

REVIEWS

Arahant Upatissa, *The Path of Freedom (Vimuttimagga)* Translated into Chinese by Tipiṭaka Sanghapāla of Funan. Translated from Chinese into English by Reverend N.R.M. Ehara, and Venerables Soma and Kheminda Thera. Published by Dr. D.R.D. Weerasuria, Colombo, Ceylon. Pages LXI and 363 with Indices and Appendix.

In this review of the *Vimuttimagga*, an ancient and very valuable treatise in the Theravāda tradition, three approaches will be made to the subject: historical, doctrinal and practical. Each of these aspects has value to the understanding of this book and therefore of the Theravāda exegetical tradition.

What then of the *Vimuttimagga*'s history? As in the case of many other works originating in or near India, we have only a few bare facts. Both the identification of the author and the precise period when he lived are in doubt. We know only that both Pāli and Chinese sources agree in ascribing it to one venerable bhikkhu, by name Upatissa, honoured by having the word 'Arahant' placed before his name. Now who was the Arahant Upatissa? Putting aside the idea that the *Vimuttimagga* was the composition of Lord Buddha's great Marshal of the Dhamma, Venerable Sāriputta (also known as Upatissa), according to the Venerable Kheminda's Introduction, only one known possibility remains, an Upatissa Thera mentioned in the Commentary to the Vinaya (Samantapāsādikā). He was an expert in the Vinaya and lived in Ceylon in the reign of King Vasabha (609-653 BE). We cannot be sure, in fact, that this Upatissa was the writer of this treatise and the late Venerable Nyānamoli Thera supposed that it was composed by an 'unknown' author of this name in the ninth century of the Buddhist Era. In any case, it is agreed that this book was written before the *Visuddhimagga* (or *Path of Purification*) which was composed by Ācariya Buddhaghosa in the tenth century B.E.

In its long history, Ceylon was subjected to all sorts of onslaughts which meant that from time to time, when weak kings were unable to defend their country, hordes of invaders ravaged the

land and took whatever they pleased. The vihāras were especially liable to attack, not so much out of religious hatred, as from the greed for wealth contained in their shrine rooms and set about the stūpas honouring both the memory of and the relics of Lord Buddha. At such times manuscripts were very easily destroyed and as these were all hand-scribed upon ola (palm) leaves, so copies were few and made only after the long labours of bhikkhu scribes. A book known only by name and evidently lost in this way was the *Vimuttimaggā*, since it was assumed that all copies of it had been destroyed.

However, scholars, when they began to explore the treasures contained in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, remarked on a certain treatise whose title they rendered into Sanskrit as the *Vimokṣamarga*. One or two speculated that it might be the same work as the Pāli *Vimuttimaggā* but there the matter was dropped. It was not until Venerable Soma Thera and Venerable Kheminda Thera, both from Ceylon, were in Japan that the chance came to translate into English the Chinese text of the *Vimuttimaggā*. For the interesting details of how this came about, readers are referred to page 14 of the 'In memoriam' which precedes the actual translation of the *Vimuttimaggā*.

Here we may pause to consider how the *Vimuttimaggā* got itself into Chinese. We have already shown how easy was its destruction as a manuscript in Pāli. The only way for Pāli works to survive the occasional disasters which overtook Ceylon, Burma and Siam was for them to be copied and sent to one of the other countries. Thus in modern times Thai bhikkhus after the fall of Ayudhya had recourse to manuscripts preserved in Ceylon, while still more recently Sinhalese bhikkhus have searched Siam for rare works not to be had in Ceylon. In the case of the *Vimuttimaggā*, however, it seems to have been preserved in no Theravāda country and one may surmise that in the eyes of scholars it was overshadowed by the more compendious *Visuddhimaggā*. Still, at least one scholar had a liking for it and enough regard to translate it into Chinese. He was a bhikkhu by the name of Sanghapāla and according to Chinese records (see pages 42-43 of the Introduction) he came from Funan. The identity of the Funan peoples seems as yet undecided. Were they Mon or Thai or

some other group now disappeared? At any rate this Venerable Sanghapāla translated, together with many other Indian manuscripts, the *Vimuttimaggā* from Pāli to Chinese.

Due to the efforts and enthusiasm of the translators, the Reverend Ehara of Japan and the two Venerable Theras from Ceylon, we now have this book in the English language. One must say that the English rendering is clear and usually free from obscurities. But its history is not yet finished. After the present edition of the work had been published, a group of bhikkhus at the new Nālanda Pāli College in India began to translate it back into Pāli, a work not so difficult to undertake, since the Pāli of the *Visuddhimaggā* contains many parallel passages. They had proceeded some way with their labour when it was announced that the manuscript of the *Vimuttimaggā* in Pāli had been discovered in Ceylon. The reviewer does not know whether this is yet published. It seems that though neglected, this work has nevertheless survived in Pāli. It is to be hoped that a Thai edition of the Pāli will be published as well as a Thai translation. The Sinhalese translation has already been undertaken and presumably is now in print.

We should now take up briefly doctrinal points from the *Vimuttimaggā* text. It should be said from the start that the work is thoroughly Theravāda, with not the slightest trace of Mahāyāna ideas. It does, however, contain a few divergent points which have led some scholars to attribute it to the Abhayagirivāsins, a rather restive and so-called 'progressive' sub-sect of Theravāda in the long distant past of Ceylon. However, although there are small differences between the *Vimuttimaggā* and the *Visuddhimaggā*, which is the great work of Mahāvihāra orthodoxy, still there seems to be nothing of vital importance and certainly nothing revolutionary in this work. This has led the late Venerable Nyāpamoli Thera to state that this work was perhaps an early effort on the part of the Mahāvihāra teachers to assert their authority by the possession of a definitive text for teaching.

The differences between Venerable Upatissa on the one hand and Venerable Buddhaghosa on the other are just the sort of small

divergences one would expect where the Buddhadhamma is flourishing. Indeed, the reviewer knows of much greater (apparent) divergences among teachers in present-day Siam, all of whom are undoubtedly Theravāda, than can be found from a comparison of these two works. As to the actual content of the *Vimuttimaggā* it may be seen that it does not differ greatly from that of the *Visuddhimaggā* except that the former treats its subjects briefly and to the point, while the latter has a much more complicated construction and elaborates at length upon subjects, often introducing or referring to stories for the illumination of particular points. While both treat the same basic topics called the Three Trainings (Virtue, Collectedness and Wisdom), our work does so apportioning space more or less evenly between Collectedness and Wisdom (Virtue, has much less); while in the *Visuddhimaggā*, the Wisdom section is huge and over-elaborate.

This brings us to practical matters. Firstly, this book like the more bulky *Visuddhimaggā* is a work written for bhikkhus, as may be seen in the extensive sections in both on the Austerities. For a Theravāda work on lay practice those who do not read Pāli must wait for a translation of the *Upāsakajanālamkāra* (*Ornament of all the Laymen*), the Pāli text of which has recently been published by the Pāli Text Society. Nevertheless, lay-people may learn much good Dhamma from both these works. The reviewer would place the *Vimuttimaggā* into the hands of one ready for a comprehensive Theravāda treatise rather than the *Visuddhimaggā*. Our work avoids many Abhidhamma technicalities, regarding which one may be suspicious as to their practical application. For this reason the *Vimuttimaggā* has been described by Venerable Kheminda Thera, who has undertaken the production of the present edition, as 'hadayaṅgama'—going to the heart. Its directness in teaching Dhamma is plain from even a brief reading, and in this directness lies its merit.

There are places in the work, however, where it tends to too great an elaboration of categories. In this it follows the general tendency of commentaries (which after all are written to make points quite clear) and it is at these rather wooden junctures where one may justly wonder whether an Arahant has written the *Vimuttimaggā*. An

Arahant is one who has made the Dhamma his own by the direct seeing or insight of his mentality—materiality as the Dhamma. Being free from all mental-emotional stains, he is free to express the Dhamma in any way suitable for his pupils to understand. This he may do in ways which, while they do not depart from the Buddhaword, use some striking method demanded by the situation. Just as Lord Buddha taught by word of mouth (and not by book) so Arahants very likely will also usually instruct in the same way. The reviewer bases these observations upon the ways of teaching adopted by great meditation teachers in Siam at the present time who very rarely commit their teaching to the written word. This is one reason which the reviewer presents for doubting the 'Arahant' title.

Again, this is brought out most strongly in the chapters on Collectedness which are sound scholarstic presentations, but really do not have the touch of life given them such as would characterise the direct instructions of a great meditation teacher. The formal presentation of some of these subjects illustrates this very well. For instance, kasina-practice which the *Vimuttimaggā* recommends should be based upon exterior objects of earth and so forth, are in Siam at the present time wholly interior and there seems to be no idea among meditation teachers to encourage even initial reliance upon an object of the eye. Much the same might be said of corpse-gazing which, according to scholastic tradition, is essential for the beginning of Asubhakammaṭṭhama (meditations on the unlovely). But many teachers in Siam even deprecate this, saying that for many it is no use gazing at a corpse which is after all just Saññā-khandha—the heap of perceptions. They stress that it is *one's own body* that is to be seen as bloated, putrid or dismembered, for then the practice on the unlovely becomes really fruitful. Of course, it is possible that practice in this respect has changed from the Buddhatime to Siam now-a-days, although the reviewer does not believe that this is so.

However, to criticize the *Vimuttimaggā* in this light is probably to expect too much of it. The book is really an excellent presentation of Dhamma by a profound scholar who has a thorough knowledge of Theravāda exegetical tradition. In the hands of an intelligent and

pesevering person, a great deal of extremely useful information on the Dhamma can be gathered. As a book intended for bhikkhus' education, it will have been explained by a competent teacher who would elaborate upon difficult points and, of course, be able to answer the questions of his pupils. This is a point to bear in mind while reading the book, for a reader will still profit from expert guidance.

Finally, a few words on this edition of the *Vimuttimaggā*. We have said that the English of the translation is clear and readily understandable. It now remains to add that the fine work of the translators is enhanced by the great scholarship of Venerable Kheminda Thera who has added many valuable footnotes in which are quoted passages in Māgadhi from the Pāli and Aṭṭhakathā (texts and commentaries) showing how the work is solidly based upon the contents of the Pāli Canon and its exegetical literature. Occasional quotations in the *Vimuttimaggā* are not traced and seem to refer to 'lost' traditions of the Buddhaword.

The good type, spaciousness of the setting and the excellent headings are very creditable. Also worthy of mention are the quality of paper, the splendid indexes both of subject and of Pāli words, as well as the bibliography and table of contents. Mention has been made of the 'In Memoriam' written by Venerable Kheminda in honour of his co-translator, the late Venerable Soma Thera, and of the Introduction. Together with a preface to this edition, they contain much interesting information on the *Vimuttimaggā*.

It is fitting to close this review with the final words of Venerable Upatissa with which he has rounded off his labours. In translation they read :

Vast, boundless, past all thought and praise
are the good words and knowledge set forth here,
and none but the Yogin knows and grasps
the Essence of the Dhamma full and clear.
Best is this Path for skilful deeds;
for it away from ignorance does steer.

Bhikkhu Khantipālo.

Jones, Delmos J., *Cultural variation among six Lahu villages, Northern Thailand* PhD thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca 1967, 191 pages.

Jones' thesis is based on fieldwork he conducted during 1964-66 in Northern Thailand, mainly in a Lahu village near Fang in Province Chiangmai; from here he made reconnaissance trips to five other Lahu villages. Of the six villages, three were inhabited by non-Christian 'Black Lahu' one by Christian 'Black Lahu' and two by Red Lahu.

Jones' main aim is 'to describe the range of cultural variation among six villages of a single ethnic group—the Lahu'. Yet 'the limits of the Lahu population are unknown. Thus, the findings of this study can only be suggestive.' To 'provide information on the organization of cultural behavior in the hills of Northern Thailand' he describes one village and then compares selected features with those encountered in the five other villages. Assuming some variation in customs among the villages, he tried to elicit in which aspects, in what quantities, and in what significance variation is found.

To reach this goal he confines himself to the material presented in his thesis; for in many cases his descriptions are somewhat thin and we would like to know more about many features he only touches. As the literature on the Lahu in general is scarce and on the Lahu in Thailand still more so, his study could be a valuable source of information. Since Young (1961) presented some chapters on the Lahu in Thailand, nothing worth mentioning has been written on this group—the exception being a PhD thesis by Matisoff who did linguistic research among the Lahu. This is why Jones' thesis deserves consideration.

First, the Jones describes the research design, the history of the Lahu in Fang, the physical environment, technology and economy. Then he deals with kinship problems: 'The kinship system . . . is bilateral'. The table in which he lists kinship terms contains many errors. He is right when stating the residence pattern as uxorilocal and the criterion of age as being most important for the classification of the people in a society, where role differentiation is low. There are 'spirit-groups' which, he believes, are composed, generally, of a number of households regardless of kinship ties. This is not true, for

membership depends on belonging to households of distinct descent groups, of whose existence he is not aware it seems. Of the religious officials, the 'priest' and the 'spirit-doctor', the 'priest' is much more important—contrary to Jones' statements (see pages 75, 110 and 120). Not every villager may become 'priest' or headman as Jones believes; this depends on descent.

The religious rituals are characterized as (a) corrective and (b) preventive, and are for (c) maintenance and (d) thanksgiving. Jones obviously faces difficulties when designating the rituals with the proper Lahu terms; also his description of the ceremonies should be more accurate. He does not fail to recognize the relationship between economy and ritual. So he states: 'the offerings which are made to the spirits can be viewed in the same terms as the fines which are paid for civil offense'.

In later sections he compares the other villages with Red Lake Village (as he terms his village near Fang) and with each other, using 'features found to be true', 'so that similarities and differences are dramatized'. 'Since some differences are greater than others, each difference has been given a score ranging from 0 through 3' (0: no difference, 3: some new element involved). 65 selected characteristics should 'reveal the nature of the settlement pattern, socio-political organization, and religion'. He knows quite well some of the weaknesses of this concept: 'the question always arises as to how much weight another scorer would give to the same differences'. He is right when writing 'the village of Doi La Muang does not differ as radically from Doi Mussuh as it does from Red Lake', for the Omkoi (Doi La Muang) and Tak (Doi Mussuh) villages are composed of relatives to whom are related also the people of Wiang Papao. It is quite clear that among the 'Black Lahu' villages, most different from the others is that of the Christian Lahu near Chiengdao. But Jones did not examine whether the different religion alone is responsible for the obvious present-day differences, i.e. whether the animist ancestors of the Christian and non-Christian Lahu had essentially the same religious, social and political patterns. If he had done so, he would have seen that this was not the case. Differences in social, religious, and political patterns as well as other factors indicate that the Lahu of the

four villages belong to distinctly different groups. In the three animistic villages live Lahu *Shehleh* (whereas Jones believes 'Shehleh' is just 'the Red Lahu name for the Black Lahu') and in the Christian village, Lahu *Na* (Black Lahu).

This may be his most serious error, probably partly due to the fact that he visited only four villages of the 'Black Lahu' to study variation, a small number of the 27 villages of Shehleh and 7 of the Na. When writing on the subject 'variation' he at least should have tried to elicit 'the limits of Lahu population' and to get a control on the distribution of the villages of these 'Black Lahu' in Thailand. He has a vague idea: 'Black Lahu are found in other areas of Northern Thailand'. In some details also he did not do thorough research. Let us cite some examples: (a) spirit-corners in the houses are not always on the left side as he states, but on that side closer to the ground; (b) the sex of the pigs offered in sacrifices is important, for some ceremonies only male, for others only female are appropriate. Some descent-groups have to kill a male pig and dance on the following night, whereas another group kills a female pig on the same occasion and abstains from dancing; (c) girls are said to dance only at New Year's time—this is untrue.

To sum up: The author of this review cannot agree with some of the suggestions set forth by Jones, because his own research obliges him to different statements. In view of the ethnographic literature on the Lahu being scarce, Jones' thesis is nevertheless a valuable contribution which is to be read carefully and critically.

Hans J. Spielmann



RECENT SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS

387. Tōṅswet, T., *The Ōai Monarchy and Buddhism* ^{การเมืองและพุทธศาสนาในสมัยสุโขทัย}, ^{พุทธศาสนาและวัฒนธรรมสมัยสุโขทัย}, ^{ประวัติศาสตร์ของอาณาจักรสุโขทัย} Tiranasār Press, Bangkok 2511 pages 72 and 26.

The initiative for this publication belongs to the Young Buddhist Association, which, considering the success of Buddhism in the land to be derived from the royal patronage of successive kings, organised research on the subject, and invited a distinguished panel of scholars to judge the results which took the form of essays in the national language. The essay under review has been published by the Sīwarā family in dedication to their ancestors on the occasion of the cremation of their remains. The father of the family, Lt. Jit Sīwarā, was a long-standing member of the royal household of His late Royal Highness Prince Chira of Nakon Jaiśri—a distinguished commander-in-chief of the Siamese army in the reigns of Kings Chulalongkorn and Rāma VI—and among his sons is General Kris Siwarā, deputy commander of the army, who has sponsored the publication under review.

Six chapters deal, respectively, with: a well summarised historical sketch of monarchical patronage of the Church in general; the building of church monuments in the form of monasteries in the days of Sukhodaya with emphasis on its artistic character; this same topic in the succeeding period of Ayudhyā; again in the period of Dhonburi and Bangkok including the monumental boarding school initiated by King Vajiravudh now known as Vajirāvudh College; the successive restorations of the Canon of Buddhism, the *Tipīṭaka*, and its commentaries under the patronage of the first, fifth and seventh kings of the ruling dynasty; and the relationship of the national religion with education.

The style of writing is clear and misstatements are rare. However, one rather important error should be recorded. In describing the monument of P̄ra Pathom, the author mentions the P̄ra Pradhōn, a few kilometres east, as if it were part and parcel of the former. Both are, of course, within the radius of Dvāravati monuments that abound in the locality.

Then follows the *Monarchical Institutions* by Dhammasāro Bhikkhu, a series of historical and sociological studies of the Thai monarchy. In tracing the development of the Thai monarchy from the early Buddhist days in India, the Venerable gentleman might have included a sketch of world culture other than the Indian; for the monarchical institution existed everywhere else. There can, of course, be no contradiction to the fact that our cultural tradition originated from India and that to a great extent our monarchical ideal is traceable from that quarter.

The article is provided with an extensive and well chosen list of references. It is a pity, however, that works other than in our language have not been made use of.

At the end of the book is a study of Napoleon Bonaparte written some thirty years ago by the late Luang Viçitra-Vādakārn. In an introductory note to this addition, his widow says that the study was requested by the sponsor of the publication. The Khunluang's brilliant style is well known, though, in view of the material preceding, the inclusion of the study is somewhat unexpected.

388. Anumān Rājadhon, Prayā, *Correspondence with His late Royal Highness Prince Naris* on matters of knowledge บันเทิงความรู้ของเจ้าฟ้าฯ ๗ Śivaporn Press, Bangkok 2506 in 5 volumes, illustrated.

In the preface, the author defines the Fine Arts as consisting of five branches: architecture, sculpture, painting, music and literature. The last two include between them dramatic art. In his life's work, the late Prince evinced his excellence in four of the Fine Arts. The *uposoth* of Wat Beñčamabōpit alone is a proof of his complex talent.

From the year 2479 to 2486 (Buddhist Era) the late Prince was in the habit of corresponding with the author about various aspects of art and allied topics. The correspondence accumulated to five octavo volumes totalling over 1,500 pages. Each volume is provided with an index of subjects and one of names as well as a list of references.

The range of subjects dealt with is far too wide for generalization—architecture, history, philology, Court and popular rites and, of course, fine arts in the more limited sense, being but a few of the topics discussed.

As a rule the late Prince wrote to consult or inform Prayā Anumān on matters which came to his attention. They were mostly philological. The author was by this time in full charge of the National Library where encyclopaedic information collected by the late Prince Damroṅ became available to the author. Being a scholar of the encyclopaedic type, he would look up answers to satisfy the Prince's scholastic enquiries and, moreover, enlarged upon the discussion. A translated excerpt of a passage not quite encyclopaedic from Book I page 128 :

The most important point raised in your letter, that writers are apt to coin words according to their will, made me realise something already evident to my mind but as yet never formulated. When I was young nobody seemed to be aware of the existence of Sanskrit at all. I subscribed too to that misunderstanding. Words from the Sanskrit were regarded as an alternative way (วิธี) of writing Pāli. No one realised the truth till Sanskrit dictionaries began to arrive in our country. .

Consequent to this generalisation the Prince went on to discuss words which posed problems of interpretation or even spelling.

The series was published in dedication to the late Prince on the celebration of the centenary of his birth by the joint effort of the Thai government and UNESCO. The get-up has been planned with appropriate care and artistic inspiration. Included is a very well written biography from the pen of Princess Duanṅcitra who was her father's constant companion.

389. Sathien Koses, *Retrospect* สัทเทียนโกสเสว Śivaporn Press, Bangkok 2510 with an appendix and two indices *octo* pages 513.

Having been looked upon for some time past as an ācān, it is no wonder that the author has been urged, time and again, to write an autobiography of his long and varied career. One is not quite certain whether the rendering *Retrospect* for his book carries the full meaning intended, for other interpretations would seem possible. In whichever way it is labelled in English, the book is sure to receive every attention from Thai and foreign cultural circles.

The five hundred-odd pages of the long narrative commence with his birth, his childhood in the busy commercial centre of Bangkok which offered the boy varied opportunities for a broad view of life, and then goes very fully into his education which was practical rather than classical. In fact, the chapters on education continue and occupy some three quarters of the narrative, though interspersed with numerous observations of the maturer personality he was at the time of writing. The contents of this long narrative include matters topographical for Bangkok, especially commercial Bangkok downtown, as well as historical, philological, social and cultural matters. The style of writing is anecdotal, evincing the keen observation of a clever youth expressed in the language of a maturer elder broadened by a wealth of general knowledge acquired during development into a savant.

It is interesting to note that the author learnt his Siamese from such conservative text-books as the XIX century series of the *Mūlabot*, condemned nowadays as being out-of-date. And yet these text-books have not succumbed to the artificial style of an adopted Aryan grammar of Siamese. Judging from Sathien Koses' clearly written, good Siamese it would seem that the lack of a knowledge of the artificial grammar of the language has not hindered his ability to use the 'King's Siamese'.

It is impossible to summarise the content of this narrative for it ranges widely. Besides an index of terms and an index of names, there is a long appendix (pages 437-506) entitled 'When I presented myself to His Royal Highness'. The exalted personality referred to is His late Royal Highness Prince Damrong, then President of the Royal Institute of Arts and Sciences. It introduces to us the ambitious young official of His Majesty's Customs Service who eventually transferred to the Royal Institute, finally becoming its chief executive under the title of Vice-President. If he had cared to, he might have become a leading member of another honourable cultural organization—the Siam Society.

390. Records of His late Majesty *King Prajādhīpok's official visit to the north* จดหมายเหตุพระบาทสมเด็จพระปกเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว...เหนือและเขื่อนลพบุรี Śiṣāṇṇ Press, Bangkok 2510 pages 116.

These records are not merely interesting for the sociologist in search of descriptions of rites and ceremonies of the Court but supply us also with features of northern custom and of the world of hereditary rulers in the north which was then about to terminate. The enthusiastic welcome, in 1925, from our northern kinsmen of all walks of life must have been an encouragement to the guests and hosts alike. It has been compared often to the dumb surprise and sullen acquiescence of the nation seven years later to the new regime.

391. *Viśākhā Pūjā 2511* an annual publication in English of the Buddhist Association of Thailand. Śiṣāṇṇ Press, Bangkok 2511 pages 120.

The publication is intended frankly for the foreign public which has in recent years shown a marked interest in Buddhistic subjects. The present number is in fact a great improvement on past issues. A glance at the table of contents reveals well known foreign scholars as well as several high dignitaries of the Buddhist Church. It is prefaced with an illustrated resumé of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, which is, of course, the most widely known of the texts of the Theravāda School of Buddhism.

The Editorial Note puts before us the wherefore of the Organisation of the above-mentioned Association by giving a sketch of its history, its aims and its programme of activities, which includes a commemorative service on the anniversary of the death of the late King Monkut who, the editorial note points out, was responsible for laying the foundation of modern Siam. His reform of the Church regarding the Holy Brotherhood is duly held up as a progressive step.

The contents include Bhikkhu Khantipāla's article entitled the *Wheel of Wandering*, an exposé of the philosophy of *Saṃsāra*, a feature of ancient India accepted into Buddhism. The same author is responsible for several other contributions which are well worth reading, since these are presented in good and clear English.

The number includes reviews of books, thus keeping us up-to-date in Buddhist literature.

392. Thron-Surakič, Cmün, *The Daughters of Māra* in verse ทัศนวิมลนิพนธ์ and *Essays on Spiritual Wandering* Navy Press, Bangkok 2510 pages 91.

The first part of this work is an original versified version of the figurative scene of the temptations of the Buddha written by the nobleman whose name appears above, whilst the essays are from the pen of three members of the Holy Brotherhood. The publication is dedicated to the author of the poem and his wife at whose cremation the book was issued.

The theme, though based on a phase of the Buddha's life as fancifully told in literature and in representations of art, is just a poem of imagination, somewhat resembling the epic of Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacarita*. Written in good literary Siamese, it is, however, couched in extremely erotic language with scenes perhaps unequalled in Siamese literature, though reminiscent of Kalidāśa's erotic scenes in *Kumārasambhava*.

The essays are interesting in an unorthodox way, and deal with the problems of the after-life.

393. In dedication to the memory of the late Ven. On Sarabhān-Madhuros, a deputy abbot in the Vietnamese Mahāyānist Church of Siam, the leading members of that Church published a set of four books, most of which had been published but had become rare. These are:

1. *History of the Vietnam Church in Thailand* ประวัติการเผยแผ่ของนิกายมหายาน Prayurawong Press, Bangkok 2511 pages 268;

2. *The Five Hundred Arahats* from the pen of Sathien Kośes and Nāgapradip with illustrations and a very useful introduction วิวัฒนาการของพระพุทธเจ้าห้าร้อย Prayurawong Press, Bangkok 2511 pages 43;

3. On Sarabhān Madhuros' *Lectures* อนุชิตปาฐกถาของพระบาทสมเด็จพระมหาพรหมนาถ Prayurawong Press, Bangkok 2511 pages 134;

4. *Pām Koṅ Kūk Fa* พามกึ่งกุกฟ้า an Historical Romance, from the Vietnamese, Prayurawong Press, Bangkok 2511 page 228.

Īragrū Ganānam-samanācārya, Chief Abbot of the Vietnamese Church in Thailand, author of the *History...* (1 above), is both a learned scholar and chief mourner of the venerable gentleman, also a scholar, whose learned lectures form the material of the book (3 above). Each volume is prefaced by a biography of the deceased, whose photograph is attached.

The *History of the Vietnamese Church* extends through the period of the present regime of Krunṭeṭ or, in Siamese, the era of the Ratanakosind. Pages 25 to 268 are devoted to a history of the relationship between the Vietnamese and our people. It is a political account which is well summarised, covering the period corresponding to the era noted.

The *Five Hundred Arahats* according to Sathien Kośes, author of its Siamese translation, was 'picked up' accidentally during a stroll in the Sāmpṭeṭ quarter, later translated into our language, and, finally, rendered in polished Siamese by the two authors Sathien Kośes and Nāgapradīp for publication as a number in the series *Our Neighbours' Beliefs*. In the form of what in modern days would be called cartoons with explanations, these are interesting nevertheless and readable. The Introduction has been written with a scholarly knowledge and diction and is supplemented by an appendix on the term Sattaparna, a second appendix on the famous pilgrim ๓๓๓๓—written in Roman characters Hiuen Tsiang or Yuan Chwang or in some other ways. A third appendix is devoted to the pilgrim Fa Hian. Both pilgrims have left accounts of their pilgrimages to the Middle Land and Yuan Chwang's work has been helpful to scientific identifications of Indian geographical names such as Śrāvasti or Sāvatti.

The *Lectures* are interesting, especially in that they were from the pen of the deceased. These deal with topics of Mahāyānist belief with special reference to spiritualism—a topic apparently studied deeply by the deceased.

The *romance* is said to be a translation from classic Vietnamese literature. Bearing a striking resemblance to Thai versions of the Chinese classical romances (such as the *Sānkok*) in its style of writing, which may be described as 'slow movements and dignified phraseology', one cannot hope to glance or skip through the contents in the modern habit of reviewing.

394. *The King's Diary B.E. 2411* จดหมายเหตุพระวชิรประวัติ น.ศ. ๒๓๑๑
memento of the cremation of Her late Serene Highness Momchao
Vimol-Padmarāj Chirapratvat 2508 *sexag* pages 41.

There have been from time to time publications of sections of the King's Diary. The King's Diary was originally understood to have been initiated by the late King Chulalongkorn who personally entered his diary at first, later continued by his Private Secretary and, finally, by a mere clerk in the latter's office. King Rama VI, however, carefully kept his private diary up to the time of his death; but this was confidential and never published in full. The discovery of a diary commenced in the reign of King Mōṅkut was not expected and is interesting on that account. Unfortunately, the diary found dates only to the last year of the King's life. It is highly interesting nevertheless.

It is well known that King Mōṅkut was up and about and in his usual health up to the time of the expedition to the coast to observe the solar eclipse; that is, two months before the actual date of his demise. He contracted an illness—said to have been malaria—and rallied several times but finally died on the 18th October; in lunar calculation in use at the time, the 15th of the waxing moon of the eleventh month.

The diary records an account of the meeting immediately after the King's death of the Council of the Realm, consisting of the royal family, the senior members of the government and the clergy. His Royal Highness Kromaluay—later promoted to Kromaṅra—Deves proposed that an invitation be extended to the late King's eldest son, Prince Chulālongkorn, to succeed to the throne. This was agreed upon unanimously. The same prince then proposed that the office of the premier Prince of the Palace to the Front be offered to His Highness Kromamūn Boworawijaijān, eldest son of the former Prince who had since died. Nothing more is recorded here of the discussion which is known to have occurred.

The oath of allegiance to the chosen princes was taken by the entire court at a meeting held after that meeting at which was made the choice of the King and of the Prince of the Palace to the Front.

Then follows an account of the coronation of His Majesty King Chulālongkorn in some detail.

It is noticeable from this diary that on his return from the trip to observe the eclipse King Mongkut was irritable—perhaps feeling unwell. During the illness however which later developed into something quite severe he kept a clear mind. He was able to compose a farewell in Pāli, addressed to his former colleagues in the Holy Order, and spoke to lay colleagues in government and members of the Royal Family without difficulty.

395. *The Sociological Review* สหกิจศาสตร์ 3rd special number, devoted to history from the modern viewpoint. Sociological Sciences Press 2509 pages 137.

In publishing a special number devoted to history from the modern viewpoint, the Editor deplores the lack of interest in historical studies of a scholarly standard and attempts to stimulate interest. Due honour is paid, and quite rightly, to the national father of historical science by reproducing, in colour, a photograph of His late Royal Highness Prince Damrōj. Prayā Anumān Rājadhon contributes a preface emphasizing that the study of history does not end at taking note of facts. It should encourage logical judgment; one should, for instance, realise how historical points arise and how they develop. History, unlike most other sciences, is not fixed by well proved theories, and yet awaits definite decisions within its own scope as well as within allied sciences like archeology.

The contents of the number present a wide range of topics bearing on the scholarly study of the subject. Prehistory is well represented by F.W. Mote's *Prehistory of the Thai People* in a Siamese as well as English version. It sums up research in prehistory to-date. Dr. Sud Sēnviġian's *Examination of the Human Skeletons of Bankao* devotes attention to chronological data in order to solve the problem of origin or migration of the Thai, which previously had not been attributed to such an early date. *The Language of Sukhodaya* by J.M. Brown in English deals with the venue and spread in Siam of

the race. *Examining the History of Sukhodaya*, in Siamese, by Dr. Prasroeth na Nakon follows and is worth going into in some detail. Taking various aspects of the case, one-by-one, the author concludes that:

1. Historians agreed formerly that King Li'fai fought a long time before he gained his throne in B.E. 1897; but in his opinion, supported by definite epigraphical proof, that king had been reigning in Sajjanālaya in B.E. 1888 and acceded to the throne of Sajjanālaya Sukhodaya in 1890;
2. It was formerly thought that Li'fai was so devoted to religion that he neglected the defense of his country's interests and that this resulted in serious disintegration. The author argues that the state had already disintegrated before this king came to power, to wit the epigraphical evidence that the states of Prabāṅ, Chian'ōṅ Bāṅpān had assumed independence. Li'fai, in fact, was responsible for the restoration of the land between the valleys of the Pāsak and the Mépīṅ as far as Nān.
3. The former notion of Li'fai's successor, Sailū'fai, moving his capital to Sōṅkwē for 7 years is repudiated by the author's epigraphical evidence of Li'fai being responsible for the seven years' sojourn in Sōṅkwē, possibly to guard against encroachments by Ayudhyā between 1905—1911.
4. The author does not accept the former notion of Sailū'fai being Li'fai's son, is inclined to interpret the term *phūlān* (phūlān) as grandson and accepts another monarch in his place.

As regards the line of succession to the throne of Sukhodaya, the author points out that M.R. Sumonajāt, supported a list on the authority of Prince Damroṅ of eight kings, which Khačorn Sukhapānij increased to 10 in conformity with Inscription 45. To both of these the author rejoins that the list should be limited to 9 independent monarchs.

Generally speaking a clearer statement of facts by the author seems necessary for a reader's decision.

New data presented in the next article from Dr. J. Boisselier *Nouvelles Données du Siam* carries us back of that accepted as authentic history of Siam. It should be noted that the epigraphical evidence is culled from the north-east, up to now a comparatively little known source area. There is no reason to reject the conclusions of this scholar of world-wide repute. Moreover, unlike some of those preceding, these are clear and succinct.

S. Wallibhodom's *Ayudhyā in History* is almost startling. It has the merit too of being clear and succinct. Hitherto our history has been written on the hypothesis that our ancestors came from somewhere in the north; and, after successive settlements, established themselves in a state called *Ṭēpanakōn*, or in classical exactitude 'devanagara'. After some time we were driven by an epidemic to move east to the marsh of the *sano*, a willow plant, under the leadership of a King of *Ūīōṅ* to found a new city named *Kruṅṭēp-Twārāwadi-Śrī Ayudhyā*. This became the starting point of a new *Ṭai* state to be known in later years as Siam—in classical exactitude *Śyām*.

The article under review, if correct, will revolutionise all this. It admits, of course, of the existence of the state of *Ūīōṅ* which has been proved by archeology to have been an extensive centre of civilisation to the north of *Pra Pathom*. In view of the fact, however, that archeology has proved that its remains belong to the *Dvāravati* period of art, it was too old to be the immediate predecessor of that exodus which resulted in the founding of *Ayudhyā* at the marsh of the willows. Now, on the east bank of the river east of the modern town of *Ayudhyā* there are ruins of *Dvāravati* remains, as also those of later periods, known by the name of *Wat Doem*, meaning the 'Wat of former days' There is also, one might add, the *Wat of the Lord of the cross-legs*, officially named *Wat Pānañchoeṅ*, which, according to reliable records, predates the founding of *Ayudhyā*. These facts should prove at least that there were habitations on the east bank, round the present-day railway station of *Ayudhyā*, which might be remains of our *Ṭēpanakōn*. All this, in fact, is suspected to be the old *Ayodhyā*, if such a name ever existed in our country. That is the crux of Wallibhodom's suggestion.

Another study of old Ayudhyā, by W.O. Wolters, in English, is also well and clearly written under the title of *History of Early Ayudhyā*.

Kachorn Sukhapāni's *Documents of the time of King Nārāi* is a sum of material for reference. Four documents are enumerated as recent French publications, namely: de Fontaney's *Travels in Siam and China* (Shanghai 1942), the *Memoirs of de Beze*, concerning the life and death of Constance Phaulcon (Tokyo 1947), *Rome and the Missions of Indochina in the XVIIth century* (Paris 1948) and the *Journey to Siam of Father Bouvet* (Leiden 1963). All this source material is in French and the one of de Beze has been translated into Thai. The author goes on to discuss other sources, including one from Persia which is written in Arabic character and as yet undeciphered. Mention is made also of other *source materiel* in French, the most important being those of the French diplomatic and missionary missions to the court of King Nārāi, such as Chambord, Tachard and Laloubère.

What then, it is asked, was the result of this comparatively extensive intellectual intercourse with the French. The answer: cartography. With regard to other fields of knowledge, such as medicine and engineering, the author has not been able to detect much. He attributes this deficiency to the political turmoil of the time.

The final article *Thoughts in Connection with the Science of History* by Nidh Eowśriwoṅś could perhaps be described as historical truisms.

The special number under review may be said to be the most informative issue of *The Sociological Review* published to date.

D.

31 July 1968