X.

SIAMESE ARCHÆOLOGY:

A SYNOPTICAL SKETCH.

By COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

The Indian Influence.

FROM several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from, respectively, Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the peninsula by land through Burmā and its southern coasts by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations. Brahmanism and, later on, Buddhism (third century B.C.), with most other achievements of Indian culture, followed in the wake of these pioneers; and thus it is to ancient India that Indo-China owes her early civilization. By the dawn of the Christian era, as I have elsewhere demonstrated, Buddhism had already gained a firm foothold on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula near the head of the Gulf of Siām, whence it advanced and soon spread all over the country of the Më-Nam Delta. On the other hand, Brahmanism had established itself in Central and Northern Siām, where Swankhalôk and Sukhôthai formed its principal foci. It is not till about four centuries later that we begin to hear of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (*Dharmanagara*), or Ligor, as the chief centre of both Buddhism and Brahmanism on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; and to find both faiths—but more especially Buddhism—firmly established in the territory of P'hraḥ Prathom in the present Nakhōn C'hai Śrī province, in the Më-Nam Delta.

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Siām's most ancient Cities.

By the sixth century A.D. no less than three cities had risen in Central Siām, to wit: 1, Swankhalôk (*Svargaloka* or *Sajjanālaya*, 95 B.C.); 2, Sukhôthai (*Sukhada, Sukhodaya, circâ* 70 B.C.); and 3, Kamp'hëng-p'het (*Vajra-prākāra*, A.D. 457); and in the north, not far from the headwaters of the Më-Nam, another one, Lamp'hūñ (*Haribhuñjaya*), which had just been founded (A.D. 527). The two first-named were alternately for the next eight centuries the capitals of the famous Swankhalôk-Sukhôthai State, which for so long held hegemony over Central Siām. The last one became the capital of the first Thai kingdom in the Më-Nam valley, holding its own until A.D. 1281, when it was supplanted by the newly rising Lāu power that soon afterwards established its seat at C'hīeng-Mãi (A.D. 1296).

In Southern Siām we find at the same remote period the cities of Śrī Vijaya, on and about the site of the present P'hraḥ Prathom village; and the then but recently founded Lop'hburī (*Lavapura, Lavakoṭa*, or *Lohkoṭ*, A.D. 493), which was soon to become the chief centre of power for Southern Siām.

All these, conjointly with Ligor already referred to, are Siām's most ancient cities. Accordingly, it is on their sites and adjoining territory that the oldest monuments and about all that remains of Siāmese antiquities of that early period, are to be found.

Extant Monuments.

In Northern and Central Siām.

The oldest of religious structures are to be found at Swankhalôk, in the shape of gloomy shrines and hermit cells, erected mostly on the tops and flanks of the hills, and carefully oriented according to the cardinal points. They are characterized by massive cyclopean walls, surmounted by gable roofs, all built of laterite blocks excavated

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near by, and laid throughout in horizontal courses without any cement; their unique entrance, which faces the east, converging towards the top into a pointed, often lancet-shaped, arch. The style quite resembles that of the ancient Central and even Northern Indian temples, thus evidencing that their planning, and perhaps construction, was due, at least in part, to immigrants and settlers from those quarters. The shrine, apparently Śivaite, erected on the summit of the Laōng Samlī hill near the centre of Old Swankhalôk city is, no doubt, one of the most ancient of these structures, for it is made by tradition almost coeval with the foundation of the city itself (*circâ* 95 B.C.).

Later on follow more elaborate creations, characterised by the same massive style of building, but embellished with portals (*gopuras*), railings, and symbolical decorations devoted to Brahmanic worship; and further, Buddhist spires and pagoda-shaped reliquaries, royal palaces and city walls, and smaller monuments, some of which are of an exceedingly graceful architecture, which may be seen in considerable numbers all over the sites of Old Swankhalôk, Sukhôthai, Kamp'hëng-p'het, and other ancient cities of Central and Northern Siām (such as, for instance, Biṣṇulôk, etc.).

The masterpiece of all, and withal the best preserved specimen, is, however, the spire of Wat P'hraḥ Prāng (*Prāṁgaṇa*), at the south-eastern corner of Old Swankhalôk city, dating from the latter part of the eleventh century. Notable also is the Brahmanic temple of Śrī Swāi in Old Sukhôthai, with its three finely ornamented tapering domes, built somewhat after the style of the Angkor Wat and the Mī-buñ shrine in Kamboja.

The material exclusively employed in the oldest monuments of Central and Northern Siām is laterite hewn into fair-sized blocks. Later on, but not before the eleventh century, this becomes associated with gray or greenish-gray sandstone, used for statues, doorways, railings, and decorative sculptures. A striking example of its employment in huge monoliths occurs in the gateways of the walled enclosure

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surrounding Wat P'hraḥ Prāng at Old Swankhalôk. From the twelfth century A.D. brickwork comes into evidence and soon prevails, forming in after ages the characteristic of Thai architecture, which elaborated and developed in brick, plaster, and mortar the old architectural motives just described.

In Southern Siām.

This being a deltaic country, where neither laterite nor other natural building materials are to be found except at the foot of the hills flanking both sides of the Më-Nam valley, lithic structures do not occur except on the eastern borders on the one side and in the province of Rājburī on the west, and then but very sparsely and in considerably diminutive sizes. The prevailing material is brick, and it is accordingly of this that we find the oldest monuments built; though not unfrequently coarse-textured sandstone—either yellowish or reddish, more rarely gray, in colour—occurs associated with it in terminals, wall-crests, stelæ (Wat Mahā Thāt [*Mahā-dhātu*] at Rājburī); in statues (gray, P'hraḥ Prathom); and even in square blocks (Wat Mahā Thāt at Lop'hburī).

The oldest monument of Southern Siām appears to be the original P'hraḥ Prathom (*Vara Prathama*) spire, now encased in a recently erected, and far more imposing one, of over 300 feet in height. Nearly coeval with it is the neighbouring P'hraḥ Thôṇ (*Vara Doṇa* or *Droṇa*) pagoda, also in brickwork (built A.D. 656). Then follow the remains of ancient temples at Lop'hburī, on the sites of which Buddhist Wats, dating from the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and later, afterwards arose; and the ruins of primitive hermitages, with débris of statues and stelæ, on the flanks of the Sabāb Hill near Chanthabūn (*Candana-pura*), a city dating itself from the eighth or ninth century A.D., if not earlier. At Ligor, Wat Nā P'hraḥ Thāt in the centre of the city, and Wat Mahēyong (*Mahiyaṅgaṇa*) on its outskirts, are undoubtedly very

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ancient foundations; and ruins of considerable antiquity—never yet before this brought to the notice of the public—with statues of deities, etc., occur on the western side of the Malay Peninsula at the P'hraḥ Nārāi (*Nārāyaṇa*, i.e. Viṣṇu) Hill, on the upper course of the Takũa-pā̃ (Takôpa) River. A thorough examination of the adjoining districts, as yet archæologically unexplored, is sure to reveal the existence of many more ancient remains.

All early structures in this region are in brick, the material generally resorted to all over the east coast of the Bay of Bengal as far north as Pegu, Arakan, and the delta of the Ganges.[1]

The chief characteristic of the old monuments of Southern Siām is, besides the almost exclusive employment in them of brickwork, their more general Buddhist destination than in the north, where Brahmanism was the prevailing form of worship in the early days. Moreover, their style of architecture is, as may easily be inferred, more Southern Indian —i.e. Drāvidian—in type, thus most closely approaching that of later Kambojan monuments. Nowhere do we find, however, in Siām, whether north or south, any sublime creations equalling in grandeur and artistic perfection those of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom, which are, indeed, unique in that respect, not only in Indo-China or even Asia, but perhaps in the whole world.

Caves.

Limestone caves, many of which are stalactitic, abound in Southern Siām, especially in the Rājburī and P'hejburī (*Vajrapurī*) provinces; but nowhere more than on the Malay Peninsula. These, like those in Kamboja and Pegu, have been mostly utilised as Buddhist sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage; but beyond some decorations and

[1] But rare exceptions occur in the ancient buildings and city walls of early cities of Pegu, especially on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Martaban, where laterite has been to some extent employed. As regards hewn stone, only two buildings at Pagān are constructed with it, the quality being sandstone.

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statues in either brick or plaster, they offer nothing remarkable in the way of architectural achievement, compared with, for instance, the rock-cut temples of Western India and even Ceylon or Burma. Buddhist clay tablets, bearing Sanskrit legends of the tenth and eleventh centuries, have been dug up in the caves to the north-east of Trang, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. They greatly resemble those from Pagān and Tagaung in Burmā.

Epigraphy.

Although no such fruitful harvest of ancient inscriptions has been gathered in Siām as in Kamboja and Champā—owing, no doubt, to the lack of thorough and systematic archæological exploration—the petroglyphic monuments so far brought to light are of sufficient historical and palæographic importance to deserve more than a passing mention. Their chronological range extends, for the districts on the Malay Peninsula, as far back as the fifth century of the Christian era; while in Southern Siām it borders upon the sixth or seventh. No inscription has, strange to say, so far been discovered in either Central or Northern Siām earlier than the fourteenth century, i.e., than the period when Thai supremacy had already firmly established itself over the whole of the Më-Nam valley.[1]

On the Malay Peninsula.

Leaving aside the already well-known inscriptions of Kedah and Province Wellesley (*circâ* A.D. 400), and proceeding up the Peninsula, we feel bound to notice the Pāli and Sanskrit inscribed stelæ of the eighth century A.D. from Wat Mahēyong in the province of Ligor; a Pāli inscription on a brass plate from the Takūa-thùng district (*circâ* ninth

[1] Ancient manuscripts are extremely scarce, and the oldest ones known are on palm-leaf and do not, as a rule, go back more than three centuries. No coins with inscriptions or monograms dating earlier than the fourteenth century have as yet come to light.

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century A.D.); and, what will be welcome news to scholars, a petroglyphic monument of nearly the same age as those of Kedah and Province Wellesley, just discovered at Old Takũa-pã̄ (Takôpa) within the precincts of Wat Nā-müang, in the middle of a former bed of the river.[1] This last find is of the highest importance, as evidencing that Indian influence had established itself, not merely at one or two isolated points on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, but practically over the whole length of that littoral, whence it crossed overland to the Gulf of Siām. It is, moreover, the oldest relic that has so far come out of the tract where, as I have elsewhere shown,[2] stood from the remotest age the mart and seaport of *Takōla* (*Τάκωλα ἐμπόριον*) or *Takkola*, mentioned both in Ptolemy and in the "Milinda Pañha."

In Southern Siām.

In the country of the Më-Nam Delta the earliest epigraphic records hitherto discovered are those in Pāli on terra-cotta tablets, dug out at P'hraḥ Prathom some fifty years ago (A.D. 1857). They contain the well-known Buddhist formula "*Yē dhammā*," etc.; and the shape of the characters (of a Southern Indian type closely identical to the Veṅgī and Western Chālukya) argues their age to be the sixth or seventh century A.D.

Then follows a gap stretching down until the Khmër inscription from Lop'hburī, which bears two dates corresponding to A.D. 1022 and 1025. At Chanthabūn, however, both Sanskrit and Khmër inscriptions dating from the ninth and tenth centuries occur, as well as at Battambōng and in the province of Khôrāt, on the outskirts of the Kambojan epigraphical zone. These are all the records so far discovered of the age of Kambojan domination over Southern and Central Siām, which extended, with but few interruptions, from the middle of the seventh to that of the thirteenth century.

[1] See supplementary note with plate of this inscription in the appendix to the present paper.

[2] See this Journal for July, 1897, pp. 572, 573, and Table IV, No. 79.

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The dawn of Thai Epigraphy.

The following period—that of independent Thai rule—is first marked by the Sukhôthai inscription of about A.D. 1300, this being the earliest epigraphic monument extant worded in the Thai language, and engraved in the Thai characters that had then just been invented. After this, Thai inscriptions become numerous in both Central and Northern Siām, as well as in Western Lāos (C'hīeng-Māi); and we enter upon the phase of national Thai history centreing at first in Sukhôthai (A.D. 1257–1350) and then in Ayuthia (A.D. 1350–1767) as successive capitals.

Palæographic peculiarities.

Most of the inscriptions alluded to above are carved on finely grained sandstone slabs of either a gray or greenish-gray colour. At Old Swankhalôk and Sukhôthai dark-blue slate and phyllades have also been at times employed. Inscribed bricks and tiles are common on the Delta, as well as all over the Malay Peninsula, where also occur the stamped clay tablets bearing Buddhist images and inscriptions already referred to.

Until A.D. 1500 such epigraphic records as bear dates are invariably dated in the Śaka era (called *Mahā Śaka-rāj*), beginning A.D. 78, which has been the one in general use—until comparatively modern times, and with but rare and sporadic exceptions [1] — all over Indo-China and the Archipelago. This fact, as I have elsewhere more fully pointed out,[2] proves the pretended foundation of the Chula

[1] Gupta era in Burmā (fifth century A.D.); also Buddhist era (from A.D. 1084 downwards), and Śakarāj (*Culla Śaka*) era at about the same period (from A.D. 1017 downwards). In Siām the Buddhist era occurs at times on purely religious inscriptions, but not before A.D. 1357, when it is but cursorily mentioned in the Thai inscription from Wat Sī-C'hum at Old Sukhôthai. Its first direct employment is in the Pāli inscription on the model of Buddha's footprint from Sukhôthai (now in the former 'Second King's' temple, Bāngkōk), dated in the year 1970 from Buddha's Nirvāṇa = A.D. 1426. In Kamboja the practice of dating documents, whether epigraphic or otherwise, in the Buddhist or Culla Śaka eras is even more recent, while the Mahā Śaka is still employed in historical literature.

[2] *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1900, pp. 375–376 and 379–381.

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era (*Culla Śakarāj*) in A.D. 638 at Swankhalôk to be a pure myth absolutely unworthy of credence.

Other Noticeable Features in connection with Ancient Monuments.

In the Swankhalôk and Sukhôthai monuments from the eleventh century downwards, glazed tiles, statuettes, friezes, terminals, and other decorations in glazed pottery occur. A ceramic industry, turning out products in imitation of the crackled ware of the Chinese Sung dynasty, was started at Swankhalôk towards the close of the eleventh century.[1] Iron I found employed in the walls of Wat Sī-C'hum (Old Sukhôthai), a temple dating from the end of the thirteenth century, and built of square blocks of gray sandstone carefully fitted and clamped inside. Bronze castings of considerable dimensions also begin to appear at about the same period, as well as Buddhist statuettes carved out of jade (very probably from the mines in Northern Burma), quartz (from the Khôrāt plateau), alabaster (from either West Kamboja or Upper Burma), ivory, and other prized materials. More ancient, however, appears to be the establishment of the art of making niello ware at Ligor, where it soon attained a high degree of perfection.[2]

With the advent of brickwork structures, wood finds wide employment in buildings, where it is inserted into the masonry and utilised separately in the shape of pillars and supports for the roof, with great detriment to the solidity and durability of the constructions. On the other hand, however, its extended use gives an impetus to the art of wood-carving, which soon attains no mean excellence in ornamental pieces, but above all in door frames and panels, of which several highly finished specimens are still extant

[1] On these Swankhalôk wares see my articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902 (pp. 361–368), and October of the same year (pp. 391–395).

[2] See on this industry, as well as on the bronze castings of the period, my remarks in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1902, pp. 396–397 and 404–405.

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(doors of the P'hraḥ Thën sanctuary at Thung-yang, and of Wat Suthat (*Sudassana*) at Bāngkōk, brought thither from Sukhôthai, both dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century). Later on this industry is superseded, especially in door and window panels, by the more modern one of lacquered, gilt, and mother-of-pearl inlaid work, of which perhaps the most perfect early specimen extant may be witnessed in the massive door panels of the P'hraḥ C'hinarāj (*Jinarāja*) sanctuary at Biṣṇulôk (made in A.D. 1755 by order of the king then reigning at Ayuthia).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED TAKŪA-PĀ INSCRIPTION.

When, early in 1902, my friend Mr. H. W. Bourke, of the Royal Siāmese Department of Mines, proceeded to take up his post of Superintendent of Mines for the Siāmese provinces on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, establishing his headquarters at P'hūket (Junkceylon Island), I did my best to impress upon him, as if in duty bound—seeing his keen interest and favourable natural disposition for archæological research — the importance of a thorough investigation of any ancient remains, and above all of any epigraphic relics, he might hear of or come across in the course of his official *tournées* through the districts on that coast. I especially commended to his attention the littoral facing Junkceylon, viz., the districts of Takūa-thùng and Takūa-pā (Takôpa), near the latter of which I had been led, through my own researches, to locate the famous harbour and mart of *Takōla*, as I felt certain that important archæological finds would most likely reward the efforts of the explorer, owing to ancient Indian settlements which must have left behind some visible traces of their past existence having been there. So far, only one ancient inscription on a copper-plate had been discovered in that region, and precisely in

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Takũa-thùng; but that was as long as forty years ago, and as the plate was fixed on the back of a little bronze statue of Buddha, it could not be positively held to have been engraved *in situ*.[1] Moreover, such districts had so far practically remained unexplored from an archæological point of view, while from Takũa-pã itself, whence one should expect the richest harvest in relics of the past, nothing had as yet been found to attest the presence of ancient remains.

The same recommendations I repeated later on to another friend of mine, Mr. C. Allegri, the Chief Engineer of the Royal Siāmese Public Works Department, when he left towards the end of 1902 on an extended official tour through the same provinces of the Malay Peninsula.

Both these gentlemen have rendered valuable services to research by turning, so far as the pressure of their official duties would permit, their attention to these matters, and bravely devoting to the pursuit of exploration whatever leisure they could afford to spare.

Mr. Bourke, having got the start, was soon able to inform me of traces of ancient extensive mining operations, and of finds of neolithic implements and other prehistoric, as well as protohistoric, relics in various places situated lower down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Of these, and of whatever else of interest he had occasion to notice then and in the course of his subsequent tours, it is to be hoped he will soon give an exhaustive account himself, which should prove extremely interesting, especially if accompanied by the numerous photographs which he, being an exceptionally accomplished amateur photographer, did not neglect to take.

Coming next to the Takôpa district, Mr. Bourke was fortunate enough to discover some important remains near the upper reaches of the river, and to ascertain the site of the old Takôpa town, which stood considerably farther upstream than the present modern settlement. Most important

[1] The plate (now preserved with the statue in the royal palace, Bāngkōk) is circular, in the form of a *cakra*; and the inscription in Pāli is a mere repetition of the famous *Yē dhammā* stanza, the characters being probably of the third century A.D.

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of all, however, is perhaps the discovery of the inscribed stela that forms the subject of the present note. This was also examined by Mr. Allegri, from whom I obtained a sketch of its shape and dimensions, of which the one subjoined is a reproduction. It is a slab of finely textured sandstone, and was found in the middle of a former bed of the Takôpa river, close by a Buddhist monastery now known as *Wat Nà Müang*, 'Monastery facing the town,' so called evidently from its occupying a site opposite the old town of Takôpa.

Mr. Bourke took a carefully executed squeezing of the inscription, which he forwarded to me. I had that face of the squeezing that had come into contact with the stone photographed, and had another photograph taken from the plate thus obtained. From the last the positive reproduced below was printed. The characters are, as will readily be seen, slightly modified forms of the fourth century Veṅgī, as represented in Burnell's "Elements of South Indian Palæography," second edition, plate i; and also resemble in shape those of the Kedah inscription of about 400 A.D. deciphered and translated by Professor Kern.[1] The consonants (*k*), or (*r*), or (*t*), (*kr*), etc., are practically identical. But there are differences in some others, while the details of not a few letters and groups of letters show up far from clearly, especially the vowels *e*, *a*, and some of the consonants combined therewith, so that the reading is in many instances rendered difficult and very uncertain. These blemishes should be ascribed to the worn-out state of the stone rather than to unskilfulness on the part of the lapicide, who seems, on the contrary, to have performed his task with no mean ability, and turned out a work which compares favourably with the epigraphic productions of the same age in other parts of Indo-China.

Owing to the drawbacks just alluded to, several attempts I have made at decipherment have met with but very partial success. I have accordingly thought it expedient to forward the squeezing to my esteemed friend Professor Kern, of

[1] See "Essays relating to Indo-China," first series, vol. i, p. 234 and pl. iv.

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the Leiden University, the eminent specialist for such inscriptions, who will, I hope, be able to give a complete reading and translation, and in any case elucidate all that can fairly be made out in this inscription. I trust he will soon favour this Journal with the result of his investigations. Meanwhile, it appears to me pretty certain that the language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and not Pāli; and judging from the shape of the characters I should think that the document belongs chronologically to the fifth century A.D., and cannot, at all events, be later than the sixth or seventh.

Whatever its contents and purport (which latter appears to be Buddhist), I need not emphasize its archæological importance. As it was evidently engraved *in situ*, and not imported from abroad, it proves the existence in that neighbourhood of an ancient Indian settlement, which doubtless dated from the early centuries of the Christian era, if not, as is quite possible, from a still remoter period. It forms, moreover, a hitherto missing link in the chain of petroglyphic evidence connecting the lower provinces on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula with those adjoining the Kraḥ Isthmus, and proving that the coast in question was dotted practically all the way with Indian settlements and colonies.

The remains of ancient shrines and three old statues of deities extant at the foot of the *Kháu P'hraḥ Nārāi* (the 'Hill of Nārāyaṇa' or Viṣṇu), three hours by boat further up the river from the site of the inscription above referred to, argue the former presence in that vicinity of some important settlement.[1] Still farther up-stream the anchors and débris of a sea-going vessel of respectable size, half buried in the sandy bottom of the old river-bed, were found

[1] As regards the considerable antiquity of the statues, I may mention that two gigantic trees, locally known as *Tòn Bë* (probably *Lagerstroemias*), have grown round the images, and so completely enfolded them as to make their disentanglement and removal impossible unless the trees themselves are cut down to the root. It appears that the three statues were brought down to their present site from an old shrine which, according to local tradition, stood on the summit of the hill. No traces of such a structure have, however, so far, been discovered, owing doubtless to the thick jungle that covers the hill and hides the remains from view.

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some fifty years ago at the place called *Thà Nà*, '[Paddy]-Fields Landing.' The spot where the ship in question lay embedded stands now well up above water-level. There can be no doubt from such indications, and from the site of Old Takôpa town so far up-stream, that its river was in the old days far deeper and more accessible to sea-going craft than at present; and that its actual shallowness and increased impracticability to navigation are well-nigh entirely due to the gradual rise of the land which has been going on all over the Malay Peninsula for many centuries past, and which appears to have amounted to no less than a hundred feet within historical times.

In so far as the Takôpa district is concerned, there is even nowadays a splendid harbour at the mouth of its river, of which my old friend Mr. Warington Smyth, who visited it some nine years ago, and who is no superficial connoisseur in marine matters, says in his valuable book: "The harbour of Kopa [Takũa-pã̃] is a very fine one, consisting of a magnificent estuary protected from the sea by a series of islands, behind which vessels can lie in depths varying from four to seven fathoms. The chief entrance is to the north, round Kopa Head. The deep-water channel runs thence in a southerly direction for some twenty miles to the north of the Kopa River proper, where the local trading craft, which are, of course, never of very deep draft, lie in two fathoms, some fourteen miles below the town. . . . . Kopa could at trifling cost be made the first harbour in Siām, and the port of the whole of this part of the peninsula. Neither Chantabun nor Sungkla [Singora] has the possibilities of Kopa, neither has such depth of water or such commodious anchorage, neither is so well situated with regard to foreign markets, and neither has such fine provinces at the back of it. . . . . Takuapa as a harbour is, however, far superior [to Trang], and will take larger vessels than any other place, and its claims to be made the port of Lakawn [Ligor] should be seriously considered."[1]

[1] "Five Years in Siam," London, 1898, vol. ii, pp. 24–25 and 128.

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There can thus be no doubt that Takôpa (Takũa-pã) was in the early centuries of the Christian era a well-known harbour and trading centre often resorted to by ships coasting along the Golden Khersonese. My previous conclusions[1] are once more corroborated that either the Pāk-chān inlet, penetrating deep into the western flank of the Kraḥ Isthmus, or Takôpa—perhaps more likely the latter—were Ptolemy's *Takōla* and withal the *Takkola* of the "Milinda Pañha." This last, as follows from the context of that well-known Buddhist work (vi, 21), lay outside the limits of *Suvaṇṇa-bhūmi* (since this country is mentioned separately from it), i.e. the Gulf of Martaban, and cannot therefore be identified with the *Taik-kulā* on the Sittang river as suggested by preceding writers.

But the last has not as yet been heard about the Takôpa district and its harbour. Mr. Bourke is still pursuing his investigation as far as the very limited time at his disposal allows him; and there is good reason to hope that he may before long come across other remains, and discover more inscriptions, capable of throwing further light on the past history of so interesting a part of the Malay Peninsula, as yet but scarcely known to the Western world.

[1] See this Journal for July, 1897, pp. 572–573, and Table IV, No. 79. The question has been more fully dealt with in my forthcoming monograph on the Ptolemaic geography of Indo-China, now in the press. The alternative suggestion of the Pāk-chān inlet is justified from the fact of this estuary lying within the limits of the region of *Takũa* (*Takōla*), which includes the three districts now distinguished under the denominations of Takũa-thùng (the southernmost, facing Junkceylon), Takũa-pã (the central one), and Takũa-thai (the northernmost, bordering upon the Pāk-chān inlet). Moreover, the rectified Ptolemaic data as regards the position of the mart of *Takōla* argue a site near the southern point of entrance to the Pāk-chān inlet, close by the present Ranōng, and therefore on Takũa-thai territory. (See the above-cited Table IV.)

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