brief description regarding the general conditions of Siam at that time, corresponding to the previous chapter. Furthermore I sub-divided this chapter into 7 sections, namely:

Introductory,
General remarks on commercial development in Siam,
General remarks regarding trade between Siam and Holland,
General remarks regarding trade between England, and Siam,
General remarks regarding commercial intercourse between Siam and China,
General remarks regarding relations between Siam and Portugal, and between Siam and Spain,
General remarks regarding relations between Siam and France.

This chapter also gives various explanations regarding politics, diplomacy, trade, etc., in Siam at that time. The source of the references are the various articles in Journals published by the Siam Society and old and new works by European authors.

Chapter IV., entitled "The Japanese Pirates, licensed trade boats and the peaceful development of the Japanese people," is sub-divided into three sections, namely, "Pirates," "The system of licensed trade boats" and "Japanese peaceful development abroad." This chapter deals chiefly with the general idea of the process of Japanese development toward South Sea districts in the 16th and 17th centuries. The reference for the above I secured from various old records by Japanese and Europeans, and as to the interpretation of the term "Tardan," which has no definite explanation so far, except the fact that this was a certain district or person to whom Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa Shogun, wrote and asked for some sweet scented woods, I put forth my own assumption after elaborate study.

Chapter V. and the subsequent chapters are the main part of this book. Chapter V. is entitled "National intercourse between Japan and Siam," and is sub-divided into the following 10 sections:

Diplomatic policy of Tokugawa Government,
The start of national intercourse between Japan and Siam,
The first visit to Japan by a Siamese envoy and ship,
Visits made by Siamese envoys in 1623 (the 9th year of Genwa),
Visit made by a Siamese envoy in 1626 (the 3rd year of Kanyei),
Visit made by a Siamese envoy in 1629 (the 6th year of Kanyei),
The interruption of the visit by Siamese envoy and ship,

An envoy despatched by King Prasat Tong of Siam,
Later national intercourse between the two countries,
The national intercourse between Japan and Pattani.

Section I. explains the diplomatic policy of the Japanese at the early stage of the Tokugawa period, referring to Japanese books and documents; and Section II. gives some idea as to the exchange of credentials and national presents before the visit made by the first envoy from Siam; and in Section III. and the rest I made several descriptions regarding the interruption of the Siamese envoy and ship, etc. I describe the state of things at the time in Siam, and give particulars of the contents of the credentials, by referring to Japanese old books such as "Ikokunikki" (Diary of Foreign relations done by Priest Suden who was charged in preparing credentials at this time), and "Tsukoichiran" (Description of Foreign Trade and intercourse done by some scholars in Tokugawa Government), etc. As to the titles of honour of the Siamese Kings, as well as the envoys' names, I tried to make clear by a thorough study of the old records kept by the British East Indies Co., and the Dutch East Indies Co., and a book entitled "Commercial intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century" by Sir Ernest Satow, by comparing various old records and by the co-operation of some experts in the Siamese language.

I entitled Chapter VI. "Japanese Adventures to Siam and Japanese Settlement," making a full explanation as to the conditions of Japanese life and colony in the Siamese Capital in those days. Regarding reference books, I should like to state that much obligation is owed by me to Japanese, European and Siamese authors.

This chapter is divided into 8 sections, namely:

Japanese first adventure to Siam,
General remarks of city of Ayudia in old days,
Japanese adventures to Siam in the 16th and 17th centuries,
Japanese and Japanese Settlement in Siam,
Reasons of decay of Japanese Settlement in Siam,
Names and enterprises of Japanese,
Traffic road between Japan and Siam, and
A fairway in Menam River.

In Section I., "Japanese first adventure to Siam," I expressed my doubt regarding the common opinion that the Royal Prince Takaoka of Japan died in the year 880 A. C. in the Malaya Peninsula and stated my opinion that it might be Siam, for the reason that at that

time Siam was the centre of traffic between the Orient and Europe and moreover was the local centre of Buddhism.

In Section II., I tried to describe the general position of the Siamese capital at the time of this Japanese activity; and in Section III., I decided that the Japanese first residence began from the end of the Tensho period (1573-1591 A. C.). In Section IV., "Japanese Residence and Colony," I tried to correct exaggerated ideas such as that the Japanese residents in Siam at this time were over 8,000, which I had seen in several old works by Japanese authors. All the above sections were written after careful study and comparing the works of Japanese as well as European authors. Then in Section V., "The reason of the decline of Japanese residence," I explained that the chief reasons of the decline were the brutality of the Japanese colonists, who were almost defeated warriors in the War of Ohsaka between the Tokugawa and the Toyotomi, and the commercial rivalry of the Hollanders. I denied that the national isolation policy taken by the Tokugawa Government was an important reason of this decline, though it was the chief cause of the decline of the Japanese colony in other parts of the South Seas. In Section VI., "Names and enterprises of Japanese," I tried to make clear the names and the enterprises of others than Yamada Nagamasa, the well-known Chief of the Japanese colony at a certain time; but it is almost impossible to ascertain more than twenty well-known persons. Section VII. is the explanation of the "Description of the traffic road from Siam to Japan," which is a record done by a Japanese navigator in the period of Genwa (1615-1623), and I thought that many Japanese authors made many mistakes in explanation of of this Record, caused chiefly by their indifference to the geography of Siam, and the names of ports in that and neighbouring countries. I tried and was able to make clear the above from the various records and documents of the British and Dutch East Indies companies. In Section VIII., I explained the traffic and the names of places along the River Menam and succeeded in correcting the mistakes of many Japanese authors by study of Siamese and European documents.

Chapter VII. deals with "Yamada Nagamasa, the most well-known leader of Japanese colonists"; and this is sub-divided into 11 sections, namely: Introduction, Records regarding Nagamasa, Nagamasa's growth and his crossing the sea to Siam, Nagamasa's first rise in the world, Revolution in Siam and Nagamasa's position, Oya Calahom's

characteristic and his ambition, Nagamasa appointed Ligor Governor, Nagamasa in Ligor, Asanuanomiya-ema (Votive picture presented to Asama Shrine in Japan by Nagamasa as a gesture in expressing his thanks to the Shrine for a successful war in co-operation with a Siamese King against Portugal or Cambodia, a Siamese enemy), Oin Yamada (Nagamasa's son), and the Siamese King's attack on the Japanese settlement. All these were studied from Japanese materials in old times, as well as from records made by Van Vliet, who was staying in Siam from 1629 to 1634 as a representative of the Dutch East Indies Co. Van Vliet wrote two useful works during his stay in Siam. One is named "Description of the Kingdom of Siam," which describes the geography, products, industry and other social conditions in Siam. The other is called "Historical Account of Siam in the 17th century," reporting minutely the Revolution in Siam in 1647; it was presented to the Dutch Governor in Java. This was published originally in the Dutch language and in 1663 was translated into French at Paris; and afterwards, in 1914, Mr. Mundie made a translation of this book into English on behalf of Prince Damrong, the President of Siamese Royal Institute of Arts. One copy of this translation is left in Siam at present, which I think is the most valuable record for the students who make investigation of the Siamese political situation and our Nagamasa's activity at that time. I wrote this chapter by referring to Van Vliet's works, "Siam Fudo Gunki" (Description of Japanese activity in Siamese politics and war), "Ikoku Nikki" (Diary of Foreign Relations between Japanese and Foreign Countries) and various kinds of works of foreign authors. And I not only discovered several fresh facts from Van Vliet's works, but also I could produce proof of Nagamasa's deeds and achievements in Siam in concrete form, which was only an imagination in past days. Furthermore as to the year of his death, I could also conclude it to be the end of 1630 or beginning of 1631, though it was heretofore believed to be 1636 (the 13th year of Kanyei).

I entitled Chapter VIII. "Japanese-Siamese Trade." There was indeed, a fairly vigorous trade connection between those two countries at the beginning of the 17th century, and I believe that the most important purpose of Siam, in making efforts to promote diplomatic relations by sending an envoy and credentials, was for the cultivation of the trade with Japan. In those days the Royal family in Siam was enjoying the monopoly of foreign trade, so the Kings of

Siam tried to send sapan-wood, deerskin, etc., to Japan, and to import copperware, silver, gold, weapons, etc. Furthermore the undermentioned facts may be considered as motives which drove the Kings of Siam to be enthusiastic admirers of Japanese trade:—(1) The Dutch merchants, who had their bases in Java, were gaining tremendous profit by exporting European and Siamese goods to Japan and bringing Japanese goods to Siam by return voyage. (2) Nagamasa and other prominent Japanese were engaging in trade with Japan by sending vessels to Japan, and they introduced "Japan" to the Kings of Siam.

In those days the Siamese-Japanese trade was carried on chiefly by the Dutch East Indies Company; and English and Japanese merchants as well as Kings of Siam joined in this trade later.

This chapter is divided into 11 sections, namely: The Products of Siam, The merchandise of Siamese-Japanese trade, The Export and Import Prices, Japano-Siamese trade by English, Japano-Siamese trade by Dutch merchants, Japano-Siamese trade by Siamese, Japano-Siamese trade by Japanese, Special commercial customs in connection with the Japano-Siamese trade, Monetary system in Siam, Comparison of Japanese money with Siamese, and metrical units in Siam and the Customs Tariff in Siam. The materials and data were taken from the old and present records in Japan, records of the Dutch East Indies Company and the British East Indies Company, and several works of European authors. Regarding Section X., "Comparison of Japanese money with Siamese," I studied this by not only making references to the above-mentioned materials, but also by weighing myself old Siamese silver coins, which were used in the 16th and 17th centuries, with Mr. le May, the Adviser to the Commercial Department of the Siamese Government and well-noted for his researches in regard to old coins in Siam.

I attached as supplementary articles:—(1) Administration in Siam in the period of the Ayuthia Kingdom, (2) a study of the Royal family system in Siam, (3) Official ranks in Siam, (4) System of Slave classes in Siam, and (5) Ancient Chinese books and documents regarding Siam (15 pieces in number). As to (1) I attached this to my book as I thought it necessary to furnish accurate knowledge of the systems of politics and administration in Siam in order to study the actual position of national intercourse between Japan and Siam; and this I wrote by reference to works by Prince Damrong, the pre-

sident of the Royal Institute of Arts in Siam, modifying it with some Japanese books and history.

The purpose of the attachment of (2), which I wrote up from the works of Messrs. Eugene Giber (Bulletin de la Société Academique Indo-Chine, Deuxième Serie) and Carl Bock (Temples and Elephants), is to make reference to the study of the outline of the social system of Siam, as there were many Royal families and the country had been governed by the same families. The system of official ranks in Siam is a very hard one to understand. However, in considering the fact that the Siamese race, in origin, started in Nanchow, Yunnan Province, this system—with various other administrative systems of the old Chinese—does greatly resemble the systems of our "Taihorei" or Order of Taiho Era (701-703 A. C.), which was also taken from the Chinese system; and furthermore I thought this Siamese Official Rank system was influenced by Indian civilization. Judging from this fact, I can say that the oriental nations have many common civilizations, and this is worthy to be studied carefully. In particular there were many Japanese who secured from Siamese Kings various official ranks owing to their gallant deeds. I, therefore, attached this to my book by studying various works by Europeans, and I have not failed to mention also the Japanese old Rank system, which is similar to the Siamese.

In order to make clear the conditions of the slave class, I attached (4) in order to show the real life of the mass class by referring to various works of foreigners. Then as to (5), I intended to let everybody know the true value of Chinese old books, for the study not only of Siam but also of all southern districts, as there are many descriptions of geographic study and national products in those days of Siam, as well as various districts hereabouts; and also they contain very valuable records in regard to the traffic and intercourse between China and Siam.

My second book, "The correspondence between Tokugawa Shogunate and Siamese Kings at the beginning of the Tokugawa period" is finished by including Chapter V. of my "History of Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the 17th century" and by amending and completing it with the up-to-date materials since found. This second book consists of the following 15 chapters:—

1. Introductory.
2. Our diplomatic policy at the beginning of Tokugawa period.

3. National and Commercial intercourse between Japan and Siam and various examples of assistance made by Japanese in Siam.
4. First motive of the King of Siam for opening trade and national intercourse with Japan.
5. Opening of national intercourse between Japan and Siam.
6. The first visit to Japan made by a Siamese envoy and ship (1616).
7. Visit made by Siamese envoy in 1621 (the 7th year of Genwa).
8. Visit made by Siamese envoy in 1623 (the 9th year of Genwa).
9. Visit made by Siamese envoy in 1626 (the 3rd year of Kanyei).
10. Visit made by Siamese envoy in 1629 (the 6th year of Kanyei).
11. Interruption of the visits of Siamese envoys and ships.
12. Envoy despatched to Japan by King Plasa Tong.
13. Later intercourse between the two countries.
14. The official intercourse between Japan and Pattani.
15. Conclusion.

This book is now about to be published.

The most remarkable amendment of this book is made by referring to "A visit made by Siamese envoy in 1616 (the 2nd year of Genwa) and the study of the Siamese credentials," which was discovered in "Koun Zuihitsu" by assistant Professor S. Iwao, of the Formosan University. The visit made by a Siamese envoy in the 2nd year of Genwa was unknown before this discovery; but it was made clear by this study, so I corrected my opinion and made 1616 instead of 1621 the date when the first envoy of Siam came to Japan.

The Japanese materials or documents referred to by me in the above-mentioned book are 62 in number; the Chinese ancient books are 11, and there are various works of contemporary authors. The European books used are as follows:

Diary of Richard Cocks. Edited by Edward Maunde Thompson. Hakluyt Society, London.

Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the close of the Sixteenth Century, by Antonio de Morga. Translated from the Spanish by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley. Hakluyt Society, London.

The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613. Edited from Contemporary Records by Sir Ernest M. Satow, K. C. M. G. Hakluyt Society, London.

The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies. Edited by Mr. P. A. Tiele (Second Volume). Hakluyt Society, London.

The Voyage and Works of John Davis the Navigator. Edited by Albert Hastings Markham. Hakluyt Society, London.

Records of the Relations Between Siam and Foreign Countries in the 17th Century. Copied from Papers preserved at the India Office. Printed by order of the Council of the Vajiranana National Library, Bangkok, 1915.

Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1878. Singapore, 1878.

Temples and Elephants: The Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through Upper Siam and Lao, by Carl Bock, London, 1884.

The Voyage and Adventure of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, The Portuguese. (Done into English by Henry Cogan). With an Introduction by Arminius Vambery, London.

Essai sur les Relations du Japon et de l'Indochine. Par N. Peri. Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome XXIII—1923.

A new History of the Relations of the Kingdom of Siam, by Monsieur de la Loubère, Envoy Extraordinary from the French King, to the King of Siam, in the year 1687, and 1688. Done out of French, by A. P. Gen, R. S. S.

Kaempher's History of Japan, together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690-92.

Historic Sommaire du Royaume de Cambodge.

Relation de l'Ambassade de M. le Chevalier de Chaumont à la cour du Roy de Siam.

Bulletin de la Société Academique Indo-Chinoise, Deuxieme Serie, Tome III.

The Kingdom and People of Siam by Sir John B. Bowring, 1857.

A History of Siam, by W. A. R. Wood, London.

English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century by John Anderson, London, 1890.

Stanley Gibbons Priced Catalogue of Stamps of Foreign Countries, 1915.

Guide to Nakon Patom by Major Erik Seidenfaden. Published by the Royal State Railways of Siam, Bangkok, 1929.

Turpins History of Siam. Translated from the French by B. O. Cartwright, B. A., Bangkok, 1908.

Notes on the Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the Seventeenth century, by E. M. Satow.

Siam, By W. A. Graham, M. R. A. S., London.

The Research of Ptolemy's Geography. By Colonel G. E. Gerini. Hobson-Jobson.

Journals of the Siam Society, Bangkok, Siam.

Dutch Papers, Extracted from the "Dagh Register." 1624-1642.

Oriental Correspondents, East Asiatic Company.

The Crawfurd Papers. A Collection of Official Records relating to the Mission of Dr. John Crawfurd, sent to Siam by the Government of India in the year 1821.

The Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam, A. D. 1688. Nicolas Gervaise.

Jeremias Van Vliet's Historical Account of Siam in the 17th Century. Translated into English by W. H. Mundie for Prince Damrong.

Jeremias Van Vliet's Description of the Kingdom of Siam. Translated into English by L. F. Van Rauenswaag (Published in the Journal of the Siam Society. Vol. VII., Part I. Bangkok, 1910).

Siam, by Ernest Young.

Siamese State Ceremonies, by H. G. Quaritch Wales.

Siam, From Ancient to Present Times.

Tachard, Voyage de Siam des pères jesuites, Paris, 1686,

" Second Voyage du père Tachard et des jesuites au Royaume de Siam, Paris, 1689.

" Voyage de Siam des pères jesuites, Amsterdam, 1687.

" A Relation of the Voyage to Siam performed by six jesuites, London, 1688.