

REVIEWS

Darunowat (ดารุณาวต), published on the occasion of the cremation to Police Colonel H.S.H. Prince Manunsiri Kasemsan, Phrae Kan Chang Press, Bangkok, 1969.

The traditional memento for the the occasion of the cremation of Police Colonel H.S.H. Prince Manunsiri Kasemsan in June 1969 was a reprint of the first fifteen numbers of *Darunowat*, the first political newspaper in the history of Thai journalism. This was indeed most welcome for up till then this extremely valuable primary printed source for the earlier part of King Chulalongkorn's reign was available only at the National Library in Bangkok or on microfilm in the possession of the more specialised libraries in Europe and America.

The importance of *Darunowat* cannot be overemphasized. It was a weekly newspaper which first appeared on Tuesday, 7th July 1874. In the history of Thai journalism, although it was not the very first Thai-language newspaper for both Bradley's fortnightly *Bangkok Recorder* and the irregular and then quarterly official *Ratchakitchanubeksa* (the Royal Gazette) antedated it, it was the first Thai-owned and non-official Thai-language newspaper. The clue to its political significance lies in the fact that its editor was H.H. Prince Kasemsan-sophak (later Krommaluang Phromwaranurak), the father of the deceased, who was one of King Chulalongkorn's half-brothers.

Prince Kasemsan founded *Darunowat* during a very tense political period. After five years of Somdet Chao Phraya Borommaha Sisuriyawong (Chuang Bunnag)'s Regency, King Chulalongkorn came of age in 1873. The dissolution of the Regency took place symbolically and actually at the King's second coronation. In the following year, the King promulgated a number of edicts in rapid succession which were intended to change the political, financial, judicial and social situation of Siam. These reforms were so fundamental that they were bound to affect the interests of those political leaders, their kinsmen and clients who had gradually taken over the administrative machinery during the Third and Fourth Reigns and had consolidated their power during the Regency. On his side, the King's supporters

were his brothers, half-brothers, younger members of the Royal Family (excluding that of the Front Palace), members of the Bunnag family who for one reason or other disliked the former Regent, and members of the nobility and lesser nobility outside the political establishment. These young men formed themselves into the Young Siam Society and one of them, Prince Kasemsan, who was only eighteen years old, founded *Darunowat*.

As the organ of the Young Siam Society, *Darunowat* was therefore the first political newspaper in the history of Thai journalism. In his very first editorial, Prince Kasemsan revealed that he and his backers had presented the idea of founding the paper to the King who gave his approval and encouraged them to make a success of it "for the future benefit of the country". (p. 2) The Prince explained that the word *Darunowat* meant "the teachings of the young" (p. 1) and announced that the paper's contents would be local and foreign news, articles on science and the arts, stories, proverbs and fables, poetry and drama, advertisements.

In general, *Darunowat's* choice of news inevitably reflected the preoccupation of the King and his supporters with reform and "progress". In local news, the first fifteen numbers of the paper gave prominence to the appointment of the first ten judges of the newly-created Court of Appeal, the ceremony of taking the Water of Allegiance by newly-appointed Councillors of State, the appointment of Privy Councillors, their Oath of Office, and the King's speech to them. Other signs of "progress", such as the revision of an unjust tax, the planting of trees in the new Saranrom Gardens, the collection of antiquities and curios in the Royal Museum, and a ball at a great nobleman's house were also reported. In foreign news and science, readers were given a general knowledge of "progress" in the outside world. There were articles on geology and the Suez Canal, and a list of the monarchs and leaders of the world and a life of George Stephenson were serialized. It is interesting to note that the position of the President in the constitution of the United States was discussed and the pacification of the southern part of the Malay Peninsula by Sir Andrew Clarke was much praised. In the arts, some of the seeds

of a national consciousness were sown. One of the chronicles was serialized and stories of Sithanonchai, verses from the *Chindamani*, the *Ramayana* and other works were published.

As a political paper, *Darunowat* did not of course only try to stir national consciousness and report local reforms and international progress but also attack the other side. But even though it was under royal patronage, this role was strictly limited by the circumstances of the time. One of the contributors explained that this was "because it was still not possible to criticize or to praise in newspapers within the traditional Thai context." (8 Sept. 1874, p. 149). In an earlier editorial, Prince Kasemsan complained that people wanted to contribute but wished to remain anonymous and were afraid that their identity would be revealed. He in turn announced that, in spite of the contributors' anonymity, he must exercise his authority as editor to leave their contributions out if he saw that "the substance would in one way or other raise objections." (18 Aug. 1874, p. 89). One man did, however, try to break this reluctance and fear to express political opinions openly. Phraya Phatsakorawong (Phon Bunnag), the King's Private English Secretary and one of the most ardent members of the Young Siam Society, asked the editor to publish an unsigned letter which a certain monk had written to him complaining of corrupt practices by a judicial official in the Department of Religious Affairs. Phraya Phatsakorawong wrote that it was "improper" of the monk to have written the unsigned letter. He should have appealed directly to one of the Privy Councillors whose job it was to present it to the King for consideration and to respect its confidential nature.

In spite of Phraya Phatsakorawong's effort, however, *Darunowat's* political criticism ranged from the indirect to the obscure. An anonymous writer, for instance, asked pointed questions about the composition of the Privy Council. He noted that there were only two Ministers in it and asked what had happened to the others. He wondered if the King had not invited them to become Privy Councillors because they were too old and unwell or if he had invited them and they had refused because either they were too modest or they did not

want to swear the Oath of Office for fear of not being able to live up to it. The anonymous writer thought that the other Ministers would have been in the wrong if the King had invited them to join and they had refused. He ended by asking for "enlightenment". (1 Sept. 1874, p. 129). A week later, the queries were indirectly answered. In an article entitled "Praises", an anonymous author, who signed himself "Keeper of the Light", wrote that "the way of enlightenment and progress would appear to the young" for the King was righteous and beloved by the princes and the noblemen, and because secrecy and arbitrariness could be revealed and good could be praised in *Darunowat*. (8 Sept. 1874, p. 149). On other occasions, *Darunowat's* political criticism could be even more oblique and obscure. There was, for instance, a story about a group of "children" baiting a "grown-up" who turned out to be an old soldier. (11 Aug. 1874, p. 81). This "grown-up" figure reappeared later on. In an article entitled "A Dream", for which the anonymous contributor invited interpretations, a retired soldier turned businessman was taunted about his knowledge of warfare, courage in battle, and unending avarice by a visitor to his house. (22 Sept. 1874, pp. 185-186).

Apart from its historical importance and literary interests, *Darunowat* is also a valuable source for the comparative study of Thai journalism. As shown above, although it was a political paper whose patron was the highest authority in the land, *Darunowat's* political criticism still had to be extremely indirect for fear of "objections" from the political establishment. But apart from this, the paper also faced other difficulties. It suffered from what even then was an absurdly limited circulation. By only the tenth number, Prince Kasemsan was already bemoaning the fact that only "aristocrats" bought *Darunowat* and "commoners" did not buy it all that much because some of them did not want to learn anything new and some of them could not even read while in more or less "civilized" countries there were several newspapers because the people had been educated and loved to increase their knowledge. He revealed that when all the printing costs had been added up, the circulation of only 130 copies per number of *Darunowat* left him with no profit; but added

that, although near to despair, he would continue to publish it "for the sake of progress." (8 Sept. 1874, p. 138). Prince Kasemsan did try, however, to add interest to the contents and presumably gain readership by reporting crimes, giving social news, and printing advertisements. But difficulties seemed unending. Contributions never arrived on time and the printing press constantly broke down. Advertisements probably helped offset costs but sometimes served merely to underline the paper's remoteness. Ramsay Wakefield and Company once advertised the arrival from England of silk stockings which were for sale at six baht a dozen (p. 86). The lack of readership combined presumably with the tense political atmosphere of the time eventually forced *Darunowat* to close down in June 1875.

The heirs of Police Colonel H.S.H. Prince Manunsiri Kasemsan are to be heartily thanked for reprinting these first fifteen numbers of *Darunowat*. The original copies were made available by Mrs. Maenmas Chavalit, the Librarian of the National Library and a former Honorary Librarian of the Siam Society, whose insistence on reproducing the original spellings and punctuations is wholly admirable. Khun Kachorn Sukhapanij has provided a useful introduction. It is sincerely hoped that, on preferably happier occasions, the remaining numbers of *Darunowat* will in time also be reprinted.

Tej Bunnag

Hans Penth, *Hikajat Atjeh, Die Erzählung von der Abhunft und den Jugendjahren des Sultan Iskandar Muda von Atjeh (Sumatra)* (Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden) 1969 207 pp.

C'est avec grand plaisir que nous signalons ici la traduction de M. Penth. Trop longtemps différée (nous en annonçons la prochaine parution dès 1967¹), elle paraît enfin au nombre des publications de l'*Ostasiatische Seminar* de l'Université Francfort s/Main (tome 2 de la

1) Dans notre étude intitulée *Le Sultanat d'Atjeh au temps d'Iskandar Muda, 1607-1636*, in *Public. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, LXI, Paris, 1967, 297 p. (cité dans ce qui suit comme *Sultanat*); la référence au travail de M. Penth est à la p. 21 (note 3).

première série, consacrée aux études sur l'Asie du Sud-est). Elle vient heureusement s'ajouter à la liste, encore trop courte, des sources malaises accessibles en langues occidentales et permettra de préciser plus d'un point de cette histoire sumatranaise, qui, longtemps négligée, semble faire l'objet depuis quelques années d'un renouveau d'intérêt.

Le *Hikajat Atjéh*, ou "Histoire d'Atjéh" est un long texte en prose malaise, non daté, mais à peu près certainement rédigé à Atjéh même, par un des courtisans du Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). Seul le début du texte nous a été conservé, et encore avec des lacunes, par deux manuscrits actuellement conservés à Leyde; il comprend en gros trois parties: a) origines mythiques d'Atjéh; b) histoire de ses premiers Sultans (ce qui correspond en gros au XVI^{ème} s.); c) récit des enfances du jeune prince, qui devait monter sur le trône en 1607 (cette troisième partie représentant à elle seule les 2/3 du total). La suite du texte, désormais perdue, devait sans doute traiter de l'accès au pouvoir et du début du règne. Il s'agit en fait d'une eulogie ou d'un "panégyrique", visant essentiellement à chanter les louanges et la valeur extraordinaire d'un monarque qui parvint à établir la suprématie d'Atjéh dans la région des détroits et qui est bien connu dans l'histoire comme dans les traditions atjihaises sous le nom d'Iskandar Muda, c'est-à-dire d' "Alexandre le Jeune". Comme les thèmes mythologiques se mêlent ici aux éléments historiques, M. Penth propose (p. 5) de désigner ce genre d'oeuvres littéraires—dont on retrouve d'autres exemples en Asie du Sud-est, au Siam notamment—du nom de *Mythenchronik*.

Le texte du *Hikajat Atjéh* a été établi et latinisé dès 1958 par l'éminent érudit indonésien (d'origine atjihaise) Teuku Iskandar (actuellement directeur de la commission chargée d'établir à Kuala Lumpur un dictionnaire officiel du malais). C'est de cette édition (*Verh. Kon. Inst.*, 26) que M. Penth nous donne aujourd'hui la traduction allemande intégrale. Son introduction (p. 5 à 60) aborde successivement trois points particuliers.

1) La première question est celle des mythes relatifs à l'origine d'Atjéh qui figurent dans la première partie du texte. M. Penth

souligne avec pertinence la variété des influences qui viennent se mêler dans une tradition qu'on pourrait s'attendre à ne voir marquée que du sceau de l'Islam. "En donnant comme ancêtres à Iskandar Muda, à la fois une princesse née d'un bambou, le dieu hindou Viṣṇu et Iskandar Zulkarnain (une forme islamisée d'Alexandre le Grand), l'auteur le mettait du même coup en relation avec les trois principales traditions spirituelles de la région" (p. 11); et permet M. Penth d'analyser les divers éléments qui relèvent de ces trois traditions: religion primitive, hindouisme et Islam, insistant notamment (p. 7-8) sur le succès connu par l'histoire d'Iskandar dans le monde malais (on sait qu'il existe une version malais du *Roman d'Alexandre*); on aurait pu signaler ici qu'on montre encore à présent son "tombeau", dans un des "hauts-lieux" de Sumatra, sur le Mont Siguntang, près de Palembang, où ont été retrouvés par ailleurs plusieurs témoignages archéologiques d'époque Srivichaya.

On s'étonne seulement que M. Penth n'ait pas voulu rappeler ici le rapprochement déjà proposé par Teuku Iskandar entre la structure du *Hikajat Atjéh* et celle du *Akbar Nameh*, autre panégyrique rédigé un peu plus tôt à la gloire du grand Mogol Akbar par Abū'l Faẓl (mort en 1602). Sans doute n'est-il pas besoin d'aller invoquer le témoignage d'une statue de Gaṇeśa, trouvée à Sumatra par Schnitger (et représentée "avec une lune sur le front") (p. 9), pour expliquer le rêve prémonitoire de la mère de Iskandar Muda, qui avant de mettre au monde son fils, voit descendre la lune sur sa tête. Le motif se trouve déjà dans le modèle indien (ed. Beveridge du *Akbar Nameh*, t.I, p. 48). Le parallèle qui existe en ce point entre les deux textes est évident (cf. *Sultanat*, p. 158).

2) M. Penth aborde ensuite la question des données proprement historiques (p. 13-25). En bonne méthode, il confronte les indications du *Hikajat* avec les autres sources malaises (surtout le *Bustan us-Salatin*, ou "Jardin des Sultans", vaste encyclopédie composée sous le successeur d'Iskandar Muda, en 1638), les données épigraphiques (inscriptions des pierres tombales des Sultans, étudiées par Moquette en 1914, mais qui mériteraient bien une nouvelle étude), les sources européennes enfin, portugaises (Couto), anglaises (Davis, Best) ou

françaises (Vitré, Beaulieu). La chronologie ainsi restituée est à peu de chose près semblable à celle que nous proposons en 1967 (*Sultanat*, p. 185-186 et tableau généalogique d'Iskandar Muda). M. Penth insiste aussi de son côté sur les bouleversements de ce que nous avons appelé la "crise" de 1579.

Un seul regret peut-être : M. Penth s'en tient ici à cette analyse de la chronologie et n'évoque aucune des autres richesses du texte. Est-ce une conception trop "événementielle" de l'histoire qui lui a fait écrire, dans sa préface (p. 2) que l'intérêt de son texte, en tant que source historique se trouvait "limité" (... *als historische Quelle nur von beschränktem Wert ist*) ? Nous serions inversement tentés de voir dans le *Hikajat Atjéh* une source d'une extrême richesse pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent aussi à l'histoire des sociétés et des mentalités, car les descriptions de cérémonies (mariages, réceptions à la cour) et les notations relatives à la vie quotidienne (costume, alimentation, jeux d'enfants, etc.) y abondent. Le lecteur qui voudra bien prendre la peine de lire, page à page, la totalité du texte traduit, aura donc le grand plaisir de découvrir beaucoup plus que ce que, peut-être avec trop de modestie, M. Penth lui promet dans cette introduction.

3) Dans un troisième développement (p. 27-60), M. Penth étudie plus en détail un "épisode" particulier du texte (MS. p. 162-179, trad. p. 131-134), celui qui raconte la venue à Atjéh d'une ambassade portugaise, "alors que le jeune Perkasa Alam (le futur Iskandar Muda) n'avait qu'une dizaine d'années." M. Penth commence par nous donner, à partir des textes portugais (entre autres Couto et Botelho de Sousa, dont plusieurs passages nous sont donnés ici en traduction), un exposé clair et détaillé des rapports, dans l'ensemble hostiles, qui furent ceux des Atjibais et des Portugais entre la prise de Malaka (1511) et l'année 1613. Ainsi se trouvent précisés trois moments principaux : a) hostilités jusqu'en 1587; b) trêve de 1587 à 1605; reprise des hostilités enfin, avec la tentative de débarquement de D. Martim Affonso de Castro en 1606.

Puis M. Penth nous résume ce qu'il appelle "l'épisode portugais" du *Hikajat Atjéh* : arrivée de deux ambassadeurs, Don Dawis

et Don Tumis (suivis d'un écuyer), qui demandent la cession d'une forteresse sur la côte d'Atjéh et offrent au Sultan régnant un beau cheval de course; mépris du Sultan (Ala ud-Din Riajat Sjah, le grand-père maternel de Perkasa Alam, qui régna de c. 1589 à c. 1604); course de cheval disputée entre l'écuyer portugais et le jeune prince qui finit par l'emporter et sauve ainsi l'honneur d'Atjéh; enfin départ de l'ambassade qui est obligée de se retirer, honteuse et dépitée. Dans le commentaire qu'il donne de cet épisode, M. Penth signale d'abord, comme nous l'avions fait (*Sultanat*, p. 168) la nécessité où l'on se trouve de reculer la date de naissance d'Iskandar Muda (traditionnellement fixée par les auteurs à \pm 1590). Citant un texte anglais selon lequel le Sultan aurait eu 32 ans lors du passage de Best en 1613, M. Penth propose de reculer la date "jusqu'aux alentours de 1581". Pensant qu'on avait dû donner à Best une évaluation en années musulmanes et qu'il était fort invraisemblable que celui-ci ait fait une "conversion", nous proposons de corriger plutôt en "c. 1583". Quoiqu'il en soit, il conviendra désormais de "vieillir" Iskandar de sept années, sinon de dix.

Toutefois, pour ce qui est de l'identification des ambassadeurs et de la date exacte de leur passage, M. Penth ne peut se montrer plus affirmatif que nous l'étions, car aucune des ambassades par lui recensées à partir des textes portugais ne semble pouvoir convenir. Un rapprochement, introduit d'ailleurs avec prudence (p. 58-59), entre Don Dawis et Don Tumis d'une part et, d'autre part, les Anglais, Davis et Tomkins, qui vinrent à Atjéh en juin 1599, avec la flotte de Cornelis de Houtman, paraît très improbable. La solution doit être plutôt cherchée dans le sens que le Prof. C.R. Boxer voulait bien nous suggérer, dans une lettre de juin 1968, dont nous croyons utile de transcrire ici un passage: "You might like to know that the real name of the Portuguese envoy to Atjeh in 1593 was Thomas Pinto. He wrote a long description of Atjeh on his return to Malacca, dated 31 January 1594, but I don't know whether a copy has survived. This reference is to be found in S.H. Cunha Rivara, *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasc. III (1861), p. 627". Ce judicieux rapprochement donne à la fois le nom d'un des ambassadeurs et la date de l'ambassade, et

met donc un terme aux interprétations embarrassées que Djajadiningrat, M. Penth et nous-même avons successivement proposées.

Ajoutons que ce n'est pas là la seule "ambassade" dont il est fait mention dans le texte du *Hikajat Atjéh*; le lecteur trouvera aussi le très intéressant récit de la venue d'une ambassade de Rum (c'est-à-dire Constantinople), ainsi que de celle d'une ambassade de Siam (au sujet de laquelle M. Penth a rédigé une petite note dans le no. 55-2 de cette présente revue, *JSS*, 1967, pp. 287-290).

Il n'est pas question de discuter ici certains détails de la traduction, qui, tout au long de ses 117 pages, reste à la fois fidèle et précise. Nous indiquerons néanmoins ici que certains mots techniques ou sortis de l'usage, qui paraissent avoir embarrassés aussi bien Teuku Iskandar que M. Penth, peuvent être éclairés par un précieux ouvrage, rédigé par Frederick de Houtman, lors de sa captivité à Atjeh (fin XVIème s.) et publié dès 1603 à Amsterdam : le *Spraack ende Woord-boek*, qui comprend, outre une douzaine de dialogues en malais parlé (avec traduction hollandaise), un substantiel lexique hollandais-malais de près de 2,000 termes². Les gloses de ce lexique sont parfois très utiles pour éclairer le sens de certains passages des anciennes chroniques. C'est ainsi que le terme *hukka*, qui est traduit ici par "grenade à main" (p. 126, note 296), est peut-être à interpréter par "boussole", puisque le lexique de Fr. de Houtman donne l'équivalence : "compas = *hocka*".

La traduction est suivie d'un glossaire (où figurent notamment beaucoup de noms de types de bateaux), de deux index et d'une bibliographie assez complète, où l'on ne trouve néanmoins mention ni de la *Suma Oriental* de Tome Pires, le premier texte portugais à parler d'Atjéh, ni surtout de l'édition du texte en caractères arabes de l'*Adat Atjéh* (*VKI*, 1958) et de celle, en caractères latins, du chapitre *Bustan us-Salatin* relatif à l'histoire d'Atjéh (II, 13; Kuala Lumpur, 1966). Ajoutons que le dictionnaire atjihais-hollandais de R.H. Djajadiningrat (2 vol., 1934) est plus complet et plus utile que le petit lexique de Van Langen (1889), qui est seul indiqué ici. Signalons enfin, en frontispice, une petite carte schématique permettant de localiser certains toponymes du nord de Sumatra.

2) Nous en préparons actuellement une réédition, qui est sous presse.

L'entreprise de M. Penth étant philologique au premier chef il serait entièrement déplacé de lui reprocher ici de n'avoir pas développé dans son introduction certains aspects de l'histoire du Sultanat sur lesquels, notre optique étant toute autre, nous avons jugé bon d'insister dans notre étude (monopole du poivre, primauté de la monnaie-or, dévaluation du *mas*, question de l'approvisionnement en riz). Inversement, le *Hikajat Atjéh* ne constituant pour nous qu'une source parmi d'autres, nous sommes loin d'en avoir tiré toute la substantifique moëlle, qui se trouve à présent distillée et mise à la portée des chercheurs par les soins de M. Penth.

Un excellent travail donc, solide et utile, un travail comme on en voudrait voir paraître plus souvent.

Denys Lombard

Ronald Bishop Smith: *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations and Perigrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of South East Asia (1509-1521)* (Decatur Press Inc.) 1968. 136 pp.

The First Age comprises linked extracts, in the author's translation, from early Portuguese historians and observers describing the exploits of their countrymen in South East Asia, from the time Albuquerque's conquest of Malacca in 1511 to the death of King Manuel I of Portugal in 1521.

The work is arranged according to territories, Siam, Pegu, Cambodia, Vietnam, the Moluccas, Timor, Java, Sumatra and Borneo; a second part comprises descriptions of the same period by several historians, principally João de Barros, Diego de Couto and Tome Pires. A notable commission in view of its importance, is material concerning Malacca itself, though there are necessarily many references in the extracts to this eastern pivot of Portuguese expansion.

The first section of fifteen pages concerns the early embassies sent to King Rama T'ibodi II of Siam from Malacca between 1511 and 1518.

The author refers, in his preface, to his work as a "narrative", and to the degree that this is the case, the fact that it is often not at all clear whether he is summarising or reproducing the text of the early writers may possibly be excused. Nevertheless the very loose system of references at the end of each chapter does little to aid the reader to overcome the difficulty of identifying precisely a particular source other than passages specifically attributed. The book, which is avowedly "composed" from original sources, is thus an uneasy compromise between a fluid relation, and a properly annotated history—a sort of scrap book containing edited and sometimes interpreted material, with numerous exclusions of the sort "(according to Albuquerque and Goes)" and "(as implied by Castenhada)" p. 9. The author or compiler (according to how one decides to view the work) has therefore not done full justice to his research, which purports to the most concerted assemblage of early Portuguese writing on South East Asia in English translation. It should be remarked however that Donald Lach's "Asia in the Making of Europe", Volume I, presents a less pretentious but fully referenced account of early Portuguese activity in the Indochinese peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago.

For the quality of the translation in the absence of the original texts, this reviewer cannot vouch, but the author's tendency to reproduce odd Portuguese words or phrases, either quite gratuitously with a translation, or to leave untranslated words or phrases which may or may not be difficult to render precisely in English, gives ground for accusing the author of a certain dilettantism: thus, "saber mui bem as cousas de Sião, knowing very well the things of Siam", p. 13, while a little higher on the same page, "fazenda" (admittedly a difficult word to translate), is left untranslated. In the case of Barros' description of Siam, where comparison with the original was possible, what is ostensibly a translation turns out to be a digest or much condensed version in 1200 words of the original of some 4500—no mention is made of this fact.

Tome Pires' account of Siam is lacking from the second part containing the descriptions. This is a particularly informative and

telling account and one strictly contemporaneous with the author's period, being written in Malacca between 1512 and 1515, whereas Barros and Couto, writing years after the events, relied upon materials received in Portugal and Goa respectively. Pires has however been consulted for his account of Champa, Cochin-China and Timor.

In a sense *The First Age* is indispensable as a reference book but to treat it as such would be to overlook some important omissions and to ignore its peculiarly abbreviated completeness.

P. J. S. Young

Klaus Wenk: Die Ruderlieder—*kāp hē rūō*—in der Literatur Thailands (=Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band XXXVII, 4: Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden) 1968. pp. 176 DM 32.

The latest work by the distinguished Thai philologist, Dr. Klaus Wenk of Hamburg University, could be considered a significant contribution towards the studies of Thai literature in general. A systematic study of this nature is rare, especially when viewed in the light of the research made by native scholars of Thai literature in recent years. Dr. Wenk has with good reasons chosen to tackle a literary genre of which the total output seems quite manageable. The book is a study in depth of the "*kāp hē rūō*" (boat-songs) right from the Ayuthaya period up to the present days. The study is divided into two parts, the first part being a historical and critical account of the genre and the second part, a translation into German of selected "*kāp hē rūō*" from Čau Fā Thammathibēt to Nai Rīt Rūōngrit (who died only recently).

There can be no doubt that the author sets about his task with ardour and extreme conscientiousness. At first glance, some readers might mistake the book for a mere compendium of existing knowledge on the "*kāp hē rūō*". Dr. Wenk has perused all the manuscripts, registered all the variants, examined all the printed versions and

acquainted himself with almost all the available secondary literature on the subject, both in Thai and western languages. This thoroughness could be misleading. In actual fact, the author does raise a number of important issues which may have escaped the attention of Thai scholars and which may set them thinking for a long time to come.

Dr. Wenk begins by setting the "kāp hē rūō" against the background of the aquatic culture of traditional Thailand. This part of the book should prove to be of particular interest to western readers. He then proceeds to characterize the "kāp hē rūō" as a literary genre, and in this connection, makes some generalizations about Thai literature. The traditional image of "oriental" literature inherited from the age of Goethe seems to have somewhat coloured Dr. Wenk's interpretation of Thai poetry. Nobody would deny that Thai poets attach great importance to the phenomenal world and to outward ornamentation: their delight in sophisticated imagery might even sometimes make one think of Dr. Johnson's epithet "metaphysical". But it is doubtful whether their disregard for the purely lyrical outpourings of personal emotions is due to an inborn reticence as Dr. Wenk would have it. The preoccupation—sometimes excessive preoccupation—with the outward form, with the musical possibilities of the language has its root elsewhere. Poetry according to the Thai is an art, and an art which one has to cultivate. Poets vie with each other in the mastery and exhibition of such an art, which at times lapses into artifice. There are some parallels in medieval European poetry: one only has to think of the Troubadours and the Minnesänger.

As for the origin of the "kāp hē rūō", Dr. Wenk is of the opinion that it is an indigenous art-form and contests Prince Damrong's theory about the Indian origin of the genre. He goes so far as to accuse Prince Damrong of an "Indomania"! Dr. Wenk's own theory about the "animistic" origin of the "kāp hē rūō" however remains hypothetical, and it seems that no definite solution to this problem has yet been found. On another issue, Dr. Wenk considers the classification of the "kāp hē rūō" into "hē rūō lūong" (for festive occasions) and "hē rūō len" (for pleasure trips) by Prince Damrong as

arbitrary, since there is not sufficient textual evidence to support the existence of the "hē rūō lūong" as an independent form. With very few exceptions, Dr. Wenk shows himself to be a very conscientious philologist who adheres strictly to the principle of thorough documentation. He more than once criticizes Thai scholars for their unscientific approach to literary studies (p. 29, 76).

What distinguishes Dr. Wenk's study is his treatment of the individual poets and their works. It is only to be regretted that the sections on the content (*Zum Inhalt der Dichtungen*) are too brief, since it is particularly here that the author shows great critical insight. Like most Thai critics, he dwells at some length on Čau Fā Tham-mathibēt; his detailed account of the man and his work is a real pleasure to read. The documentation is as exhaustive as it can be, but there is never a dull moment. He then turns to Rama II and Rama V whom he considers as worthy successors of Čau Fā Tham-mathibēt. Dr. Wenk is at his most controversial when he comes to Rama VI. Without any reservation, he regards King Wachirawut as being responsible for the decadence of the genre, and his "kāp hē rūō" are "pedestrian, lacking in wit and imagination and devoid of all poetical inspiration" (p. 86). King Wachirawut is criticized for having degraded the genre to the level of propaganda by making it a vehicle of his nationalism. This is harsh criticism which no Thai scholar, even though he might agree with Dr. Wenk, would ever dare to make. Dr. Wenk makes it clear that in his opinion, the innovative efforts of King Wachirawut have added nothing to the development of the genre.

Dr. Wenk however reserves high praise for the contemporary writings of Nai Chan Khamwilai and Nai Rīt Rūōngrit. He considers them both as propagators and innovators of the genre. Nai Chan succeeds very well in maintaining the dignity of the traditional "kāp hē rūō" in his purely religious works, and at the same time in bringing a new vein of religious sentiment into those types of "kāp hē rūō" in praise of birds, flowers and fishes, inherited from Čau Fā Thammatibēt. As for Nai Rīt Rūōngrit, Dr. Wenk ranks

him just as high as Nai Chan Khamwilai. Nai Rīt's "kāp hē rūō" commemorating the 2500th anniversary of the Buddhist Era is likened to the famous "Hē chom rūō krăbūon" of Čau Fā Thammatibēt. His "kāp hē rūō" in honour of His Majesty King Phūmiphon Adundēt is regarded as one of the most characteristic of panegyrics in Thai literature. Both poets are commended for the simplicity and nobility of their style.

It must be admitted that students of Thai literature owe a great debt to Dr. Wenk for the justice he has done to our contemporary literature, which so many Thai scholars are reluctant to evaluate, since "literature" in the traditional sense could only mean writings which have generally been accepted! But what really makes the reading of Dr. Wenk's book so rewarding is that the author has touched upon a very fundamental issue which we cannot easily overlook. To take the "kāp hē rūō" as a subject for scholarly investigation is a happy choice, but in a genre, whose total output is really meagre and at which so few poets have tried their hand, value-judgment naturally becomes problematic. There can be no definite criteria as to the merits or demerits of the individual works, since there is very little scope for comparative studies. Even Dr. Wenk himself admits that the work of Čau Fā Thammatibēt can be considered both as the origin and the culmination of the genre. We can only conclude from such a statement that the only criteria which are possible are those derived from the "kāp hē rūō" of Čau Fā Thammatibēt. In this respect, Dr. Wenk has not gone beyond Thai scholars at all. But if we are honest enough to look at the works of the great poet more objectively, we may even discern certain limitations, especially in the subject-matter. And even though we might be fortunate enough to be able to unearth more of his works than we have today, it would still be doubtful whether the original image would change much. In this connection, we may even go so far as to say that the genre still offers plenty of room for innovation and that there is still a great deal to be done after and in spite of Čau Fā Thammatibēt. Only we should heed Dr. Wenk's warning that there is a price to be paid for innovations, as has been the case with King Wachirawut.

Dr. Wenk makes it clear that he has no literary pretensions with regard to his German translation of the “kāp hē rūö”, but he succeeds very well in bringing over to his German readers the literal sense of the original. What he cannot do by way of translation, for example, when it comes to elaborate imagery or mythological allusions, he can do by way of his footnotes, which in themselves are a testimony of great erudition. On the whole, the German translation is longer than the original version, since the translator allows himself a great deal of extrapolation. In the arrangement of the lines, Dr. Wenk tries as far as he can—at least typographically—to give the impression of a metrical translation, although he does not go as far as say, M.R. Seni Pramoj in his English translation of Thai poetry. Modern German, rich enough to express emotional content, somehow does not seem to rise to the demands of the ceremonial austerity of some of the “kāp hē rūö”. Besides, Dr. Wenk seems to be reluctant to hark back to the style of the great German translators like Schiller or Wilhelm Schlegel. The translation on the whole is accurate, apart from a few minor errors which should be rectified in future editions of the book. We cite here only a few examples :

p. 97, Kāp 6 :

เพ็ชรงหงส์ทรงพรหมินทร์ ลินลาเคลื่อนเคื่อนดาขม
พรหมินทร์ cannot possibly mean Indra. Brahma is meant here. It should be noted that the vehicle of Indra is an elephant, and not a swan, which is the vehicle of Brahma.

p. 99, Kāp 14 :

เหิมหันชันกระบถ ขลมาจาสาวพณี
The word กระบถ cannot be interpreted in its etymological sense of lotus. In this context, it can only mean the hearth.

p. 103, Khlōng :

เรือชายขมมิ่งไม้ มีพรณ
Kāp 1
เรือชายขมมิ่งไม้ ริมท่าไสวหลากหลายพรณ
เรือชาย in this context cannot be interpreted as the men's boat.
ชาย here means to skirt along.

p. 164, Kāp 9 :

The whole stanza is misinterpreted as an address to His Majesty the King himself, whereas in fact it is an invocation to a deity, namely "phrā siamthēwathirat", to offer his protection to the sovereign.

A book like Dr. Wenk's "Ruderlieder" can only confirm the fact that a great deal of notable research on Thai literature is being conducted by foreign experts, from whom Thai critics and philologists can learn a great deal. It might even be worthwhile to translate parts of Dr. Wenk's book into Thai or English for the benefit of those who do not read German. The book offers moreover ample material which could be put to use in a critical edition of collected "kāp hē rūō", and it is high time that we should be thinking of such an edition. Or are we waiting for a cue from Dr. Wenk himself?

Chetana Nagavajara

The Ramakien. A prose translation of the Thai version of the Ramayana by Ray A. Olssen M.D. (Praepittaya, Bangkok) 1968 pp. 424 95 Baht.

It is a curious fact that some of the frailest sprigs of civilization reveal the greatest capacity for survival. Cities and fortresses crumble, kings and magnates die and are forgotten, the frontiers they established, the mines and manufacturies they set in motion are drifted over with the leaves of time. And yet while this universal process of change is taking place, the thoughts of men and their commitment to paper live on. What do we now know of that minor Mediterranean queen who was abducted, how much less should we know of the nine-year war which was fought because of her, if it were not for the immortal epic that celebrates the event? And how much should we remember of the obscure proto-type of Rama if that king had not been set for perpetuity, like a fly in amber, at the centre of the Ramayana?

These thoughts are prompted by the latest recension of the Rama myth-epic. Col. Ray A. Olssen, M.D., whom one guesses to be from the United States, has undertaken to translate into English, from the German edition of Dr. Christian Velder,¹ the Ramakien of King Rama I. King Rama, of course, took his version from King Taksin, or from the literati, scholars and Brahmin priests of his court, and they in turn must have tapped sources that stretch back through the courts of the Khmer, the soldiers, priests and traders who carried it there, to the very fount of the epic, the Indian poet Valmiki—if he can rightly be honoured as its originator. For some cultural anthropologists postulate an Ur-myth that goes back beyond Valmiki. Two millenia, they tell us, is a brief moment in this epic's history. Its origin is not to be attributed to India, any more than Homer's is to Greece. Both belong to the forenoon of human existence, to some small quarrel between Anatolian cowherds. But time and place are of no importance, they imply. For myth springs not from the accidents of man's history but from his creative heartbeat, and for that reason will live as long as man himself.

This theory afforded me some consolation, some reassurance, as I read Col. Olssen. He begins his work with a fulsome little dedication to the king and people of Thailand, is congratulated by his publisher in a Preface notable mainly for its errors, and having in the Introduction misquoted the title of the book he is translating and misspelled its author's name, proceeds then to administer the most severe drubbing the Ramakien has received—at least since the Chalmers summary was committed to paper, or the out-of-print Darmashrama version left the press.

The punishment comes in a variety of forms, not the least of which is mistranslation. Time and again throughout the book, a word or sentence in German is misunderstood, often with remarkable results to the story. On page 134, Col. Olssen has "flowers blooming on his (Baklan's) back" when it should have been "on its (Bokkoranee's) bank". On p. 135 and later one character "lashes" another's back,

1. Kampf der Goetter und Daemonen by C. Velder (Verlag Neues Forum, Schweinfurt) 1962, 320 pp.

when the text reads "strokes". On p. 116 Totsagan "ran off with" Nang Sida when he was flying and on p. 147 Sida refuses to be rescued by Hanuman for the extraordinary reason that "she was too tired": Dr. Velder having said simply that she refused "resolutely". On p. 156 Col. Olssen sends the monkey army on an "expedition", which makes a whole paragraph read curiously, because in fact the monkeys are conducting manoeuvres for the benefit of Phra Ram. But the oddest of all the mistranslations—and they are far too numerous to be more than glanced at here—occurs when Suppana Matcha "is afraid he (Hanuman) would drown her," when Dr. Velder says she fears he would play her false. Suppana Matcha is the Queen of the Fishes.

After a time though one comes to understand that Col. Olssen is not so much translating Dr. Velder as 'improving' on him. To be precise, for much of the way—downright misunderstandings excepted—he is content to plod along close behind his leader, but every so often he becomes discontented with his progress and strikes out on his own: either leaving out a passage (the entire description—p. 194—of Koom-pakan shrinking physically under his brother's scorn is omitted), or puffing it out and dressing it up to satisfy some dramatic instinct of his own. On one of his creative flights, Col. Olssen renders a passage² thus:

Phra Lak angrily picked up his bow and tried to thrash the mocking monkey. But the monkey jumped back and forth, so that Phra Lak missed. Then the monkey snatched the bow out of his hand and teased him even more. Phra Lak woke his brother and told him about the insolence of the monkey. (p. 120)

A close translation of the original reads as follows:

He lifted his hand to frighten the animal away. But instead of fleeing, the monkey climbed further down the tree. Phra Lak took the bow and struck the branch on which the little

2. "Er hebt die hand, um das Tier zu verscheuchen. Aber statt zu fliehen, klettert der Affe im Baum weiter herunter. Phra Lak nimmt den Bogen und schlägt damit an den Ast, auf dem das Aeßchen sitzt. Aber er springt hin und her, ohne das Phra Lak es treffen kann. Phra Ram hoert den Aufruhr über sich und erwacht."

monkey was sitting. But he sprang back and forth, so that Phra Lak couldn't reach him. Phra Ram heard the noise above him and awoke.

Col. Olssen follows this with a passage of even greater freedom, writing in material which has no counterpart in Dr. Velder's version, and repeating the process wherever he feels the original lacks dramatic impact.

Now there is nothing wrong with free translation, as scholars of the calibre of Arthur Waley have demonstrated. As long as it is made clear just how the new version stands to the original, as long as the language is fresh and vital and as long as what transpires owns a consistent style, there is no reason why the translator should not take whatever liberties he thinks necessary. But it is precisely in the matter of language and style that this version of the Ramakien fails most abjectly. From the opening paragraph to the final page the text is riddled with errors of grammar, vulgarisms and stylistic monstrosities. "All right, monkey, I'll fix you good," says a hermit; Totsagan "nuzzles and tickles" his wife; monkeys are forever "slamming and smashing" their opponents; Suwanna Kanyuma is addressed as "you lovely, beautiful woman"; and on p. 350 "Totsapin was swimming (sic) in danger", whatever that may mean. There is furthermore such weakness in the use of perfect tenses throughout the narrative, such uncertainty in the handling of strong verbs—"sprung" instead of "sprang", for example—that we come to the end of the book doubting that English is the author's first language. Perhaps we should be congratulating him on the audacity of his undertaking, rather than criticising what he achieves.

But of course in the long run, it really doesn't matter. The Ramakien gets murdered but the myth lives on. This is a mystery that has been enacted since time immemorial, the only difference between all those other performances and the one reviewed here being that they disappeared and were forgotten, whereas Col. Olssen's is preserved for us in print. Perhaps we should be grateful to see history made manifest.

John Cadet

Nirat P'hu K'hao T'hong, essai de traduction littéral d'un poème t'hai by P. Schweisguth (Maisonnette, Paris) [1969] photostat edition pp. 103.

Mr. Schweisguth's translation of Sunthon Phu's *Nirat Phukhao Thong* is, to my knowledge, the first attempt ever made to render in French a whole poem of the Thai poet. But this is not the first time Mr. Schweisguth indulges himself in the domaine of Thai literature; he had already written, also in French, a manual of Thai literature published by the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique in Paris. Thus before undertaking the translation, he had already acquired considerable knowledge of Sunthon Phu and Thai literature in general, as well as practice in translating from Thai into French, as can be seen from numerous translated passages in the manual.

However, apart from the fact that the Thai language is completely different from the French language, there are difficulties in interpreting the confusing, ambiguous lines of the poem in question which refer to the poet's life and secrets. To the problem of how to put into clear-cut French a language with so disorderly and unusual a structure, is often added that of choosing which meaning, among various possible ones, to give to a single line. The omission of the subject of a verb, for example, can easily mislead a foreign student of the language.

The translation of Sunthon Phu's poetry is all the more difficult, for the poet is a perfect master of the language, and he makes every possible use of it. His facility in composing, in finding the right word, the unfailing rhyme, his musical sense, have continually felicitous results. His poetry is, above all, very suggestive, especially when he describes a touching scene of nature or a particular scene of village life. Then he not only tells what happens, but reproduces all the colours and sounds in words that he alone can find. For certain effects, there are sometimes as many as eight nouns in an octosyllabic line, and sometimes as many verbs or adjectives, all standing side by side in perfect harmony and perfectly correlated in meaning. Confronted with these lines, a translator, even a poet, can only try to do

his best in his own language with its own characteristics and particularities. But whether his version is comparable to the original, or faithful to it or not, is another story. Sometimes the translator, in his attempt to be strictly faithful to the text, gives each Thai word its possible equivalent in his language. In his version, for instance, we find several different verbs which are of equal importance to the subject. And this in the new language sometimes sounds very strange and not always intelligible, whereas in the original text, all verbs complete the meaning of one another, and the line is absolutely smooth and fluid. But, if translated as a whole, those lines lose their beauty and do not at all demonstrate the ingenuity of the poet.

Mr. Schweisguth has proved, in his translation, to be an attentive Sunthon Phu scholar. He is conscious of all the difficulties and does his best to overcome them. And, most of the time, the result is more than satisfactory. His version of *Nirat Phukhao Thong* is quite faithful to the original, except for the fact that in his effort to make his French version flowing and more readable, he sometimes adds conjunctions or other connectives, as well as extra explanations. This sometimes makes the translation slightly different from the text. And in some places the ideas put forth by the poet become modified, often enlarged. For example, on page 8, last stanza,¹ Mr. Schweisguth translates:

"Depuis qu'il est au Niravana c'est comme si j'avais perdu la tête.

Et parce que je n'ai pas de famille et que je suis pauvre, J'en arrive à être très malheureux "

(*"Since he (King Phra Phuttalertla) reached Nirvana, it is as if I was beheaded,*

And because I don't have a family, and I am poor, I have indeed become very unhappy ")

However in the original, Sunthon Phu says: "His Nirvana (or death) was to me as if my head were cut off; *because* I have no relatives, I have become miserable to an extreme."

¹⁾ พระนิพนธ์ปณิธานหนึ่งส่วนชาติ ด้วยไว้ญาคิดยากจนถึงแสนเข็ญ

On page 32, fifth line from the end, the French version is:

"on y chante aussi des poésies pour se faire la cour des unes aux autres, en se posant des questions très bruyantes."

("there they also exchange courting poems that they sing to one another, and at the same time they noisily ask one another questions.")

Now in the Thai version,¹ Sunthon Phu only says: "there they also exchange courting poems that they sing to one another noisily." In another place (line 26, page 28), the French translation is:

"ce sont autant des projectiles irritants au corps, comme du sable projeté," which means "they (the mosquitoes) are like the projectiles irritating our bodies, as does the sand thrown to them," whereas the Thai version does not mention the projectiles at all.

Apart from these minor imperfections, there are some incorrect translations due certainly to a misunderstanding of the text. On page 25, line 18, it is given in French:

"sans qu'il y ait des créatures possédées par les démons dans leurs branches," meaning "without having any possessed creatures in their branches (the branches of the ngiu tree)".

The Thai version,² however, says: "without any band of animals haunting their branches".

On page 14, first line, the French version goes:

"car enfin, si je fermais mon coeur aux sentiments, à quoi penserais-je?" which can be rendered in English:

"for, after all, if I shut my heart up against the sentiments, of what would I think?"

For me the corresponding Thai line³ only means: "it is not in our power to forbid our heart (to be love drunk), what to do then?" There are certain lines that, owing to the translator's care to keep close to the text, are not faithful to it. On page 22, line 7, the French version is:

1) พอหยุดยั้งดูหมมมารุมกัด

2) ไม่มีฝูงสัตว์รังแกงูกิน

3) สุตะหักห้ามจิตจะคิดโน

“ainsi ai-je lutté pour abandonner les honneurs et la vie à deux
afin d’entrer en religion,”

(“so did I struggle to give up the honour and the conjugal life
in order to enter the priesthood,”)

In Thai, the line¹ only says: “I even gave up the honour to
espouse religion”.

The translations of the controversial lines of the Nirat are here
also a subject of discussion. The last stanza on page 12 (Thai version)
is translated:

“... et j’ai demandé au Bouddha, l’omniscient, bien déterminé
à réussir, à m’aider à me débarrasser de l’alcool
et à ne pas en être ruiné;

je ne m’en approche pas, au contraire, je détourne le regard
exprès, et je passe;”

(“... and I ask Bouddha, the omniscient, being well determined
to succeed, to help me to get rid of drinking and not to be
ruined by it;

I do not approach it (the distillery), on the contrary,
I turn my eye away from it intentionally, and I pass by;”)

In Thai the lines² go:

“... to attain the Enlightenment of the Buddha is what I aim
at. Even though alcoholic drinks could lead to salvation and
not destruction, I do not approach the distillery and, on purpose,
I turn my eye away from it and I pass by.”

On page 24, last stanza:³

“Moi, depuis que je suis né jusqu’à ce jour
je l’ai encore évité en me maîtrisant,
et je n’en suis pas coupable.

Mais de nos jours on se conduit mal,

1) สู้เสียดัดสังวาสพระศาสนา

2) ทำบุญบวชกวัดน้ำขอสำเร็จ
ถึงสุราพารอดไม่ขอควาย

3) เว้นเกิดมาอย่าเพ่งน้แล้ว
ทุกวันนี้ไว้ปัดผิดทำนอง

พระสวามิพนธ์โพธิญาณประมาณหมย

ไม่ใกล้กลายแก่งเมินก็เกินไป

ยังคลาดแคล้วครองตัวไม่มัวหมอง

เจ็บช้ำจะต้องเป็นบ้างหรืออย่างไรง

serais-je donc presque obligé de monter au sommet ou non?"

("As for me, since I was born until now, I have managed to avoid it (adultery) yet, by controlling myself;

But at present people behave themselves badly, should I not, then, be almost compelled to climb to the top of it (the ngiu tree) as well?")

The Thai version, however, should end up like this:

"..... At present I have become deranged and unconventional, shall I be, or not, then, compelled to climb it also?"

Wherever the occasion arises, Mr. Schweisguth also gives other possible translations than those he actually adopts his notes at the end of the book. Curious enough, almost all of the possible versions that he gives seem more appropriate and more accurate than the ones he in fact uses. For instance, the second and third lines¹ on page 16 refer to Sunthon Phu himself, as he mentions in the notes and not the Yuans, as he puts in his translation. The same as the third line² from bottom on page 10, which should also refer to Sunthon Phu, and not the pavilion containing the relics of King Phra Phuttalertala, since the pavilion cannot "concentrate upon dedicating the merit to the king, thus adding up to his own". The compound "concentrate"³ goes together in Thai and cannot be separated. If one did, by translating the first part by "bâtie" (built), then the second should be rendered by "conscience" (consciousness), and not by "intention". But this as anyone can see does not make sense. A final remark is that Mr. Schweisguth ought to have chosen for his text the version of *Nirat Phukhao Thong* established and edited by the Ministry of Education, as published in the manual of Thai literature for Mathayomsuksa 5, since this edition is universally studied and familiar. But instead he uses a text that is not widely known, and prints the established version at the bottom, whenever there are differences.

1) จะเหลียวกลับตมเขตประเทศสยาม

2) ตั้งสติเดิมถวายผ้าขุศล

3) "ตั้งสติ"

Apart from these faults that are minor considering the translation as a whole, Mr. Schweisguth has achieved much. It is wonderful to read in French Sunthon Phu's memorable lines and see how eloquently and precisely this poet reads in a foreign language. A reader who has never read Sunthon Phu before can easily imagine how flowing, how beautiful the poet's original language must be. The following translation for example will not fail to convince him of that:

"Oh! Terre, compacte, formant une surface atteignant 240,000 unités dans la totalité des Trois Mondes!

Lorsque je suis tombé dans le malheur, mon corps, aussi petit qu'il ait été,

n'avait pas un seul endroit sur toute cette terre

où il aurait pu demeurer;

on n'y trouve que des épines qui piquent et qui blessent

douloureusement, et qui vous serrent le coeur:

je suis comme un oiseau sans nid, errant sans but,

et vivant solitaire."⁴

Sunthon Phu's sorrows and regrets over the death of his royal protector and master, King Phra Phuttaletla, preserve, in French, the heart-breaking effect, characteristic of Sunthon Phu's lamentations:

"La fin de son règne fut la fin de mon nom,

il a suivi sa Majesté.

Il me faut errer ça et là à la recherche d'une demeure.

Quelle que soit la condition dans laquelle je renaîtrai

dans n'importe lequel des Mondes,

je souhaite de pouvoir être son esclave,

la poussière de ses pieds.

4) โยพสุธาหนานเน่นเป็นแผ่นดิน
เมื่อเคราะห์ร้ายกายเราก็คู่กัน
ถ้วนหนานเหน็บเจ็บแสนคับแค้นใจ

ถึงสิ้นมโนสองแสนทั้งคนโคตร
ไม่มีที่พสุธาจะอาศัย
เหมือนนกไร้รังเว้อขอก

Je souhaite presque que la fin de son règne
soit comme la fin de ma vie!"¹

The translator's care to be faithful to the text is dominant in all his translation, and the precision with which the French version is composed is really gratifying. Sometimes, one line of eight syllables finds its French equivalent consisting of more than twenty words.

"et nous ne pouvons que pousser avec la perche,
en s'appuyant dessus sans s'arrêter,
car nous n'y sommes pas habitués.
Au bout d'un moment, le bateau se relève avec le buissemment
des herbes sur la coque, en pénétrant dans une touffe
épaisse."²

In my opinion, the verse that is so vividly and so cleverly translated is the one at the end of the *Nirat*, in which Sunthon Phu explains his reason for inserting in the poem his amorous yearnings:

"C'est comme les cuisinières, quand elles font cuire une soupe,
un rôti ou une friture,
elles mettent toutes sortes de condiments
et de viandes assaisonnées,
et aussi du piment, des légumes, du persil!
De même faut-il que les femmes
assaisonnent bien un poème, au moins un peu, pour qu'il soit
delectable."³

Nirat P'hu K'hao T'hong — *Essai de traduction littérale d'un poème t'hai* is presented as a parallel text and is published by Maisonneuve. It is intended to be a supplement to the "Etude sur la littérature siamoise" by the same author, also published by Maisonneuve.

Samart Samphantharak

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| 1) สันแผ่นดินสันนามตามเสด็จ | ต้องเที่ยวเตร่เร่ร่อนหาที่อาศรัย |
| แม้้นกำเนิดเกิดชาติภพใด ๆ | ขอให้ได้เป็นข้าฝ่าธุลี |
| สันแผ่นดินขอให้สัมพันธ์กับข้าง | |
| 2) ต้องถ่อคำว้าไปล้าไปไม่เคย | ประเดี๋ยวเสยส่งบตรงเข้าพรวก |
| 3) เหมือนแม่ครัวจู้จี้แกงพแนงผัด | สารพัดเบียดยุคนั่งเครื่องมังสา |
| อันพริกไทยใบผักชีเหมือนเสก | ต้องโรยหน้าเสี้ยสักหน่อยอร่อยใจ |

Collected Articles by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidayalabh Brdihyakorn, Honorary President, The Siam Society, Reprinted from the Journal of the Siam Society on the Occasion of His Eighty-Fourth Birthday. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2512 (1969). xii, 194 p. 135 Plates, illustrations, charts: bound 150 baht, paperback 100 baht.

In the course of his lengthy article on "The Inscriptions of Wat Phra Jetubon" included in this volume, H.H. Prince Dhani quotes Rama III's reference to poetry as that "branch of knowledge which was in olden times considered as the knowledge essential to a gentleman but has now become rare among people who have turned to bad ways" (p. 17). The rich range of sixteen of His Highness's articles included in this splendidly-produced volume serves well to remind us both of the high ideals implied in that king's judgment, and of the extent to which Prince Dhani's work has for so many years worked, if not completely to dispel that pessimism, then at least to encourage others to demonstrate that many gentlemen (and ladies) still care for a culture Rama III feared was dying.

Few *farang* scholars have been able to write about Thailand without referring to at least one of the articles reprinted here. "The Old Siamese Conception of the Monarchy" is a special favourite of many. For a short article, it is delightfully rich in insight, conveyed with modesty and good humour (his gentle chiding of H.G. Quaritch Wales), and it makes a solid, useful contribution to our understanding, especially of the place of law in Thai government. The historian will be struck most forcefully by the superb long essay on "The Reconstruction of Rama I of the Chakri Dynasty," in which the cultural work of the founder of the current dynasty is particularly stressed. There is in this article a real sense of the momentous quality of those decades at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, and of the innovative turn of mind which was to become so characteristic of a vigorous Thai court when life and survival were becoming increasingly difficult.

"The Inscriptions of Wat Phra Jetubon" is probably the best short introduction in English to traditional or classical Thai culture. Those inscriptions, dating mainly from the reign of Rama III, were intended to preserve for posterity the knowledge and culture not only

of gentlemen but also of the knowledge, the arts and sciences, which were the cumulative heritage of centuries of Thai civilization; and their recording on stone constituted a school or public library of the most open kind. What makes Prince Dhani's descriptive account of them so informative is the sense of time which he attaches to them, to make the reader aware of the enormous body of knowledge which was available to, and used by, a generation of Thai at a specific point in time.

In the numerous articles on literary themes included here, both non-specialist and specialist alike will find much of enduring value and interest. These range in time from "The Date and Authorship of the Romance of Phra Lō" of the fifteenth century or earlier, and "The *Dalang*" of the First Reign, to "King Rama VI's Last Work"—the unfinished English translation of *Madanabādhā*, or *the Romance of a Rose*. These are particularly useful for non-specialists who can read Thai poetry with difficulty, if at all. This reviewer was entranced by "The Rama Jataka," an excellent short summary and study of an early Lao work which is perhaps as much of historical as of literary and religious interest. It is unfortunate that no one seems to have responded to Prince Dhani's hope that his study of "The Rama Jataka" might "attract the attention of and stimulate a will to research by" some other scholar (p. 75).

Through the thirty-four years spanned by the articles included in this volume—and beyond them to the present—Prince Dhani has worked to stimulate the study of Thailand's cultural heritage, and he has been doing so with a modesty and generosity in the best spirit of the ideals with which the Siam Society was founded. It is thoroughly appropriate that the Society should have chosen to affirm those ideals, and the example Prince Dhani long has set all of us, with the publication of this volume. Its fine design, and especially the new photographs, are some measure beyond even the Society's usual high standards in this respect. Its physical quality complements the intellectual quality Prince Dhani has shown us over these many years.

David K. Wyatt

ฟ้าบวกัน โดย ลาวคำหอม (A collection of short stories, *Fah Baw Kan*, including six which did not appear in the 1st edition by Lao Khamhawm) (Suksit Siam, Bangkok) 1969 170 pp. illustrated : 35 baht.

Countries like Siam are characterized by the degradation of most of their population through the combined efforts of those who sit on the top and those who are sat on. In old Thai paintings, the peasants are shown with coarse, idiotic features, having a good time generally (when not suffering the tortures of Hell), but quite obviously churls. Modern civilization made available to those on the top only increases the disparity. As the progressive elements from the countryside make their way into the towns to grab at new opportunities, and as the elegance and allure of those at the top increases, the degradation of the peasants deepens. Modern Thai films continue the tradition. The heroes and heroines are in black tie and evening dress (or miniskirt) and are either plagued by or have enormous sympathy for the simple peasant. But insofar as he is himself, the peasant is not a person. At best, he is a "happy smiling face", at worst, he is a "gook". Most of those on the peasant side who realize this and want to do something about it, simply naturalize themselves into the Civilized World, finding in their own success a confirmation of the abjectness of those who stay behind. But a complex society can no longer fare well with this alienation of the bulk from the elite. As the Governor of the Bank of Thailand concluded at the Siam Society on 5th February 1970, "The economic prospects of Thailand may be bright if...". The conditions were that the government is able to govern and that the peasants start acting like sophisticated economic creatures of the Civilized World, whose leadership they are supposed to accept. But lions cannot lead mice. And either everyone must realize that all are lions or that all are mice or at least that all are human beings; not gods and churls. In France, Victor Hugo jolted elegant people into realizing this elusive truth. In China, Lu Shun played a similar part. In Russia, Gogol in *Dead Souls* contributed and in England, Dickens was a catalyst. And only literature can bring the truth of being a peasant into the sympathetic comprehension of the city society. No writer in Thailand has been able to begin to do this until the advent of Lao Khamhawm,

In his short stories, the author, of peasant background himself, plays on peasant superstition, foolishness, dignity, greed and gullibility and pathetic condition with a redeeming humour that teases the reader into realizing the dumb people are part of the great band of lions (or mice) or human beings. In the *Quack Doctor*, the insomniac old man, feeling more and more useless in his old age, finally offers to play the role of watchdog for his grandchildren's buffaloes, coughing at night instead of barking. Here the human condition and sentiment are universal, the abjectness Chaplinesque, the predicament—deception by roving quacks into taking sleeping pills and exposure to cattle thieves—typically other Peasant-World. More than a volume on the sociology of the Thai peasant could, the stories in this volume charm us into realizing the peasant is a man and his predicament is outrageous.

In the *Gold-Legged Frog*, the hero's son is bitten by a cobra which puts him at the mercy of current superstition, the village headman's ignorant threats and humiliation by government officials. Finally his fellow villagers find consolation for the death of the son in the government hand-out of 200 baht. In *The Breeder*, with kindly humour, Lao Khamhawm pricks the official illusion of the meaning of rural development to the peasant. And if the peasant cannot cope, it is because the government is so inept. *Nak Garn Muang*—the title itself a pun meaning in sound both "Politician" and "Civil Destroyer"—takes us into the provincial town where no one's personality is quite up to encompassing a "democratic election". In *Rai Bia*, the avarice and patronage of the local temple-going and temple-praised money-lender stirs the ruined peasant borrower to realize dully that he is being exploited but protest dissolves in fantasy and though ruined, the peasant is ever-supine.

In *Prai Fah*, (The Subjects), the only romance of the lot, the heroine, in an initial brilliant comic characterization, replies to the elephant boy hero's question "Do you love me? I have money", by stirring from her reverie, cocking her head a bit and asking "How much?" With the heroine, thus removed from our sympathy, the story

gets down to its serious theme : the unwitting callousness of the city boy who, by seducing the girl, crushes the spirit of the elephant boy. Such is the skill of the author, that we understand and sympathize with the elephant boy even when he takes his revenge.

While the theme declared in the title to this collection, barriers are not heaven-made, recurs in all the stories, the form they take varies. Flourishing in the relative literary freedom at the end of the Pibul regime in 1958-59, Lao Khamhawm wrote 8 of the 13 stories including the more lyrically humourous ones. During the deadening decade of the Sarit regime when most serious critical writers retreated, Lao Khamhawm wrote only three stories, of which one is both satire and political allegory, *Chao Na Lae Nai Hank* (The Farmer and the Foreigner), the theme of which was repeated much later in his widely reprinted English-language article under his real name, *A Thai View of the Americans*, and another *Sawanya*, is a pure, scathing allegory. In his recent stories *Ubat-hote* (The Accident) and *Khaemkham*, the author's horizon broadens again beyond the remote peasant village to take into account the terrifying and degrading effects of "development". But as before, the situations he deals with are so vicious as to be comprehensible only through humour, in *Ubat-hote* grotesque, in *Khaemkham* whimsical.

Four of the stories, *The Golden-Legged Frog*, *The Breeder*, *The Politician* and *The Farmer and the Foreigner* have already been translated into English and published in other countries. Very short stories of this kind do not translate well; so much of the effect is contained in the density and charm of the language. Nevertheless were the volume translated, it would make a good critical appendix to Phillip's *Thai Peasant Personality*, whose researches the author in fact assisted. The former describes Another World; Lao Khamhawm's book begins to make it part of this one.

Domnern Garden

Sherman E. Lee: *Ancient Cambodian Sculpture* (The Asia Society Inc., New York), 1969, pp. 115, 20 figs., 61 pls. Hardback \$12.00 (\$8.00 to members), paperback \$4.50 (\$3.95 to members).

Ancient Cambodian Sculpture is the catalogue of the exhibition of Khmer sculpture held at the Asia Society in the fall of 1969, an exhibition which was remarkable not only for its high quality but for the mere fact of its having been assembled almost entirely from American collections, both public and private. Sixty-one works in stone and bronze were in the exhibition, and each is illustrated in the handsome catalogue.

In some ways the very possibility of such an exhibition is more noteworthy than the catalogue's contribution to scholarship. It is presumably somewhat gratifying from the Southeast Asian point of view to see collectors, curators, and scholars in the United States esteeming the products of an alien culture and making attempts to understand a society remote in time and place. Yet the spirit of sheer acquisitiveness the exhibition reveals can hardly be ignored, and there are even comments on it in the catalogue. The director of the Asia House Gallery writes that "the decade that has passed has has been a remarkable one for discovery and acquisition, as the exhibition so clearly testifies," and Sherman E. Lee, who selected the objects and is responsible for the catalogue refers to the "galloping collectivitis" that has accompanied the increase in American familiarity with Southeast Asia. If there are any losers in this game of trafficking in art, they are neither the proud owners nor the satisfied sellers, nor indeed the international scholarly community, which by the publication of such catalogue is given the opportunity to study comfortably the objects in question. The compiler of a new picture book of images in Bangkok private collections does complain, however, that he feels "sad and resentful ... as a result of the news of the smuggling of the nation's priceless sculptures out of the country."¹ Now that the manufacture of reproductions and fakes is at a sufficiently high level to satisfy the needs of ordinary tourists, it is indeed these

1) K. Prachoom, *Buddha Images* (ประชุม กาญจนวัฒน์ หนังสือภาพพระพุทธรูป), Bangkok, 1969, 9.

real masterpieces which ought to claim our attention. Concerned people of all nations might hope for the equitable disposal of such treasures, even ones in the perhaps ambiguous position of being of Khmer workmanship and found in Thailand.

One such masterpiece figures both in the Asia Society catalogue and in the picture book just referred to, which is the work of Mr. K. Prachoom. It is a bronze image of the crowned Buddha in a Dwelling of Gems (เรือนแก้ว), the whole 68½ inches high, found, according to Mr. Prachoom, in Chaiyap'um province. Its impressiveness is little disturbed by the absence of the lotus pedestal which would raise the head of the Buddha to its proper relationship with the frame. In Mr. Prachoom's book (pp. 102-103), the image is the property of an anonymous Bangkok collector, while in Dr. Lee's catalogue the owner is the Kimbell Art Foundation of Fort Worth, Texas. Dr. Lee calls this image an "isolated and remarkable example" of the post-Bayon style ("thirteenth-early fourteenth century"), but it is more probably a work of the 1180s or early 1190s, possessing as it does the peely plasticity of the Bayon bronze style. (Aside from comparisons involving the ornament, the rigid stylized Bo tree is to be compared with the tree in relief at Ta Prohm of the first Bayon period,² and contrasted with the more flaccid rendering of later bronzes; as in the Arakan Pagoda bronze *dvārapāla* of about 1191, moreover, tenseness is still conceived volumetrically.³ The *makaras* in which the frame terminated are probably a product of the same current, perhaps Pāla in inspiration, as the *haṃsas* that serve a similar function in the first Bayon period.⁴ Facially there is some resemblance to stone Buddhas of the late twelfth century from Lopburi. This image is one which is sure to be discussed at great length in the years to come. It shows

2) Ph. Stern, *Les monuments khmers du style du Bayon et Jayavarman VII*, Paris, 1965, fig. 101.

3) J. Boisselier, "Notes sur l'art du bronze dans l'ancien Cambodge," *Artibus Asiae* XXIX (1968), fig. 34.

4) Stern, op. cit., fig. 37. I wish to thank Mr. Saner Niladech for his confirmation of the identification of the terminal animals as *makaras*. For the Pāla termination in *kinnaras* or *kinnarīs*, see *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, Patna, 1965, Pl. XXIX.

that at the end of the twelfth century it was already the practice to cast large Buddhas in bronze; Sukhodaya inherited this tradition, though the links, on a large scale at least, between the Kimbell image and the earliest bronzes of the Sukhodaya and U T'ong schools are now lost.

The Kimbell Foundation Buddha, as well as being a masterpiece of Khmer art, is therefore of some importance for the reconstruction of the prehistory of Siamese art. Other objects in the exhibition have also left Thailand in recent years, but none is perhaps of such national interest. The most outstanding of these other works is the very great pre-Angkorean bronze Maitreya, already published by Boisselier⁵ and now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd. The group of bronzes to which this Maitreya belongs has become internationally known as the P'rak'onchai bronzes after the district in Buriram province where the bronzes are purported to have been discovered. Brief inquiries made of a district official during a recent trip to P'rak'onchai brought the information that large bronzes had been found on Phnom Rung hill; as there is no known material evidence of an eighth-century city in the area, and because the bronzes form too homologous a group to have remained above ground for many centuries, perhaps some people in flight hid them on this landmark of a hill not too long after their manufacture. A third masterpiece in the exhibition is a bust of Sūrya from Sī T'ep; there are, however, two similar statues in the Bangkok National Museum.

The present catch-all regulations cannot prevent these important works from leaving Thailand, especially when such huge sums of money are involved. Perhaps what is needed is some system of National Treasures, a ferreting-out of objects of inestimable importance in private hands, followed by full publication at internationally accepted standards. National Treasures like any other other objects could be smuggled abroad, but once they turned up in London or New York, both their purchasers and their previous owners would be subject (one hopes) to acute embarrassment. Such a system would

5) Boisselier, *loc. cit.*, fig. 23.

not be foolproof, but it would be a respectable way to improve the situation.

Faced with such riches on one hand, but with a lack of an American tradition of scholarship in Southeast Asian art history on the other, the Asia House Gallery asked Dr. Sherman E. Lee, director of the Cleveland Museum of Art, to select the objects and to write the catalogue for the exhibition. The learned Dr. Lee's discernment and taste are so remarkable that his opinion in matters of style, even in areas which he has not studied in depth, should always be listened to. Dr. Lee calls his introductory essay "a kind of personal memoir". In the historical realm the conjectures of others are passed off as fact (that the concept of the *devarāja*, for instance, came from Śrīvijaya), but Dr. Lee looks at the art with a fresh eye, and his periodization is worth summarizing :

1. The pre-Angkorean period. (Dr. Lee uses both the infelicitous "pre-Angkor" and the old-fashioned "pre-Khmer", the latter because the sculptures "antedate the formation of a true Cambodian style, and even the existence of a Cambodian cultural hegemony". This is impermissible, for the culture of a people is its culture at any one period of time, and this culture cannot be "true Cambodian" at one time and false at another, only equally "true" at all times) Pre-Angkorean sculpture is in-the-round, unlike Indian sculpture, which flows from a solid background. Anatomic detail is carefully and sensitively observed, and the polished surface creates a taut effect; it is a skin that holds the stone within, and the drapery is incised or carved in very low relief so as to least disturb the surface-tension. "The general effect ... is that of a strongly architectonic, intellectual framework within which there exists a marvelously refined sensuality ..."

2. After a period of transition comes the "first Angkor style", which lasts from about the mid-ninth century to the mid-tenth. (By eighth and ninth on pp. 25-26 is meant ninth and tenth) Sculpture

of this period has an "imposing and awesome inhumanity"; the parts are separated, modified, and the result possesses an architectonic rigidity.

3. The "second Angkor phase" (latter 10th-11th century, more or less equivalent to the Baphuon style), on the other hand, is characterized by sensuous grace and suppleness. Relief is de-emphasized, and comparison with pre-Angkorean sculpture reveals a conscious archaizing tendency that results, however, in a "morbidezza" very different from the "extroverted virility" of the true pre-Angkorean. (Dr. Lee does not mention the possible influence of Indonesian art-apparent in the narrative scenes at Banteay Srei, 967 A.D.—in the development of this more supple and languid modeling.)

4. The typifying art of the Angkor Vat style is for Dr. Lee bas-relief, where the penchant for linearity and precision can be given full rein. Similar ends are sought in bronzes.

5. The last major style, that of the Bayon, is characterized by a concentration on the face, with the "psychologic tone of the Bayon masks" permeating nearly all Buddhist images. Bayon bronzes, in this system, are with their *horror vacui* more closely dependent on the tendencies of the Angkor Vat style.

The fact that Dr. Lee's characterizations of twelfth century art do not have the weight of his analyses of earlier periods is in large part the result of the limits set by the objects in the exhibition. But anyone who finds the traditional French periodization more valuable as an analytic tool than as historical generalization will be grateful to Dr. Lee for his willingness to re-organize the material into fewer, more readily comprehensible units of style.

Dr. Lee's essay is full, in fact, of many little insights, which may concern, for example, the relationship of pre-Angkorean to Chinese sculpture or the possible influence of Indian bronzes, as opposed to Indian stonecarving, on the formation of the pre-Angkorean style. One casual reflection worth commenting on is Dr. Lee's suggestion that it was the influence of the god-king doctrine that "was responsible for the peculiarly Cambodian emphasis on figures

in the round, emanating their magic power to the four directions". This may be putting the matter somewhat backward. The notion of a sacred center uniting heaven and earth, surrounded by four directions of equal importance, spread throughout most of the world in the latter part of the first millennium B. C. In China, the concept was embodied in Han mirrors, in Southeast Asia, in Dongson drums. Perhaps this idea—still present in diverse forms, such as the sacred plot at the center of terraced rice fields in the Philippines—took sufficient hold in Southeast Asia to color subsequent Indian influences. The Khmer centrally-planned temple-mountain, sculpture-in-the-round, and the *devarāja* concept would all then have been outgrowths of an indigenous world-view, and the new Sanskrit terms would have reinforced the notion of a sacred center than have created it.

Those recreators of Khmer civilization, the scholars of the École française d'Extrême-Orient, do not come in for much gratitude at the hands of Dr. Lee. "One detail," he writes, "the 'fish-tail' or 'anchor' drapery started by accident in India, and more intentionally in the pre-Angkor figures, becomes a 'leit-motif' of later sculpture, so omnipresent that its variations and ramifications, along with others beloved of the École archaeologists, become almost calendrical devices for a presumed minutely accurate chronology." Boisselier is the target. Prof. Boisselier and his predecessors belong to a highly specialized school, one that was separated from the mainstream of European art history in the late 19th century and which writes as if Wolfflin had never lived; it is not surprising, therefore, that Dr. Lee should be less than adulatory. The Cleveland director's insinuation, however, that Boisselier's chronology is erroneous is uncalled-for, especially when no effort is apparently made to prove such a case in regard to any single work. There may be an exception, namely the head of Śiva in the Cleveland Museum, which was the subject of comments by Boisselier in *Artibus Asiae* after it was exhibited at the Asia Society in 1961.⁶ Boisselier's review goes curiously unmentioned in Dr. Lee's catalogue. "Despite certain archaizing features, such as the treatment of the mustache," wrote Boisselier

6) *Artibus Asiae* XXV (1962), 86,

about the head, "it belongs incontestably to the Angkor Vat style (first half of the 12th century) because of the appearance of the crown and the composition of the *jaṭāmukuta*." Dr. Lee, however, insists on ascribing the head to the style of Koh Ker, second quarter of the 10th century, when clearly the shallow incision and the soft playfulness of the linear interrelationships of the parts of the face (as opposed to determined, hard-edged juxtaposition) violate even Dr. Lee's own criteria for the early tenth-century style. Indeed, if he has intended to rearrange the chronology of Khmer sculpture, Dr. Lee will have to do better than this.⁷

Dr. Lee's identifications and dates are not generally so far off, however, and many disagreements could be classified as quibbles. Let us be grateful for such a splendidly produced book. One last piece is worth remarking on, however, as it is relevant to Thailand. This is the standing bronze Buddha in the Philadelphia Museum, which Dr. Lee mistakenly identified some years ago as Jambhala.⁸ This bronze shows a robe adjustment like that of some Buddhas on P'imai lintels (c. 1100); the monastic garb has been contaminated by the female skirt of the Baphuon style. It is a difficult image to date, for the rotund belly and heavy features, though connected with the Dvāravātī tradition, are more characteristic of the early thirteenth century than of the twelfth. The tripartite base, however, is different from the tripartite bases found in thirteenth-century Lopburi bronzes; indeed it is very similar in shape to the base of some headgear on an unusual Angkor Vat period bronze in this very exhibition (number 32). The Philadelphia bronze (the eyes of which also relate to the Angkor Vat style) therefore probably belongs to the first half of the 12th century, and it must have been made either in P'imai or at a site in contact with the Buddhist shrine there.

Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.

7) The comments in Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, London, 1964, 234, are especially unfortunate.

8) In an article referred to in the catalogue. S. Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, Philadelphia, 1960, 110, should be added to the references. An old photo in the Musée Guimet (317211/4, taken when the bronze was in the Paul Mallon collection, has the correct identification as a Buddha. The broken right hand would originally have been in *vitarka mudrā*; the left performs the same gesture (not *abhaya*, as the catalogue states).

จิตรกรรมไทยเดิม เขียนจากเอกสารในแผนกศิลปอินเดีย พิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ นครเบอร์ลิน โดย Klaus Wenk (นาย เจดนา นาควัชร ผู้อำนวยการแปล) สถานเอกอัครราชทูตเยอรมันจัดพิมพ์ลงฉบับภาษาไทย Bangkok, B.E. 2511 (1968) pp. 44, 6 ill.

The Thai version of *An Old Thai Illustrated Manuscript*, is an abridgement of the complete volume in German, *Thailandische Miniaturmalereien*, written by Professor Klaus Wenk. Both reproduce parts of a Thai manuscript of 1776, written and painted on paper by the King's command at the office of the Supreme Patriarch. The story is divided into four parts—The Life of the Buddha, The Chadok (the previous incarnations of the Buddha), The Traiphoom (Paradise, Earth and Hell), and maps (of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean). The hard-bound German version with 24 colour reproductions gives with each reproduction an explanation. The Thai version has only 6 reproductions, all in colour, but with the full text, and is a paper-back.

This is not the first book of its kind, since *The Life of the Buddha* and *Teaching Dhamma by Pictures* have been published previously and met with much success. The first book appeared with the assistance of USIS during the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's death, and in the second Buddhadasa Bhikkhu gave explanations to illustrations taken from an old manuscript which though simple-looking had complicated philosophical ideas tied up with their visual symbolism.

The *Thailandische Miniaturmalereien* in both German and Thai versions are attractive volumes. The reproductions in the German version are rather more handsome than those in Thai version, since those parts of the illustrations in gold are reproduced with real gold leaf rather than ordinary paint.

Professor Wenk explains the meaning of each illustration, the ability, the talent, and sometimes the wishes of the artists and points out the more interesting parts of each picture. All this is well done and shows a familiarity with the subject not daunted by the complexity of as many as four different stories in one scene.

The author in his explanation to the picture No. 8, the scene of the Buddha's birth, gives his opinion that "even in the story of the birth of the Buddha the birth is normally considered to be holy" but the artist who executed this painting includes such naturalistic and ordinary details as water being boiled, servants blowing the flames of the fire beneath the water-pot, and excitement among the attendants. Wenk considers that the artist is brave to have done this. In this same picture the artist has painted the *tevada*, who are found at the heavenly level, and beneath them are the representatives of the nobility, including the Buddha's royal mother; these are surrounded by a curtain. And outside the curtain are the lower orders. The nobles are shown as respectful and attentive and the servants are shown only in the actions of daily life. This of course can be found in most Thai paintings. The upper-class figures are always more dignified and the lower classes are always having more fun, with more freedom of action when the representatives of the upper-class or the monarchy are not present. The monarch is required to follow norms of behaviour which differentiate him from his subjects and the nobility has its own proprieties to conform to. The ordinary people in this picture can act as they like because they cannot be seen by the queen. In this way the scene does not disturb the holiness of the birth because it is outside the royal precinct delimited by the curtain. Also artists are like many others who see the Buddha as two persons: one is as an ordinary man who once knew what greed, anger and infatuation were before his Enlightenment. We know he must have been born like others, had to study at school, had to take part in archery contests

and had to follow prevalent marriage customs; at the same time all artists know the Buddha is The Enlightened One, as can be seen in numerous paintings in books, murals, and cloth hangings, where the Buddha Returning from Heaven, The Miracle of the Double Appearance, or the Buddha Opening up the Bowels of the Earth are shown. This double standard is common with artists, for they do not worry about mixing the mundane with the spiritual, the divine with the vulgar. It is not therefore really true to maintain, as does Wenk, that the artist in this particular painting is brave.

The original manuscript from which these illustrations come is in the Berlin National Museum. It is very rare to find artists' names appearing in manuscripts (or any other visual art form in Siam) but in a kind of preamble to this manuscript appear the names of the four painters responsible for the illustrations, and the names of the scribes also appear. Apart from having the artists' names, it is also unusual to find the artists not painting the Buddha after the Enlightenment. The Buddha is shown as a prince, but, as in the manner of early Indian art of Bhārhut and Sānchi, here the artists leave the space normally reserved for the Buddha blank, or use a symbol instead; in this case, the lotus is shown. At the time of this manuscript (the Thonburi period) most paintings contained pictures of the Buddha after the Enlightenment and empty space was rare. In this manuscript, the artists all seem to know who should paint which part, and as with Rubens and his assistants, the more important parts are better done, presumably by a more experienced artist. Some paintings are not so well done as others and are even careless in details, as in picture No. 15 where one of the angel's hands is in a totally wrong position anatomically (surprisingly, Wenk considers this particular painting good, because it shows informality and liveliness in depicting the angels). But this does not happen in the more important parts of the story of the Buddha's life.

Professor Wenk gives a good explanation to the visual part of the first picture, of Nirvana, but he does not explain the written text

above the picture which is important here, since it explains how difficult it is to approach 'the city of Nirvana'. In the original manuscript, the Thai text reads something like this: "This city of Nirvana is not near, not far, not low but it is difficult to reach. There are 5 outer walls, 8 middle walls, 10 inner walls, there are gates and city towers; there are 4 city moats to be crossed then there are 22 oceans. There are 37 markets, many camps there are peacocks, bees, lotuses which are always blooming, flocks of birds and red and white swans singing all the time."

This text in the illustration itself gives the idea of the concept of 'the city of Nirvana' perhaps better than any explanation we might give today to show the concept of Nirvana in people's minds two centuries ago.

Some explanations of the pictures by Wenk may be different from those to be found elsewhere; for example, when the Prince is leaving the palace on horseback, accompanied by a servant, the person leading the horse, Wenk says, is Pra In (Indra), but other explanations, including that in *The Life of the Buddha*, say that it is the angel, Sakka, who is leading the horse. This difference is really minor and of no vital artistic or religious importance.

The Thai version is not for sale but copies are distributed through the German Embassy. The original German version published by Steiner (Wiesbaden) in 1965 is now out of print, but a few copies are still available at some local bookshops, though the cost is very high. However either version is well worth having since both are well produced, informative, and visually very appealing.

Euayporn Kerdchouay

Some Aspects of Rice Farming in Siam by H.S.H. Prince Sithiporn Kridakorn (Suksit Siam, Bangkok) 1970 187 pp. 45 baht.

Although the growing and trading of rice continue to be Siam's most significant economic activities, the rice farmers, employing century-old techniques, have not shared in the nation's past decade of economic modernization and diversification. Mom Chao Sithiporn Kridikara brings his experience, wisdom and common sense to the problem of the relative decline in the status of the rice farmer and, in this volume, dispels much of the nonsense which has obscured its solution.

The study warrants careful consideration because H.S.H. Prince Sithiporn is, indeed, "one of the most remarkable men living in Siam today." The preface presents a sketch of his long and fascinating career, starting from his entry into the civil service in 1906, his pioneering introduction of scientific agriculture into Siam, his decision to take up farming and then to return to the government to modernize its agricultural programs. In 1967 Prince Sithiporn received international recognition with the presentation of the Magsaysay Award. This volume is evidence that, at the age of 87, he is still vigorously and eloquently pleading the case of the common farmer.

Part I presents the text of a talk entitled, "The Past and Present Status of Siamese Rice Farmers", delivered by Prince Sithiporn in April, 1969, at the Siam Society, where he is an Honorary Member. Prince Sithiporn's basic argument is that the present system of taxing the export of rice, in the form of the rice premium, depresses the farmers' return far below the world market price. His calculations indicate that the implicit tax burden on the rice farmers is 44 times higher than on farmers growing other crops. While the rice premium has not achieved the stated objective of domestic stability, it has depressed paddy prices so low that investment in improved techniques,

especially the use of fertilizer, has been uneconomical. Rice production has risen primarily because of the expansion of area under traditional methods of cultivation rather than from the increasing productivity which the research of the agricultural scientists has demonstrated to be feasible. These conclusions are supported statistically in a series of technical papers in Part II.

The longest section, Part III, an annotated collection of relevant quotations from papers and speeches over the last five years, reveals the intensity and the importance of the debate over the rice premium. Prince Sithiporn selected materials to strengthen his argument, and some of the writers quoted may feel that the short excerpts fail properly to express their positions or the complexity of the question. The use of the rice premium as part of a strategy of agricultural diversification, for example, might reasonably be argued in its defense. Nevertheless the principal issues are highlighted in this section and the author's comments are practical and persuasive. The final section, *The Future of Siam's Export of Rice*, warns of the economic crisis which will occur if the rice farmers are not given proper incentives to increase their productivity and maintain the rice surplus which is an essential earner of foreign exchange.

The spread of the new rice technology developed at the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines has been called the green revolution and it lends urgency to measures to raise the productivity of the Siamese rice farmer. Thailand's rice market is weakening at a time when other factors are adversely affecting the balance of payments. Both the dictates of social justice and the new competitive pressures in the rice market require reexamination of the effects of the rice premium. This book is a valuable account of the debate and a plea for immediate action.

Lawrence Stifel

The Asian Development Bank's Economic Report on Thailand, November 1969.

Foreign economists have long been a familiar sight in Thailand, prowling around Government departments, seeking facts and figures from elusive civil servants. These economists can be roughly divided into two types; first there are those who come here in connection with a loan project and spend most of their time with the Government department or organisation concerned. A detailed report has to be presented justifying the loan, a Government guarantee and a legal opinion provided, followed by negotiations over conditions during which a careful line has to be drawn between interference in internal affairs and real concern about the viability of the project.

From the Thai officials' point of view this type of economist is infinitely preferable to the second type whose duty is to write an economic report; the former represents the likelihood of some hard cash to finance a long cherished project; the latter asks a whole lot of difficult questions about economic policy, past trends and future prospects, and requires statistics over the past fifteen years subdivided into awkward categories. However from the point of view of the lending institution the latter are by far the most important. The main purpose of these reports is to assess the overall economic position and prospects of the borrowing country in order to ascertain its ability to repay its debts. Many factors bear on this; the country's prospective export earnings over the next decade, its foreign exchange reserves, its monetary and fiscal policies, the organisation and administration of its economic resources, and its capacity to absorb foreign capital being the most important aspects. What is depressing is that some of the related factors, such as the price of primary commodities in the world market and the flow of private investment, are neither stable nor within the control of the borrowing country. It is precisely this kind of extraneous factor which has caused Thailand's balance of

payments to go into deficit in 1969 for the first time in over ten years. Only part of the blame can be attributed to the burgeoning import bill since a large percentage of imports consists of investment goods, apart from some speculative import of consumer goods at the end of 1969.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund have acquired considerable experience of the Thai economy over many years and a very close relationship has been formed both at the official and personal levels. The Asian Development Bank, which was founded in 1967 and started operations in 1968, is very much a newcomer. Quite rightly it borrowed many of its rules and procedures from the IBRD and from its well-established sister regional development bank, the Inter-American Development Bank. In 1969 the ADB managed to loan out US\$ 139.7 million from its ordinary capital resources of US\$ 401 million. More significantly the ADB approved loans on concessionary terms for the first time to countries with subsistence economies such as Nepal and Laos. Although the quantities are still small, the direction in which the Bank is headed is certainly the right one.

Sadly the ADB missed one opportunity to set an example for the IBRD; in 1968 a proposal was made to change the commitment charge policy of the ADB whereby the commitment charge would only be paid if the borrower diverged from a predetermined disbursement schedule, which would have been a more logical procedure and cheaper for the borrower. However the ADB still lacked confidence in its early days and the proposal was rejected.

Ironically Thailand was the first country to receive an ADB loan, US\$5 million to the Industrial Finance Corporation of Thailand. The only other loan received since then was another US\$10 million to the IFCT; in addition two technical assistance projects worth

US\$300,000 were approved. This rather small amount is mainly the result of the unfortunate fact that the ADB started its operations after the Second Economic and Social Development Plan had been implemented, so that the Bank was not included among the sources of finance for projects under this Plan. Hopefully the ADB will be included in the Third Plan which is presently under preparation and will start in 1972.

The ADB's small loan commitment in Thailand is reflected in its economic report which gives only a shallow consideration of the Thai economy; perhaps it is intended to be only that. In comparison the IBRD, whose loans, totalling several hundred million US dollars, have affected virtually every sector of the Thai economy, produces a highly detailed document which covers institutional as well as economic problems and makes specific recommendations for improvements. Whether the Thai Government takes any notice of these recommendations is a moot point; it has been suggested that senior Thai officials do not make much use of objective reports, preferring to gather information at the personal level. Certainly in this reviewer's experience this has been the case. IBRD reports have over many years urged the adoption of some form of population control policy and the improvement of civil servants' salaries, but nothing has been done. On the other hand the IBRD was partly responsible for the setting up of the National Economic Development Board in 1959. The IBRD probably exercises more direct influence on the Thai economy by attaching conditions to its loans.

Of course comparison of the two institutions is unfair; however it does indicate what the ADB should be able to achieve in the future, when its resources have increased to a satisfactory degree and when it becomes more familiar with its developing members. The management of the ADB has shown that its intention is to complement the large-scale infrastructural projects of such institutions as the IBRD

by assisting development at the village level. For instance in the proposed Pranburi Dam project the ADB is not only interested in building the dam, but also wants to make sure that the farmers living below the dam know how to use the water so expensively stored. The human element has sadly been neglected in Thailand's development efforts of the past decade, and the ADB should be commended for realising that it has an important role to play in this respect.

For those who wish to discover the current problems and future prospects of the Thai economy, the reports of the IBRD and IMF would provide a much more thorough analysis than the ADB report; in the case of the IBRD many ideas and views have been obtained from prominent Thai economists both in and out of the Government, as well as from official sources. The ADB has only produced one other economic report on Thailand and has not yet had time to acquire these valuable informal contacts. It has relied on too few sources and the result is a rather pedestrian description of the Thai economic situation. The list of problems in the last section is at best vague and no attempt is made to suggest any specific solutions.

The ADB has achieved much in its short lifetime. Thai officials should not be blinded by the brilliant performance of the IBRD into underestimating the ADB; lack of experience is only a temporary handicap and no doubt the quality of its economic reports will improve as the Bank increases its loan commitments to this country. The Third Plan will be an excellent opportunity for the ADB to realise its full potential, as well as to fill in the gaps left by the more ambitious projects of the past.

Aswin Kongsiri

Dhaninivat, H.H. Prince : *Seven Cycles of Life* (เจ็ดรอบอายุ) Phra Chandra Press B.E. 2512, 151 pp., not available commercially.

Thirty-two years ago Prince Dhani wrote his Memoirs in English entitled *Kings I Have Served*. He showed his manuscript to a friend, who remarked that the book seemed to have been planned along the lines of an autobiography, but the author became almost obliterated as the narrative proceeded and eventually disappeared altogether. Had the book been published, we of the younger generation would still have learned a great deal about His Highness. It is disappointing to learn that the manuscript has been lost. Quite a few of us had since begged the learned author to write his Memoirs again in whatever form or language. We were gratified, therefore, when we received a present from him on his last birthday anniversary in the form of the very book we wanted. He had just completed the seventh cycle of his birth; hence the title of his memoirs.

I believe the lost manuscript in English dealt only with Kings Vajiravudh and Prajadhipok, whereas the present volume in Thai covers the whole period of his life, starting from the reign of King Chulalongkorn, whom he knew as a child, living in the Grand Palace with his grandmother, and who sent him to Europe on a grant from the privy purse. Prince Dhani was fortunate enough to meet King Chulalongkorn when he visited England in 1901, and he started his long and distinguished career during the last years of Rama V's reign.

During the first part of the author's life, we have several glimpses of the good old days. He was very much attached to his grandmother who was Mistress of the Robes in the Royal Household, and so we learn a lot about life in the grand palace. Those who wish to study this side of the story more seriously should read the biography of his grandmother (ประวัติท้าววรจันทร์) which has now been reprinted in His Highness's *Collected Works* in Thai (ชุมนุมกนิพนธ์ของกรมหมื่นพิทยลาภพฤฒิยากร).

The author's attachment to his grandmother almost made him decide to remain in the Buddhist noviciate permanently instead of disrobing to go abroad. After his Rugby and Oxford days, it was because of this yearning to be in the company of the old lady again that he refused the offer to join the Foreign Office, and thus missed the opportunity of further study in France. He really wanted to study archaeology, but Siam then, as now, needed civil servants more than scholars. This being so, Prince Dhani decided to work as a provincial administrator, starting from a low level, rather than to be a diplomat or a courtier, moving in high society. His reason was that to know one's country well, one ought to be in the provinces. His first assignment was at Ayuthia, where he not only had a chance to meet provincial people, but also had the opportunity to be involved in the archaeological excavations under the Governor-General, Phya Boran, who was also an able scholar in matters concerning the old capital.

By this time, Prince Dhani had lost both his parents, and when King Chulalongkorn passed away, Queen Saowapha, who now became the Queen Mother, made him her private secretary. Whether the author liked it or not, this post paved the way for him to serve closely under King Vajiravudh, who regarded Prince Dhani as a friend and a fellow scholar. Everyone knows that the King was very generous with his courtiers, many of whom asked for special favours, in cash as well as in kind. Prince Dhani managed to remain poor all through this reign, despite the fact that he held no less a position than the King's foreign secretary and assistant secretary-general to His Majesty, equivalent to a present-day Minister of the Prime Minister's Office.

Soon after King Prajadhipok's coronation, Prince Dhani became Minister of Public Instruction. It is a pity that he was not in this office long enough to put his ideals and ideas into the educational system, for after the 1932 *coup d'etat* everything in this country seemed

to go wrong, especially in education. The author rightly refers to the promoters of the *coup* as *Hiranyakasipu*: those of us who read the *Maha-bharata* and the *Puranas* know such a character well and it need not be elaborated on here.

Luckily, however, Prince Dhani was not detained or put in prison, a fate that befell quite a number of his cousins. His release from the cabinet gave him ample time to do his gardening which he loved, and to do research work in Siamese literature, history and and archaeology. His writing both in Thai and English began seriously after this retirement. He also devoted more time to the Siam Society, of which he was the first Siamese President. His contributions to the *JSS* and his activity in the Society need not be mentioned here, and he carried on with the Society even after his return to high office in the present reign.

Although a lot of information is given regarding the work he has done as Regent, Grand Counsellor of State and President of the Privy Council, the full implications of the work will have to wait for the future historian or biographer to evaluate.

In these Memoirs the author's own self is not quite obliterated, but he writes in a very modest way. The whole story is told concisely and clearly, the only criticism is that it is too short. Any topic in the book could very well be expanded into a chapter by itself; especially that concerning his family which is rather thin. But we know that Prince Dhani has many official duties and social functions to attend and the mere fact that he could spare the time to write these *Seven Cycles of Life* in the midst of a very active life should leave us grateful. Despite the fact that the book was written in a short period of time by a man in his eighties, it is accurate and written in beautiful Siamese prose. If His Highness will not write his Memoirs in English, this book ought to be translated into English.

S. Sivaraksa

William Warren: *The Legendary American—the remarkable career and strange disappearance of Jim Thompson* (Houghton Mifflin, Boston) 1970 275 pp. \$5.95

William Warren (text) and Brian Blake (photographs): *The House on the Klong—the Bangkok house and Asian art collection of James Thompson* (printed privately, Tokyo) 1968 87 pp. (pp. 18-80 plates) Silk cover 100 baht, paper 80 baht (Proceeds from sale to the School of the Blind).

Mr. Warren has skilfully penned a tributary volume to the former Siam Society Council member, James W. Thompson, better known for his Thai silk, his house, and his disappearance without trace in 1967. Not only does the narrative flow easily and elegantly, it does so with the maximum of tact and the minimum of personal intrusion, considering author and subject were very well-known to each other.

In writing the biography of a locally well-known figure still very much alive three years ago, one is dealing with recent history and people are likely to take sides too readily. The whole success story of the dying cottage craft turned into an important export is too well-known to bear repeating here. But if Thompson had not disappeared so abruptly and mysteriously in the Cameron Highlands, one is forced to wonder if "the legendary American" could in fact be classed as legendary at all. The story until then was that of a successful businessman with a passion for collecting regional works of art. There was no legend in Thompson's office of Strategic Services connections as far as Thailand is concerned—Japan had surrendered before he ever set foot on Thai soil. One wonders how useful he or any of his colleagues might have been in their planned roles as infiltrators; a *farang* in the north-east in 1945 would, one would have thought, have been a fairly discoverable member of the human species, and even after twenty years in the country Thompson could not manage more than a few conventional phrases in Thai.

The non-legendary nature of the subject is borne out by the fact that more than half the book is taken up with Thompson's disappearance and the various attempts, scientific and superstitious, that were made to locate him. Mr. Warren carefully records all the

bomohs, mediums, and tricksters who entered the story, and the gruesome murder of Thompson's sister. Wisely, he comes to no firm conclusions, but implies that the simplest explanation is the most likely—that Thompson got lost or had an accident when on a short solitary walk in the wild jungle of the Cameron Highlands.

The volume, then, is a curious combination of hagiography and thriller. In his (or his publisher's) desire to make his subject as 'legendary' as possible, Mr. Warren errs on the side of adulation. Was St. Jim really "Bangkok's leading *farang* host"? One impartial person who knew him well has remarked that few *farang* residents and fewer Thais were guests at his house on the klong; he entertained, but the wrong people—globe trotters with letters of introduction from Western friends. Is it really accurate to claim

"the fairly steep present-day prices [of Siamese antiques] are due in large part to the numerous visitors who have seen or heard about the Thompson collection"

(What about the increase in tourism and in wealthy foreign residents, the growth in appreciation of all works of arts by all peoples, the declining purchasing power of money, the smaller reserve of available works of art? Thompson was by no means the first foreigner to build up an impressive collection of Thai antiquities; this reviewer can recall one, belonging to a European doctor and now dispersed, started thirteen years before Thompson ever came to Thailand) Is it entirely justifiable to state "he added yet another chapter to his growing legend" by building in Bangkok an attractive but not altogether fantastic house?

Then there are lacunae which arouse one's curiosity. The reader is given no explanation as to why Thompson's wife asked for a divorce on his return to the United States in 1946 and therefore why the blow was a harsh one. The conflict with the Fine Arts Department over the five Buddha heads is a strange episode and one wonders what lay behind the intransigence on both sides. Might his have been caused by his collector's mania overriding other considerations? We are told of all the boring tourists he willingly entertained

at home, where there was no comfortable place to read in the entire house, and the only mention music gets is to provide a deafening background to a dance by one of his birds. Clearly Thompson was no intellectual; he was a social animal who liked any kind of company that would prevent him from being alone. Perhaps unintentionally, Mr. Warren, by stressing this dislike of dining alone in his gracious house, gives rise to a possibly unreal portrait of a lonely old man, materially successful, with a passion for things. More likely, being a good businessman, he was taking the opportunity of selling his visitors some silk—this, along with collecting, was his passion.

If this sounds deflationary, it is deliberate. This reviewer cannot claim to more than a nodding acquaintance with the once-living legend and must judge on the substance of the book. The merits of this, though, are considerable; Mr. Warren writes clearly and well, the volume is attractive and contains only two proofing errors (considerably fewer than careful readers of JSS could find). Its value might have been enhanced by clearer documentation—one would like to know the exact reference of Thompson's U.S. Department of Agriculture pamphlet on chickens and the precise date of his passionate letter to the then director-general of the Fine Arts Department over the five Buddha heads.¹ But perhaps this is unnecessary; by virtue of this book alone, the "legend" is immutable.

Mr. Warren's brief introductory material to the excellent photographs in *The House on the Klong* is to be found with greater amplification in *The Legendary American*, though the latter does not repeat the error of maintaining Dr. Chandler "published the first English-language newspaper (for which he introduced the first printing press) in Bangkok"—a curious lapse on the part of one so polarised on the Bangkok/New York axis as Mr. Warren's second volume shows. *The House on the Klong* is stylishly produced and the notes to the plates more than adequate.

Michael Smithies

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- 1) Thompson in fact wrote to Dhanit Yupho on October 8, 1962: he wrote to Prince Ajavadi Diskul, then Honorary Secretary of the Siam Society, on March 25, 1964 announcing he had revoked his will leaving the house to the Society because although he had registered the house as a museum more than a year before, the heads which had been removed had not been returned to him as promised; that he had sold the Thai Buddhist sculptures fearing more would be taken away, and the house was therefore no longer a museum.

The Patimokkha, a translation of the Pali by Phra Sasana Sobhana (Mahamakutarakajavidyalaya, Bangkok) 1969, second edition, pp. 167 38 baht.

With the interest in Buddhism increasing markedly and a great number of westerners coming to the Buddhist Order, the printing of the *Patimokkha* in a Romanized form with a parallel English translation has proved necessary.

The *Patimokkha* contains 227 (Theravadin) monastic rules, the recitation of which is held fortnightly by the *bhikkhu sangha*. In fact the *Patimokkha* in its early stage is not the rules as such but rather a congregational chanting by assembled *bhikkhus* as a confession of faith—a rite held only once in six years. The confession of faith itself is summing-up of the fundamental *sasana* (injunction) of the religion. The new *Patimokkha* (*Bhikkhu Patimokkha*) code formulates and defines offences against the regiment of monastic life beginning with the most serious of them, *Parajika* or defeat. Next come offences of varying degrees of gravity until we come to those which are no more serious than a mere breaking of politeness or etiquette.

It is noteworthy that the form in which the *Patimokkha* has come down to us entails different stages in the monastic development: an elastic code liable to alterations and additions. The function which the *sangha* undertakes in cases of serious offences, not atoneable by mere confession, could not, for example, have been taken before the *sangha* had sufficiently advanced in corporate organization with the *sanghakamma* as its functioning organ.

There are in this edition collections of various short *sutras* to be chanted after recitation of the *Patimokkha* as well as an appendix showing how the *Upasatha* service can be performed by less than four *bhikkhus*. Besides, it gives additional notes abstracted from *The Entrance to the Vinaya* (*Vinayamukha*) by the Ven. Prince Vajirañānavarasa. Some useful suggestions including a translation of *Pacittiya* 63 by Dr. I.B. Horner when reviewing the first edition in the *Friendly Way*, have also been incorporated into this edition.

The translation, though somewhat literal, but fairly clear and understandable, is indeed useful for those who would use it for the purpose of Pali study, so that they can follow the original texts to the letter. And the attractive illustration will surely give a clear idea to outsiders who have never before witnessed the performance of the *Upasatha* service of the *sangha*.

P.M. Sathienpong

The Entrance to the Vinaya A translation of the 'VINAYAMUKHA' Vol. I of Somdetch Phra Maha Samana Chao Krom Phraya Vajirañāṇavarorasa, the tenth Saṅgharāja of the Ratanakosin Era of Siam, (Mahamakutara-vidyalaya, King Maha Makuta's Academy, Bangkok) 1st Eng. ed., 2512/1969, pp. xx+246.

Among the foremost scholars in Buddhist studies stands the name of Somdetch Phra Maha Samana Chao Krom Phraya Vajirañāṇavarorasa, the tenth Saṅgharāja of Thailand in this Ratanakosin Era. It was in his time that most modernizing reforms were made both in the administration and in the educational system of the Thai Sangha. To speak only on education, it was he who established the present form of the traditional Buddhist studies, both the Pali study called 'Parien' and the Dhamma study called 'Nak Dharm' (for monks and novices) and 'Dharma suksa' (for lay people). It was he who introduced the method of written examination into the Thai monastic educational system. The thirty-nine volumes of the Pali Tripiṭaka (later rearranged as forty-five volumes in the reign of King Prajadhipok), and other commentaries which were printed in modern book form mostly in the reign of King Chulalongkorn and in the reign of King Vajiravudh, were works of recension by him and other Elders working under him, while nearly all of the textbooks for the newly founded 3-grade system of Dharma study were his own compilations and treatises.

The fact that the venerable author did not compose his own original works in Pali other than some short essays, notes and stanzas for chanting cannot degrade his highly honoured scholarship. The needs of the time forced him to devote his attention to the spreading of knowledge to a wider public whose access to it was only through their mother tongue. Besides, his works in Thai prove him worthy of the high honour and respect ascribed to him through their unsurpassed originality and literary and doctrinal value. In particular, the distinctive feature that contributes most to the value of his works is the spirit of tolerance and liberality which is expressed throughout

all his voluminous works. The clearest evidence of this is in the *Vinayamukha*—the Entrance to the Vinaya.

The *Vinayamukha* "is a set of three volumes, full of interesting facts concerning the Vinaya or Monastic Discipline based on documentary evidence with a good collection of reasons and arguments." The first volume of the set has its source in the *Vibhaṅga* which is the detailed discussion and explanation of the *Pātimokkha*, while the second and the third deal with the *Khandhakas* or various sections on the monastic observances, acts, ceremonies, duties, traditions and other kinds of proper conduct not established in the *Pātimokkha*. The three volumes have been used for more than half a century as prescribed textbooks for the Lower, the Intermediate and the Advanced Grades of Dharma study respectively. Only the first volume has been translated and the present book under review is the first English version of it.

The original Thai version of the *Vinayamukha* Vol. I was first published in B.E. 2459 or 54 years ago, and after fifty years there have been twenty-seven printings or some 241,000 copies altogether. The original work begins with a preface by the author discussing the Pali tradition of the Vinaya, its authenticity, the degree of reliability of the texts handed down, whether Pali, *Aṭṭhakathā* or other later commentaries, pointing out his own attitude towards the scriptures and his purpose in writing the book. The book proper is divided into ten chapters.

Chapter I on *Upasampadā* is a short essay giving a general idea of Buddhist ordination, its origin and development, its purposes, the three general forms of ordination, and the validity and invalidity of the ordination procedure.

Chapter II on the Vinaya is a short introduction to the Buddhist monastic discipline discussing grounds for the establishment of the Vinaya, its meaning and classification, the root-causes of the regulation, the different kinds of offences, their classification and the conditions for their commission, and the benefits of the Vinaya.

Chapter III on the Rules of Training states briefly the meaning and classification of the Sikkhāpada or training rules which will be the subjects of discussion in the next six chapters and the author's method of their treatment.

The following six Chapters, Chapters IV to IX, contain detailed discussion of all the 227 rules of the Pātimokkha, commenting on these rules one by one in the order of the original arrangement of the Pātimokkha, each chapter dealing with one or two groups of rules arranged according to Āpatti, namely, Pārājika, Saṅghādisesa and Aniyata, Nissaggiya—pācittiya, Pācittiya, Pāṭidesaniya and Sekhiya, and Adhikaraṇa—samatha. At the end of each group of Āpatti-comments there is a summary in which the rules are rearranged in groups according to their aims or some further comments are made.

The book concludes with Chapter X on Measurements treating of the five kinds of measurements which have been referred to in some commented training-rules.

In the English version there are two additions preceding the Preface. One is the Foreword by Ven. Phra Sasana Sobhana (Suvaddhano) which states reasons for the publication of the book and its benefits. The other is the life-story of the venerable author which also tells us something about his personality and his works. It is a pity that no index is appended. This may be because the work was published with too tight a time schedule or because of the desire to keep strictly to the original work.

The purpose of writing the book as shown in the Preface is interesting. In the author's own words: "I have planned to write this book, the Vinayamukha, with the purpose of pointing out the advantages of the Vinaya for fellow-practisers of the same Dhamma-Vinaya, desiring that they shall be well established in correct practice. Those who are not strict will then be convinced and train themselves in the etiquette of a samāṇa; while those who are excessively strict will no longer practise blindly, ceasing to be conceited and not blaming others, and even leading others to practise in a good way so that there will be the advantage of no remorse" "my purpose is to com-

ment upon Pubbasikkhāvannaṇā as a *ṭikā* or subcommentary on that book, filling the defective gaps and correcting the mistakes in order to reach accomplishment." This again helps to emphasize the spirit of tolerance and liberality which I should like to stress even more as it occurs over and over again throughout the book.

He also says in the Preface, "It is apparent that the purity and the principles of the original Pali are not as important as we formerly believed," and, having pointed out some accretions in the Pali Canon, he further says, "There are more of such mistakes some of which are brought to light in the course of this book." To make his meaning clear, he even says "I should like to make it plain to you that I am satisfied with the Kalama Sutta . . . My habit is not to believe all the words which are found in the scriptures, but rather believing the reasonable words. The basis of my writing is that which is found to be reasonable and this should be taken as credible evidence, while what is defective should be opposed, whether coming from the Pali or from the *Aṭṭhakathā*. With this in mind I have given some opinions so that Vinaya-experts may continue these researches and I hope that this will happen for the progress of knowledge."

In the text itself one will find again and again such statements as, "This does not appear just enough and there must be some reason underlying this procedure but at present I have not been able to see it. May experts in the Vinaya ponder over this matter in the future" (p. 109). "I should like to place this matter before the Vinaya-experts for their further investigation" (p. 127). "I would like to place this matter before the Vinaya-experts so that they may investigate it further" (p. 160). "This matter is usually regarded just as a ceremonial observance and nobody has tried to find out the reasonable meaning, since they have practised only the way of marking taught by the *Aṭṭhakathā*" (p. 172). "This is one of the points which should be further investigated by Vinaya-experts" (p. 224).

From these quotations it is clear that it was the desire of the author to cast away dogmatic attitudes which had from time to time crept into a reasonable religion and to inspire in Buddhist scholars of younger generations an attitude of tolerance, rationality and liberality. He himself did not put authority on his writings, but, on the contrary, while leaving some problems unjudged, he put the matters in the hands of future Vinaya experts and students to continue his researches and to investigate further these matters for the progress of knowledge. Unfortunately, there rarely seemed to be anyone who continued his pioneering spirit; most undecided matters still remain unjudged or even uninvestigated. Moreover, the venerable author's writings themselves have on many occasions become matters of dogmatic assertion.

I am afraid that I could not agree with the translators in their interpretation of some sentences in the text like that appearing on p. 175, ll. 11-14, of the English version. If my interpretation is right and theirs wrong, I am not sure that the translation will convey the exact meaning intended by the original text throughout. In spite of this and some spelling mistakes, it must be accepted that the book is a successful and commendable work. In fact, the translation of such a profound work is really a big task requiring much time, energy and ability. In the first edition of such a work, the existence of some small faults is not an uncommon thing. It is hoped that these faults will be corrected in future editions.

Generally speaking, the book is well produced and printed in clear type which makes it readable. Let us hope that the production of this English version of the Vinayamukha will help to arouse and encourage in Buddhist scholars the spirit of tolerance and liberality as desired by the most venerable author.

Phra Srivissuddhimoli

พุทธศาสนากับสังคมไทยปัจจุบัน (Buddhism in Thai Society Today) (Siam Society, Bangkok) 337 pp. 20 baht.

It has become a cliché to state that Thai society is undergoing rapid change. Buddhism, which traditionally played a large role in the formerly static society, is now on the decline. The seminar on Buddhism and modern Thai society, organised jointly by the Buddha Samakom and the Siam Society in August of last year, and the subsequently published book under the same title *Buddha Sasana gub Sangkom Thai putjuban*, being a detailed report of the seminar, indicates that at least a number of monks and laymen feel a genuine concern about the problem. The participants included the Privy Counsellor, Mr. Sanya Dharmasakdi, the Minister of Education, Mr. Sukit Nimmanhaemind, Ven. Phra Maha Prayuth Payutho, Mr. Prasarn Thongbhakdi, Mr. Saeng Chan-ngarm, Mr. Pin Mutukun and Mr. Sulak Sivaraksa.

The aim of the seminar and the book is to discuss the role of Buddhism, as it is now and as it should be, in modern Thai society. However, most authors fail to define the main problems clearly. Instead, many implicit assumptions are made without much attempt to justify them. For example, the fact that Buddhism occupies a central place in traditional society appears to lead many authors to assume that it must necessarily be an overwhelmingly important factor in solving problems in modern society. As Mr. Sukit says in the opening address (p. 4), "if religion goes bad, so would everything else." Another recurrent assumption is that Western civilisation is responsible for the current prevalence of materialism among the Thais. Buddhatas Bhikku in the introductory article traces the present decadence to the bad influence of the ancient Greeks, and makes a highly questionable statement that the Hebrew faith is to be preferred to Greek rational philosophy. Saeng Chan-ngarm (p. 210) equates materialism with Marx and Engels, and in the next sentence contradicts himself by further identifying it with love of money. Pin Mutukun (p. 170) made a common aberrant suggestion that the free world supports religion, which is directly opposite to Sulak Sivaraksa's equally aberrant, sweeping generalisation (p. 188) that traditional religion is now meaningless in the West. The general abhorrence of Western influence is, however, counterbalanced at times by calls to faithful Buddhists to follow the example of the Jesuits (p. 142) and other Christians (p. 204-205). Both these assumptions seem to stem from emotion rather than reason.

Arguments based on dubious assumptions can hardly be expected to be intellectually stimulating. Confusion further arises from the authors, use of vague terms like "farang intellectual colonialism" (Mr. Sulak), or plainly emotional expressions like "taam kon farang" (Buddhatas Bhikku). Conveniently, scapegoats are found; some authors blame the farangs, some blame sections of the Sangha, and others manage to find fault with youth. Fortunately, there were those who had not lost their heads, and they include Ven. Phra Maha Prayuth. This author accepts the rapid change of the Thai urban society as inevitable from the nature of modern civilisation, and admits that the monks have lost many of their traditional roles permanently. Rather than reacting emotionally, he suggests how their remaining duties towards urban society, mainly moral and spiritual, might be performed more efficiently (pp. 61-69). His is the most interesting article in the book, and includes useful statistical information on the monks' education. There are however some illogical arguments such as those on pp. 59-60, which rule out possible objections to orthodox interpretations of the Dhamma.

The articles by Mr. Sanya Dharmasakdi and Mr. Prasarn Thongbhakdi are variations on the theme set by Ven. Phra Maha Prayuth. Mr. Sanya goes into details of the role of laymen in integrating the institution of the Sangha into modern society, and Mr. Prasarn describes how Buddhism can be spread efficiently by means of the Sangha and the schools. The suggestion by Mr. Sanya (pp. 94-95) of giving the role of public health officers to monks is much more easily said than done, as the author himself realises. In Mr. Prasarn's article there is an interesting account of the spread of Buddhism in the past (pp. 106-115).

Mr. Saeng Chan-ngarm attempts to show that the need for Buddhism is great among those involved in higher education, as evidenced by his experience at Chiangmai University. In higher institutes of learning, such as the universities, monks could act as psychiatrists and students could form study groups on Buddhism. His suggestions are of some obvious value, although probably not significant to society as a whole. The unnecessary gibes at the students (p. 133) seem to betray his seriousness about his second proposal.

The contribution from Pin Mutukun is minimal despite the space of twenty-six pages allocated to the article and the following discussion. In purely rhetorical language he delivered a speech

unadorned with either interest or wit and out of which very little emerges. In the discussion, the scandalous issue of the degradation of the *wats* in and outside Bangkok was raised by Dr. Sumet Jumsai.

Mr. Sulak Sivaraksa first of all denies that he is an "anti-farang or a shallow and antiquated nationalist" (p. 190), and promptly proceeds to behave exactly like one. We must hold hands to resist the tide of farang intellectual colonialism; thus he sounds the trumpet! We must preserve and be proud of our Thai character. This is all very true; but it sounds as though this is the reason why we must preserve Buddhism. One is tempted to imagine, however, that almost a thousand years ago the antique version of Sulak would be persuading his Thai friends that they must reject this strange new foreign philosophy called Buddhism imported from the Western continent of India, and that they must cling to spirit worship because this was of course originally Thai. Mr. Sulak's article is thankfully not all on colonialism and Nietzsche. On p. 200 he defines an important problem of how contact could be established between the new middle class and the *Wats*, and goes on to discuss it in some detail.

The book contains a few sharp criticisms of the institution of the Sangha, which naturally provoked some angry reactions. It is evident however that the criticisms are intended to be constructive and reaction only came from misinformed or biased quarters. Where the quality of scholarship really suffers, apart from the use of emotional language mentioned above, is from the occasional political propaganda involving misunderstandings about the place of religion in capitalism and communism.

In conclusion, the seminar and the book would have been of more value had the authors attempted more to define important problems clearly and argue their cases with less prejudice. A few problems could have been discussed in greater depth, such as whether or not there should be stricter regulations for entering the monkhood, or how ceremonies and prayers could be made more meaningful to laymen. The proper place of Buddhism in modern society should have been more candidly assessed before the authors plunged into detailed procedure of how to recapture lost ground.

Yongyuth Yuthavong

Recent Siamese Publications

419. Yūpo, Dh.: *Suvannabhūmi* สุวรรณภูมิ a memento of the erection of the alabaster image of the Buddha at the Prapathom stupa, Nakōn Pathom, Sivaṇṇ Press, Bangkok, 2510, w. ill. & maps pp. 83.

Though the name has been known to us for thousands of years, says the author, no consensus of opinion exists regarding its identity. It was generally agreed that the name might cover what was then known as Indochina. Hence the more familiar Siamese name of Lēmōṅ, 'the Golden Peninsula'.

Quite recently, however, it became more or less agreed that the Malay Peninsula was identical with the Golden Khersonese of Greek geography and the valley of the Čaōprayā was the Chryse of the Greeks and Romans and identified with Suvannabhūmi, the 'Golden Land'.

The author goes on to give considerable attention to chronological factors, proposing for convenience the division of the historical past into three periods by millenia :—

- a. From B.E. 1000 back
- b. B.E. 1000 to 2000
- c. From B.E. 2000 on

In devoting particular attention to the second period which contains much historical material he discusses the different geographical allocations. The term Suvannabhūmi had been identified by the Burmese with their land and for a time they were supported by Western and Indian scholars. Later on, Western scholars were inclined to extend the name to cover the whole of Indochina on the mainland, excluding the peninsula. As a scholar of Buddhist lore, the author pays special attention to the *Jātaka*, which gave a wealth of references to sea adventures from India eastwards and most of them were concentrating on reaching the land of plenty by the name of Suvannabhūmi. From the Pali commentaries as well as the *Millinda pañhā* the author discusses the

geographical names in this and other sea routes over the Indian Ocean, such as Takkola and Java, finally coming upon the golden land of Suvannabhūmi. He has not ignored sources other than the Pali, for he includes Ptolemy's geography and Chinese and Arab sources. One of the more interesting of his points is that placing the centre of Thai civilisation around the city of Ū-tōṇ from which a considerable area of land has since been taken from the sea in the Gulf of Siam.

The author ends up with the suggestion that Suvannabhūmi might have continued to wield its authority till the eighth Buddhist century when it probably became absorbed into the Empire of Fūnān which finally stretched from Čāmpā in the east to the Bay of Bengal in the west.

All this of course though not new to the international public is comparatively new to Siamese reading circles. It is valuable on that account. He comes to many important conclusions though Mr. Yūpo's customary clarity and succinctness seem somewhat obliterated by details.

420. H.M. King Chulalongkorn's *Diary* (10 April 2431–8 December 2431) จดหมายเหตุพระวชิรญาณวัน, memento of the late Luang Prasroeth Maitri, in dedication of whose cremation the book was published in December, 2512, Pračand Press, Bangkok 2512, pp. 158 with a plan of the Grand Palace.

Glancing at it with the intention of making a note for this article in JSS, the reviewer was disappointed to find that this volume, coming as it did in a succession of publications of long and useful historical records, has been published without any indication of its place in the series. Since these diaries often supply useful references for the historian, the lack of such an indication is a deterrent to its historical value. This volume is yet noteworthy despite the lack of interest in many other volumes of the series. Hence it has been chosen for review here.

Among the items recorded in this volume, mention should be made of the full schedule of His Majesty in spite of the fact that he often took holidays by going up river to the summer palace of Bāṇpa-

in. Here he was able to devote more time to state papers in an atmosphere of comparative freedom from social and ceremonial obligations. He was obliged, for instance, to attend many more presentations of the *Kathin* robes every year than the King is obliged to nowadays. These duties have been, since the sixth reign, abbreviated into four days, with three monasteries a day, and further cut down to three days as a rule. King Chulālonkorn, on the other hand, had to devote some seven days of four monasteries each day to this duty. The sovereign was expected much more than now to preside in person over the death anniversaries of individual sovereigns which have now been merged by King Rāma VI into one day on the eve of his coronation anniversary. Before the development of seaside holidays the King had to be content with his summer palace of Bāṅpa-in with its situation amid extensive rice plains on every side, thus getting seasonal winds in every month of the year. Here the King and court could paddle out onto the river and smaller waterways any evening and now and then stop to chat with villagers who thus became familiar with their sovereign.

The volume is appended with an index and a plan of the residential section of the Grand Palace which adds to its interest.

421. Damrong, H.R.H. Prince: *A Tour of Burma* เก็บไว้ของพ่อ a memento of the cremation of the remains of H.S.H. Prince Pisith Diskul, Chumnumchān Co. Ltd., Bangkok 2509, pp. 94 octo.

The account of a journey to Burma from the pen of the eminent historian was a long one. The present publication, dealing only with that part of it which concerned Mandalay, a four days' trip, was chosen, according to the preface signed by the chief mourner, Princess Pathanāyu (who incidentally was a constant companion during the author's travels), by reason, in the Princess' words, of its being not too heavy.

The late Prince travelled from Rangoon on a day train in order to be able to see as much of the countryside as possible, although he was well aware of the inconveniences of daylight travel by train, involving heat and dust. His knowledge of Burmese customs and

history is amply applied here and in fact there can be no writer who was, or rather still is, better qualified for the task. We are told, for instance, of the topography of Mandalay, of the historical process of choosing successive capitals in Burma – Sagaing (ၿံၵုၵ်ႉ in Siamese), Ratnapura (commonly known as Ava), Amarapura and Ratnabūrna, better known as Mandalay; we are then given a history of Mandalay under Burmese as well as later under British rule. We are told of the reason why the British gave up the monarchy in Burma although the original intention seemed to have been the maintenance of it under British suzerainty. We learn that though the original plan of the British government was to do away with every vestige of Burmese sovereignty, including the royal palace, it was decided later by Curzon to restore the archeological treasures such as the palace for cultural reasons. Finally the author deals in detail with the monarchical paraphernalia of Burmese sovereignty which he could compare with that of ours with accuracy and understanding.

In a second chapter he dealt with the monasteries of the period, including the so-called Arakanese one. In this is enthroned the famous seated image by the name of the Mahāmayamuni, a long-standing object of much veneration. It was taken to Arakan and later conveyed back with great difficulty across the mountain range of Arakan. It became the palladium of the Burmese kingdom and is still generally venerated by the modern Burmese public.

In the third and final chapter the author gives his opinion of the reason for the decline and fall of the Burmese monarchy with an expert handling that one would expect from the experienced former Minister of State, who had been, in the prime of his life, obliged to handle or face similar situations vis-à-vis our imperialistic neighbours, bent on grabbing what they could get hold of as often as possible. After reading this a Siamese feels thankful that we managed to come out of it all fairly safe and sound.

422. Flood, Chadin: A Translation of Čaoprayā Tīpākarawoṇs' *Dynastic Chronicles of the Fourth Reign*, Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, Pračand Press, Bangkok, pp. 267 octo.

The merit of this English translation is that it is the first rendering into a Western language of an authoritative Siamese historical work by a well-known Siamese statesman who also served as Minister for Foreign Affairs and naturally had access to all available dossiers. The translation is accurate; the sense of the original Siamese is well understood and clearly conveyed.

Its demerit for this reviewer lies in the rather bewildering transcription of the Haas system, which is, one understands, meant for linguistic and not historical writing. Granted that so far no method of transcription has been generally accepted, yet Siamese could surely be written with much less confusion. Even in Siamese itself vowels and specially diphthongs have been irrationally written; and yet, after all, the aim of transcription should be to enable the reader, whether native or foreign, to recognise a Siamese word and to be able to write it back into the original language without too much trouble. The transcription of the work under review is marvellously difficult, thus for "Her Majesty Queen Rāmpōey" we have here "Sōmdèdphránaaṅ-ramphəəjphāmaraa phirom" (p. 109). And again for กรมพระวรวงศ์เธอ we have here "phráčawborommawoṅthoe krommaphrá raam?id-sarēed" and so on. Is this a simplification?

423. *History of the Chinese Mahāyānist Church* ประวัติคณะสงฆ์จีนนิกาย Ruṅ Nakorn Press, Bangkok 2512, pp. 30.

In the past there were two Chinese monasteries of considerable size in Bangkok, Wat Maṅkorn and Wat Tīpyawāri. The first, better known as Wat Leṇneyyi, was established by Chinese merchants of Bangkok in B.E. 2414 on Čaroenkruṅ Road. It was the seat of the Head of the Chinese Church in Siam. That Church, according to the book under review, had an enrolment of monks varying between 10 and 50. They were given a monastic training in the principles of Mahāyānism and supported by the government with the assistance of the mercantile community of Bangkok. Its congregation consisted of about 2,000 families. In religious practice they were Confucianists or Taoists or both. They performed their ceremonies often in consonance with the Vietnamese Mahāyānists who outnumbered them in Siam. Both

adopted several rituals of the local Siamese Church though they used their own languages and neither Thai nor Pali. A point of the *Vinaya* generally noticed by the local Buddhists was their not being limited to the one-meal-a-day principle. As their relationship with the Siamese Churches grew closer with the passage of time, the Chinese began to adopt the principle of one meal a day.

The Chinese Mahāyānist Church is largely independent of control from the government through its Department of Religious Affairs. It holds itself however responsible to the Patriarch of the Kingdom. This feature is said to have been customary from the time when Prince Mongkut was in the Church prior to his accession to the throne. Since the establishment of the new Wat Pòmèn in south Bangkok the Chinese Mahāyānist Church has been drawing its inspiration more than before from the Dhammayutik Church of this country. It is legally entitled to carry out its own ordinations into the monkhood; to perform its own *kathin* and other ceremonies; and its officials are appointed directly by the Sovereign through the recommendation of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

The book gives a list of the official hierarchy of the Chinese Mahāyānist Church. It enumerates the monasteries in the Kingdom as being some twenty-one in all, including the Vietnamese ones. The latest of the Chinese monasteries is the recently built Wat Pòmèn-gunārām in Tun Mahāmegh district of Yānnāwā in south Bangkok, claimed in the book under review to be "the largest and most beautiful monument of any Chinese Mahāyānist community in Southeast Asia".

424. Sthirasut, L.: *History of Chinese Culture* ประวัติวัฒนธรรมจีน Bangkok, 2509. pp. 371.

This is a translation with additions by Sthirasut from the lectures by Tokugawa Komayoshi and other authorities. It is pointed out in the preface that culture is important for the maintenance of nationality, the disappearance of which would be easy were a nation to lose her respect or her correct valuation of culture. Modifications are naturally necessary from time to time to keep up with the advance

of human ideals. Hence it is important to keep in mind the right proportions. The present work is merely an informative guide and should not be taken as an authority on the subject.

The treatment of the work is a successive presentation of Chinese history and culture from the earliest times to modern days. Many points of cultural life and custom, especially those somehow handed down to our land of the Thai, are given due attention, such as, for instance, household rites and customs, scientific standards which are quite independent of western knowledge like astronomy and the compass, the science of writing history and familiar customs such as the *Sinyto*, the new year celebration of the Lion.

Chinese history is given full and detailed attention; the detailed exposition of the ideals of archeology is well worth attention.

Sthirasut observes that a lack of proportion is the "ink of historical writing". This seems to be a pleading for his possibly inaccurate treatment of the historical aspect. He should be assured in this respect that a lack of proportion can occur everywhere and is not limited to the writing of history, though in this latter case a writer is perhaps prone to be unduly sensitive to political convictions which predominate disproportionately. It is unfortunately human. One detects everywhere in the book under review the author's desire to be fair.

There is an interesting annex from p. 340 to the end which should simplify the difficulties of sinology for the average Thai reader.

425. Rama VI, H.M. King: *Āra Nāla* พระราชนิพนธ์ King Monkut Academy Press, Bangkok, 2512. pp. 39.

It has been a continued practice every year for the royal author's daughter, Her Royal Highness Princess Bejraratna, to publish a work by her learned father. By now the repertoire is pretty well exhausted. Fortunately a hitherto unpublished work has turned up. While looking for some suitable work for publication, Prince Jajvalit was approached by Prayā Asvabodi, a former page of His Majesty Rama VI who eventually became the King's Master of the Horse, now an octogena-

rian, and who drew his attention to a long forgotten drama under the above title. As Prince Jajvalit points out in the preface, even the King himself never talked about it. The play, as a matter of fact, was written in the early days whilst the author was still Crown Prince. It was staged on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the author's birthday on the lawn of Sarāñrom Palace in 2448 on two successive evenings but has never been published. His Majesty wrote another version of the story some 11 years later under the title of the *Royal Version of Pra Nala* พระนลคำหลวง.

The story of Nala and Damayanti is well-known to students of Sanskrit, having been adopted as an elementary reader. That version of the classic, drawn from the Mahābhārata, was well edited and supplied with good notes. It is possible, in fact, that the then Crown Prince, having literary inclinations, might have tried to study this version. His drama only carries us to the point where the heroine marries Nala. The way the name of the hero is written in the earlier version as Nāla, and not Nala, would seem to point to the fact that he read only the English translation, thereby losing sight of the marking which would have distinguished for him the short vowel.

The poetry of the Prince's drama is immature when compared to his other works.

426 *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, tr. into Siamese by the Ven. Pra Tejpmoli, with notes คำแปลมหาปรินิพพานสูตร (มีบันทึกความคิดเห็นประกอบ) ของพระเทพโมลี in aid of the Fund for the Propagation of Buddhism. Aksornčaroen Press, Bangkok 2512, pp. 319.

The discourse included in the *Digha-nikāya* of the *Tipitaka* is obviously a work written after the lifetime of the Lord, though in orthodox circles it is ranked among the major discourses attributed to him. It describes the last days, so full of activity, in his life and goes on to the scenes consequent upon the great disease, the distribution of the Master's relics and the consecration by each of the parties which were honoured with their reception. How so much detail of the last journey could have been handed down orally for

some three hundred years before it was committed to writing in far Ceylon in Pali, which does not seem to have been the language employed in the Lord's life-time, is a wonder which has never been solved. At the time, moreover, of the incidents described, the Buddha was eighty years old and yet he walked from Rājagaha to Kusinārā on the foothills of the Himālaya, actively teaching and greeting so many people, who all wanted to share the honour of having been privileged to receive him and the numerous following which accompanied him. The days of this last trip too were in the hot, dry season. He possessed no doubt a strong constitution and a clear mind; and yet one cannot help wondering at his physical endurance.

At the end of the volume the author adds notes which are his own personal comments. The nature of the sarcophagus in which the body of the Buddha was reverently laid in a bundle of fine white cloth is fully described. It was called an iron trough, covered with gold with a similarly gilt lid of the same material. The body was placed in it in a lying position and oil and incense were poured over it. It was stated that such was the procedure of honouring a dead emperor. The author incidentally raises the point of the last holy synod, *sangāyanā*, held in Rangoon by the Buddhist Church of Burma which insisted on reckoning it as the sixth of such councils. According, however, to local tradition here in Siam based upon the records of Ceylon, there have been more, so that the last one held in this country in 1788 was the twelfth. The author is of opinion that our Church should not have cooperated with the Burmese, for in doing so it was compromising the dignity of the nation. The reviewer in fact had a similar reaction and declined accepting the honour of the invitation to attend.

The translation itself has many characteristics. The Venerable gentleman says he has aimed at accuracy of sense rather than concern for forms of speech. But, when he writes,

“อุบาสกอุบาสิกาในหมู่บ้านปาฏลี กราบหลอถวายเรือนแรม . . . เมื่อ . . . ทรงรับ
เรือนแรมนั้นแล้ว ในตอนที่ยังประทับนั่งอยู่นั้น ต่างได้ลุกขึ้นจากที่นั่ง ถวาย
อภิวาท . . . ได้ช่วยกันปลุกเรือนแรม ให้เป็นสถานที่ถูกปลุก . . . แล้วกลับมา . . .

กราบทูล . . . ว่าข้าแต่พระผู้มีพระภาคเจ้าผู้ทรงเจริญ เรือนแรมได้ถูกปลุกแล้ว ด้วยเครื่องลาดในสถานที่ควรปลุกทุกแห่ง อาสนะก็ได้ถูกจัดตั้งไว้แล้ว คนโทน้ำ ก็ถูกตั้งไว้แล้ว ตะเกียงน้ำมันก็ถูกจุดขึ้นตั้งไว้แล้ว . . . ” (pp. 38-9)

a reader cannot help being struck by the excessive use of the passive voice making it look like a pedantic form of translation more like English or any other Indo-European syntax than our Siamese. Nor is this recurrent use of the passive limited to this passage but is to be found everywhere else *ad infinitum*.

Another passage which suggests Indo-European syntax or modes of expression may be quoted (pp. 73-4):

“ . . . เจ้าลิขฉวัทังนั้นได้กราบทูลนิมนต์ . . . ว่า ข้าแต่พระผู้มีพระภาคเจ้าผู้ทรงพระเกียรติ ขอพระผู้มีพระภาคเจ้ากับภิกษุสงฆ์โปรดรับภัตตาหารในวันพรุ่งนี้ของหม่อมฉันทั้งหลาย พระผู้มีพระภาคเจ้าทรงปฏิเสธว่า ท่านเจ้าลิขฉวัทังทั้งหลาย พระศาสดาได้รับภัตตาหารสำหรับในวันพรุ่งนี้ของนางคณิกาอมัปปาลิเสียแล้ว ในทันนั้น เจ้าลิขฉวัทังนั้นต่างตักนิ้วมือ พร้อมกับประกาศความไม่สมหวังออกมาว่า . . . ชาวเราพ่ายแพ้อุบายของอมัปปาลิอย่างบัดขบ พวกเราถูกมายาของอมัปปาลิหลอกลวงได้อย่างหมดท่า ”

Snapping the fingers, as translated in the above passage, is more characteristic of western than oriental mannerisms. The point is so striking that the reviewer had to look up Rhys Davids' translation of the passage in *Buddhist Suttas*, (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI), p. 31, which runs :

“Then the *Likkhavis* cast up their hands exclaiming ‘We are outdone by this mango girl ! We are outreached by this mango girl !’ ”

Rhys Davids explanation in a note on page 31 says that the Pali *anguli pothesum* had been translated by Childers ‘to snap the fingers . . .’; but Buddhaghosa said “anguli pothesum ti anguli kalesum”. Hence Rhys Davids’ “cast up their hands”.

427. Sathien Koses : *Customs for honouring the Dead* ประเพณีเนื่องในการตาย Publication Centre, Bangkok, 2512. pp. 172.

Though first published in 2505, no review of it has ever been included in the JSS, partly for want of ability on the part of this

reviewer. By now it is felt that the work cannot be left over any longer and an attempt must be made however deficient. The scientific style is characteristic of the scholar's writing. It goes into details regarding Thai custom, taking for comparison those of other peoples all over the world. The material is divided into a. reasons for obsequial rites; b. the ceremony in connection with these rites and c. the rite of cremation. These customs have naturally come from older Asian cultures.

The publication having been sponsored by the local Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, of which the deceased was its President, a note on the Brahminical custom for the disposal of the dead by Pandit V. Sukul of the Vishnu Temple, of South Bangkok, has been added at the end.

The book is the Lodge's contribution towards the ceremony of the cremation of the remains of the late *Prayā Anumān Rājadhon*.

428, Sathien Koses: *Retrospect III* ^{สี่} พินิจความหลัง เล่ม ๓, Śivāpōrn Press, Bangkok, 2512, pp. 200.

Under the pen-name above, the late *Prayā Anumān Rājadhon* wrote many works including this diary entitled *Retrospect*. We had occasion to review Vol. I of this work some time back (in JSS LVI,2, RSP no. 389). In many respects *Retrospect* was a pioneer work, in that most authors would not dare to wander into such realms of writing. Our author went into hitherto unexplored fields, such as his experiences of the underworld of *Sāmpēn*, then tantamount to London's Soho, Chinese brothels and the various types of women's breasts. Yet our Pepys never crossed the bounds of propriety by any kind of indulgence. Love of his family and a sane concern for disease and infection kept him from really bad habits throughout his young days in his wanderings through the Chinese slums of the city.

The last part of the book includes two appendices: a discourse on the *kwañ* and *baisi*, a really scientific description of the animistic belief in a personal spirit of man from the point of view of an anthropologist; and a travelogue describing a journey to Pimai. Both are well worth reading and full of anecdotes.

429. *Prayā Anumān Rājadhon, An autobiography* อัตชีวประวัติ Śivaporn Press, Bangkok, 2512. p. 116.

This autobiography covers ground which does not repeat *Retrospect* though it was written by the famous author too. It was not published until after his death. It is a more serious biography written at the request of his friends and admirers. It has the value of a passage from the late *Prayā's* writings in the preface which may be translated thus :

"Whatever money I have left to my children, however trivial, is a clean saving which I have earned with my own effort. My children should be content to receive this bequest. But what is of greater value than money is the name and regard which I have gained by honest effort. Money may be the instrument to obtain happiness but it is not happiness in a direct sense. Happiness is tantamount to wisdom, health, friendship and honest work"

He concluded by asking his children not to write panegyrics and he asked for nothing more than love between his children. Should they feel inclined to contribute to charity in his honour he would be pleased to see them do so by helping education.

The length and breadth of this autobiography is full of interesting comments and material which cannot be easily selected out of context. An autobiography is best read in its original form rather than in bits or comments. In accordance with the wish of the deceased no 'farewell messages' or appreciations are included.

430. *Prayā Anumān Rājadhon*, from the viewpoint of his acquaintances พระบาทสมเด็จพระมหาภูมิพลอดุลยเดชมหาราช บรมนาถบพิตร ตามทัศนะของบุคคลรู้จัก Śivaporn Press, Bangkok. 2512 pp. 268.

As its name implies, this is a collection of appreciations and what has been called 'farewell messages to the dead'. As a matter of fact the deceased actually put it in writing that no such appreciation should be included among publications to commemorate him at the cremation of his remains. This, however, has come to be the custom and his wishes were passed over. It has nevertheless been done with respect.

The deceased had of course a great number of admirers in the intellectual world, not to count many other contemporary workers in government service. They naturally wished to give word of their admiration for the scholar and honest colleague. Among the contributors were also his children and grandchildren whose messages were touching. It all goes to demonstrate the love and affection of all who knew him whether as a father of the family, a teacher, a fellow research worker or an honest official in an office that dealt in public funds. That goes a good deal towards a true appreciation. It has to be read to be fully appreciated; it is unlike the usual appreciations published in such commemorative material. The reviewer has been in the habit of condemning it but in this case feels bound to give way to the genuine expressions of opinion that have been published here.

The book is prefaced with a short introduction from the pen of His Royal Highness the President of the Siam Society, himself a distinguished scholar. It also contains the full text of a memorial sermon in honour of the deceased delivered by the Ven. Khantipāla-Bhikkhu, another scholar resident at Wat Boworaniwes. His presentation of the familiar quotation :

Adāsi me akāsi me ñātimittā sakbā ca me

Petānaṃ dakkhinaṃ dajjā pubbe katam anusaranti

is well worth studying. We Siamese hear it almost every day at funerals but it has been taken for granted and one wonders whether many hearers have taken the trouble to know what it means. The meaning is of course available from merely reading the sermon thus reproduced.

The book also contains, at the end, information about the fund to be raised in honour of the deceased to which any relative or friend or in fact any member of the public may contribute by way of 'making merit' in the usual custom of the Thai.

431. Sathien Koses (Anumān Rājadhon, Prayā): *Ān* 安 referring to the Chinese, in the *Sārāṇṅkrom*, Thai Encyclopaedia, Ruṅgrūan-dharm Press, Bangkok, 2512, p. 44.

Though merely an article in the Thai Encyclopaedia, the last piece of writing, we believe, from *Āṇān* Anumān's pen, the material is well presented and worth the notice of Thai scholars, especially those who do not read foreign languages. It deals with every aspect of the word, geography, history, etymology, in an attempt to give the derivation of the word *chhin* which has been adopted in Siamese. The author maintains that the word had a Sanskrit origin as it was used by Indians to denote the Chinese nation, whereas the Chinese called themselves and their land *chhin*. The Chinese people are here divided into six main divisions, namely (1) the *Indochinese* with a habitat in Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, and the land west of Hunan and south of Szechuan. Their features are square faces, long necks, with brown complexion and not too sharp a mentality; then come (2) the *pure Chinese*, inhabiting the greater part of (modern) China, with long lanky black hair, and round heads with but little hair thereon; they are believed to have come from the SE of the Pamir knot and, settling down in the Yellow River valley, spread out thence in various directions; (3) the people of *Nanchao*, with round faces and straight black hair, high cheek bones, flat noses and thickly bearded; (4) the *Mongolians*, peopling what is now Inner Mongolia and north of the Tien Shan Mountains, who are tall and somewhat resembling the Nanchao race, with the rough and warlike disposition of nomadic tribes; (5) the *Turks*, inhabiting the north of the Tien Shan Mountains, now largely assimilated into the Chinese race though retaining their Islamic faith; and (6) the *Tibetans*, distinctive in features and religious faith.

Then comes a summary of historical facts down to modern days. In this section we learn that many of our customs were derived from Chinese sources.

The article was primarily written for the Thai Encyclopaedia where it appeared under *Chin* pp. 5209-5253.

432. *Śaṅkh-silp-jai*, an old version for recitation สังขศิลป์ชัย กลอนสวด with a preface dealing with the Monastery of Pāmok in Āṇān, issued by the Ministry of Education to commemorate their presentation of the Royal Kathin in B.E. 2512, the Teachers' Association Press, Bangkok, 2512 p. 410.

It was certainly appropriate that the Ministry of Education, of all possible agencies, should have been the one to select this old work perhaps pre-Bangkok in age, for publication on the occasion of a royal *kathin*. It was also fortunate that Wat Pāmok of Āṇḍōṇ should have been chosen for their presentation since it has been a widely venerated institution and a royal monastery since the days of Ayudhyā.

Royal monasteries in fact number some 161 in the whole country. It is hardly to be expected that the sovereign could make the presentations within the period of four or five days personally. Hence comes the custom of deputising for the King. These monasteries are entitled to special honours, such as the annual *kathin* robe, articles of royal reverence on certain days such as the Viśākh and the commencement of Lent. Those who are thus deputised are permitted, if they so will, to add their own quota to the annual royal bounty, in this particular case the Ministry has fitly chosen the publication of an old classic.

The version of *Śaṅkh-silp-jai* under review is prefaced by an introduction giving a history of Wat Pāmok, which traces its history back to the days of Ayudhyā. According to records there was a particularly revered reclining image of the Buddha which made the Wat famous. Tidal flows in the river had been washing away its banks till the reclining image was on the verge of falling into the river. The matter was then reported to King Taisra in 1725 by the military engineer Āra Rājasongrām, who submitted an opinion that it was possible to remove the gigantic image ten *sen* back. The proposal seemed to many, including the Prince Uparāj, an impossible one; but the refusal of the Church to agree to an immolation of the image prior to removal helped to obtain the King's sanction to a wholesale removal by the military engineer, who succeeded in carrying out his project by hardening the ground along which the image was to be drawn on a trolley of wooden planks. The whole operation was a great joy to all, including the Prince Uparāj, who wrote a poetical account of the whole procedure which remains to this day.

The story of Wat Pāmok is by no means exhausted; but let us go on now to our main objective the old classic of *Śaṅkh-silp-jai*. It

has been handed down in the form of a 'rhythmic recitation' กลอนสวด. It might have been used as a reader for children and often recited to the public.

The theme has no doubt been derived from the Lao Paññāsa-Jātaka. It has probably supplied material to the dramatic *lakon-nôk* of King Rama II. We may quote perhaps our summary of this *lakon-nôk* from JSS LVII, 1 in our review of the publications issued in commemoration of the second centenary of King Rama II, p. 191, thus :

"In the last story there is again a stupid old king called the Senākut, whose seven sons go on an excursion. The elder sons being jealous of their brother, Śaṅkh-silp-jai, who is bright and clever, push him over a cliff and leave him for dead. The god Indra, as is usual in some of the other stories, comes to the rescue and later builds a new city for Śaṅkh-silp-jai, the hero. The latter, missing his father, when he comes home, goes in search of him. Finding him he brings the stupid old father into the new city that Indra built for him. Senākut, not recognising the new city, is afraid of everything but is finally quietened. This story has the merit of not being burdened with excessive quarrels but is otherwise a bore."

The above summary is enough to give us an idea of the whole four hundred pages of 'rhythmic recitation' under review. And yet it served its purpose in the old days; and still serves the purpose of the present day in drawing a comparison between the intelligence of the comparative periods. An epilogue at the end is interesting in showing how our ancestors valued education even in this crude form, for the owners of this copy enjoin us to keep this copy of the classic in good condition and not let it be spoilt by moisture or careless reading.

433. In Memoriam H.R.H. *Prince Rajsit of Jainād* ขอมพระเกียรติพลเอกสมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอกรมพระยาชัยนาทนเรนทร Thai Ksem Press, Bangkok. 2509 in 2 vols. pp. 351-66.

The publication was dedicated to the late Prince on the occasion of the cremation of his remains in 1966 at the initiative of the staff formerly serving in the government medical education and

public health offices under the late Prince, who were joined by a wide circle of his friends and admirers. The book was made up of appreciations with a few of the late Prince's writings in connection with organising medical education and public health services. The deceased was moreover a popular leader who was easily accessible and deeply sympathetic to all. The contributed material thus gathered suggests that a full biography could be written.

Prince Rajsit was one of the youngest sons of King Chulalongkorn. He always shone intellectually. Sent to be educated in Germany, he secured the Ph.D. in Pedagogy at the University of Heidelberg. In Siam however he suffered from ill-health though in his work for the health services he was instrumental in organising the Ministry of Health in the sixth reign. With the change of government in 1932 Prince Rajsit became a scapegoat, being prosecuted for opposing the government and stripped of all royal rank and prerogatives for reasons which were not very clear. He was sentenced to death but this was commuted to life imprisonment. A later government under Khuang Abhayawong released him from the penal sentence. He was then chosen for the sole Regency in the eighth and ninth reigns. By now he was suffering from various illnesses and died after a few terms of the Regency.

D.

Books Received for Subsequent Review

David K. Wyatt: *The Politics of Reform in Thailand—Education in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn* (Yale University Press, New Haven) 1969 \$11

Simon de la Loubere: *The Kingdom of Siam* (Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints: Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur) 1969 M \$45

Sir John Bowring: *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints: Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur) 1969 M \$65 2 vols.

Jeremy Kemp: *Aspects of Siamese Kingship in the seventeenth century* (Social Science Association Press, Bangkok) 1969 45 baht

Subhadradis Diskul, Prince: *Art in Thailand: a brief history* (Faculty of Archaeology, Silapakorn University, Bangkok) 1970