

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## I. FAIRY TALES OF COMMON ORIGIN.

Those who have read Dr. R. S. le May's charming book, *An Asian Acready*, will remember the fairy tale about Lazybones (p.p. 223-228), how he captures the seven daughters of Indra by stealing their wings and tails when they came down from heaven to bathe in a sylvan pool; also how later on he forces them to come down at his beck and call by shooting arrows up into the heaven from his magic bow, and how all seven became his wives.

This fairy tale is found also among the Melanesians living on the Banks' Islands to the south east of New Guinea. And according to the late Dr. Leo Frobenius' (vide "The Childhood of Man" p. p. 395-397), it forms part of the Melanesian solar myths. It says that once upon a time some women who had wings like birds came down from heaven; they came down to bathe in the sea, and when they bathed they took off their wings—like Indra's daughters. And as Quat, the solar god, or rather hero, was going about he chanced to see them, so he took up one pair of wings and went back into his village and buried them at the foot of the main pillar of his house. When the heavenly women had finished their bathing they took on their wings and flew back to heaven, all but one who could not find her wings because Quat had stolen them. She therefore had to stay on earth and became Quat's wife. The story goes on to say that one day, when the heavenly maid was sitting weeping at the pillar of her husband's house, her tears were so abundant that they washed away the earth concealing her wings. So she got her wings back and flew up to heaven. Quat by shooting arrows up into the sky made a ladder by which he climbed up to heaven where he found his wife. However, when returning to earth, the ladder broke and Quat was dashed down and killed. The maid flew back to heaven. Though the details are somewhat different, it is easy to recognize the main theme.

The next place where I have been able to find this same fairy tale is in a Danish collection of Klaus Berntsen's *Folke Eventyr* (The people's fairy tales) in the tale called *Swan's Wings* (p. p. 260-264) according to which the peasant boy, Esben, surprises three bewitched princesses who, during their nightly dance on St. John's night, shed their swan's skins. Esben steals the skin of the youngest princess, and woos her for his wife, but only after many tribulations, including the fight with and victory over a wizard, who by his magic powers had imprisoned the three princesses in a glass mountain, is the loving couple brought together. This tale differs somewhat from the two first quoted but still the main theme is the same. Finally should be mentioned the old Norse tale about the Walkyries, the winged daughters of Odin whose duty it was to escort the souls of warriors fallen on the battlefield to Walhalla in Asgaard, the celestial abode of the ancient Norse gods. According to *Children's stories from the Northern Legends* by M. Dorothy Belgrave & Hilda Hart, in the tale *Wayland the Smith* (p. p. 103-113), three Walkyries, Hladgrun, Orlun and Alvit, pining for a respite of their duties, begged the Allfather for permission to journey earthward where they might by the side of a lake called Wolf's Water somewhere in Scandinavia. Now it so happened that on the other-side of this lake there was a hunting lodge belonging to three princes: Egil, Slagfidir and Wayland. The meeting between the three celestial maidens and the three young princes resulted in intermarriage, and they all lived happily for 7 years together. But alas! one day came the summons of the Allfather, and the three Walkyries had to leave their loving husbands with bleeding hearts.

This last tale seems to be the most divergent of the four here mentioned. The main theme however of celestial maidens going earthwards and becoming the wives of mortal beings is the same, though the princesses in *Swan's wing* were only bewitched humans.

Now in Dr. le May's tale of Lazybones, there are two more items which call for the attention of the folklorist. The first is about the maid in the elephant's tusk who comes out during the absence of Lazybones and makes his food unknown to him. The same tale is also found in Central Thailand but here she comes out of a gourd, and therefore is known as Nang Fak Thong. Almost exactly the same tale is met among the Danish fairy tales, though the supernatural maiden here does not come out of an elephant's tusk or of a gourd.

The other item about the magic drum, the magic pot and the magic metal pot which Lazybones obtained from the three aged temple guardians by trickery has its counterpart in one of Grimm's Fairy tales entitled *The Knapsack, the Hat and the Horn* and in the tale called *The Table Cloth and the Leather Bag*, in a collection of Danish fairy tales called *The Fairy Talebook* by Kappel Becker, Karl Jakobsen and Holger Rützebeck.

We now come to the question of which of the above mentioned versions is the *primary tale*, as the Finnish "historico-geographical" school is attempting to establish in each case of such fairy tales. We should say that because of the enormous distances between the countries from Melanesia to Denmark, where the tales of the celestial maidens are found, none of the versions treated above could represent the primary tale. The geographical position of the primary tale would in this case be somewhere in India or perhaps in ancient Iran. It would therefore be interesting if anybody possessing a thorough knowledge of the fairy tales of India or ancient Iran would continue the research work here begun in all modesty.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 25th August 1941.

P. S. My friend His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat, the present President of the Thailand Research Society, has kindly drawn my attention to the *Norā*, which is the name of a primitive kind of dramatic dancing still existing among the Thai people of the Malay Peninsula. The real name is that of the heroine, *Manoharā*, from the *Sudhana Jātaka* of the *Pañcāsa Jātaka* or the *Fifty Birth stories* (of the Buddha). The tale is of the beautiful daughter of the king of the Kinnaras, the mythical race of bird people (half man half bird)<sup>2</sup> who according to ancient Indian belief lived on the slopes of Mount Kailāsa. In this tale the princess on one of her excursions in the jungle is snared by a hunter who presents his booty to the King of Pañcāla later to become the beloved wife of the son of that king.

<sup>2</sup> Representations of this mythical people are met with in the gilt figures standing on the terrace of Phra Thepa Bidorn—the Pantheon—in the Wat Phra Kaeo enclosure, Grand Palace.

Next follows some difficulties for the lovers during which the princess flees back to her father, but in the end they are happily reunited.<sup>3</sup> This tale is well known in Burma too, and as Prince Dhani himself says, it is tempting to believe in an Indian origin of it. As will be seen there is a certain likeness between this tale and those mentioned above, and it may therefore belong to the same cycle of myths about winged heavenly maidens visiting our earth; but I do not think, for various reasons that it can possibly represent the primary tale either.

E. S.

## 2. EARLY TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN DENMARK AND SIAM.

Referring to the joint paper written by His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat and myself, which we published under the above heading in *JSS* Vol xxxi, Part 1, in March 1939, I would now like to point out that His Royal Highness Prince Damrong Rajanubhab had very briefly mentioned these trade relations in his พระราชพงศาวดารกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์รัชกาลที่ ๒ page 277, i. e., *The Royal Chronicle of Krung Ratanakosintri, the second reign*. I regret that I was ignorant of this fact when writing the historical part of the above-mentioned paper as I, at that time, had not yet read (or rather re-read) this *Royal Chronicle*.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, the 27th September 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *The Chatri* by H. H. Prince Dhani Nivat in *JTRS*. vol. xxxii Part 1.

### 3. THE NAME OF LOPBURI.

It is well known that the original name of Lopburi was Lavapuri, but the exact significance of this name has been variously explained. Some writers have opined that this ancient town was the capital of a southern Lawā state, and that it received its name in that way. Such a suggestion is, however, more than doubtful as this part of the Menam plain seems never to have been occupied by the Lawā, whose ancient habitat has only been traced as far south as the middle of the Ping river valley. On the contrary, so far as historical and archaeological evidence goes, we must presume that Lopburi was the site of a very ancient Môn settlement, and that it was very probably, at least for some time, the capital of that highly civilized and ancient Hinduized Môn kingdom which has provisionally been given the name of Dvaravati.

Anyhow, if the site and region of Lopburi should ever have been occupied by any primitive, or so-called primitive, people prior to the Môn, it seems more reasonable to presume that these were Chaobon or Nia Kuol of whom quite a number are still living in the Menam Sak valley to the north-east of Lopburi.

• Though the Lawā and Nia Kuol, or Chaobon, both belong to the Môn-Khmer family they are quite distinct peoples especially as regards language. From counterparts in ancient India we know that Lavapura took its name from Lava, one of Rama's sons, and the name was probably bestowed on the town by Indian colonists during the early centuries of the Christian era. The name Lopburi is the shortened or corrupted Thai form of the original name, and the local people even now often change it into Nokburi!

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1932, p. 597, under *Miscellaneous Communications: Hathur and Arura*, Mr. Jwala Sahai Misra gives a number of examples of how the name of several towns in the Punjab originally under one form have been

changed by the local people for the sake of convenience into shorter ones, such as :

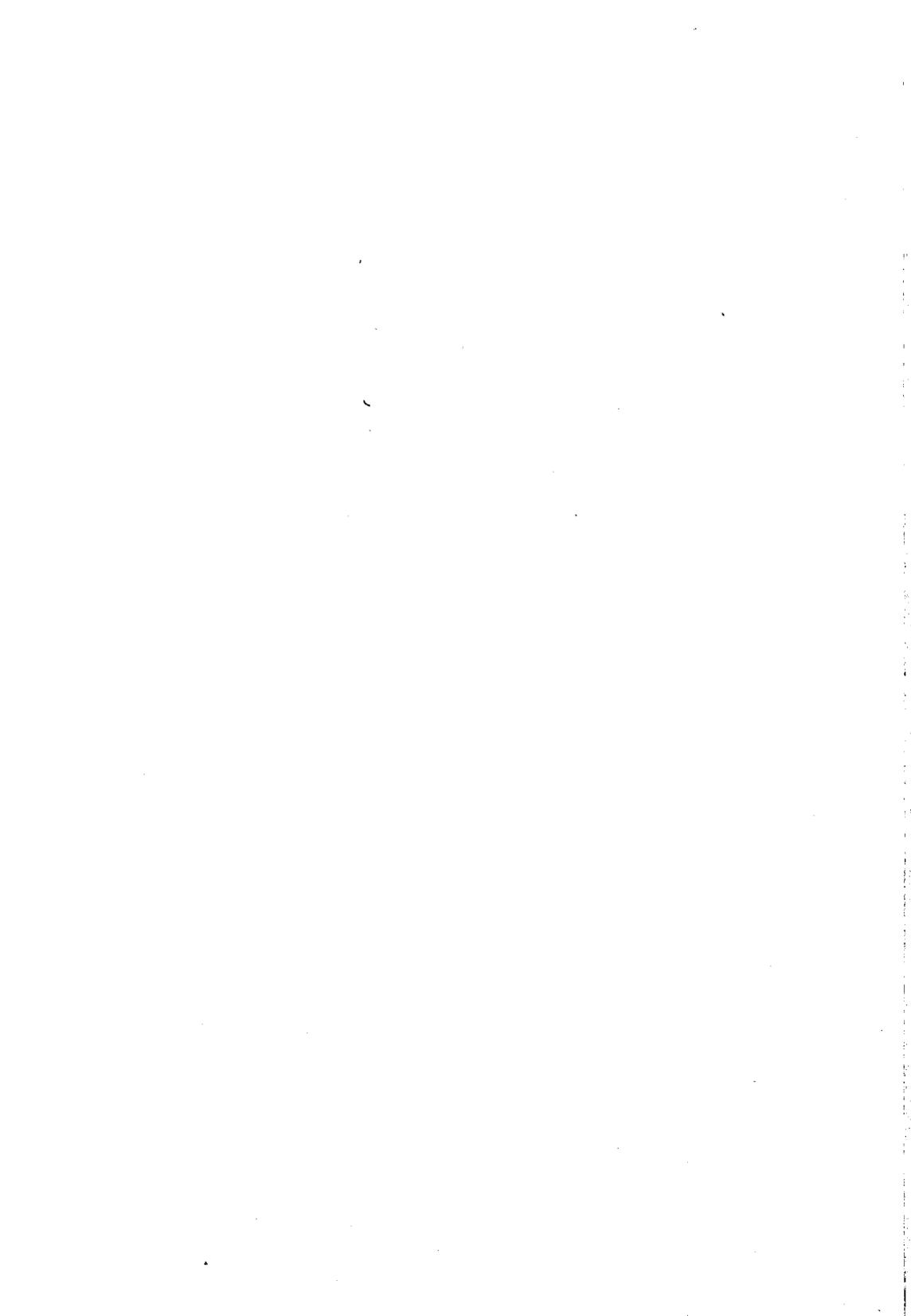
Chandratata	to	Chaiot
Lavapura	to	Lahore,
Kusapura	to	Kasur,
Upaplavija	to	Palwal
Gurugrama	to	Gurgaon.

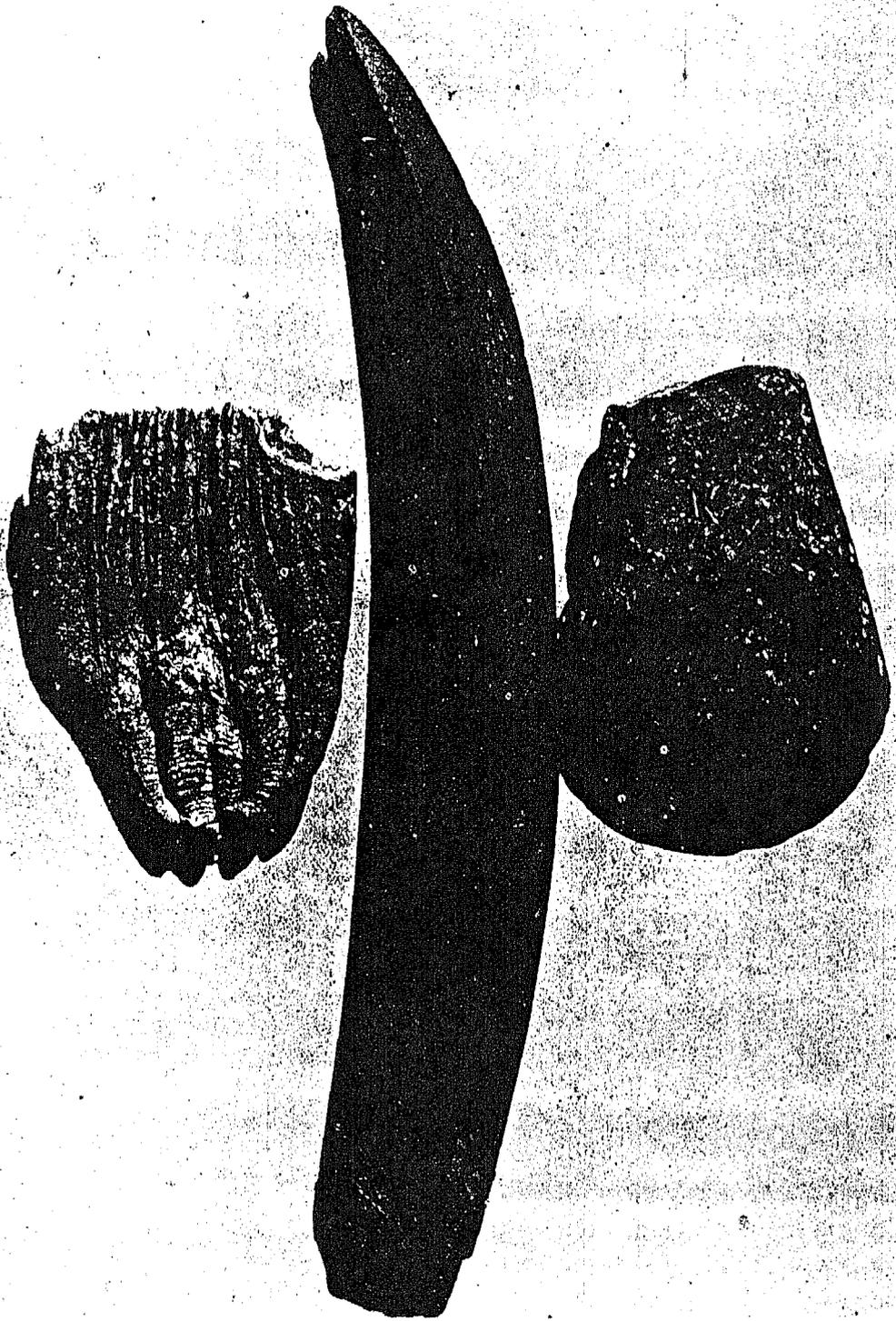
From the above cited examples it will be seen that, while in India Lavapura has been changed into Lahore, here in Thailand it has become Lopburi which is much nearer to the original name. Kusapura was the town of the other son of Rama, and has so far, no counterpart in our country. According to the map Kusapura or Kasur lies south and a little east of Lahore or Lavapura. Given the same orientation here we find Khu Mu'ang (Sena Raja Nakhon or Kitkin), which according to tradition and local myth cannot represent Kusapura. However, as our country is far from having been explored sufficiently, archaeologically speaking, or to any considerable degree at least, the vestiges of such an ancient town corresponding to Kusapura may still be found.

There are, of course, any number of original names of old towns in this country which have been shortened for convenience (or should one say out of lingual laziness!) Examples are Nouthaburi into Nonburi and Kanchanaburi into Kan or Kanburi and Nakhon Lampang and Nakhon Sritammarat which are shortly called Lakhon. In *phak* Isān or North East Thailand we have other examples such as the amphoe town of Suvannaphum (Changvat Roi Et) becoming simply Siphum and Yasothorn (Changvat Ubon) being shortened to Mu'ang Yot.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 30th September 1940.





From right to left: the axehead is 10 centimetres long. The length of the knife is 26 centimetres. Both found at Tam Bô Saco about 40 kilometres north of Phrae (just north of Rongkwang). The fossilized monitor's paw was found between Ampho' Bun Yu'n and Nā Noi.

#### 4. ON A FIND OF NEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS.

Colonel Phra Phlaengsathan, formerly of the Provincial Gendarmerie, sent me last year the accompanying photograph on which are seen a broken stone axe, a stone knife and the fossilized paw of a monitor (มู). These things were found a couple of years ago when the new motor road from Phrae to Nakhon Nān was constructed. The place of the find is just north of Rongkwang. The stone knife is very well made and has a length of 28 centimetres, the breadth at the hilt being 4 centimetres. It is slightly curved. The material from which it is made seems to be a very hard sandstone greyish in colour. The Colonel says that another stone knife was found at the same place but he did not actually see that. Both the knives as well as the axehead are neolithic implements. Though neolithic axeheads are found fairly often both in the north and south of Thailand, the occurrence of stone *knives* must be very rare. Personally I have never seen any, and as far as I know there are none either in the collections of neolithic implements belonging to the National Museum here or among Mr. Havmøller's rich and varied collections from the Malay Peninsula.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, the 8th July, 1941.

#### 5. ON THE RHODODENDRON MICROPHYTON.

In *JTRS* xxxii, 1, under Mr. H. B. Garrett's note, page 38, it was stated that *Rhododendron microphyton* was found on the area of Doi Langka and mention was made also of my report of its find on the plateau called Phu Krading in Loey province by the late Mom Chao Prasobsri whose photographs of Rhododendrons were reproduced. The statement, as far as I was concerned, should be corrected on the authority of Dr. A. F. G. Kerr, who now writes that the Rhododendrons in the photograph were not *R. microphyton* but *R. Ludwigianum*.

Bangkok, 26th August, 1941.

D.



## 6. BUDDHIST ART IN SIAM.

I should be grateful if you would allow me to make the following observations upon Professor Coedès' kind review of the above work in Volume xxxi Part 2 (December 1939) of the *Journal of the Thailand Research Society*, a review which which I have studied with the greatest interest.

Before dealing with the subject-matter, I should like to say something of both the aim and the scope of the book. After paying a tribute, which I much appreciate from such a critical source, to the method, precision and aesthetic sense to be found in my work, Professor Coedès expresses a certain regret that, in describing beautiful specimens of Buddhist sculpture, I have preferred to allow my emotions full scope and to dwell on their aesthetic qualities, rather than to confine myself to a cool and objective analysis of the elements which have produced that impression. I admit the impeachment, but the intention was deliberate and I would like to be allowed to repeat what I wrote in acknowledgement of Dr. Carthew's review in *The Bangkok Times* of November 24th, 1938.

Out of the many reviews from Europeans which I have received, I think that Dr. Carthew is the only one who has fully understood the feeling which prompted me to write the book, and who has shown a complete sympathy with its purpose. Dr. Carthew has realised that, in spite of the use of the word in the sub-title, I did not set out to write just a *history*, but rather to try to piece together a mosaic or, as he calls it, a tapestry picture of the beauty to be found in the art of Thailand, if one has the eyes to see it and the heart to feel it. When he says, "This very attractive theme of beauty weaves its way like a thread of silver through nearly every page of the book; and, to me, everything else in it appears to be quite subsidiary," he is expressing in exactly the right words the aim I had in view, and

that I have succeeded in my task with at least one reader affords me, and will continue to afford me, the most lasting satisfaction.

One of the most perplexing, if interesting, aspects of reviews, from the author's standpoint, is in what different guises he appears to reviewers. One speaks of the sense of beauty underlying the whole work. Another classifies me as primarily a historian and an archaeologist, but adds that I do not shrink from aesthetic valuation! One says that the basis of discussion is carefully laid, the reasoning cautiously explained and the conclusions modestly suggested. Another says that my assessments of the relative aesthetic and spiritual merits of the sculptures concerned are set down with an *ex cathedra* assurance, which the lay reader or the specialist student must accept or reject as a whole. This will show how difficult it is for an author to present his case, clearly and without possibility of misunderstanding, to all readers. It will be well, therefore, for me to state that I wish the work to be judged mainly from the aesthetic or art, and only incidentally from the historical or archaeological, point of view. As for my own collection of sculpture, many pieces from which are illustrated in the book, each example was chosen to take its proper place in the mosaic picture I was attempting to create, but the test for its inclusion lay primarily in its artistic or aesthetic value, and not in its archaeological interest. I am glad to see that most reviewers have recognised this fact.

The first eight pages of my work are intended to strike the keynote of the whole theme, and they constitute, in my own mind, not only a necessary introduction to the subject of the book but also, perhaps, my chief contribution to the cause which we, who study and try to interpret Eastern art, have most at heart. And yet it is curious to note that nearly all the European reviewers, the three chief exceptions being Dr. Carthew, Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, and Monsieur A. van Genep in the *Mercur de France*, have, to all intents and purposes, ignored this introduction and dealt with the work purely from its archaeological and historical aspects. On the other hand, nearly all the reviews which have reached me from India and Ceylon have laid especial emphasis on the introductory part of the book. This result, a little disappointing if not altogether unexpected, only shows me how essential it was to try and analyse the differences that underlie the Eastern and Western approaches to art, if we of the West are to understand fully the beauties of Eastern art.

With regard to the scope of the work, Professor Coedès suggests that I have in a sense rather neglected two aspects of art and archaeology in Thailand, namely architecture and decoration, a more profound study of which would without doubt help us to resolve various problems of origin and evolution which sculpture in itself is unable to elucidate. This is, in the main, true, but there were good reasons for this apparent neglect. In the first place, my thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was limited to a certain maximum of words and, though I could, of course, have enlarged the work subsequently, this would have unduly delayed publication, which, as it was, did not take place until a year and a half after its acceptance by the University. Secondly, and of more importance, I had made no serious study of architecture and decoration during my residence in Thailand and, this being so, it would have entailed years of hard study in Europe before I could have felt myself competent to embark on such a project. My own feeling is that, if Mr. Healey, the Society's honorary architect, would devote a number of years to a critical study of all the known types of architecture in Thailand, he would be doing us art students a great service. As I said on page 130, "Indeed, the temple architecture of the Tai needs further careful study and, although Döhning has published an interesting work on this subject, his treatment is more descriptive and purely technical than analytical or artistic." In writing these words, I had Mr. Healey in mind as the obvious authority to carry out such a study.

So much for the aim and the scope of the work. Now for Professor Coedès' general comments on the work itself, which, as may be imagined, have given me serious food for thought but which, to own satisfaction, are neither so heavy nor so numerous as I had, with some trepidation, expected.

In dealing with Chapter II, he rather regrets that I should have followed him so faithfully in establishing my chronological order and in my division of the iconographic material into its various schools. He says that, when he laid down these provisional divisions in 1926, it was for the especial purpose of classifying the exhibits in the National Museum into separate and distinctive sections, and that he had no intention of creating a definite nomenclature. He adds that, although I have improved upon his nomenclature, I have adhered to the general plan; and he would have preferred me to postpone the publication of such a plan pending a more detailed study of the whole

problem.

While I respect Professor Coedès' opinion in this matter, I can assure him that I only adopted the scheme (which he must remember he did publish himself) after mature consideration and, on further reflection, I still do not feel clear in my mind as to what alternative plan I could have adopted, or how I could have bettered it. I note that he himself makes no suggestions in this regard, and it seems to me that the only two schools which *may* possibly require some revision in the future are those of Dvāravātī and U-T'ong, to which he specifically refers. Even here I cannot help feeling that these names fulfil a certain function at the present time, even if our knowledge of the history attaching to them is still meagre in extent, in inviting research and challenging criticism.

Professor Coedès next observes that I was wrong in affirming that there were no buildings (*édifices*) of the Dvāravātī period still extant, and draws my attention to the curious basements or plinths, of a very Indian character, excavated in 1928 at Wat Yai, near to the town of Prapatom, and reproduced by Luang Boribal in his *Ancient Monuments of Siam*, Part 1, plate iv. It is true that on page 6 I said, "Of the earliest forms of architecture erected in Siam. . . . . nothing is known, as there is nothing standing above ground on which to form an idea as to its style;" and on page 27 I repeated, "There are no buildings of the Dvāravātī period above ground to-day in Siam;" but in my own defence I must say that I was referring to *buildings* as such, as will be seen from the context on page 6, when I go on to state that "Khmer temples and ruins are still to be seen." What I had in mind was that one could as yet form no general idea as to the appearance of a temple or sanctuary of that early period and, although I admit that I overlooked the instance to which he refers (unnecessarily so, as I have a copy of Luang Boribal's book in my possession and referred to it on page 17, footnote 4) such a basement as the one at Wat Yai, or that at Pong Tūk, brings to the mind no very concrete picture of what the superstructure was like. It is in this connection that my reference to Wat Kukut at Lamp'un on page 98 is interesting, though, as I suggested there, it is only a possibility (yet not by any means without the bounds of reason) that that temple is the one remaining example of the architectural style of Dvāravātī.

On the subject of Çrivijaya, I fully realise the rapid strides that

research has been making in the last year to two, and all I could do in my work was to try and bring the fruits of that research up to date as far and as accurately as possible. This I hope I have done. I am afraid that the date, September 1937, given in my Preface is a polite fiction. The book was finished in December 1936, accepted by the Cambridge University Press in May 1937, and actually began to be proofed in July of that year, so that the researches of Mr. F. M. Schnitger were not available to me in time; nor was Professor Coedès' reply to Dr. Quaritch Wales, though I managed later on to include a footnote (No. 1 on page 41) to the effect that he was making such a reply.

With regard to the origin of the Khmer sanctuary type, to which I had found interesting parallels in the Central Provinces of India, I have taken note of the Professor's reference to the temples of Bhitargaon. The interesting and, to me, unexpected aspect of these temples in Central India, referred to by Sir A. Cunningham, Beglar, and Codrington, is that they are all of Gupta origin, and date from suggested periods between the fifth and eighth centuries of our era. But there is still no known direct connection between Gupta and Khmer art and architecture (even in the Funan or pre-Angkor period the Gupta influence in Buddhist statuary is thought to have come through the intermediary of Dvāravati), and all the other evidence available up to now seems to point to a connection between the Khmer and the Pallava dynasty of South-eastern India. As we proceed, the problems of purely Khmer origins seem to grow more and more complex.

On the theme of Tai (and Môn) idealism in sculpture on the one hand, and Khmer realism on the other, I am still not convinced of the Professor's proposition that Khmer sculpture is scarcely more realistic than Tai, only that its *ideal* is nearer to our own, and hence makes the greater appeal. It seems to me that there is a sharp distinction to be drawn between the Funan and pre-Angkor art of Cambodia, which is essentially idealist, and the later developments of Khmer art. In these I often seem to recognise a definite portrait, take for instance any of Figs. 81, 82, or 83, all of which have a human appeal. Against this, the art of Bayon of the twelfth century evidently reverts to the ideal type, though here, as Dupont has suggested, there seems to have occurred a throw-back to the Dvāravati influence, which in itself was idealistic. More than one person in England has told me that they found Khmer classical statuary dif-

fiicult to live with, so strong was the personality which emerged from the countenance—it seemed to tower over, and almost terrify them. Such a feeling, I suggest, could hardly be experienced as emanating from symbolic Buddhist statuary, of which calm and serene contemplation is an essential constituent.

In regard to the period of decline of the Khmer Empire, I admit my error in saying, both on page 58 and again on page 109, that, by the beginning of the thirteenth century (in the first instance) and by the end of the twelfth century (in the second), the Khmer dominion was definitely on the wane. I was, indeed, well, aware of the territorial expansion under Jayavarman VII, who rebuilt Angkor Thom, and I was, in a sense, almost contradicting myself, because I had already stated, on page 11, that the Khmer probably did not reach Sawankalok until the twelfth century. I can only ascribe my error to one of those unaccountable aberrations to which the human mind is unfortunately prone. The period of decline, as Professor Coedès indicates does not begin until well on into the thirteenth century.

I now come to the last of Professor's Coedès' general comments, namely, the complex and debatable question of the School of U-T'ong, which, according to him, has not been completely resolved by my researches. This I freely admit and, indeed, in such a pioneer work it would have been presumptuous to suppose that the problems involved in this question have all been satisfactorily solved. I do regret, however, from a study of the Professor's comments, that I have not made my own position clear to him.

On page 138 I stated that "for my own part I feel that, taken as a whole, the School of U-T'ong represents a normal development from the Khmer to the Tai throughout Lower-Central Siam, and that, before a true Tai type was evolved, Tai or Tai-Khmer sculptors were giving such a free rein to their individual tastes and fancies in the delineation of the features as never occurred before or since in the country. As the Bayon style of Khmer art is now attributed to the end of the twelfth century, it would naturally play an important part in the work of the Tai artists; yet I do not think that the latter were bound by any one style, but that they fashioned their images in their own localities entirely independent of one another, until the School of Suk'ot'ai had had time to penetrate this region and cast its all-pervading influence over them."

This represents broadly my present position in the matter, and seems to me to be the reason why we find such an extraordinary variety of types; and even if this transition period from Khmer to Tai was not confined to the U-T'ong and Ayudhya regions (as we have reason to believe it was not), still, as the Prince of U-T'ong was the man to found the Ayudhyan Dynasty and may be regarded as the first Tai ruling Prince in Lower-Central Siam, I think it was a happy inspiration on the part of Professor Coedès to have applied his name and region to this particular School. At any rate I saw, and still see, no harm in adopting it.

From the foregoing expression of opinion it will be seen that the Professor is mistaken in attributing to me, in my description of the evolution of the style, the presentation to my readers of "a curve which first of all began with a purely Tai art, then passed through a transition or mixed art in which the original predominating element was gradually eliminated, and finished in an art which again was purely Tai." I did not intend to convey this impression at all, and I can only think that his misunderstanding is due to my inadequate method of analysing his and Dupont's own theories. Perhaps I had better state them briefly once more.

Professor Coedès develops his views by dividing the sculpture of U-T'ong into two principal groups. The first is represented by a type of image whose elongated oval face is analogous to the style of Suk'ot'ai, this type becoming the direct ancestor of the modern statutory of the School of Ayudhya. The second type shows, on the other hand, a reaction against the School of Suk'ot'ai and exaggerates, sometimes in rather a clumsy fashion, the chief Khmer characteristics. Let me state here at once that Figs. 168 and 169 (but not 170), which he believes me to attribute to a purely Tai art, were chosen by me as examples of his *second* type. They are, in my eyes, probably of Tai origin, and may be classed as definite imitations of the Khmer style, probably rather late in date, possibly even fourteenth century. I did not mean to put them forward as early examples of U-T'ong art.

Dupont also divides the sculpture of U-T'ong into two groups, the first of which is a normal derivative of Khmer art, especially of the Bayon style, while the second group has obvious affinities with the Tai schools of art. In this second type the face is thinner and the expression is more *nuancée*; of Khmer influence there only remains

the band on the forehead. Dupont finds it difficult to establish priority between these two groups, and rather pertinently asks—"at what stage of development of the Tai schools have we arrived when the art of U-T'ong appears?"

Why I incline more to Dupont's theory and am not altogether satisfied with that of Professor Coedès is because, in enumerating only those types which are either analogous to Suk'ot'ai or are conscious imitations of the Khmer, he seems to leave on one side the whole group which I have illustrated under Figs. 171 to 180 inclusive, and which were intended to show the gradual transition from almost pure Khmer to almost pure Tai. Look at the eye-brows in all of these, and compare them with Figs. 181 and 182. You will see, in this feature, perhaps more clearly than in any other, the true Khmer-Tai transition before there is any influence traceable from Suk'ot'ai. I am sorry that I did not draw attention to this feature in my work, but it is only wholesome criticism such as Professor Coedès has brought to bear upon it that makes one *wiser after the event*.

I quite agree that Figs. 171 and 172 are, as he suggests, scarcely distinguishable from Khmer statues in bronze found at Lopburi, such as Fig. 91, but, on mature reflection since I published my work, I am not certain that there may not be some slight Tai influence in some of these bronze standing figures as well. It is a very delicate matter, and I do not wish to press it now unduly, but I have a feeling that the Khmer School of Lopburi may eventually have to be sub-divided into Môn-Khmer, Khmer, and Khmer-Tai. The stone head, Fig. 186, seems to point in this direction also. This is a case where it is not yet possible to communicate one's feelings to others through the pen; but in any case I hope I have been able to make my own position clearer *vis à vis* the School of U-T'ong.

There now remain for me to consider the detailed points of criticism which Professor Coedès has raised.

I now realise, from my ignorance of Sanskrit grammar, that I was led into an error in translating *Suk'ot'ai* as the *Happiness of the Tai, or Free*. Perhaps the best translation of *Sukhodaya* (Sukha-udaya) would be *The Birth of Happiness*.

As concerns the images which I chose for illustration out of Nai Hong Navanugraha's book as presenting problems of origin, I admit that the conical coiffure of Fig. 10 does seem to correspond to that in

Figs. 171 and 172. But the posture of the arms and hands, and the great stretch of leg between the knees, struck a very unfamiliar note in my mind, as do the arms and hands in Fig. 11. On riper consideration, however, I admit I was wrong in suggesting a possible Indian origin for either of these figures, and they may be classed, perhaps, as peculiar varieties of Khmer or Khmer-Tai images, locally produced. I may add that, since my return to England, I have seen a considerable number of images and heads, attributable to the Lopburi School, in which the countenances differ from one another to a remarkable degree, and some of them at least show a definite Tai influence. This is another reason for my earlier suggestion of dividing the School of Lopburi into Môn-Khmer, Khmer, and Khmer-Tai.

With regard to the origin of Fig. 14, it will be seen from Footnote 4 on page 17 that it is stated, according to Luang Boribal, to have been found in the district of Mahasarakam in the centre of North-Eastern Siam. This agrees with the comment made by Professor Coedès. My own remark was to the effect that I could offer no definite opinion as to the *original* provenance of this and Fig. 13, but the Professor has been able to recognise them as products of the Nālandā School and, therefore, presumably, of Pāla origin.

I myself do not think that there is any doubt as to the authenticity of the original head shown in Fig. 29, but I agree with Professor Coedès that it has been cleverly re-cut by a modern hand, in a way which robs it somewhat of its Môn character, especially in the eyes and the mouth. Curiously enough, when I gave an exhibition at Cambridge in February 1937, this head was chosen out of the whole collection by the wife of the President of the Arts Club there, who is an accomplished sculptress, to make a copy in wood, so that the unknown hand made an impression upon one modern artist!

As to the aesthetic quality to be found in Khmer and pre-Khmer bronzes, I think that Professor Coedès has perhaps, read more into my remarks than I intended, especially in so far as purely Khmer bronzes are concerned. The emphasis of his comments is laid on these, but the reader will see, from a perusal of pages 32 and 33, that I was discussing the bronzes ascribed to the Môn in particular, and that, in speaking of Khmer art, I said, "The same question arose, though not to the same degree." Figs. 33 and 34 are good, average specimens of the earlier Môn bronze sculpture, and no one, I think, could claim that they were worthy of comparison with any of the

Môn stone sculpture portrayed in my work. Absurdly large sums were always asked for early bronze figures by the dealers, possibly on account of their rarity, but, as I was collecting primarily from an aesthetic point of view, I never considered them worthy of purchase, but purely as museum pieces. Fig. 35, which is obviously of later date, possibly, as I said, tenth century, was the only one that I saw that satisfied my critical eye.

I willingly admit and agree that the Khmer sculptors in bronze rose to much greater heights than their Môn predecessors, and I have, in addition to images, a ring and a hook for a palanquin, which I did not illustrate, but which are definitely works of art. But I still hope that Professor Coedès will agree with me when I say that, regarding the matter broadly, their artistic output in bronze is in no way comparable with their achievements in stone, and that is all that I wished to convey to my readers. Compression, in the printer's cause, can have grave disadvantages.

Professor Coedès has, I think, not quite understood the purport of the last paragraph on page 33, where I speak of the posture of the legs. I was not referring to the difference between those legs which are definitely crossed and those which rest, the one upon the other, but rather to a peculiarity found in the Môn and Khmer Schools, in which the legs, though resting upon one another, are drawn inwards to form a curve in the centre. I have not remarked this feature among Tai images.

I am glad to be corrected in my ascription of the two statues of Hari-Hara from Cambodia, of which I gave illustrations, to the Kingdom of Funan. They should, I take it, come under the heading of *pre-Angkor*.

I have taken due note of the Professor's remarks with reference to the identification of the State of Ch'ih-t'u; that it could not have occupied the position where Crideb stood, but must be looked for on the East coast of the Malay Peninsula, in the region of Pat'alung. My suggestion was only a possibility—which I admit was wide of the mark—but it still remains a mystery as to exactly what relation, if any, Crideb bore to Funan, or whether it was entirely independent. It seems to me to be strange to find such an independent Kingdom, so small in area and so far removed from the sea-coast and the main routes.

I have also taken note that Professor Coedès is not at all convinced

that the bas-reliefs of Tat Panom are *early Khmer*, and I can only regret that he has not expressed himself more fully regarding their origin and nature. The question at once proposes itself—if they are not early Khmer (and they surely cannot be late), what are they? There is no Tai or Môn influence to be seen in the art which they express, and the first of the series, showing the seated Buddha preaching, with an *apsaras* on either side and devotees, is, I think, one of the most interesting scenes, from the iconographical standpoint, in the whole of Indochina, both on account of the style portrayed and of the site where it is to be found. I am glad to see that the Professor thinks these lively carvings, which to me are of great importance, worthy of further study.

I have duly noted all the other points which the Professor has raised, and which I much appreciate, but they do not call for any counter-comment. In conclusion I should like to thank him for the great trouble he has taken to study and criticise my work so fully, and I can only emphasize the fact that it was not undertaken with any hope of writing *finis* to the examination of the sculptural art of Thailand, but chiefly in the hope of placing our studies of the complex problems involved on a surer foundation, and, if this object is achieved, I shall rest well content.

REGINALD LE MAY.

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