

REVIEWS

Phya Anuman Rajadhon : *Essays on Thai Folklore* (The Social Science Press of Thailand) 1968, pp. 383. 120 baht.

Essays on Thai Folklore is a collection of writings in English drawn from various sources, many articles here being reprinted from the pages of the JSS. The distinguished author, late President of the Council of the Siam Society, needs no introduction to readers of this Journal—his immensely broad scholarship forming to a great degree the very basis of contemporary studies in the field not only of Thai folklore, but of language and literature, Buddhistic studies and culture in general. Articles on the topics above are included in the volume under review, published on the occasion of the author's eightieth birthday.

Each contribution is a veritable mine of information on the subject discussed and reflects that peculiar brand of scholarship which is Phya Anuman's: not formal or pedantic in the academic sense, but rigorous (often self-searching) and patently authoritative. These qualities are neatly referred to in Professor Gedney's preface to his translation of "The Life of the Thai Farmer", included in the present volume.

To have what your reviewer understands to be a complete collection of Phya Anuman's writings in English in one volume is to possess a most valuable source-book in the field of Thai humanities. The publishers are to be congratulated upon their enterprise.

There are however a number of shortcomings: the essays here collected have not been edited in any way for the purpose of their republication. There is thus a good deal of repetition particularly in those contributions dealing with Language and Literature reprinted from the Thai Culture Series. This in itself is not essentially objectionable, but the large number of misprints throughout the volume intrudes upon one's enjoyment of the text. Some of these errors are serious, being of the sort that omit a crucial negative (page 75, second paragraph line 12). Certain Thai words have even been misprinted,

though certainly in general the printing of Thai terms in Thai script is a valuable feature for those readers with some facility in the Thai language. In certain articles, however, this policy has lapsed or been disregarded as in the case of 'Luck Measurement in Thailand' being an essay reprinted from the special issue of *Artibus Asiae* in honour of Professor Gordon Luce. Elsewhere Professor Gedney has followed Mary Haas's system of transliteration in his translation of "The Life of the Thai Farmer", but has not included any Thai script.

The essays are illustrated with the photographs and drawings which accompanied their original publication, which in some cases was ten or more years ago. Many of these, particularly the photographs, could well have been retaken specially for this edition. Even so there would remain much scope for further illustration such as a volume of this importance deserves.

However, all in all, *Essays in Thai Folklore* is a compilation of immense value: essential reading for the student of Thai humanistic studies and a delightfully instructive handbook for the general reader. May the publishers give thought to preparing other writings of Phya Anuman, so far only available in Thai, in English translation.

P. J. S. Young

H.G. Quaritch Wales: *Dvāravatī, the earliest Kingdom of Siam* (Bernard Quaritch, London) 1969, pp. 149 84s.

This publication is a complete volume next to Pierre Dupont's *L'Archeologie Mên de Dvāravatī* which was published a decade ago. Most of the knowledge about Dvāravatī appears in the form of articles in periodicals in Thai and other languages. Dr. Quaritch Wales' purpose of writing this book stems from a desire to solve the causes of the differentiation of the cultures of Indianized South-east Asia, though he is fully aware that "any immediate attempt at a definitive synthesis would be premature."

Unlike his predecessors, Coedès and Dupont, who stuck to their intensive study of architecture, sculpture, decorations, and

inscriptions, Quaritch Wales, although using the art historical approach, looks at the materials in a broader perspective. He attempts to study "all that the ground has to say" by analysing the material into various classes, namely beads, ceramics, town plans, architecture, sculpture, thrones of Buddhas and Dharmacakra (Wheels of the Law). He carefully evaluates these materials step by step and also brings in some new techniques to improve the accuracy of his data such as the trial trench in the habitation areas. Trial trench is rarely conducted in the archaeological excavation of the Dvāravatī sites, either in the past or the present. Also in evaluating the materials, Dr. Wales discusses and consults with both previous and recent studies by many authorities such as Coedès, Dupont, Malleret, Lajonquière, Seidenfaden, and Boisselier.

Dr. Quaritch Wales' way of presenting data is well organized. The book is divided into six chapters with illustrations which may help the readers gain more understanding into Dvāravatī culture.

Chapter I, entitled Formation of Dvāravatī, is concerned with the pre-Dvāravatī period. The areas that are responsible for the formation of Dvāravatī were the two independent regions known from the Chinese texts as Funan in the Mekong Delta and Chin-lin in central Thailand. Both regions were the recipients of Indian culture. Chin-lin, the centre of which was U T'ong, received Indian culture, particularly North Indian culture and Western culture through the Three Pagodas Pass. This is evident from the Roman lamp found at P'ong Tük, a trade station near the Meklong River. The North Indian culture passed on an overland route to Si Tép and then reached Oc-Eo, the Funan cultural centre in the Mekong Delta. However, the cultural influence from South India and Ceylon came by sea to Oc-Eo, whence some were passed back to Chin-lin. This is supported from the evidence that both U T'ong and Oc-Eo share the same types of beads, coins, ear-rings and particularly the Amaravati art influence that can be seen in the sculpture and decorative fragments. Chin-lin was brought into a closer relation with Funan, when it was annexed to the Funan territory in the 3rd century A.D. Dvāravatī was formed from the break-up of Funan in the middle of the 6th century A.D. During this period there was an intense contact with North India via

the land route of the Three Pagodas Pass. This caused a great change in the art of the region. Late Gupta style became characteristic of the Dvāravatī art and could be easily observed in the Buddha images and decorative fragments.

Dvāravatī became the cultural centre of the Mōn kingdom in central Thailand, and from the language appearing in the inscriptions and some styles of art, it had some contact with the Mōn in Burma through the Three Pagodas Pass. It was during the 7th century A.D. that the name Dvāravatī was mentioned as T'o-lo-po-ti by the Chinese historians and pilgrims to India.

Chapter II, *Western Dvāravatī*, is a detailed study of the archaeological evidence at the chief Dvāravatī sites in the western part of central Thailand, namely U T'ong, Nak'on Pathom, Kamp'eng Sen, Ku Bua and P'ong Tūk. U T'ong is the earliest site in the western region. During the Chin-lin time there were only a small enclosure at the northern end of the city; but the whole city developed during Dvaravati period. The Sanskrit inscriptions on copper plate indicates that it probably was the first capital of Dvāravatī ruled by the king and Buddhism was not the only religion of the region. Sivaism and Vishnuism were also practiced there. There are a few architectural remains at U T'ong that belong to the earlier period i.e., the Dharmacakra, the plain square brick base and the plain round base. The recent excavation at U T'ong brought to light the fact that the Mōn craftsmen were rigidly faithful to their traditional materials and building methods using re-employed brick. Moreover, some architectural remains revealed the influence of the art of Srivijaya borrowed by the Dvāravatī craftsmen. Many finds at U T'ong related to those found at Nak'on Pathom and Muang Bon. Some decorative fragments, such as the blue glazed glass were of Near-East origin of the 8th century. Saddle querns and rollers resemble those in Champa in the Mekong Delta. However, judging from its monuments, U T'ong became second to Nak'on Pathom after the 7th century and it fell to the Khmer after the 11th century A.D. The city was later ruled by the Thai prince who later abandoned it to found the city of Ayuthya.

Nak'on Pathom flourished during the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. The city, whose location was recently discovered, has a more sophisticated plan than that of U T'ong. The inscribed silver medals which stated the "foundation of the king of Sri Dvāravatī" suggested that the city might have been founded during the 7th century A.D. and that it should be called T'o-lo-po-ti, the Chinese name in the 7th century. The P'ra Pat'on was the first religious foundation in the centre of the city. It had its first refacing in the 9th century and the final one in the 11th century A.D., showing Khmer influence. Of more interest than the new discoveries at Nak'on Pathom is the discovery of the three main quartzite statues of Wat P'ra Men in Ayuthya. These huge images of the Buddha are of late Gupta style, characterized by the right hand raised in the *vitarka mudra*, not the *Dharmacakra mudra* (Turning the Wheel Law) as was formerly thought. It has been observed that, in Dvāravatī craftsmanship, the use of stone was confined to the main images and the Dharmacakra, but the use of stone carving instead of stucco and terracotta at the P'ra Pat'om indicated that the stupa was of great importance and left no doubt that it was the centre of the pilgrimage.

Kamp'eng Sen was a small town near Nak'on Pathom where cord marked and carinated sherds were found. The town was of late Dvāravatī period and was briefly occupied. Ku Bua is another new site recently discovered and excavated. Most of the finds were terracotta and stucco decorations like the Bodhisattava, the Buddha images etc, suggesting the increased Indianization in the late Gupta time. Quaritch Wales thinks that the Mahayanist art of the late Gupta was introduced by Mahayanist monks who, from India, passed through the Three Pagodas Pass to Ku Bua. However, Mahayanist Buddhism was not widely appreciated and did not have a long existence because the city moved to a new location at Rajburi where Hinayanist Buddhism was favoured.

P'ong Tük is the last site in Western Dvāravatī to be mentioned in this book. Apart from the Roman lamp of the early Christian century, its architectural remains, like the oblong platform at the San Chao and the bronze Buddha images, when reconsidered, indicate the position of P'ong Tük as a trade station when Dvāravatī flourished in the 8th and the 9th centuries A.D.

Chapter III, the Centre and the North, is about the cities and towns of this area of Dvāravatī. Lop'buri is an important city located near the river and the sea. Although no systematic investigation of any underlying remains of the Dvāravatī period was undertaken in the city, the chronicle of Camadevivamsa and the coins at U T'ong mentioning the name Lavapura suggest that Lop'buri was an important Dvāravatī city and later the seat of Khmer viceroyalty. However, the excavation and the finds at Chansen indicate that during the Funan or the pre-Dvāravatī period, Chansen was the predecessor of Lop'buri.

Of more interest in this chapter is the discovery of Muang Bon from the air photos by Williams Hunt, and it was Quaritch Wales who found its exact location and excavated it. Muang Bon is a town of circular plan enclosed by an earthen rampart. The town was less densely populated and was unlikely to have been inhabited after the 10th century A.D. Among the interesting finds from the digging in this town that contributed to the understanding of Dvāravatī culture was the front half of an earthenware Roman lamp suggesting the Roman prototype of the first and second centuries A.D., which might have been copied in the Dvāravatī period. The stupa bases and the stucco decorations outside the town implied that the Dvāravatī art here is provincial and the Dvāravatī craftsman had to do his best with bricks and stucco. The Môn people of Muang Bon remained devout Hinayanists.

The circular village site of Thap Chumphon with the remains of brick stupa, votive tablets, and some inscription on some small votive stupas indicate the northward extension of Dvāravatī to this area. This agrees with the legend of the journey of Queen Camadevi from Lop'buri to Lamp'un. Si T'ep is again mentioned in this chapter as formerly a city in the Funan empire. At first Vishnuism was worshipped but after the raid by King Bhavavarman I of Chenla, Sivaism was introduced. However, the Khmer did not maintain their hold in Si T'ep so long because some evidence of Srivijaya and Dvāravatī art implied that Si T'ep and the Nam Sak Valley were incorporated in Dvāravatī from the 7th century until the Khmer invasion in the early 11th century A.D.

Lamp'un is the last city in north Dvāravatī. It was founded in the 8th century A.D. by Queen Camadevi from Lopburi. The kingdom maintained its independence from the Khmer until it lost to the Thais in the 14th century A.D.

Chapter IV, Eastern Dvaravati or the Prac'in valley, was the region to which the rulers of Dvāravatī at U T'ong and Nak'on Pathom extended their territory. The extension might have taken place at the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th century. The most important town in the Prac'in valley was Dong Si Maha P'ot. There was, in this town, a fairly equal division between adherence to Hinayanist Buddhism and Hinduism during Dvāravatī period. However, apart from this, the Mahayanist deities were also appreciated. There are some objects such as the elongated linga similar to the one found at Oc-Eo which dates to the early century of the Christian era. According to Quaritch Wales, there are no buildings that can be ascribed to the Funan period. The town was later conquered by the Khmer and was known, owing to the bronze object of 1187 A.D., as Sri Watsapura.

Next to Dong Si Maha P'ot is P'anat known as Muang Pra Rod by Lajonquière. The town shows a more sophisticated plan which might be later influenced by the Khmer. The archaeological remains were laterite and the brick basement of Dvāravatī type, the fragments of mitred Vishnu resembling those found in Dong Si Maha P'ot and the stone relief of the Buddha accompanied by Brahma and Indra standing on the so-called Panasapati vehicle. The pot sherds and other finds indicated the short period of Dvāravatī occupation with the long period of Khmer rule. The last site dealt with in this chapter is the circular town of Dong Lak'on where the non-Khmer type of Buddha, saddle querns and the Pala image of earth touching mudra were found.

Chapter V, the North-East, is about the Dvāravatī culture in the north-east of Thailand. The region was first believed to be a part of Chenla during the 7th century A.D. It was during the last decade of this century that the K'orat plateau was colonized by Dvāravatī through the Pak Chong route. The bas-relief in Dvāravatī stlye and

the ancient city of Muang Sima located on this route indicate the movement of Dvāravatī up to the plateau. Muang Sima was a Dvāravatī city that remained untouched by the Khmer. Most of inscriptions found in the north-east region showed traces of Mōn influence. They are foreign to Cambodia, even if many of them employ the Khmer language. From the excavation at Muang Phet, Quaritch Wales found the pot sherds in the lowest strata similar to those found in Kamp'eng Sen. The distinctive feature of the culture in the north-east is the sema stone cult of which the stones either singly or in pairs were placed at the cardinal or sub-cardinal points of the Buddhist sacred enclosures. At Muang Fa Daed some stones were finely carved with Buddhist scenes. The stone cult, as it was not found elsewhere during the Dvāravatī period, is probably an independent and original development in the north-east region.

The town plans of the north-east are similar in shape to the Dvāravatī towns in the centre, but with multiple ramparts and moats. Such ramparts and moats indicate a device for defense in a place where there is a very small population, insufficient to keep an adequate watch at night. Quaritch Wales believes that most of the outer ramparts were added in the 9th century because of the threat of Khmer invasion.

Chapter VI, Origins and Trends, is the last chapter. Quaritch Wales states how he analysed and evaluated the archaeological data in his research. Beads and pot sherds are valuable materials in the study of the Funan and the pre-Dvāravatī sites, but in the present situation, they seem to be less impressive than architecture, sculpture, and decoration in which change is most easily studied and, as a result, they contribute more to the understanding of the origins and trends of Dvāravatī culture as a whole. The study of town plans is very interesting in this book. Quaritch Wales, after comparing various Dvāravatī town plans of different periods with those of Angkor Borei, Sambor-Prei-Kuk and Oc-Eo, delineated the town plan of Dvāravatī as an improvement from an irregular, more or less circular or oval, nuclei, by the grafting on of a secondary enclosure or by the enclosing of the original circular site by a wider area of land with new ramparts and moats. Some town plans of the late 7th century A.D. are of

approximately rectangular construction but without the precision and sharpness of the corners that is a characteristic of Khmer planning. Quaritch Wales ends his book with the statement "the history of Dvāravatī culture is one of gradual decline from a peak attained when late Gupta influences were at their height in the 7th century. This decline could not be stayed by a later and partially acceptable wave of Pala or Srivijaya influence, nor by the limited originality resulting from the sometimes harmonious rearrangement of often disparate elements. Intense acculturation, stifling local genius as it does, provides no substitute for a living evolution."

In considering Dr. Quaritch Wales' otherwise admirable *Dvāravatī*, there are four points I would take issue with.

Firstly, I doubt the veracity of Dr. Wales' idea that the North Indian culture passed through the Three Pagodas Pass to Dvāravatī in central Thailand. I quite agree with Dr. Wales on the point that the Three Pagodas Pass was a land route connecting central Thailand and Burma since the neolithic period and that it was still used until the Ayuthya period by the Burmese armies to invade Thailand. But I have not heard of any finds, except the Roman lamp at P'ong Tūk, on this route implying that North Indian culture came this way. On the contrary, it seems to me that the North Indian culture came by sea to the town ports in central Thailand. U T'ong, Nak'on Pathom, Ku Bua and Dong Si Maha P'ot all were located near the mouths of big rivers i.e., U T'ong and Nak'on Pathom near the Ta Chin River, Ku Bua and P'ong Tuk near the Meklong River and Dong Si Maha P'ot near the Bang Pakong River. It was from these cities that we saw the cultural influence from abroad, and particularly the late Gupta influence could easily be observed in U T'ong and Nak'on Pathom. The city of Nak'on Pathom was first discovered by me from air photos including several other towns in the Chao Phya River basin. On my survey trip to the city, I found that Klong Bang Keo, the river that passes through the city, is a branch of the Ta Chin River. When the city still flourished, this water course was navigable and sea-going ships could come up to the city. This is why some people talked about the anchor found in the vicinity of Wat Dharma-sala near Nak'on Pathom. U T'ong is also located near the

junction of the Chorakhe Sam Pan River and the Ta Wa River before they flow southwards into the Ta Chin River.

That the North Indian culture came by sea also agrees with the sea trip of the Chinese historians and pilgrims to India who spoke of T'o-lo-po-ti in the 7th century A.D. I think the land route via the Three Pagodas Pass should be confined to the local contact between Dvāravatī in central Thailand and the Mōn in Burma. This is supported by the fact that most of the archaeological remains in Dvāravatī are older than those of the Mōn in Burma. In brief, Dvāravatī was a centre while Burma was a recipient.

I would next have to oppose Dr. Wales' assumption about the Thai prince ruling U T'ong before abandoning it to found the city of Ayuthya. This account is, archaeologically and historically, a groundless supposition. U T'ong was, according to local chronicle and belief, the name of the king the same as Pra Ruang, the king of Sukhothai. It was not the name of the city. The city was, in fact, called by the local people Muang Tao U T'ong (the city of King U T'ong) and there were many ancient towns in central Thailand named like this. The confusion of the name of the king with the name of the city led to the misinterpretation of U T'ong with Suparnabhumi or Suvarnabhumi. The green-glazed pottery or the Chalieng pottery found during the excavation in U T'ong is not sufficient to confirm the reigning prince in the city. It indicates only the continuity of the city as a small village after its fall. I also do not think, as Boisselier suggested, that a big Dvāravatī stupa at U T'ong was rebuilt by the king of Ayuthya. It might have been built by the local head man or some rich men of the area. The fact is that not all the big stupas and pagodas in Ayuthya were built by the kings.

I further doubt the reliability of the basic assumption of the Khmer occupation in central Thailand after the 11th century or in brief, the capture of Dvāravatī by the Khmer. I do not think the cultural evidence studied so far has anything to do with race or politics. It cannot be interpreted beyond the level of cultural contact between Thailand and the Khmer in Cambodia. If Dr. Quaritch Wales were well informed about the new discoveries

of several Dvāravatī sites in central Thailand during his last trip to Thailand, he would not have missed the Dvāravatī town at Dong Mae Nang Muang in Nak'on Sawan. The town was excavated by the Fine Arts Department in 1966. Several Dvāravatī brick basements were unearthed, including stucco decorations, bronze images of the late Dvāravatī period and some votive tablets of Lop'buri style. One of the most interesting finds was the inscription stone in Pali and Khmer languages mentioning the king named Sri Dharmasoka who devoted a piece of land in memory of the late King Sri Dharmasoka at Dhanyapura. The date on the inscription was 1167 A.D. I saw no evidence of Khmer occupation in this Dvāravatī town except the Lop'buri style in the votive tablets. The Lop'buri art, though resembling Khmer art in Cambodia, is widely accepted nowadays as the local art in central Thailand.

Lastly, I do not agree with Dr. Wales about the defense function of the multiple ramparts of the towns in the north-east region nor the movement of the Dvāravatī people to occupy the K'orat plateau. This seems to be inconsistent with the geographical situation. The north-east is not so fertile an area as the central part of Thailand. Why should the people of Dvāravatī, from fertile land, move to barren land? I accept, however, the Dvāravatī art influence in the north-east, but not the political power. It seems to me, according to Solheim in his study of the pre-historic sites, the north-east region has been inhabited since the neolithic and the bronze periods. The discovery of about two hundreds cities and towns from the air photographs by William Hunt suggests that there was a greater population in the north-east than in the central area in which the number of cities and towns is about one third that of the north-east. So far as my field work is concerned, I have mapped out 74 sites in the Mun and the Si valleys, and all of them are of so-called Dvāravatī-type cities and towns. Most of the towns are of bigger size than those in the central region except Nak'on Pathom, Suparnburi and Ayuthya. The

towns in the north-east have multiple ramparts and moats, but not of a defensive nature owing to insufficient population to guard against the danger of surprise attack, but the moats are needed for water. The moats were dug to serve as water reservoirs because the towns in the north-east suffered a water shortage during the dry season more acute than did those in the central part. It seems to me that the outer moats and the ramparts were added later when the population increased. This is evident from the scattered pot sherds indicating the habitation areas in between the inner and the outer rings. I think the suggestion that the multiple ramparts and moats were a defense device should be secondary to the assumption that they were needed for water in the north-east situation. I believe that during Dvāravatī times, there was a larger population in the north-east than in central Thailand and that Dvāravatī culture influencing the north-east should be viewed in terms of cultural contact only.

In spite of these criticisms of detail, I would like to suggest that Quaritch Wales' *Dvāravatī* is a very stimulating volume. His division of the first five chapters into five geographical areas with the illustrations at the end of the book makes it very easy to follow. This book provides for the reader a great amount of material about Dvāravatī cultural history or in the other words, a good background about the proto-historical period of Thailand and of South-east Asia as a whole. To the students of Dvāravatī, Quaritch Wales' volume is a valuable work of reference because, since Pierre Dupont's *L'Archéologie Mên de Dvāravātī*, nobody has made an attempt to present such a complete volume. It serves to bridge the gap between what had been done in the past and the recent discoveries of various pieces of evidence shedding new light on Dvāravatī, and at the same time it provides a background for those who want to inquire deeply into Dvāravatī culture.

Srisakra Vallibhotama

Jinakālamālī (Pāli Text and Introduction) (Pali Text Society, London) 1962, £1.7.6d.

Epochs of the Conqueror (translation of the above with an Introduction and Observations) (Pali Text Society, London) 1968, £4.4.0d.

This work was composed in Pāli by Phra Ratanapañña Theva in Chiangmai and ranges from the earliest and rather legendary accounts of the *Buddhasāsana* up to A.D. 1528. The venerable author was born in northern Siam and as a *bhikkhu* resided in Wat Mahābodhārām which is now well known as Wat Cedi Cet Yot (the Seven-spired Pagoda monastery). In the early years of the 16th century this Wat was an important centre of Buddhist learning and practice and in some quiet residence within its boundaries this history was written.

First, let us look at the Pāli text as printed by the Pāli Text Society. This book has been published under the Royal Patronage of His Majesty the present King of Siam to commemorate his visit to Great Britain in 1960. Further, it has been edited by Aggamatrāpaṇḍita A.P. Buddhadatta Mahāthera, a famous Pāli scholar in Ceylon. His interest in undertaking this work is explained by him in the Editor's Introduction which precedes the Pāli text in Roman script. Primarily, this was because the *Jinakālamālī* mentions historical facts about Ceylon which have not been recorded in the Great Chronicle (*Mahavahisa*) of that island. The text is printed in very clear type but the Mahāthera's edition has been criticized by the translator in that he has tried to 'regularize' forms of words evidently used in Pāli at that time in Chiangmai, substituting for them 'normal' forms.

Now turning to the translation which will be of more interest to most people, we should observe first that it is a good example of international cooperation in the field of Pāli studies. The translator is Professor N.A. Jayawickrama of the University of Ceylon who acknowledges the aid which he has received from both Dr. I. B. Horner, President of the Pāli Text Society and from Dr. Saeng Manavidura, as well as from Mr. Dhanit Yupho, former Director-General of the Fine Arts Department. The scholarly Introduction of the translator is followed by Dr. Saeng's Observations which are a valuable and interesting addition to the book.

Following this introductory material from which the reader will learn all about the book from many points of view, there follows the English translation. It was the convention in those days that when a history was to be written in Pāli, it must begin from the very earliest period of legends about our Buddha Sakiyamuni. Besides, these histories were not primarily the recording of worldly events but were designed to show the lineage and spread of the *Buddhasāsana*, referring to its flourishing state in one country and its decline in another. And when mighty kings died there was sure to be a reflection on how death claims the rich and influential as well as common people, thus making plain the *Dhamma* teaching on the transiency of all forms of existence.

Phra Ratanapañña Thera therefore began his history with a shortened account of some of the past lives of Gotama the Buddha when, as a Bodhisatta (one who has vowed to attain Enlightenment), he practiced various noble virtues and was predicted as a future Buddha by the many Buddhas of those past aeons. This is followed by a summary of Lord Buddha's last life up to the time of his Final Quenching (*parinibbāna*) and then by an account of his relics.

The next chief topic is the account of the three Recitals of the *Dhamma-Vinaya* held in India at which it was arranged in order and transmitted by special groups of *bhikkhus* known as *bhānaka* for future generations. Corruptions of the Teachings and the Discipline were also dealt with by these Recitals (or Councils) and the decisions of these noble *bhikkhus* handed down incorporated in the Buddhist scriptures.

The next main subject is the history of the *Buddhasāsana* in Ceylon from the time of its formal establishment there after the Third Recital in the Emperor Asoka's reign up to the arrival of the famous Tooth Relic in Ceylon (c. 840 BE). Thereafter, Ceylon is only referred to from time to time and the book concentrates upon events in this country.

This begins with a political and religious history of Haripuñjaya (Lampoon) and passes on to deal in greater detail with the fortunes of the Lānnā Thai kingdom from the times of King Mengrai who

conquered Lampoon and established Nabbisipara (Chiengmai) as his capital. This city became the centre for the spread of Sinhalese Buddhism both within the Thai Kingdoms and beyond.

The last topic of importance is an even more detailed treatment of Chiengmai's history with particular emphasis upon the works of King Tilok and his great-grandson, Phra Muang Keo. As the latter king lived in the times of the venerable author, his reign is recorded in even greater detail.

In the course of this history there is given also the accounts of various revered Buddha images, some of which still exist today. Everyone can see the Sihala image in the shrine-hall of the National Museum and its legendary history with some of its extensive wanderings are recorded in these pages. Besides images, various Buddha relics were enshrined at that time in some of the beautiful *cetiya*s to be seen near Chiengmai. Their stories are also given here. Then there are many accounts of re-ordination into a new lineage brought from Ceylon which at that time regarded as the holy land of the *Buddhasāsana* where it had been preserved in its pure form. *Bhikkhus* went from many other lands to learn the correct ways of practice and to have themselves re-ordained in the pure lineage of that island. When they returned to their own countries they were naturally zealous to cast out unworthy practices which departed from the ways they had learnt.

The book seems to have been composed in three stages but all are by the same author. It was probably his intention that other *theras* should continue his history from time to time as was the case in Ceylon with the Great Chronicle but no one took up this work so the *Jinakālamāli* remains a rather small book.

For those who wish to refer to the history of the Northern Thai kingdoms, the *Jinakālamāli* is invaluable, while anyone not knowing Pāli but interested in the *Buddhasāsana* and its history will find much that is fascinating in the *Epochs of the Conqueror*.

Phra Khantipālo

His Majesty King Rama the Fourth, Mongkut (Published under the auspices of Dhammayut Order and Mahamakuta University) October 1968.

Those interested in Thai history should be indebted to both Mahamakuta University and the Dhammayut Order which jointly published this small memorial volume on the centennial of the passing away of King Rama the Fourth. The contents of this book clearly indicate why Rama IV enjoys the justified reputation as the Scholar-King.

King Rama the Fourth's contributions to Buddhist scholarship and Sangha administrative reform are described in several articles, and we are fortunate to have included herein an English translation of the orders of chanting for the morning and evening which were composed by King Rama the Fourth. Mr. A.B. Griswold has provided valuable insights into the significant scholarly contributions King Mongkut made in both the historical and archaeological fields. The final article in this volume describing the last days of King Mongkut's life is particularly poignant and gives us an intimate view of the essence of the man who was King Mongkut: his compassion, his kindness, his generosity, and his deep and abiding religious faith. The description of his last days also calls to mind his scholarly accomplishments in the fields of history, archaeology, science, astronomy and religious studies.

This memorial volume should be read by all who are interested in Thailand's history and in those who played such a crucial and creative role in formulating that history such as King Mongkut.

William Klausner

Kalyan Kumar Sarkar : *Early Indo-Cambodian Contacts, Literary and Linguistic*, a thesis for the Doctorat de l'Université de Paris (Lettres) (Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan) 1968. 16×24 cm. pp. 77.

This valuable thesis can be best summed up by the author himself in the conclusion chapter (p. 57) which reads "In the first chapter after a short introduction to the Indianization of South-East

Asian countries in the ancient period, an attempt was made to show from epigraphy that the upper classes of the Khmer population had always maintained lively contacts with India, a point also corroborated by the Chinese accounts bearing on the history of Indochina. In Chapter II an account of the main traits of the Indochinese languages, specially of Old Khmer, was followed by a study of the Sanskrit loan-words found in Old Khmer inscriptions. The Sanskrit loan-words were classified into several categories. Then, a few questions of general nature like phonetics, semantics, syntax were reviewed at some length; these questions had an important bearing on the formation and evolution of the Old Khmer language. In Chapter III some aspects of Indian literature in ancient Cambodia were considered. Some of the main features of Cambodian epigraphy were pointed out. Then a discussion followed in regard to the problem of the Epic episodes represented in bas-reliefs of Cambodian monuments. An attempt has been made to show with the help of epigraphic data the magnitude of Indian influence on the Khmer literary genius. The references to the Indian literary works were all examined in the chronological order. In the end of this chapter we had occasion to speak of some of the main features of the literary style of the inscriptions written in Sanskrit, dating from the Pre-Angkorian and Angkorian periods of Cambodian history."

In Chapter I the author follows closely the text written by the late Professor G. Coedès in his important book "Les Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie." In Chapter II the discussion on Sanskrit loan-words in old Khmer is very interesting especially when the author has classified them into six categories: geographical names, names of persons and divinities, administrative terms, terms relating to calendar and numbers, abstract terms and miscellaneous terms. Chapter III includes in its second subdivision the Indian epics and the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat in which the author demonstrates the local difference from the Sanskrit texts. Here the texts in other languages from India especially from the south should also be taken into consideration. The author has also pointed out the importance of the Chinese sources during these early Indo-Cambodian contacts.

The concluding chapter suggests the further study in this field of which this thesis will unmistakably become one of the main guiding lights.

Prince Subhadradis Diskul

Loosely Structured Social Systems: Thailand in Comparative Perspective, edited by Hans-Dieter Evers. Papers by John F. Embree, Clark E. Cunningham, Hans-Dieter Evers, A. Thomas Kirsch, Michael Moerman, J.A. Niels Mulder, Herbert P. Phillips, Steven Piker, Boonsanong Punyodyana. (Cultural Report Series No. 17, Yale University, Southeast Asian Studies. Distributed by The Cellar Book Shop, 18090 Wyoming, Detroit, Michigan 48221) 1969 pp. 148, \$ 6.50.

In the beginning there was the word (or term "loose structure", or "loosely structured social system") and the word was used to describe a society (or culture "Thai"). Then followed some confusion, and arguments arose as to what was really meant by the word and whether it was to apply to some part or to the whole of society. This went on from the time of publication of the late John F. Embree's article, "Thailand - A Loosely Structured Social System," in the *American Anthropologist* in 1950 (reprinted here), until the time of the symposium on "Thailand - A Loosely Structured Social System?" held at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies at Philadelphia in March 1968, of which the publication under review of revised and additional papers was an outcome.

It is obvious from Embree's article that he was putting forward a highly controversial thesis, derived from a limited study of Thai society, "based on several trips to Thailand, the first of which was in 1926, and the last in 1948. In 1947, the author was United States cultural officer in Bangkok, and later in Saigon, French Indochina." He was, in fact mainly if not explicitly, contrasting the easy-going Thai with the well-disciplined Japanese whom he had earlier studied intensively in a village community setting (*Suye Mura - A Japanese Village*, 1939). If the Japanese social system has a "tight structure" because of "the importance of observing reciprocal rights and duties in various situations to a greater degree," then by comparison the Thai structure must be a "loose" one because "considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned", in support of which thesis he sites several examples from literary sources as well as from his own observations.

His conceptual terminology and observational description, however, leave room for argument and refinement in theoretical

discussion as well as empirical investigation. This was duly done in the time between, as witness a number of published studies on Thailand mostly by visiting scholars since then, not to mention many an off-the-record discussion in academic circles. The symposium from which the book derives seems a welcome culmination of the debate, and should serve to settle the dust which has beclouded the real issue.

A casual reader looking for a neat description of Thai society will not find it in this book, though he will be told many salient characteristics of Thai culture and society culled from extensive fieldnotes of many anthropologists and sociologists (eight in all, among whom one native Thai) scattered throughout the volume as evidence for or against the controversial thesis. It would be wrong to suggest, however, that the discussion was carried out in the strict "either-or" fashion in terms of "loose" or "tight" for *the* structure of entire Thai society, once it was recognized that most of the terms used hitherto needed clarification and qualification. Instead, the reader will find that much of the discussion in the book, though seemingly semantic but absolutely important for theorization, involves "social structure" or "culture and personality", "structural principles" or "behavioral realities", "interpersonal relations" or "institutional structure", "theory" or "description", "normative ideal" or "statistical norm", "part" or "whole", etc., and of course the very key concepts of "loose" or "tight". Indeed, it is such parley that is likely to throw a general reader off balance, but which a serious student of Thai society and culture cannot afford to ignore.

On the simple plane of observation and description, there are arguments on both sides of the main thesis, particularly from Phillips, Piker, Punyodyana and Evers, all with theoretical reservations. It appears from such observations alone that to characterize an entire society from incomplete description of part-society, rural or urban, is really an unwarranted *casus belli*, but can be very stimulating for refinement in theoretical conceptualization.

This is the more interesting aspect of this collection of essays. There are honest attempts at clarification and delineation of terms which have been loosely used—"loose" and "structure" especially,—

and constructive efforts to advance beyond the descriptive "loose-tight" polemics to something more substantial in the way of theories, concepts, models and methodology suitable for the study, understanding, description and explanation of a social system like Thailand, which has defied the conventional structural theory of the 30's and 40's successfully used earlier for Africa and Oceania, and found to be adequate by Embree for the study of Japan. If Mulder starts off in this collection with his strong disagreement with Embree's and his supporters' use of the term "structure", it is Kirsch who gives the reader a useful interpretation of what Embree might intend or misintend to mean when he tried to apply the then conventional theory to Thailand, thereby unwittingly revealing its inadequacy which leads Kirsch to conclude that the "peculiarity" in fact lies in the social science theory, and not in Thai society as the original article seems to suggest. Finally, it is Cunningham who discusses the type of "structural" approach that might be more meaningful and which might resolve the "loose-tight" dichotomy in the study of Southeast Asian type of societies.

As Moerman points out in his summary comments, Thailand, and perhaps Southeast Asia as a region, may have a special place in the world of ethnology by having as its governing problem the relationship between the individual and society, which demands a special approach and theory to account for. There is general agreement about the empirical observations of Thai society by both supporters and critics of the "loose structure" thesis, but correct and useful interpretation and explanation require a more adequate theory than that used by Embree. Some advancement has been made by all contributors taken together in this collection.

A revised edition of this book may see some errors in bibliographical references corrected. The following have been noticed to have no corresponding or accurate entries in the general list at the end of the volume: Leach 1963 (p.57, 108), Wallace 19—(p.72), Parsons and Shils 1950 (p.75), and Wolters 1967 (p.107).

Patya Saihoo

Raymond Plion-Bernier : *Fêtes et Cérémonies de Thaïlande* (printed at the Assumption Press, Bangkok) 1969, pp. 194, 60 Bht.

Jit-Kasem Sibunruang: *Contes et Légendes de Thaïlande* (Vipart, Bangkok) 1969, pp. 219, 30 Bht.

The first of these volumes is unashamedly a re-issue of the author's *Fêtes et Cérémonies Siamoises* published by Firmin-Didot in 1937, supplemented by five additional chapters which have appeared elsewhere in journals. The period photographs have a certain charm as do many of the chapters recalling ceremonies long since fallen into desuetude—the cutting of the top-knot, the swinging festival. Mr. Plion-Bernier writes with diplomatic elegance though his account covers very similar ground to the scholarly and informative Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies* (Quaritch, London 1931).

The amount of time spent translating Western fables and legends into Thai can only be equalled by the time consumed in translating Siamese tales into Western languages. To the several volumes already on the market, Acharn Jit-Kasem has now added one in French: all five stories in the same author's *Siamese Folk Tales* (Prasom, Bangkok, 1954) have been included in the new volume and ten more have been added. It is a pity that the first story of the title under review is already to be found in Urquhart's volume published by Progress. Not all are for tiny tots; *Douze Reines* is a thoroughly nasty little tale of infanticide and cannibalism. Psychologists would have a field day analysing the implications of some of these stories.

The translations read well on the whole but one would like to know which source is being used, for there are occasional divergences—

“Le malheureux mari d'insister (sic), mais l'ogresse ne veut pas lui mettre tant de péchés sur la conscience. A la fin, lasse de l'insistence du monarque, elle lui dit : ‘Seigneur, veuillez me pardonner d'avance, mais voici ce qui est nécessaire à ma guérison : il faut mettre dans le médicament les yeux des douze filles qui ont vécu avec vous !’ Et la reine fond en larmes.”
(1969)

compares to

“The loving husband pressed her to tell him her desire, promising (sic) to grant her all her wishes beforehand. ‘My Lord, the medicine which will restore me to my health need (sic) the eyes of twelve beautiful human beings to mix with (sic).’” (1954)

The proofing in the French version has improved, but to this reader at least the embellishments distract.

What needs to be done before any more volumes of Siamese folk tales are published is for the source of the text in Thai to be given, as well as a short history of the frequency of the tale in different texts, and an indication of which tales have been translated before. It is to be hoped that a person as well-qualified by academic training as Mrs. Jit-Kasem can give this lead before embarking on more translations and produce a work of scholarship as well as pleasant delectation.

Michael Smithies

John Audric: *Siam—The Kingdom of the Saffron Robe* (Robert Hale London) 1969, 30s. pp. 208.

This volume comes from the same stable as David Davies *The Rice Bowl of Asia* (1967) and though less given to fantasy than the latter (e.g. the 10,000 Arabs in Bangkok who have charge of the timber trade; the forester's hut on Doi Suthep with the only fireplace in Thailand; the usual way of stopping a samlor being to “pinch the driver's behind”) it is no less irritating. The book seems to follow no coherent plan, but endlessly and aimlessly jumps backwards and forwards, so that we are twice told that Rama II built European-style buildings (pp. 34,77), that Rama III built the reclining Buddha in Wat Po (pp. 34,78); we twice learn about the 1932 coup, the death of King Ananda and that the author's landlord was a ranking Naval officer. Factual accuracy is not a strong point in coffee table literature; we learn, *inter alia*, that King Vachiravudh was not interested in politics (p. 86), and that Pibul built a new capital in the north-west during the war (p. 129). There is a sour-grapes vein of anti-Americanism

running through the book, in the process of which Dr. Bradley is made an English missionary (p. 154) and which ends in a tasteless comparison of the merits and demerits of American and British influences in Siam.

Exotic ephemera obviously brings dividends. One's objections would be muted if there were any effort at producing a style worthy of putting between hard covers, but what can one think of

"The B.O.A.C. plane appeared through a magnificent sunrise like a flash of silver, right on time, and we were soon on our way to our new home." (p. 15)

Michael Smithies

Thomas Silcock: *Proud and Serene—Sketches from Thailand* (Australian National University Press Canberra) 1968, pp. 123 \$A 3.50

This slim volume consists of a series of brief stories about individuals met in Siam during the author's different sojourns in this country. It is not intended to be other than light-weight and tries to explain by individual encounter and personal example Siamese attitudes and personalities.

Professor Silcock clearly knows and loves Siam well, to the extent that he is always ready to excuse and to forgive. There is a direct and naive quality in the writing which prevents the material from appearing unctious or patronising. The author's contacts seem to be largely governmental and leave many segments of society undescribed. But this is besides the point when one bears in mind these sketches do not purport to be other than personal recollections which, like all such recollections, might be somewhat prettified by the passage of time and the use of an elegant pen.

What would be of the greatest service to Siam would be a latter day Henry Mayhew who could record the testimonies of the lives of workers of different trades and occupations in a society in no less a stage of transition than Victorian London. Perhaps Professor Silcock or another could take this on next, before it is too late.

Michael Smithies

Foundations of Thai, Book 1, Parts 1 and 2 (1967), 552 pages; Book 2, Parts 1 and 2 (1968), 545 pages.

by Edward M. Anthony, Udom Warotamasikkhadit, with Deborah P. French (Book 1 only), and with Jackson T. Gandour (Book 2 only). Mimeographed edition.

These four paper-bound volumes constitute a two-year course in spoken and written Thai for American college students, with accompanying tapes also available. The authors, all at the University of Pittsburgh at the time the course was written, were supported by a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. (Dr. Udom has since returned to Thailand and is now Dean of Humanities at the Phranakorn Branch of the College of Education.) The first book contains 25 lessons, the second 20, and each separately bound "Part" of the course is designed for a single semester's work in a regular (non-intensive) college language course. The method is basically oral-aural, and the recommended teacher is one who is a native speaker of Thai and has had considerable experience and training in this method. Written Thai, however, is introduced slowly and systematically.

According to the Preface to Book One, the key member of the team of authors was Dr. Udom, who as the only native speaker of Thai was responsible for decisions on linguistic matters. Mr. Gandour and Miss French, two former Thailand Peace Corps volunteers, concentrated on drill materials and dialogues. Dr. Anthony, who as Project Director wrote the Preface, modestly does not specify his other contributions to the course. Five consultants are listed: Professor Russell Campbell of UCLA (both books), Professors William Gedney and Thomas Gething of Michigan and R.B. Jones of Cornell (Book One), and Dr. William Smalley of the American Bible Society (Book Two). Many other persons were involved in making and editing the text, tapes, and visual aids.

Book One has since been published by the University of Michigan, 1968. Most typographical and other editorial errors seem to have been eliminated, but the format (and the number of pages) is exactly the same as in the original edition. Book Two is still only in mimeographed form,

The plan of Book One is both ingenious and systematic. Each lesson includes Pronunciation (later Calligraphy), Grammar, and Vocabulary sections, followed by a Dialogue and a Summary. This last section includes graded reading passages, which are entirely in transcription in the early stages, partly in Thai orthography by the middle of Book One, and entirely in Thai by the end of it. Drills and exercises are based on the first three sections of each lesson, with Vocabulary and Grammar often being combined for this treatment. Not all the pronunciation drills which are on tape are included in the text. Perhaps the major departure from the standard oral-aural format is the placement of the Dialogue toward the end of the lesson, with no drills at all following it. The student's efforts to achieve automaticity are thus focussed almost entirely on sentences out of context.

In Book Two, this format is abandoned. A given lesson may begin with dialogues, reading passages, grammatical notes, or vocabulary sets. There are no more pronunciation drills; reading passages are entirely in Thai orthography. The dialogues and reading passages are much longer than in Book One, but the grammatical drills are of the same types and length as before.

Whether or not one approves of the lesson design of this course, the execution of the design is not always successful. This is particularly true of the Pronunciation and Grammar sections, although not of the drills pertaining to these sections. My comments are grouped below under the appropriate headings.

Pronunciation

Practically all other materials for American speakers learning Thai use the transcription first proposed by Haas and Subhanka in *Spoken Thai* (1945) or adaptations of it. Such materials include important reference works such as Haas, *Thai-English Student's Dictionary* (1964) and Noss, *Thai Reference Grammar* (1964), as well as many other basic courses, readers, articles, glossaries, and bibliographies which are potentially useful to college students in non-intensive courses. Even Dr. Anthony's own excellent *Programmed Course in Reading Thai Syllables* uses the Haas system. For reasons which

are not entirely clear to me, the authors have chosen to use an entirely new transcription which they call the Learner's Alphabet. On inspection, this alphabet turns out to be completely convertible with the Haas system, and merely uses different symbols (e.g. capital letters represent aspirated stops; the Thai middle-class tone marks are generalized for all tones; two vowel symbols have been changed).

Not only does the Learner's Alphabet fail to reflect any new departures in Thai phonology, it faithfully reproduces some of the worst shortcomings of the original Haas transcription (latter corrected in the *Dictionary*). There is no indication of stress, rhythm, or intonation, although these are subjects treated in individual Pronunciation sections. Notorious spelling pronunciations are retained: /kháw/*"they" is always written as if it had rising tone. Arbitrary decisions are made about word division: /thii nǎj/ "where" is always written as two words, but /thâwraj/ "how much" as one; /àan-nǎnsýy/ "to read" is sometimes one word, sometimes two. Ambiguous syllable division—e.g. /kràprooŋ/ "skirt" could be read either /krà-prooŋ/ or /kràp-rooŋ/—which was *not* a fault of the original Haas transcription, since it used only voiced consonants as final stops, must be termed an original contribution of the authors of *Foundations of Thai*.

The argument that the Learner's Alphabet is merely a tool for the student until he makes the transition to Thai orthography would make sense except for two things. One, since it is not a transliteration, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the Learner's and the Thai alphabets, especially as regards the tone system; the learner has to learn Thai spelling in any case. Two, why not give him a more useful phonological tool, which he can apply to other works of reference which use transcription?

Vocabulary

This is the strong point of the execution of the authors' design. Visual aids, unlike those in all too many language textbooks, are well

* My citations of forms in this review, even of forms cited directly from *Foundations of Thai*, are all in modified Haas transcription.

drawn, informative, and clearly printed. The choice of vocabulary to be presented throughout the four volumes of the course is dictated by practical needs of the student, rather than by prejudices of the linguist, and consequently the student who completes the course should have control of most of the vocabulary he needs in everyday conversation. More importantly, the overall design of each lesson helps in two ways. First, the inclusion of a vocabulary section makes it possible to present semantically related groups of words as a systematic unit (e.g. kinship terms). Second, the brevity of the dialogues and reading passages and their placement at the end of the lesson (in Book One) prevents the Thai style from seeming silly, as may often happen when lengthy dialogues, passages, and drills are based on an overly simplified vocabulary content.

Where suitable, grammar and vocabulary sections, and the drills pertaining to them, are often combined. For example, in Lesson Five of Book One, "foods and beverages" are the springboard for a number of grammatical points and drills concerning transitive verbs and classifiers. This method seems to get a great deal of mileage out of a group of semantically related words which share certain syntactic characteristics as well. One could only wish for a larger number of drills, less dependent on the teacher's or students translation skill, and with the desired responses confirmed in every case.

Grammar

Since Dr. Udom wrote his thesis on this subject, and all the other authors and consultants are conversant with it, one would expect grammar also to be a strong point of this course. And in some ways it is: all four books contain extensive grammatical notes covering the main features of English syntax, plus a few features peculiar to Thai as well (e.g. the final "polite" particles). The trouble is that the point of view of the course seems to be not "Here is how Thai works" but "How do we get from English to Thai and back again?" Perhaps a single example of this attitude will suffice, although it pervades the entire course.

A note at the bottom of page 226, Book One, says:

“/mii/ preceding a sentence means ‘there is, there are.’ This is not true of verbless sentences like /khun chýy araj/.”

What is not true? Do verbless sentences preceded by /mii/ mean something else? Do they occur at all? What is a verbless sentence? If the sentence had a verb— e.g. /khun sýy araj/— could we then put /mii/ in front?

Questions like this, unfortunately, cannot be answered either by the student or by his teacher. The grammar sections keep using terms like “transitive verb,” “descriptive verb,” and “intransitive verb,” without ever defining them. Nor will the student always be able to satisfy his curiosity by resorting to denotative definition. In Lesson One, we learn that /nâŋ/ “to sit” is an intransitive verb (p. 12, Book One), only to find in Lesson Seven that it is a transitive verb (p. 131). “Aha!” we say. “It is both transitive and intransitive. The test is whether an object actually occurs or not.” But, turning back to Lesson One again, we will be disappointed, because we find that /àannâŋsýy/ “to read” is an *intransitive* verb, even though it obviously has an object meaning “books, letters.”

Only the very astute student is likely to figure out that the classification of a Thai word does not depend on how it is used in Thai, but on what its English translation might be at a particular moment. Thus, when /nâŋ/ means “to sit” it is intransitive, but when it means “to ride” it is transitive, as in /nâŋ rótfaj/. Similarly, when /àannâŋsýy/ means “to read” it is intransitive, but when it means “to read the book” it is presumably transitive.

If this were the only shortcoming of the Grammar sections, it might be dismissed as merely another example of what happens when generative grammarians try their hand at language teaching (against the advice of Professor Chomsky). But unfortunately the student is also misled too often about the bridge between Thai and English. For example, a grammar note in Lesson Fifteen, Book One (p. 341) says:

“You have learned that /dâj/ follows the main verb when it has the meaning ‘can, to be able.’ When /dâj/ precedes the main verb, it no longer means ‘can’, but signals past time. It most frequently appears in the negative— /mâj dâj/— but the use of /dâj/ alone as a signal for past time has become increasingly frequent.”

In this short note, the student is misled, not once, but three times.

1) It is true that /dâj/ following a main verb usually means "to be able". But no matter how you interpret the peculiarly worded first statement, what you have learned must be wrong. In sentences like /phǒm cadâj paj duu/ "I'll be able to go see it," /dâj/ certainly means something close to "can." This is in fact the standard word order when /ca-/ occurs in the construction.

2) /dâj/ by itself before a main verb hardly ever "signals past time" in colloquial Thai. Its most common occurrence is in sentences like the one quoted above, where even without /ca-/ it means "get to." The alleged increasing use of /dâj/ in this position as a past tense signal is almost entirely confined to the literary style, where it often results from a direct translation of an English past tense, as in newspaper and radio items taken from foreign news services.

3) It is true that /mâj dâj/ before a main verb can usually be translated by English past-negative. But this is merely a coincidence arising from a chance overlap of two quite different systems. The real contrast in Thai is between /mâj/ "negative— option involved" and /mâj dâj/ "negative— no option involved." Examples :

phǒm mâj paj. "I'm not going (don't choose to go)."
 "I wouldn't go (didn't or wouldn't choose to go)."

phǒm mâj dâj paj. "I didn't go. (That's a fact.)"
 "I'm not the one who is to go (not scheduled to go)."

A further confirmation of this analysis is that /mâj dâj/ occurs before adjectives (descriptive verbs ?) meaning "in fact not", but /dâj/ alone does not occur before adjectives in the meaning "past tense," even in translations from English. The fact that /mâj/ is more common in present and future situations, and /mâj dâj/ in past situations, accounts for much of the confusion with regard to their use before verbs.

For all its shortcomings, *Foundations of Thai* has certainly fulfilled the contract undertaken by its authors. The four volumes

comprise a useable two-year course which is better than anything of its kind (if we rule out Dr. J. Marvin Brown's *AUA Thai Course* as being too short for this length of study). It is one which can be used by even an inexperienced native speaker with some professional guidance. In spite of the dubious transcription and grammatical notes, the presence of Dr. Udom among the team of authors has ensured that no false samples of Thai have found their way into the dialogues and drills, at least. Given the framework and the linguistic philosophy that underlies the course, it is admirably suited to the needs of the student who has no time for the intensive study of Thai.

R. B. Noss

Kenneth T. Young: *The Special Role of American Advisers in Thailand-1902-1949* (*Asia no. 14*: New York) Spring 1969 pp. 1-31 US\$1.00

This short article is an embryonic chapter from the author's book on Thai diplomacy which is now in the process of being written. It gives a vivid and interesting account of the role of nine American advisers (Strobel, Westengard, Pitkin, James, Sayre, Crocker, Stevens, Dolbeare, and Patton) serving the Thai Government in succession from 1902 to 1949. (The first two were General-Advisers and the rest were Advisers in Foreign Affairs.) The main interest of the article arises from the fact that, as the author, once the American Ambassador to Thailand, says "This is the first time that the story of these American Advisers has been put together from Thai and American sources."

In this article Mr. Young clearly explains the circumstances which persuaded the Thai Kings to employ American Advisers, the recruitment procedures, their personal backgrounds, their broad responsibilities, and their relationship with the Thai authorities. The most interesting part of the article lies in the conclusion where the author sums up the impressive achievements of these American Advisers. To him, the success sprang from both the Thai authorities and from the personal qualities of the Advisers, While the Thais

were cautious of what they were doing, the Americans skilfully showed tact, dignity, and the human touch.

I agree in the main with Mr. Young's views and indeed he deserves credit for contributing a new chapter to the history of Thai-American relations. There remain, however, some questions to be answered.

In certain respects this article appears to be rather unbalanced. Before 1916 there were also other foreign advisers who served the Thai Government. To mention a few, there were British Financial Advisers, and Japanese, French, and Belgian Legal Advisers. However, the author has ignored these completely, the only other Adviser being mentioned is M. Rolin Jacquemyns, a Belgian General-Adviser from 1892 to 1902:

"Jacquemyns accomplished much legal reform in Thailand and helped in many negotiations, although there apparently was some Thai dissatisfaction with a certain tactlessness and an overly legalistic approach on his part." (p. 5)

I do not know whether this judgment is Mr. Young's own assessment of M. Jacquemyns but it is unfair to a man who has been well-known and highly regarded among the Thais. It should be borne in mind that Rolin Jacquemyns was the pioneer of General-Advisership and dedicated himself to Thailand's cause. Moreover, he was the one who paved the way for the later successful American Advisers.

Mr. Young mentions that Westengard, the second American General-Adviser "may have exaggerated his own importance" (p. 18); for my part I suggest that Mr. Young may be doing the same for the "superb" role of all the American Advisers. For example, he says that Strobel, the first American General-Adviser, "had won the confidence of His Majesty, the Government and the Thai people" (p. 15). True, Mr. Strobel had the personal confidence of King Chulalongkorn but it seems that he was unpopular among the Thai court officials and, even worse, he was completely unknown to the ordinary Thais. For this there is clear evidence: in 1908 Strobel was conducting negotiations with England; he considered the negotiations to be most important and if he had carried the matter to a

successful conclusion he would have achieved the principal aim of his labours. Surprisingly, when the Anglo-Thai Treaty was signed in 1909,

“The treaty is viewed with indifference by the nation at large, is most unpopular with the large majority of Siamese princes who form the palace clique and virtually represent public opinion in Siam. They are chagrined at not being consulted during the negotiations . . . They consider the bargain is all in favour of Great Britain. They resent the cession of territory.”⁽¹⁾

Another instance of the author's partiality is the fact that he regards the “Franco–Siamese Treaty of 1907” as Strobel's crowning achievement (p. 16) particularly because it was due to Strobel's efforts (as he sees it) that this treaty was negotiated in only six days in Strobel's residence in Bangkok (p. 17). In fact the actual negotiations lasted for at least a month. They first began when the authorities at the Quai d'Orsay took the initiative by throwing out hints to Strobel on his return trip to Bangkok through Paris from leave of absence. The explanation of the haste with which this Treaty of 1907 was concluded is twofold; first, the anxiety of King Chulalongkorn to get back Trad, the loss of which to France in 1904 had caused great sorrow to the Thais, especially to the King. Second, the French Government was weary of asserting rights on behalf of its Asian protégés and was prepared to sacrifice them as a *quid pro quo* for the territorial concessions in the Treaty.

The other unbalanced aspect of the account is that, of all the nine Advisers, Mr. Young emphasizes the importance of only the first two (Strobel and Westengard). He mentions less about the following three (Pitkin, James, and Sayre) and least about the last four (Crocker, Stevens, Dolbear, and Patton), saying that their story will have to wait for a sequel. This is regrettable because it was during their time that the role of American Advisers became less important and the Thais wanted to conform to the practice existing in other countries.

1) British Foreign Office Papers 371/739, Beckett, the British Minister in Bangkok, to Sir Edward Grey, 7 July 1909,

It would have been interesting to see the reasons for this declining influence as presented from an American point of view.

Throughout the article the author puts far too much stress on his claim that the success of these Advisers depended on their personal qualities. One should be reminded that the influence brought to bear on the Thai Kings and the Thai Governments by these Americans would never have been great had their nationality been any other. Being Americans, and having no political axe to grind, they were in a fortunate position from which they were able to estimate accurately the true political requirements of the various powers and to act as impartial mediators between those countries and Thailand.

Incidentally I notice two minor inaccuracies of factual detail. First, "Prince" Suriya, the Thai Minister in Paris, was not a member of the royal family; in fact he had been given the title of "Phya". Second, the evacuation of French troops from Chanthaburi actually took place in 1905, and not after the signature of the Franco-Siamese Treaty in 1907.

Lastly, the article would attract more attention if Mr. Young had cared to indicate his sources in footnotes, to make sure that the quotations he used were taken from original Thai sources.

Thamsook Numnonda

Thailand : A Special Report (Supplement in the London Times) 18 August 1969, pp. 8

When a special supplement on a country as remote from the British consciousness as Thailand appears in the Times, one assumes that its chief motive is to attract more foreign private investment, particularly when one considers that Thailand's vast trade deficits in recent years have been largely offset by such capital inflows which have a habit of drying up rapidly whenever confidence dwindles. Indeed the Board of Investment was the moving spirit behind the supplement and the hand of its able Secretary-General is evident in

the selection of the articles. These supplements appear regularly, the last one in the Financial Times in December 1968, and serve the same sort of purpose as a Chairman's report to his company's shareholders.

The supplement succeeds admirably in its task of bolstering the confidence of investors wary of the instability of Southeast Asian regimes, of which Thailand's neighbours are ready examples, and the constant threat of Communism; such an effort should be lauded, if one believes in the basic premise that foreign investment should be encouraged. All the articles save one are devoted to creating this aura of confidence and the impression that Thailand is surging forward on a smooth and stable path of economic progress. The manifestations of democracy, a respected monarchy, ethnic harmony and a tolerant religion combined with a firm but benign military rule, which precludes any socialist tendencies, are duly emphasised. Even Mr. Richard Harris makes the fairly risky statement that Thailand's security problems may lessen after a settlement of the Vietnam war. Two other articles are concerned with Thailand's tourist potential and with Bangkok's attractiveness as a centre for U.N. and other international agencies—both are factors which cautious investors will appreciate. An article from Mr. Yune Huntrakul of the Bank of Thailand justifiably points out that a sophisticated commercial banking system already exists in this country.

One of the main requisites of a healthy investment climate is the existence of a mass market, and the bold title of Mr. Patya Saihoo's article, 'New Middle Class Emerging', may lead unsuspecting financiers to believe that Thailand has this in the offing too. However this is not Mr. Saihoo's contention, and the term 'middle class' must be understood in the Thai context, that is to say that it only forms a small elite within the relatively wealthy urban minority. The bulk of the population, about 85%, is still in the very poor rural sector and this situation looks likely to persist for many years to come. Indicative of this is the fact that Thailand's per capita income, at \$140, is one of the lowest in the world and increasing at a considerably lower rate than the much vaunted 8% growth in GNP owing to the so far unchecked population explosion, but none of this is mentioned in the

supplement. Mr. Saihoo's point is that the Thai people are by nature open to ideas from outside and able to adapt themselves to changing circumstances, which is something which should be mildly comforting to potential investors.

Amidst all this optimism Mr. Bunchana Atthakor's article on the trade deficit must have come rather as an embarrassment to the organisers of the supplement, especially when unlike the other three articles that appear under the names of Cabinet ministers this one seems to have been written by the minister himself. The article plainly states that the balance of payments will be Thailand's biggest problem in the coming years and admits that since 1965 exports have remained static. The huge trade deficit of over \$600 million in 1969, the American withdrawal from Vietnam and the depressed markets for rice and other primary products will no doubt raise fears of economic nationalism, import quotas and other restrictions, fears that will not be allayed by vague hopes of trade agreements with Thailand's trading partners. Thus it is no wonder that this article and all that it implies has been tucked away on the inside of the last page.

Despite its avowed intention of painting a very sunny picture of Thailand's economic prospects, the supplement does contain much useful, though basic, information about various aspects of the Thai scene which will help to dispel some of the the wilder misconceptions about this part of the world.

Aswin Kongsiri

REVIEW COPIES RECEIVED

(a review will follow later)

Hans Penth — *Hikajat Atjeh : die Erzählung von der Abkunft und der Jugendjahre des Sultan Iskandar Muda von Atjeh (Sumatra)* (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden) 1969 207 pp. DM 24

Klaus Wenk — *Die Ruderlieder - kap he rüo - in der Literatur Thailands* (Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden) 1969 179 pp. DM 32

RECENT SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS

417. *Dhārānumās, M. : A Trip to Laykā* ๒๒๕๓ with an annex on a former trip to Cambodia ๒๒๕๓ Young Buddhist Association of Jolaburi 2512. Prajāgom Co. Ltd., pp. 286.

These travelogues covering two of our Buddhist neighbours are particularly interesting in that these countries have been active in their practice of the Buddha's philosophy and teaching. The accounts are based on the author's notes on his trip in the suite of His Holiness the Patriarch of the Kingdom in the last two years on the invitation of the respective governments, the latter having been already published in the magazine *Chaokrui* in May and June 2499.

The narrative of the trip to Ceylon has been written with real ability, including not only plain successive facts of travel but also informative discussions of the material. We learn, for instance, some facts of Ceylon's history leading up to her intimate relationship with the Siamese government of the days of Ayudhyā. The rivalry between the two main races inhabiting Ceylon has been an unpleasant fact all through her history. When the Tamils were in the ascendancy, the Sinhalese, representing Ceylon's Buddhist population, had to lie low and at one time the Buddhist religion was on the point of disappearing from the island. The ruling class then asserted the claims of Buddhism; but, there being no brotherhood of monks because it had been completely suppressed, the monarch, being Buddhist by conviction, appealed to the King of Siam at Ayudhyā for a chapter of the Buddhist brotherhood of monks to revive the tenets and formula of Buddhism. Our King, one of the last of the regime of Ayudhyā, sent a deputation to form the quorum which would be able to inaugurate the saṅkha for formal ceremonies such as ordinations of monks, thereby saving the Church from the extinction of its main agency of existence. This was the Syāmanikāya which has managed to remain to the present day.

The travelogue covers the sightseeing spots such as Colombo, Kandy, Sigiriya, Polonarua and Anurādhapura. The ground thus covered is almost identical with that described in Prince Diskul's

volume, reviewed in *Recent Siamese Publications* no. 414 (JSS LVII, pt 2, 1969), but naturally less scientific in treatment. An interesting point, however, concerns the standing stone figure at Polonaruwa at the head of a reclining one of the Buddha, which scholars have been interpreting as a figure of Ananda, the Lord's constant companion in travel, or in fact in life. The author here questions the identification for, to him, it seemed that Ananda would not have stood directly at the Lord's head in that way for reasons of good manners. The stone figures of this group seem in fact to have been possible of two interpretations. If they, or at least the two in question, were meant to be of one and the same group, the position of Ananda would not be likely for reasons of good manners as the author points out. If, however, all these figures were meant to be separate, then no such lack of manners would be levelled at the disciple. Foreign scholars have certainly been inclined to understand that these two formed one group; and Prince Diskul did not seem to interpret them in that way. A standing figure of the Buddha with his arms crossed over the breast is a well-known posture in iconography as representing the attitude of contemplation just after the Lord's discovery of the Noble Truths.

The style of presentation in the book under review is, as it should be, full of observation and not neglectful of the interesting factors of archaeology and history. Its inclusion of the lighter side of travel, though deserving of interest, might have been separate from the more serious narrative. That however is a matter of taste.

418. *Mālākul, M.L.Pi: The Ceremony of Taking the Water of Allegiance.*
พระราชพิธีดื่มน้ำพระพิพัฒน์สัตยา A memento of the cremation of the remains of Lieutenant-General O. Pótikanisth. P̄račand Press, Bangkok 2512.

The memento consists of a thickish volume of farewell messages to the dead in whose honour the occasion was held at the crematorium of Wat Debasirindhāvās on 7th October, which is profusely illustrated; then 78 pages of the main theme of the book and a few extra pages of thanks.

The main theme was in fact official records of the revival of an old ceremony. The old ceremony was one of professing allegiance to the sovereign of the Land. The present ceremony has been modified,

obviously on the initiative of the King himself, into one of fidelity to the Nation. One might observe in passing that even the old ceremony was not couched strictly in terms of personal fidelity. The author fitly remarks

“The ceremony of Taking the Water of Allegiance is not out of date. An undertaking to be faithful is a virtue on the part of an individual as well as of a group of individuals. Such an official profession of one's fidelity is still made in all quarters such as in the Nation's forces, in which the military profess their allegiance to the standard of the nation.

“An oath is a reminder of the faith that civilised man should hold up before him. In a religious profession of the Faith one practically undertakes not to act against good morals. Even though no direct retribution or punishment is implied civilised-man no doubt regrets his lassitude”

Points to be observed by the historian or social scientist are that in this modern version of an old ceremony careful insistence on cleanliness of tools is enjoined. Those invited to drink with His Majesty are the members of the Knighthood of the Rama Order of Chivalry. Others invited to be present were the family of the Knights as well as high ranking members of the Court such as the Prime Minister and the Privy Councillors.

For scholars the proclamation of the High Priest of Śiva is worth careful study, as a modern development of age-old customs.

D.

