

REVIEWS

Akin Rabibhadana: *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782-1873* (Data Paper No. 74, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University) 1969, pp. 247, \$3.00.

What Akin Rabibhadana, in this M.A. thesis for Cornell, has done, and done with exceptional thoroughness and lucidity, is to provide for the first time in English (and more completely than anything I know of in Thai) a description of the social patterns and changes in Thai society before far-reaching reforms began in the late nineteenth-century. The study divides into three main parts—first is a review of the antecedents, the history, of the social order before the Bangkok Period, next is a description of the order during the main period of study (1782-1873), and last is an analysis of the processes of development, of change, in the social system during this same period.

In the pages on antecedents, Akin most importantly of all provides a rationale for the organization of society. This rationale was the supreme value of men over land. Land was abundant, men were scarce. A European feudalistic concept that stressed territory was meaningless; what was needed was "an organization which was tailored for rapid mobilization of manpower." What emerged was a system of registering men (*phrai*) under leaders (*nai*). The *phrai*, or clients, "belonged to" the *nai*, or patrons. The principal classes of *phrai* were *phrai* responsible to the king (through the nobles, or central government officials) and *phrai* responsible to the princes. The dynamics of this social system, according to Akin's analysis, accounts for some of the more important historical changes in early Thai history: the friction between the princes and the king (and his appointed nobles) assumed the form of competition for *phrai*, who represented wealth and power. The fall of Ayutthaya to the Burmese in 1767, for example, might well have been a consequence of the decrease in the king's *phrai* and increase in the *phrai* of the princes. This shift meant a loss of royal power to the princes and consequent dispersal of power within the kingdom.

The main body of Akin's thesis is devoted to a description and analysis of the Thai social structure during the years 1782-1873. The various structures of the central administration and provincial administration and the status and interrelationships of the princes, the nobles, the general population (*phrai*), the so-called slaves, the monks, and the immigrant Chinese are described in detail. In detail the structure presents many complexities, but a general pattern emerges in which the key is the placement of every individual in a precise position in an inferior-superior continuum. The inferior-superior relationship was of prime importance, whether this relationship was of client to patron or of clients to each other. The relationship determined who could command whom, who respected whom, who gave goods and services to whom, who aided or protected whom.

The last section of the thesis concerns the process of change within the early Bangkok Period. Akin makes clear that the structure he describes was never static; it adjusted to stresses from both within and without the society. The causes for change in the early Bangkok Period were the felt needs to prevent a repeat of the catastrophe of Burmese invasion that ended Ayutthaya, to adjust to Western political pressure, Western ideas, and Western economic penetration. Other factors for change were the large-scale immigration of Chinese laborers and the change in the system of taxation during the reign of Rama III. As consequence of these factors attempts were made by the monarchy to control *phrai* more strictly so as not to lose power to the princes. It would seem also that informal patron-client relationships grew more important in the period as certain departments of government, particularly those associated with foreign trade, then on the increase, grew more powerful. Another and related consequence was the new phenomenon of the rise to power and wealth of one noble family, the Bunnak family. Members of the Bunnak family were able to win the trust of the king, who found it easier to control a noble family (though related to royalty through marriage) than to control princes, and were able to take advantage of economic changes to build power based on their continuous control of certain departments of government. A broad area of change occurred as a result

of the expansion of trade and the influx of Chinese labor, which tended to enhance the value of property and reduce the value of the labor of *phrai*. These and other important changes, Akin suggests, helped pave the way for the major reforms in society that took place after 1873.

In addition to the body of the thesis, there are fourteen appendices of notes on sources and details on prominent ministers and noble families.

A brief summary of Akin's essay cannot do justice to the great amount of fact and penetrating analysis the work possesses. The subject matter is vital; it is nowhere else treated in such detail. One finds in it straightforward data such as a table of the ranking system (Table 4) from "King" to "Destitute person, beggar, or *that* (slave)" as well as several challenging theses, for example the view that a cyclical pattern may be detected in Thai history due to fluctuations in the number of *phrai* subject to the king as compared to those subject to princes.

The documentation is extremely impressive. Akin has used a vast array of Thai laws, royal decrees and other royal writings as well as the formal annals. He has consulted relevant secondary works in Thai and English. Among Thai works he acknowledges his debt to Prince Damrong and to Professor Kachorn Sukhapanich. Akin's work demonstrates anew the wealth of Thai source materials which, in the hands of a competent researcher, can yield great insights into Thailand's past.

This study is an important tool for all future students of Thai society, past and present. Its publication in the Cornell Data Paper series insures its availability. One hopes it is kept in print. One hopes also that the unaccountable omission of six footnote references can be corrected in future issues.

Walter F. Vella

Sir John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, with an Introduction by David K. Wyatt, (Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1969), 2 vols., 482 pp. and 446 pp., illustrations and map, M\$ 65.00.

The reprint of Sir John Bowring's book on Siam is most welcome. Originally published in 1857, the book has gradually disappeared into either public and private collections or the forbidding bookcases of antiquarian booksellers. But thanks to the Oxford University Press, which has already given us *La Loubère* and *Crawford*, it is now available to Thai specialists and the general public.

Sir John Bowring's *The Kingdom and People of Siam* is an important book. The author was the British Governor of Hong Kong and Minister to China who came to Bangkok and negotiated the Anglo-Thai Treaty of Friendship and Commerce in 1855. This Treaty was important because it regulated and stabilised Siam relations with Great Britain, the predominant power in the world at that time, and became the model for subsequent treaties between Siam and other western countries. It contributed to Siam's ability to remain independent in that age of western colonialism for it helped to minimise friction between Siam and western countries through the granting of extraterritorial rights, the abolition of monopolies, and the fixing of export and import duties. In opening Siam to foreign trade, the Treaty also helped to expand the Thai economy and to increase the revenue which was needed for the great reforms of the government and administration in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The most important part of the book is thus Sir John Bowring's Personal Journal describing his mission to Siam and his negotiations with the Thai Plenipotentiaries. This description necessarily left a number of things unsaid for it was published only two years after the event.¹ But what it did say does contain some very revealing things

1) Many of the gaps have been filled in by Nicholas Tarling in 'The Mission of Sir John Bowring to Siam,' (*JSS*, L, pt.2, December, 1962), 91-118; and 'Harry Parkes' Negotiations in Bangkok in 1856', (*JSS*, LIII, pt.2, July, 1965), 153-180.

about Thai politics in the reign of King Mongkut. Early on in the *Journal*, Bowring noted the influence of the Bunnag family in these terms, "It would seem this is the most potent family in the State, and are the principal persons to be conciliated" (Vol. 2, p. 259). As soon as the negotiating started, however, he realised that the family was divided. "The second Somdetch, who is said to be deeply interested in existing monopolies, was rather forward in his objections. The four ministers talked them over loudly..." (p. 289). But Bowring was soon informed by Krommaluang Wongsathiratsanit that a division existed throughout the government between the progressives who "were opposed by others, who belonged to the ancient state of things" (p. 294). Fortunately the progressives won the day, thanks perhaps to their better arguments and no doubt to the "persuasion that the continued rejection of the friendly advances of the great maritime power was not a safe or prudent policy" (p. 228).

Sir John Bowring's book can, however, also be read on other levels. It is an encyclopaedic study of Siam in the middle of the nineteenth century. Bowring obviously did a great deal of work before he wrote the book. He quoted from most authors who had ever referred to the country from Barros and Camoens onwards. He acknowledged his great debt to Pallegoix, whose *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam* had appeared the year before he visited Bangkok. The work is well organised into sixteen chapters which cover the subjects of geography, history, population, manners, legislations, natural productions, manufactures, commerce, revenues, language and literature, religion, Christian missions to Siam, Bangkok, Siamese dependencies, and diplomatic and commercial relations of western nations with Siam from the Portuguese missions in the early sixteenth century to Bowring's own. There are also seven appendices giving brief notices on the history of Siam, accounts of an attack on Chiang-tung in 1854 and the life of Constance Phaulcon, an edict against the introduction and the sale of opium, and a translation of a Thai story.

Apart from his extensive reading on Siam, Sir John Bowring was an acute and inquisitive observer. He obtained a great deal of information from informal talks with King Mongkut, the Thai Plenipotentiaries, and the missionaries. He was much impressed by King Mongkut and dedicated his book to him with these words:

“By one who has witnessed in His Majesty the rare and illustrious example of a successful devotion of the time and talent of a great oriental sovereign to the cultivation of the literature and the study of the philosophy of western nations.”

Bowring learnt about King Mongkut's intellectual activity and influence at first hand and from the missionaries. He wrote what Pallegoix neglected to say, namely, that

“The King is reported to profess a modified or reformed Buddhism, and once said to the missionaries that his religion was, as contrasted with the vulgar, what Protestantism is to Catholicism, for he wished to retain the pure text of the sacred books, and to get rid of the superfluous and superstitious commentaries” (Vol. 2, p. 302).

He also reported that

“A missionary mentioned to me that the King, when a Bonze, and carrying on his studies in the temple to which he retreated, had gathered around him many young men, whom he was fond of instructing in European sciences, and encouraging them to study the progress of knowledge” (p. 336).

In his turn, King Mongkut displayed great warmth towards Bowring as witnessed by the letters he addressed him which were printed in both the text and the appendices. The King told Bowring about King Ramkamhaeng's Stone Inscription which he had discovered and had begun to decypher (Vol. 1, pp. 278-279), the Mon ancestry of the Chakri dynasty (Vol. 1, pp. 63-69), and even the intimate details of the illness and death of his young Queen in 1852 (Appendix F). Such information did not become available in Thai until this century.

The Oxford University Press is to be heartily thanked for reprinting this book. Prof. David K. Wyatt of Cornell University has once again contributed a useful and perceptive Introduction which places Sir John Bowring firmly in the context of English Philosophical Radicalism, colonial administration and diplomacy. This beautiful book will indeed be a welcome addition to the collections of amateurs and specialists of Thai history.

Tej Bunnag

Jeremy Kemp: *Aspects of Siamese Kingship in the Seventeenth Century* (Social Science Association Press, Bangkok) 1969 pp. 61. 45 baht.

Professor O.W. Walters of Cornell University has said in the foreword to this slim volume on behalf of Mr. Jeremy Kemp, the author, an anthropologist, that this study "is not intended to be a comprehensive account of Thai history at that time. Instead, it is an informed analysis of European descriptions of and comments on certain institutions and, above all, the court."

The book is divided into three parts. The first is an introduction which gives a comprehensive description of the available materials. The second is an analysis of the politics, economics and society of the period, with an emphasis on Siamese divine right during the Ayudhya period. The last is a brief note on the old Siamese administrative system.

The most valuable and interesting part is probably the first section. The writer has tried his utmost not only to describe but also evaluate the foreign sources during the Ayudhya period. He sheds light upon rarely used (though not entirely neglected) materials such as the Dutch sources of Joost Schouten, Jeremias Van Vliet and John Struys and the French sources of French Foreign missions, Jesuits and Ambassadors. The vivid accounts of Jacques Bourges, François Pallu, La Loubère and Chevalier de Chaumont have also been reviewed in detail.

Unfortunately, the content of the book arouses no enthusiasm. It is nothing more than a repeat of the story of Ayudhya from 1624, when Joost Schouten, the first major raconteur of Siamese society, arrived in the country, to 1690, when most foreigners left the country following the death of King Narai. The analysis of the role of the Siamese Kings, which is supposed to be the highlight of this study, offers nothing strikingly new. The accounts of royal audiences, royal ceremonies and the glory of the palaces may sound exciting to foreigners who have only a slight idea of Siam, but those who are familiar with Thai studies may feel that the writer has merely done a good editing job.

However, the introduction and conclusion of each of the eight short chapters of the book evince some new interpretations. These suggest that the story of Ayudhya will be looked at and studied in a broader perspective in the near future.

Thamsook Numnonda

To cite some of the most interesting points, Wyatt advances that the domestic political situation in Siam at the beginning of King Chulalongkorn's reign, particularly during and shortly after the Regency, exerted an influence on the King's policy for education (Chapters 2 and 3). That is to say education in the first two decades of the reign was aimed at producing primarily the new elite in order partly to consolidate the King's power against the 'Old Siam' of Regent Sisuriyawong and partly to energize the reform movement of the 'New Siam' led by the King himself. The more abstract and benevolent considerations to institute and expand modern education for the country came definitely later. Wyatt is able to point out systematically and successfully that modern education in Siam suffered three decades of uncertainty and low efficiency. In the first decade—the 70's—the political power of the King was not secure enough to sustain the growth of what had been well started (Chapter 3). The second decade—the 80's—was a transitional period when the political power of 'Old Siam' had weakened and the reform movement of 'New Siam' was able to regain its lost momentum. It was during this decade that Prince Damrong most effectively exerted his leadership in education before his sudden departure to the newly-created Ministry of Interior (Chapters 4 and 5). The third decade—the 90's—was characterized by uncertainty and indirection. With the establishment of the Ministry of Education in 1892, it was unfortunate that the first Minister happened to be the Bunnag, *Chaophraya* Phatsakorwong, whose loyalty to the king was unquestionable but whose power and ability could not be compared to those of his predecessor, Prince Damrong. Under him, the conflicts, uncertainties, the tug of war in financial matters, and severe criticism from the King, all culminated in a forced retirement in 1902.

The new and enlightened era of modern education started when King Chulalongkorn returned from his first European tour in 1897. The King brought back with him a new confidence and a clearer vision of modernization. In Wyatt's description (p. 198): "... in a speech on January 1898, the king exhibited a renewed appreciation of the integrity of Thai culture and its values, of the moral and human equality of Siam and the West, which he expressed in terms of 'national character' typical of a European age of nationalism"; and "By the time of his return from Europe at the end of 1897 King Chula-

longkorn had come to the realization that his earlier dilemma could be resolved: Siam could be modern and still Thai. Out of this experience, as much emotional as rational, came a new confidence and determination in the king's leadership."

Under the new leadership of *Phraya Wisut*, with *Phraya Wudhikarnbadi* acting as the Minister, and blessed by genuine support from the King, Prince Damrong and Prince Wachirayan, educational reform began to surge forward and the last decade of the reign witnessed the fulfilment of the long-awaited aim of laying down the foundations for modern education in Siam with proper standards, systematic control, and a recognizable identity. In the second half of the decade, however, King Chulalongkorn again became impatient for his grand scheme for universal compulsory education throughout the Kingdom. This wish was fulfilled not in his but in his son's reign.

Throughout most of the study, Wyatt refers constantly to the role foreign educators played in Thai education at different times. Patterson, McFarland, Morant, Campbell and W.G. Johnson all contributed significantly to the growth and the quality of our educational system. Most of them were, however, engaged in education for the elite. Their names were closely associated with prestigious schools like Suan Kulab, Suan Anand, and King's College. Only Campbell and Johnson were ever involved in a more abstract and comprehensive manner at the ministerial level. All of them concentrated their work in Bangkok leaving a free hand to the Siamese for education in the outlying provinces. Speaking in terms of knowledge and ideas, none of them could be counted as an educational theorist let alone an educational philosopher. At best they were efficient and practical men with varying degrees of wisdom and ability to work for the benefit of the Thai nation.

While accomplishing his task most admirably, Wyatt has tacitly opened room for further thinking and inquiries. Relatively speaking, he touches too lightly and only incidentally on the pedagogical aspect of the educational reform, partly perhaps because of its more obscure nature and partly because of the lack of a serious professional interest in the subject in those days. Besides, the wastage problem—time-wise, human resource-wise and otherwise-- is not seriously examined in the

study. Considering the limited resources of the country, Siam could ill afford to have a large number of student dropouts or failures every year. The problem at its root was the same when King Chulalongkorn was displeased with those Thai students who stayed in Europe too long at great expense to the country and achieved too little.

Of no less importance is the fact that nowhere in the study was there any hint that Siam had any educational philosopher who touched upon the more abstract nature of education in relation to life, culture and society in a manner comparable to Tagore in India and Yukichi Fukusawa in Japan. The two persons that came closest to being the educational thinkers of the period were Prince Wachirayan and *Phraya Wisut*. Yet, for some unknown reasons, they did not probe deeper into the essence of Buddhist thought or try to interpret the reforms in such ways as to give a soul to the body of Thai education. Perhaps the issue was not vital in those days when national survival was at stake and modernization was pursued for its own sake.

Dr. Wyatt's study has tacitly left hints and clues for further inquiries. It was very evident that King Chulalongkorn left Siam and his subjects an unfinished work. How the task was taken up and what sort of problems Thai educational leaders faced in the decades that followed will need another detailed and systematic study. One puzzle I must finally mention is about Prince Damrong. Many fair-minded readers will find it hard to understand his personality. Was Prince Damrong sincere, devoted, earnest, or consistent when education was run by someone else beside himself or his beloved associates? Would Thai education have developed better otherwise? One can add many more questions.

This study is definitely of great historical and educational value to the Thai of the present and future generations. One might feel a little annoyed, however, at seeing the word 'Thailand' all over the book. To a conservative mind like this reviewer's, the name 'Thailand' does not sound as fitting as 'Siam', especially in the historical context of the great reign of King Chulalongkorn.

Ekavidya Nathalang

Vichin Panupong: *Inter-Sentence Relations in Modern Conversational Thai* (The Siam Society, 1970), pp. 269. 100 baht.

This book, recently published by the Siam Society, is essentially the same as the author's doctoral thesis, which was submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Its importance can only be seen in the context of the work which has been done on Standard Thai up to the present. Linguists have worked on many aspects of Thai grammar, their descriptions ranging from the morphological level to the sentence level, but until now, no one has attempted to tackle the problem of grammatical relations which exist among sentences in sequence in a conversation. Dr. Vichin's book is the first attempt to deal with the grammar of Standard Thai above the sentence level, and as such, its value can not be overemphasized.

Inter-Sentence Relations in Modern Conversational Thai is divided into two parts. The first part gives the Grammatical Framework in terms of which the Inter-Sentence Relations in Part II are discussed. Part I gives a two-way classification for all Thai sentences, first of all, as either initiating or non-initiating, and secondly, as one of four types: simple, compound, complex, or linked. These sentence types are identified on the purely formal grounds of the presence or absence of special connecting words. The categories are perfectly clear; however, it seems that three of them (simple, linked, and complex) would have been sufficient to cover all Thai sentences which differ formally from each other, since three simple sentences linked by two occurrences of the word *lĕew* and labelled a compound cannot according to the author's definitions be distinguished on formal grounds from a simple sentence and two following linked sentences.

Once Dr. Vichin has delineated the sentences types, she proceeds to define two types of sentence constituents: Primary and Secondary. She meticulously states all sixteen patterns in which Secondary Constituents may occur with Primary Constituents, then defines six phrase types, listing the possible constituents of each type, and finally enumerates the possible patterns in which the constituents may be arranged. Each category is illustrated by numerous examples written in phonetic script, in Thai script, and in English.

Unlike the larger constituents of the sentence which are defined in terms of the smaller structural units which are their parts, the word classes often have no smaller grammatical parts. Therefore the author

defines them in terms of their occurrence in test sentence frames and deals later with the minority of words which have further internal grammatical structure. These words, the compounds, are identified on purely syntactic grounds. If in a sequence of two nouns, the first noun can be moved to the end of the noun phrase without disturbing the grammaticality of the sentence, the nouns do not, by definition, constitute a compound because they are syntactically separable. Dr. Vichin is to be commended for using syntactic criteria for establishing categories, since syntactic arguments of this nature are by far the most reliable and convincing; however, in this case, she might have carried her method one step further to include other means of syntactic separation, such as insertion of the possessive form *khǎj*. Her noun-pronoun compounds allow this separation, whereas none of the other noun compound types she posits can be separated this way. This is only a minor point, however,

Once the Grammatical Framework is presented, Dr. Vichin deals with the Inter-Sentence Relations themselves. This second half is the most interesting part of the book since it covers a subject which linguists in the past have habitually avoided. Here, the author challenges an important assumption which is implicit in other grammars of the Thai language. This assumption is that grammatical description of conversation is not necessary since it tells nothing more than the composite of the individual descriptions of all the sentences which are part of the conversation. Dr. Vichin's fundamental hypothesis is that the grammatical constraints on sentences in sequence are not the same as the grammatical constraints on sentences viewed in isolation. And she establishes this point beyond doubt.

In this second part of the book, she has a two-way classification of sentences, first of all into initiating and non-initiating sentences, and secondly into cataphoric and anaphoric sentences. Once this classification has been established, Dr. Vichin discusses the inter-sentence relations which are expressed at each level of grammar, from the conversation level down through the sentence, phrase, and word levels. In the chapter on sentence types and their role in expressing inter-sentence relations, the author gives only one example, that linked sentences must always be anaphoric (therefore never initiating), in other words that they imply a related context in a previous part of the conversation. The whole subject of sentence types

and the constraints on their occurrence in conversation has been so little studied that it is a pity Dr. Vichin did not go into this subject in greater detail. She does, however, go into a thorough discussion of differences in sentence structure which express inter-sentence relations, and this is probably the most valuable section of the entire book. At the level of primary constituent structure, she lists eight structures which are exclusively non-initiating. She then classifies into six types the formal differences in structure which, when found in anaphoric sentences, express their relation to preceding cataphoric sentences. Each formal difference is clearly defined and accompanied by numerous examples. The same methodological procedure is then used to describe the phrase level.

As for the conceptual framework of the book, we find that Dr. Vichin borrows several terms which the British linguist, Dr. M. A. K. Halliday, uses in discourse analysis, for example, "context of mention" and the two term system "given"/"new". She also makes her own contribution to the conceptual framework for discourse analysis by postulating additional contexts which play a role in the contextual determination of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a subsequent syntactic unit. The first of these is the "context of interrogation". It requires another two-term system, that of "question" and "answer", which is parallel to the "given" and "new" system required by Halliday's "context of mention". The second one is the "context of immediate perception", intended to deal with data which are extra-linguistic, yet which play a role in the contextual determination of linguistic forms. Dr. Vichin must be highly praised for postulating this context. Most linguists have not dared even to consider situational data, the linguistic data themselves being so complex. It is only to be regretted that she could not delve further into this fascinating subject. She discusses what constituents can be omitted, but she does not go into the semantic problems of how native speakers interpret sentences when primary constituents have been omitted. For example, she does not investigate the question of what person is understood by native speakers to be the subject of a sentence when the personal pronoun subject has been omitted. Likewise, she does not deal with the problem of when, in a long sequence of sentences, a pronoun *must* be deleted if the sentence is to sound like native Thai speech. She only states that a pronoun *may* be deleted in the linguistic situations which she defines.

Thus we see that the primary aim of this grammar is to describe patterns of surface structure. The author is not attempting to integrate semantics and syntax by looking at semantic structure. She is interested in the occurrence and arrangement of sentence constituents. This is seen not only in the treatment of pronoun omission, just discussed, but also in several other parts of the book. Sentences with anteposed constituents are not related by a process statement or transformation to the corresponding sentences with the more common ordering; rather they are listed as separate constituent structure patterns. Likewise, two sentences, one transitive and one intransitive, if they contain a phonologically identical verb, are considered in Dr. Vichin's grammar to have homophonous verbs, whereas a semantic grammar would probably relate the two sentences by a process statement.

In sum, then, we can say that this work is purely descriptive. The author attempts to describe the structure of Thai sentences, making no pretense of producing a grammar which is either generative or semantic in the sense of what the transformationalists claim to do. She identifies and classifies the structural units which occur in the different sentence types which she has set up, and then goes on to describe possible structural modifications which can occur when sentences are found in context. Dr. Vichin could be called a structuralist in that her grammar describes the constituent structure of sentences and uses test frames to define word classes; however, she differs from the majority of American structuralist grammarians in being willing to refer to meaning when necessary. Her grammar is not truly traditional, since she uses the very modern conceptual framework of Dr. M. A. K. Halliday, and she deals with a subject of only recent interest. In short, it seems unfair to attempt to label Dr. Vichin as belonging to any one school. She has her own methods for classifying structures and is consistent in using them. Being the first scholar to deal with inter-sentence relations in the Thai language, she has made an invaluable contribution to the study of Thai linguistics, and it seems most appropriate that the Siam Society should have chosen to publish her book. Hopefully, she has also opened the field so that future linguists will continue the study of discourse structure in Thai.

Leslie M. Beebe

Mons Past and Present (มอญในอดีตและปัจจุบัน), a memento of the cremation of Mrs. Saeng Suraphanit (Sap Saengvichien), Aksōn Samphan press, Bangkok, 1970. pp. 77.

On the occasion of the cremation of his mother, the anatomist Dr. Sood Saengvichien has published a volume which is an important addition to his already considerable contributions to our knowledge of prehistoric man in Thailand. It is also a book which has aroused heated discussion in Bangkok.

Mons Past and Present consists of three chapters, "Mons in the Past" and "Mons in the Present", both by Dr. Sood, and "Fingerprints of the Mon", by Drs. Somchai Saengvichien and Suk Milonfu. "Mons in the Past" can be divided into three sections. The first is a brief account of Dvāravatī, which is marred, despite the author's erudition, by a tendency to treat all statements and theories, whether current or discarded, thoughtful or slapdash, products of years of study or of instant scholarship, as if they all had equal validity. The second and third sections, an inquiry into the ethnic identity of the people of Dvāravatī and a report on an emergency excavation near Nakhon Pathom, are the most important parts of the book. The chapter on "Mons in the Present" is primarily an account based on printed sources of the migration, both forced and free, of the Mons into Siam from Burma within the past four hundred years, and of the role of the Mons, especially Mon armies, in Thai history. The career of the Mon general Chaophraya Mahayotha is recounted. (When asked by King Rama III whether the saying was true that "Craftsmanship lies with the Chinese, good behavior with the Thai, filthiness with the Mon," the Chaophraya is said to have replied, "That saying is not correct. The truth is that craftsmanship lies with the Chinese, good behavior with the Thai, filthiness with the Burmese, and intelligence with the Mon.") Dr. Sood concludes in this chapter that as a result of the mixing of Mon with Thai for over 700 years, "there is little sense of being distinctly Mon or Thai, [and it is] almost as if it was believed that the two are a single race." And indeed, in the chapter on fingerprints, one outcome of a project studying physical differences between Mon and Thai speakers in Thailand today, it is shown that

there is only a slight difference in distribution percentages between a sample of about 270 people with Mon-speaking ancestors and a small Thai sample. (The distribution percentages of both are closer to those of Chinese and Japanese than to Javanese, according to the figures given by the authors.)

Who ruled the kingdom of Dvāravatī? asks Dr. Sood in his chapter on Mons in the past. (*Kingdom* is unwarranted here, of course). The only evidence that the people of Dvāravatī were Mon is the handful of Mon-language inscriptions. How could a people with such a strong culture totally disappear? Why are there no Mon place-names (no Susquehanna Rivers)? To solve these and other apparent problems, Dr. Sood strengthens, in a startling way, the hypotheses he first put forward when he discovered that the skeletal material from the Neolithic site at Ban Kao could not be distinguished in any significant way from the present population of Thailand (which showed that the people of Ban Kao could probably be numbered among the ancestors of the modern residents of Thailand but nothing about what language the people of Ban Kao spoke). To back up his belief that "Thai" speakers have lived in Siam for over 3,000 years, Dr. Sood makes use on one hand of an hypothesis of Per Sorenson and on the other of the authority of the Rev. Princeton S. Hsu, a former missionary in Southern China. In Sorenson's opinion, Ban Kao culture is so similar to that of the proto-Lungshan complex along the Huang-Ho that only a direct migration – which would have been overland – can explain the connection. According to the Rev. Hsu (as understood by the reviewer), a Tai language dominated China until Shang times, and Tai speakers were instrumental in the formation of Shang culture. Thus for Dr. Sood, the carriers of proto-Lungshan culture to Ban Kao were "Thai", and they are the linguistic as well as the genetic ancestors of the modern Thai.

Dr. Sood's theory depends heavily on Sorenson's hypothesis; if the Ban Kao culture was not the result of a direct migration but a matter of local people accepting new ideas – primarily an indigenous Southeast Asian development, perhaps, accompanied by a few direct borrowings from China – or if it is fitted into a pattern of 'Lungshanoid'

expansion, then it is difficult to explain how a Tai language could have reached Ban Kao in the second millennium B.C. Moreover, the linguistic evidence does not appear to support Dr. Sood's theory; if Tai has been spoken in Siam for so long, then the regional dialects should be more differentiated than they are and perhaps related to the Tai languages of China rather differently than seems to be the case. (A glotto-chronological study would be most helpful in this regard.) If Tai was spoken here in Dvāravatī times, in addition, then Indic loanwords would have entered the language at that time, and instead of what is almost entirely a single, uniform stratum of Indic words in modern Thai, there would be an older stratum of some size, consisting of words pronounced according to a different set of rules. Besides these considerations, there are others which Dr. Sood leaves unmentioned out of his desire to confine the positive evidence that Dvāravatī was a Mon culture to a few inscriptions (though these, being not only the only Dvāravatī inscriptions in a vernacular language but a large percentage of all the Dvāravatī inscriptions known, are in fact the most decisive evidence of all). The Haripuñjaya tradition that Queen Cāmadevī came from Lopburi, for instance, together with the evidence provided by the earliest phase of Haripuñjaya art, argues for a close ethnic and cultural connection between Lampun and Dvāravatī, and no one denies that Haripuñjaya was a Mon city. Khmer inscriptions, moreover, acknowledge the existence of no Thai until the twelfth century, but mention *Rmañ* slaves in the seventh century and *Rāmaṇya* enemies in the tenth (*Inscriptions du Cambodge* V, pp. 7, 97). Lastly there is the negative evidence of the Thai chronicles. There are indeed immense problems still to be solved concerning the migrations of the Thai, the language and culture of the prehistoric peoples of Thailand, and the final phases of Dvāravatī; Dr. Sood is quite right to bring into question even our most basic assumptions. The solution he proposes, however, is unacceptable. (And his argument is not strengthened by his excesses: any nation which can express itself as in King Ramkhamhaeng's inscription, he writes, must have had its own language for a long time. Only in a lapse of judgment could one disagree, and only in a lapse of judgment could anyone believe the statement to be relevant to the book's thesis.)

In this chapter on the past, Dr. Sood gives a report on an emergency excavation he and some colleagues carried out in deplorable conditions in the subdistrict of Thapluang near the town of Nakhon Pathom in 1967. At a site from which sand fill was being collected, six burials were recovered intact. The beads (mostly earthenware) and simple iron and bronze objects (mostly various sorts of rings) point to the metal age, while the pottery consists primarily of plain-surfaced shallow carinated bowls (possibly related to sherds from the lower layers of the site at Tha Muang, U Thong [JSS LV, 2, pp. 245-6]), along with a footed subtype, and pots with inturned, conical rims. Dr. Sood argues for a Dvāravatī date, but an earlier period is made likely by positive correlation with any phase at Chansen (*Silpākṣon* 14,1), to which, on the evidence of sherds in the Nakhon Pathom Museum Dvāravatī pottery in the area was related. This might have been in the second half of the first millennium B.C., for the pottery differs from that at the Lopburi Artillery site and would be later than it. Of particular cultural interest at Thapluang are the discovery of a gibbon skeleton found (together with a bronze ring, seven beads, and a bowl holding a fish spear and fish bones) inside a paddle-or cord-marked urn, and the presence under four of the burials of a bear (?), an unidentified animal, and two pigs, respectively; whether these latter animals are definitely associated with the burials cannot be said. The lateral incisors of one of the skeletons recovered intact had been extracted, and in a skull found before the arrival of Dr. Sood on the scene, the filing of the upper incisors has been detected. This is further evidence of cultural continuity in the Neolithic-Dvāravatī period. There is a new twist, however: the custom of filing and extraction has long been known elsewhere in Southeast Asia, but now Dr. Sood has uncovered a Thai from Nakhon Sawan with filed front teeth, proof to him that filing has survived in Siam. Nevertheless, even if Dr. Sood finds further evidence with which to buttress this opinion, the survival of tooth-filing will not, contrary to his reasoning, show that the prehistoric inhabitants spoke Thai. Dr. Sood's report on his Thapluang excavations is not, indeed, the part of *Mons Past and Present* most filled with such challenging and provocative opinions, but it is a valuable contribution to Thai prehistory, and it deserves publication in English.

Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.

Peter A. Poole: *The Vietnamese in Thailand—a historical perspective* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London) 1970 pp. 180 72s. (UK)

The study of the Vietnamese in Thailand is of considerable local interest, and also assumes a wider significance at a time such as the present when Southeast Asia has become a crucial area for the maintenance of world peace. *The Vietnamese in Thailand* is the product of the private research of Peter A. Poole, done partly while he was chief of information services in the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) field unit of the Thai-US Military Research and Development Center (MRDC) in Bangkok. The author made it plain however that no official agency has subsidised, sponsored, or influenced the production of the book. Since public sources cannot always be relied upon for furnishing information on the numbers and activities of the Vietnamese refugees, who are suspicious of the government's attitude and try to avoid registration if possible, a private study such as this one is to be welcomed as an addition to the small stock of studies on minorities in Thailand.

A distinction can be made between large minorities such as the Chinese or the Cambodians and the much smaller Vietnamese minority. Naturally the former groups present different problems for society to tackle, but the common basic problem for both large and small ethnic minorities is how to integrate and accommodate them successfully into the society of the majority, without endangering social and political stability. In this respect the present work invites a comparison with G. William Skinner's extensive volume, *Chinese Society in Thailand* (1957). For the Vietnamese refugees in Thailand, however, a special problem arose concerning their repatriation. Indeed a major part of the book is devoted to the history of development of the repatriation programme.

The author adopts a historical approach to his study. The story is presented in an uncomplicated manner and would have made easy reading but for the rather cumbersome footnotes. There are three major groups of Vietnamese in Thailand: approximately 20,000 old Vietnamese, who are descendants of those arriving in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, approximately 20,000 first-generation

refugees who fled from Laos and Cambodia in 1946 as a result of fighting between French and Viet Minh Forces, and approximately 30,000 second-generation refugees who are children of the second group. The Buddhist old Vietnamese did not form large and closed communities; they were soon absorbed into society and are now only vaguely aware of their non-Thai origin. Although the Catholic old Vietnamese still live in their own communities, they tended to dissociate themselves from the new Vietnamese ever since the government adopted a policy of strict control over the latter. The old Vietnamese and the new refugees and their children were therefore studied more or less separately. It may be noted however that most old Vietnamese interviewed indicated that they have fair relations with the refugees, a finding which was not elaborated further by the author.

There were essentially two phases of relationship between the government and the refugees. The pre-1947 phase with Pridi as the influential political figure is contrasted strongly by the post-1948 which saw harsh anti-Communist activities of the Phibun Government. During the first phase, apparently no attempt was made to curb the influence of the Viet Minh agents on the refugees, and they were even allowed to open an information office in Bangkok, the political motive of the Thai government then being to oppose the resumption of French control over Indochina. The shift in policy after 1948 was connected with Phibun's closer alignment with the US. The activities of the refugees were restricted: rules were enforced which required them to live within designated areas and to obtain permission for any extended travelling. The banned Viet Minh organisation went underground and became a branch of the Lau Dong (Vietnamese Workers Party).

After the 1954 Geneva Conference and the 1955 Bundung Conference, the question of voluntary repatriation was raised. The simplifying aspects of the Vietnamese refugees problem are that for practically all of them their original homeland was North Vietnam and they were small enough in number for repatriation to be feasible economically. About 80,000 registered to go to North Vietnam; almost none chose to go to the South. Employment of these figures

for propaganda material is obvious. Through the arrangement of the Red Cross Societies of Thailand and North Vietnam, over 40,000 refugees were sent home during the period 1960-1964. The repatriation was suspended by North Vietnam after the Gulf of Tonkin incident, a turning point marking rapid escalation of the Vietnam war. The author concluded that since this incident most of the refugees would now prefer to stay in Thailand mainly for personal, not political, reasons.

The problem of assimilation of the refugees was viewed by the author optimistically. Although the first-generation refugees will continue to consider themselves as belonging to North Vietnam, their children are already completely at home in Thailand and many have chosen Thai husbands and wives. Attention was drawn to the likelihood that the second-generation refugees would present politically the most challenging problem of assimilation, since they are apparently under the influence of Lao Dong and "might conceivably be an instrument which North Vietnam could employ more actively against the Thai government".

Although the book discusses official attitudes towards the refugees adequately, it fails to consider in any depth the attitude of the Thai public in the areas where they were concentrated, which must at least be as important a factor in determining their loyalty toward any faction. In general, the book contains little information on social and economic positions of the Vietnamese in Thailand. The attempt to add more information than obtainable from official sources by interviewing various settlers is admirable. However, the choice of interviewees seems rather curious, most of them being over thirty and male. As the author admits, the exercise is limited and can only serve to give an impression of the political attitudes and social backgrounds of the settlers. The chief value of the book then is in the presentation of a historical account which carries a somewhat deeper insight than the public records, thanks to the contacts of the author with the settlers and the officials of several countries, not including, however, North Vietnam.

Yongyuth Yuthavong

T.H. Silcock: *The Economic Development of Thai Agriculture* (Australian National University Press, Canberra) 1970. 250 pp. Australian \$10.00.

The Economic Development of Thai Agriculture is Professor Silcock's third book on Thailand in four years and it is the most difficult to evaluate. While his *Thailand: Social and Economic Studies in Development* (1967) presented a series of scholarly essays, *Proud and Serene: Sketches from Thailand* (1968) was written in a deliberately light vein. The three volumes are interrelated, for the first introduced the broad view of agricultural growth which is developed in this volume and the second provided delightful insight into Professor Silcock's personalized field research style. The author felt that Thai studies had not given the agricultural sector the attention it warranted and this work attempts to remedy the need by its single focus and comprehensive coverage.

The volume satisfies the requirement for an introductory description of Thai agriculture. The study is enhanced by the author's practice of placing current developments in historical perspective. The careful discussion of the problems of measurement and analysis of the major crops and regional growth patterns should prove of value to a wide audience. However it is not always clear whether Professor Silcock intends this study for a general or a specialized audience. The former will find the detailed statistical analysis by changwat unrewarding and the latter will fail to discover references to important studies relevant to the issues under discussion. The trend in rice productivity is a central factor in any assessment of Thai agriculture but, for example, there is no mention of the studies by Ruttan and Trescott to explore the factors responsible for the apparent improvement. The book is a weak source of references to the rapidly growing body of research studies being published on Thai agriculture.

The major theme of the book is the significance of the rice premium as an inadvertent mechanism for promoting Thailand's notable postwar diversification of agriculture. The low returns from growing rice encouraged farmers to switch to a small number of new crops for export which have been responsible for much of agriculture's growth. The area of cultivated land has increased at approximately the growth rate of population, but crops other than rice have grown relatively much more rapidly. Professor Silcock questions whether this lateral expansion represents merely an extension of traditional agricultural technology to new crops or whether gains in agricultural productivity, based on new skills and capital, are emerging. He attributes much of agricultural growth simply to a transfer process and feels that the rice tax, while creating pressure in the right direction, has not been deliberately used to raise productivity and income levels in the rural areas.

The author proposes to explain the process of agricultural growth by the theory of the "contact economy". Growth occurs as previously populated but isolated areas are opened up to the more advanced regions and world markets by improved transportation facilities. The entrepreneurs who control trade and transport capture the initial profits of agricultural specialization but the gains may eventually be diffused in the form of higher prices to the farmers or appropriated by the government through taxation. Improved transportation becomes the strategic catalyst for this type of localized growth which must be studied in a regional rather than a national framework.

The main chapters are impressionistically related to the theory of the "contact economy". The rapid spread of kenaf in the Northeast in response to high market prices illustrates the new production possibilities afforded by the contact process. The various improvements in transportation in the North Central region may have facili-

tated the growth of maize cultivation there but do not explain the concentration of production in such a limited area, especially when most of the crop is still transported by river barge. Silcock concedes that the rapid expansion of the infrastructure and the integration of the economy implies that mere "contact" may be inadequate to explain regional patterns; he suggests the additional critical factor may be entrepreneurial skill, but he fails to consider the environmental factors such as soil, topography and rainfall.

The author's lack of competence in technical agriculture is candidly admitted but it could have been compensated by consultation with agricultural economists and scientists. This weakness is evident as when he suggests that the farmers choose to grow maize instead of rice in Lop Buri and Nakhon Sawan because the premium keeps the rice price low, without recognizing that physical characteristics determine the division of most land between these crops. The suggestion that returns from the rice premium be used to subsidize fertilizer for the rice farmers avoids the question whether Thai rice varieties are responsive to fertilizer and how to assure that subsidized fertilizer would not be diverted to other crops. The general problem of the domestic price of fertilizers is not considered.

In spite of these criticisms, the volume is valuable because it integrates considerable information about Thai agriculture for the first time and suggests a number of provocative ideas for further study. The appendix, "Economic Effects of Thai Policy at the End of World War II" is an unexpected bonus.

*Laurence D. Stifel**

* I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Delane E. Welsch, of the Rockefeller Foundation and Visiting Professor of Agricultural Economics at Kasetsart University, for valuable comments on this book.

Thailand: A Special Report in The Times, 3 September 1970

Thailand: Financial Times Survey, 3 September 1970

Although the United Kingdom ranks only fifth, below Japan, the overseas Chinese, the United States and Western Germany, among the countries which have invested capital in Thailand over the past decade, the Board of Investment has once again sponsored these supplements on Thailand in the two English newspapers most likely to be read by potential investors and financiers. Apart from sentimental ties, of which there are many, between the two countries, the main reason for these supplements lies both in the fact that London still remains an important international financial centre inhabited by many famous finance houses and investment banks and also because London is the acknowledged centre of the international insurance business. Even if the U.K. had never invested a single penny in Thailand, this last fact would make it worthwhile to produce these supplements in London, for all investors will find out the current insurance rates for the area in which they are interested before doing anything else. The level of insurance rates depends on a variety of factors, the chief ones being the stability of the government, financial management and security from war or revolution. And because Thailand is not geographically well placed as regards the latter risk, it is highly advisable to keep the insurance magnates in London well informed and confident about the status of these factors in Thailand. Of course, London is not the only international financial centre in the world, and the Board of Investment has sponsored similar supplements in New York, Frankfurt and Tokyo.

In view of this, the fifteen articles contained in these two supplements are successful in that they strike just the right tone of quiet confidence and optimism, of problems identified and well under control, that such an exercise in public relations requires. The writers are a mixture of foreign correspondents and Thai Government officials (with the exception of Dr. Sumet Jumsai). What is encouraging is that this effect has been achieved without any undue distortion

of facts although some embarrassing details, such as the uncertainties of the forthcoming Alien's Bill, the delay in the Budget, and the widespread corruption involved in Government-commercial relationships, have been left out. The articles in the Financial Times are in a more serious vein to suit the demeanour of that paper, whilst the Times has a slightly broader outlook with an excellent article on the development (or deterioration) of the city of Bangkok, the inevitable piece on Thai women, and a description of Thailand's tourist attractions, in which the now throttled floating market figures prominently, but the availability of a stupendous variety of carnal pleasures is not mentioned.

Each of the supplements are introduced by competent articles on the overall political and economic problems facing Thailand, and it is interesting to note that both writers cogently argue that the Thai Government was right in not intervening in Cambodia. But they seem to underestimate the impact of the fledgling House of Representatives, which, it must be remembered, practically demolished the government's fiscal policy effort in July 1970 by forcing the abandonment of the petrol and cement tax increases. This attitude may be deliberate, since nascent democracy does not augur well for internal political stability in developing countries, and might, at worst, give rise to a wave of xenophobic nationalism.

Dr. Puey Ungphakorn, with the assistance of one of his many able staff members in the Bank of Thailand, gives an excellent account of the financial management of the Thai economy, the main conclusion being that, although faced with the twin problems of a balance of payments and budget deficits, the Thai economy has both the time and ability to cope with both, due to the huge accumulated reserves and a variety of monetary and fiscal measures still unused. However the two much vaunted policies of the 1960's, import-substitution in the industrial sector, and rural development in the agricultural sector, have been failures in that, by catering for the local market, Thai industries have not contributed positively to export earnings, but at

the same time have had to import large quantities of capital and raw materials, and rural incomes have not increased significantly, while the poor demand for Thai agricultural products other than rice has been the result of inferior quality and not so much of the glut in world markets.

The article by Dr. Amnuay Virawan of the Board of Investment and Dr. Snoh Unakul of the National Economic Development Board, therefore, announces a major change in the direction of government policy. On the industrial side priority will now be given to export-oriented industries which make use of local raw materials and are labour intensive; for instance, tinsplate manufacturing would not only use locally produced tin, but would also itself provide raw materials for the local canning industry. The underlying principle is that industries catering for an unlimited export market will be able to take advantage of economics of scale. On the agricultural side priority will be given to the improvement of the quality of existing crops, and more emphasis will be placed on the exploitation of mineral resources for which considerable potential is known to exist.

Hopefully these policies will produce results before the reserves are depleted, perhaps within the next five years, and economic stagnation sets in. What is refreshing is that among the Thai contributors there is a candid acknowledgement of past mistakes. However, this does not prevent these Special Reports from being rather over-optimistic about the future.

Aswin Kongsiri

Andrew Gilchrist *Bangkok Top Secret* (Hutchinson, London) 1970 pp. 231 £2.25

Sir Andrew Gilchrist, writing in 1970 of the Second World War events in which, as anything from Private to Major Gilchrist, he played a prominent part, obviously has total recall and a vivid visual recollection, sufficient to bridge the 25-year delay in publication that prudence and the demands on his time have dictated. Mere reference to diaries would not otherwise produce the sense of excitement and immediacy that permeate the book and make fascinating reading not least for those familiar with the times and places under review. Certainly Sir Andrew relates with affectionate humour the circumstances which gave him a practically unique role in a phase of the war which was vital out of all proportion to the publicity it has subsequently received. This account is in fact the first revelation of the audacious way in which a surprisingly large number of valiant Siamese volunteers of both sexes, backed by the author's resourceful application of the limited forces at his disposal and with the masterly connivance of Siamese government officials, cocked an impudent snook at their country's unwelcome occupants. If at times the story has something of the quality of a schoolboy magazine, this can hardly detract from the content and pace which makes the book compulsive reading. Its value as the first published account in any language of the Siamese scholars turned soldiers from England will be much appreciated by those connected with the Free Siamese Movement in England which was an entirely voluntary organisation. One recalls the frustrations and privations of the early days of soldiering under the banner of the Pioneer Corps—the untouchables' of the British Army. Those were trying days and months until Prince Subhasvasti finally succeeded in persuading the British Government that not only the Siamese as a whole were anti-Japanese and were doing something about it, but also the Free Siamese volunteers were the right ones to establish contact with the F.S.M. at home and not the Siamese-speaking Chinese. This chapter of Siamese history needs to be properly researched and recorded with the co-operation of those who took part in this mission long-forgotten both in England and Siam. Sir Andrew Gilchrist deserves all credit for this contribution towards a long overdue reversal of British judgement of the true role played by Siam in the Far Eastern Section of the Second World War,

Snoh Tanbunyuen

Mom Rachawong Pimsai Amranand: *Gardening in Bangkok* (Siam Society, Bangkok), 1970. pp. 165 B 100.

The book is well written, covering many aspects of plant life and is provided with skilful line drawings and attractive black and white and coloured photographs. The authoress has a wide knowledge of horticulture, and the book is therefore a must for plant-lovers. It is worth B 100 to own such a useful and practical book.

There are, of course, some discrepancies, but just only a few, e.g. Ta Ko (*Diospyros peregrina*) on page 13 should be Tako Na (*Diospyros erythrocalyx*), also in the same page Ton Sy (*Ficus benghalensis*) should be *Ficus benjamina* or *F. microsperma*; *Dendrobium pierardii* in the third coloured plate should read *D. pulchellum*. The black and white plate facing page 105 *Wrightia schomburgiana* in the lower picture should read *W. religiosa*.

Tem Smitinand

Prince Subhadradis Diskul *Art in Thailand: a brief history* (Silapakorn University, Bangkok) 1970 pp. 32+100 plates.

This slim volume is the first of what is apparently to be a series of publications in English by the Faculty of Archaeology at Silapakorn (a project it is to be hoped other faculties in the university, or for that matter other universities, will join) and is an up-dated version of the Dean's primer of Thai art published in Thai in 1963. It is a competent and authoritative introduction to the subject.

Prince Suphadradis has only allowed himself twenty-six pages to cover twenty centuries of art in the geographical area of Thailand and has wisely ignored prehistoric art—if indeed it can be called such—altogether. He starts off with the famous Roman lamp of Pong Tuk, clearly showing he is dealing with art discovered in Thailand and not just Thai art. Professor Boisselier's recent discoveries are included in the section on Dvaravati, about which our knowledge is still somewhat vague. This is also true of Srivijaya, but His Serene Highness is a little ambiguous when he says

“There arose a powerful kingdom between the 8th and 13th centuries in the southern part of Thailand”

for it is unlikely that the kingdom continued to arise for five centuries; moreover, it is now generally agreed that the late Professor Coedès was correct in locating the seat of the empire in Palembang, Sumatra, and that the Srivichaya art of Chaiya, Chatingpra and Nakorn Srithammaraj was the product of provincial centres of the empire.

The question of provincialism again arises with so-called Lopburi period. Mom Chao Subhadradis states that this art

“has affinities with the Khmer art of Cambodia”

but does not tell us precisely what those affinities are and, more importantly, what are the differences. Without such an explanation, a reader might assume the art of the ‘Lopburi period’ is merely a local term for what is internationally known as the Khmer period, especially when he reads in the explanation to the plates that Pimai is ‘Lopburi style’ when both geographically and artistically it would appear to be provincial Angkor.

The Bangkok period would appear to stop, according to the parenthesis to the sub-heading, in the early 20th century; there is however mention of a temple in the “Democratic Period” (constitutional? post-coup?) imitating the style of the Bangkok period. Perhaps at this point one can question the apparently interchangeable way in which the words *period* and *style* are used. We are told

“The Bangkok style started when King Rama I founded Bangkok as his capital in 1782”.

Surely no style starts immediately at a particular date following the whim of historical events, but evolves slowly into something characteristic of itself within a period of time. It is far more likely that in 1782, when the Bangkok *period* began, the *style* was in fact late Ayuthia (or early Dhonburi).

The plates are well-chosen and attractive. What is included in such a necessarily limited selection is obviously going to be dictated

to a certain degree by personal preference. This reviewer would be happy to see the disheartening pile of bricks of plate 21, the indifferent stucco of 59, and all the Buddha statues of the Ratanakosin period, as well as some others, replaced by some examples of wood carving, of which there is not one, of traditional houses, more examples of lay metalwork and of mural paintings. However, the Dean of the Faculty of Archaeology approaches the subject from an archaeological evolutionary view and concentrates on stupas and statues.

In the next edition—which there will surely be before long, for this book is likely to be popular with foreign visitors and residents—it is to be hoped the text to the plates could be put by the illustrations themselves, and save a lot of unnecessary turning backwards and forwards. It is also to be hoped that the present location of the objects will be indicated, and that the Fine Arts Department's 'archaeological map of Thailand' could be revised to be less misleading. The map confuses provinces with places, and puts dots by the towns, for example, of Nakorn Panom and Narathiwat, but only the towns of That Panom and Sungai Kolok are mentioned in the text. Other towns are indicated on the map with even less excuse, like Udorn and Phuket, and places like Phnom Rung and Sichol, which deserve to be shown, are unmarked.

These suggestions should not be allowed to detract from the usefulness of this volume, which provides a succinct introduction to the art of the country with admirable clarity. The Vice-President of the Siam Society is to be congratulated on an excellent synopsis of the largely religious art to be found in Thailand.

Michael Smithies

Sulak Sivaraksa, ed., *Special Supplement on Siam (Solidarity)*, Manila, April, 1970)

The April 1970 issue of *Solidarity*, a Manila-based English language monthly, offered its readers present-day Thailand in a capsule. With the co-operation of Sulak Sivaraksa, who is also one of its editorial advisers, *Solidarity* presents a series of eight articles by Thai and foreign commentators on the manifold problems and possibilities faced by Thailand at her coming of age. Some poems and a short story were also thrown in to give the readers a balanced diet. Sulak Sivaraksa, well known for his calculated, reasoned and dispassionate conservative views, attempts to set the pace with the lead article "Siam versus the West". The theme is a familiar one: Thailand should make whatever social, political and other adjustments to meet the needs of the times; but proper discretion should control the process of modernization lest the very soul of Thailand—of Siam—be sacrificed to superficial progress and modernity transplanted from their western context. There is no denying the truth in the warning quoted by Sulak Sivaraksa, "To watch an elephant defecate and then try to do the same is dangerous." Even so, it is possible to observe that the problem with Thailand, as with many other underdeveloped lands, is that very often the pressures for change do not permit the time-lag necessary for the perfecting and blending of the art and the science of social transformation. Fortunately or unfortunately, depending on whether one would be inside or outside the test tube, it is not possible to maintain a laboratory control over the process of change. The degree and amount of imperfections and artificialities inflicted upon Thai society are as much a reflection of mounting impatience as of the scarcity of intellectual and technical competence to absorb and apply the wealth of knowledge and know-how to the Thai situation.

The succeeding articles are not natural follow-ups to that theme, but one gets an uncomfortable feeling of intimidation and an unjustifiable abandonment to a crusading zeal on the part of the editorial body. The reader is subjected to a mental association game: Siam equals Thailand; Thailand equals a comical hybrid produced by a

mad-dog fascist regime; Siam, therefore, equals homeland to a toy-like, child-like and sometimes comical people called the Siamese. For some strange reason too, an editorial introduction to the most topical and forward-looking article ("Whither Goes the Orphan?") reads "Siam, on the threshold of modernization, looks back to her past." It is inconceivable that the editorial body did not read the article or did not understand its meaning, so it must be concluded that *Solidarity* is giving a free I.Q. test to their readers.

Minor afflictions aside, the reader can readily take in some informative observations contained in the main body of the writings. Laurence Stifel's "Problems and Prospects for the Economy of Siam" offers a useful generalization on the economic situation. Reviewing the trend over the decades since the Second World War, it is noted that Thailand has made satisfactory advances without "the conventional" difficulties of population growth eating up all the economic gains (or so it seemed); without having to resort to restrictive trade practices or financial strait-jackets; without unemployment worth speaking of; without any inflationary crisis. What blessings!—and still more. The American involvement in Vietnam, particularly since the escalation of the war in 1966, brought benefits to the Thai economy in the form of an annual windfall amounting to some \$200 million. But, now, the balloon has punctured. The recent balance of payments difficulties, the slackening of American aid and Vietnam-related expenditures, and the contracting market for Thai exports have given cause for a more critical look at the account book and statistical successes. Dr. Stifel sees five major problem areas in need of priority consideration by the Government in the 1970's. First, the need for more effective rural development programmes to close the widening disparities between incomes in the rural areas and the urban centres, as well as between the different regions of the country, partly to eliminate the disincentives to greater productivity and partly to halt the trend towards a complete breakdown of economic, social and, very likely too, political order in rural areas. On this very point, Kamsing Srinawk's "The Village Situation" gives a brief but cogent explanation of the disintegration of rural life in Northeast Thailand. Traditional landholdings in the face of population pressures, continued

dependence on the vagaries of nature for one's livelihood, enforced indolence due to lack of security (personal as well as economic), the pull of urban progress, the general rise in the level of expectation, and the lack of understanding of the basic needs of the rural people on the part of the Government and its local officials—these are some of the reasons given in relation to the Northeast problem but much of it is equally applicable to other remote regions of the country. While on the subject of rural areas and the agricultural population, it is a great pity to note that M.C. Siddhiporn Kridakorn, with his enviable wealth of knowledge and experience, should have chosen to write about the "Historical Background of Siamese Farmers", which in effect is a minor and for that reason an unnecessary extension of his more comprehensive polemics against the NEDB agricultural policy and the rice premium given elsewhere. This particular piece in any event does justice neither to the author of *Some Aspects of Siamese Rice Farmers* nor to the champion of the agricultural workers. Coming back to Dr. Stifel's second point, the Government is urged to continue diversification of the economy, a need imposed on the one hand by a growing demand for foreign exchange earnings to sustain national development, and, on the other hand, by the tightening of the market for Thailand's traditional and few export crops, particularly so at a time when momentum is gathering for the Green Revolution. Third, there is the need for more investment in the development of human resources to meet the requirements of a modern and technologically oriented society. Fourth, the need to mitigate, and ultimately eliminate, the economic and social problems of urban concentration, particularly in the case of Bangkok, which seems to act as the sole magnet drawing in the assets as well as the liabilities from the vast rural reserves. Fifth, and finally, there is the urgent need to launch a family-planning programme on a national scale. Whether we begin now or continue the policy of procrastination could mean the difference between greater well-being and starvation. And like any good economist who is on tap rather than on top, Stifel places his hopes for Thailand on her past showings of economic pragmatism and a fair amount of political sensibility.

In "Whither Goes the Orphan?" the whimsical question mark belies Preecha Araya's serious attempt to formulate a broad view of the Thai political context. Taking the American general withdrawal from Southeast Asia as the starting point for an essay on the need for self-help on the part of Thailand to maintain her internal and external security, he lambasts the Government's panacea-seeking policy of regional co-operation. The failure of an irrational shift from a too long-standing vertical external relationship (donor-recipient) to a lateral one (among co-equals) is emphasised, particularly since the latter would involve co-operation among those who are equal only in the degree of poverty, political instability and unlimited want. It is urged, therefore, that Thailand and other countries of Southeast Asia put their houses in order before any meaningful and lasting regional mutualism can be expected to emerge. To this end, in the case of Thailand, Preecha Araya sees the need for greater public participation in the political process, greater constructive efforts by the representatives in the National Assembly, and a more courageous stand by the hitherto subservient or altogether irrelevant local press. Thus, it is hoped, the generated political groundswell would be powerful enough to pressure the Government into rechannelling their thinking and efforts towards the proper priorities.

Of the other articles, they each give a glimpse of what Thailand is about. Pataya Saihoo's reminiscences "Sathien Koses As I Knew Him" make little impact except on those who are acquainted with Sathien Koses personally or through his works. But, still, to the Philippine and other non-Thai readers the article does serve to underline the fact that in Thailand we are given to extreme adulations of the "father-master figure", so much so that the essence or the soul of the subject is often obliterated by the very panegyric outpourings. Vidyakorn Chiengkul's "At A Work Camp" gives a touching expression of youthful spirit in search of a meaningful place in society. As with the youth of many other countries, the urge to meet with nature and to experience elements and environments different from their own proves irresistible.

All in all, *Solidarity* has done what it claims to be doing, that is to bring new insights to its readers, particularly those in the Philippines. How deep an insight cannot be gauged without knowing how much basic information is known or how many necessary presuppositions about Thailand have been made by *Solidarity's* readers. But one certain thing is that the magazine has begun a valuable and long overdue service of bringing out the problems, the achievements, the failures and the weaknesses of countries in Southeast Asia into open discussion. This information, whatever its shortcomings, will undoubtedly contribute to better understanding and the creation of a sympathetic milieu among the countries who have set their sights on the lofty goal of regional solidarity. For this, the editorial body of *Solidarity* is to be congratulated.

Voraputhi Jayanama

The Jesuite Unmasked, Being Third in the Series of Extracts From the private Book Collection of M.L. Manich Jumsai, C.B.E. Edited by Sumet Jumsai and reproduced photographically for the Benefit of Students and Researchers in Siamese History. Bangkok, 1969. 39 pp.

This little book, published in London in 1689, is an English translation of an original French pamphlet, of the type so common in the 17th century. In it, an anonymous author airs his griefs against the Jesuits by means of an imaginary conversation between three Jesuits, who are said to share with one another the tricks taught them by their "Doctor, the devil". The sub-title of the pamphlet indicates the actors: "a dialogue between the most holy Father La Chaise, confessor of His Most Christian Majesty (Louis XIV), the most chaste Father Peters, confessor of the King of England (James II) and the most pious Father Tachart, ambassador from the French King to His Majesty of Siam (King Narai)."

The bulk of the pamphlet deals with religious problems of England with a few references to what Father Tachard (rather, the

anonymous author who puts the words in his mouth) thinks of Siam. As Mr. Sumet Jumsai points out in his introduction, the author is already at fault in his title, since Father Tachard was never the ambassador of the King of France. His fame was due rather to his friendship with King Narai, and the aid he gave, as translator, to the Thai Diplomatic Mission to His Holiness, Pope Innocent XI. But there is no need to look for historical accuracy in the pamphlet, for these Jesuits are chosen only to be the mouthpiece of the anonymous author who has no serious knowledge of Thailand.

The book is admirably reproduced. One wonders why it is included in a "Series of Extracts... for the benefit of students and researchers in Siamese history", for as Mr. Sumet Jumsai remarks in his introduction, "This book actually has no direct use in the field of the history of Siam." If the purpose is, as the introduction seems to indicate, "to show that this type of book, and many of similar kind were circulating in the various countries of Europe two or three hundred years ago," perhaps this is a rather expensive way to demonstrate so simple a fact. We recommend the book to students and researchers in Siamese history, but only if they are collectors of curios.

Paul W. O'Brien, S. J.

Mural Paintings at Wat Rakang: Restoration Project of the Association of Siamese Architects (Thai Watana Press, Bangkok) 1970. pp. viii, 32. 25 baht.

We Thais of today are lucky; the capital city is established and growing. Millions of people have been working for nearly two hundred years to make Bangkok as it is now. We enjoy and make use of what previous generations have created. Dhonburi was of necessity rapidly established, since the last capital was destroyed by fire and sword, and left its inhabitants like gypsies looking for somewhere to settle. King Taksin with leadership, talent and ability built up his capital and the Ratanakosin monarchs theirs. Among the

creations of this period of settling down are major art works. Unexpectedly, art grew brilliantly and thrived. The kings were either artists themselves or art patrons and lovers. As in many other countries, art for a long time served religion: our art works are in temples or in palaces, the residences of art patrons. Today hundreds of temples contain works of art, the buildings themselves or in the form of paintings or statues. Some of these are well known to the public, some are less well known and others not known at all.

In August 1968 a group of young and older people met and started the Restoration Project of the Art Conservation Committee of the Association of Siamese Architects. The Association tries to protect and preserve art works in the kingdom. Recently the committee has produced a well-finished and interesting book with the aid of the Thai Watana T. Suwan Foundation, entitled *Mural Paintings at Wat Rakang*. These murals were painted during the reign of King Rama I on the wooden temple library of great historical and artistic value. The text explaining the paintings was written by Professor Fua Hiripitaksa, an artist who has given much time and energy to restoring traditional paintings in many temples. It is not only that the murals are excellent works themselves, but the actual building of the wooden library and the wood carvings are remarkable. Thanks to the Association's Art Conservation Committee, this building and its mural paintings are brought to the attention of the public and restoration has been carried out before it was too late.

The book gives a good explanation of the background of the temple and its paintings, in both Thai and English. Money from the sale of the volume goes to a restoration fund. It is well worth the modest cost of this guidebook both to understand the paintings in the library (which is on the Dhonburi side of the river, opposite Ta Chang landing) and to be a patron of the traditional arts of Thailand.

Euayporn Kerdechouay

Donald C. Lord *Mo Bradley and Thailand* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids) 1969 227 pp. \$3.95

There can be little doubt that Dan Beach Bradley, the person who introduced printing into Thailand, became a friend of King Mongkut and was one of the earliest of Western medical practitioners in the country, was a remarkable person. What is at first surprising is that his achievements were all incidental to his main purpose of procuring converts for his particular God, in which self-imposed task he was singularly unsuccessful. The book under review, drawing heavily on missionary sources, is a sympathetic and unemotional account of Bradley's life and aims, and accounts for his failure (as Bradley saw it) to produce more conversions by maintaining

"Christian exclusiveness and Thai tradition were insurmountable obstacles to the nineteenth-century missionary."

One wonders why Mr. Lord limited the remark to the nineteenth century. The record of the French attempts at conversion in the seventeenth century was no more impressive, and in the middle of the twentieth century, in spite of all the displaced China missionaries resulting in what must be more missionaries per head than anywhere in the world, their success, measured against their avowed aims, is miserable.

Less dogmatic observers will be delighted that this is so; in these liberal days proselytizing is suspect and the notion of wanting to change people's religious convictions slightly quaint. Countries with established creeds of their own might justifiably point out that the West is rather more in need of missionizing than the East. What is constantly amazing is the obtuseness of the Western missionaries when compared with the open-mindedness of the senior Thais they came into contact with. King Narai's interest in learning something about the new religion of Christianity could not be seen by the French as intellectual curiosity but only as a desire to convert. Lord records that as the Phra Klang (presumably Somdet Chao Phraya Borommaha Prayurawong, Dit Bunnag)

“had many reservations about his own religion – he wrote pamphlets on science to be used in the Buddhist schools because he had so little respect for the scientific knowledge of the monks—it is entirely possible that he might have been receptive to a foreign religion.”

This is surely wishful thinking, and Lord is confusing religion with sacerdocy. He does add though that the Phra Klang considered many Christian teachings nonsense and gave the missionaries complete freedom to preach since he was sure they would make no headway.

He was quite right. Bradley’s record of Christian conversions, as Lord himself admits, was ‘dismal’, and nothing

“preplexed (sic) Bradley more than the fact that several of his potential converts turned out to be hoaxes”

– they wanted to learn to be printers or get free medicine. Bradley’s first mission opened in 1835 and closed in 1847, when it had one convert left—a Chinese. The first protestant conversion in Thailand was to be symptomatic; a Chinese named Boon Tee, he became understandably confused by Christian sectarianism and “defected to opium”. In spite of this lack of success, Bradley never gave up, and carried on where many lesser men would have abandoned such a fruitless task.

Yet the methods by which Bradley and his colleagues went about their missionizing made it hardly surprising they met with little success. Bradley published tracts against Buddhism and

“told the monks that Buddha was in Hell if he did not accept Christ”.

When visiting the palace he distributed tracts and in fluent Thai

“gave the royal children a choice between Heaven and Hell, between Christ and oblivion.”

The Catholics get scarcely any mention from Mr. Lord, who however records in agonizing detail the various factional squabbles between the (as it would seem from these pages) predominantly American protestant sectarians. That these squabbles could but seem mildly ridiculous to the Thais at the time (or for that matter any impartial observers at any time) there is no doubt. In 1853, four years after Bradley had returned to Thailand under a different parent mission, the American Missionary Association, the mission consisted of three persons and their families; a doctrinal dispute arose, and they split

up to form two separate churches. Bradley's opinion even six years before his death in 1873 was that he had never witnessed

“such perfect deadness in sin and ruin”

and the parent mission itself acknowledged that Thailand was a “hard field”.

Mr. Lord's acquaintance with Thailand and Thai, or even medical, history would not appear to be close. He maintains the common error that ‘lying by the fire’ (or mother-roasting) has disappeared and claims that

“Bradley had a lasting effect upon Thai thinking in this matter.”

He even adds that Westerners saw examples of this “as late as 1895”. Anyone remotely connected with rural Thailand—even villages only 30 kilometers away from the capital—would be able to tell him that as late as 1970 it is still the custom for newly delivered mothers to spend several days by a scorching fire. Lord talks of the mosquitoes that plagued the missionaries and at the same time talks about the prevalence of malaria, a connection Bradley is unlikely to have made since the link between malaria and mosquitoes was only suggested twenty-one years after Bradley's death. Lord states that the first Thai official ever to have left the country was sent by King Mongkut to return an embassy in connection with the ratification of the Bowring treaty, apparently forgetting the embassies sent to Europe by King Narai nearly two centuries before. As is fashionable, he takes Anna Leonowens to task for inexactitude, pointing particularly to the absurdity of the story of Tuptim and the subterranean dungeon, but is not much better himself in saying Bradley kept his printing press in the “basement” of his establishment (he presumably kept it on the ground and lived in the house proper which would have been raised on stilts above). He contradicts himself in less than eleven pages by first maintaining the climate of Bangkok “was undoubtedly one of the healthiest in the tropics” and then talking about Bradley taking “Thailand's health cure, a seagoing voyage away from the disease-laden air of Bangkok” (when in fact Bradley only had dysentery—hardly the consequence of disease-laden air). Lastly, he informs us that

“In 1949, after the destruction of nineteenth-century imperialism conditioned the West to blows to its pride, the government officially changed the name of its country from Siam to Thailand.”

Apart from the fact that the name was first altered ten years before this, the change had remarkably little to do with ‘nineteenth century imperialism’ but quite a lot to do with the territorial ambitions of a military oligarch.

These errors and certain infelicities of style apart (“the city was *tres magnifique* to most visitors” and occasionally peppering the pages with initials, so that ABCMA and AMA appear 15 times on one), the book gives an interesting survey of Bradley’s life and motives. His early years in New York state in the so-called Burned-over District at the time of the so-called Second Great Awakening, the ‘Seeing of God’ and the missionary impulse during his studies at Auburn and then the New York Medical College, his hasty marriage to a person he scarcely knew except by correspondence (an experience repeated after the death of his first wife; indeed we are given the impression the second Mrs. Bradley only became such because she “wanted to enter the missionary field”), the arrival in Thailand, complete with printing press and medicine chest in 1835, the acquisition of 3,500 patients, mostly Chinese, in his first year and an additional 1,500 in the second, on the back of whose prescriptions he wrote ‘scripture messages’ which were taken to be magic talismans . . . His life was certainly a full one, and even if one does not share his views, there can be no doubting his integrity and also his technical skills—qualities King Mongkut was quick to appreciate.

If he and his like have been failures in their prime task, it really does not matter and perhaps we should be grateful (after all, we are told “Bradley never tampered with the Lord’s will” and the lack of conversions could be construed as such). He is remembered now for his press, the introduction of commercial printing (which he started to subsidize the production of tracts), his medical skill and his close association with King Mongkut, whose decisions he may, or may not, have influenced in some degree. A remarkable man, the product of a rather extraordinary environment.

Michael Smithies

Recent Siamese Publications.

434. *The Yuan P'ai* บทพจนานุกรม edited, annotated and paraphrased by Ch. Krasèsindhu, with maps & plans, Bangkok, 2513 qto pp. 350.

Though one of the earliest classics of Siamese literature left in a comparatively fair preservation, the anonymous historical poem has been neglected longer than it should have been. We venture to put forward a reason for it; although old, it only dates from the XVth century. Obviously written as a panegyric, it has the additional merit of being accurate in historical facts, as the editor points out, by referring to other available histories of the period. Whoever its author was, he was well conversant with the time described and its political problems. The main topic was of course the rise of an ambitious and energetic ruler of the Lännā kingdom, Prince Lok, "Sixtus", sixth of the sons of the King of Lännā, who took up the reigns of government by forcibly ridding his state of its traditional King, his own father, and of some others who were in his way. He lost no time extending his influence over his immediate southern neighbours, Sukhodaya and Ayudhyā. With the desertion of a royal vassal of Ayudhyā in the person of Prince Yuddhisthian, who sought the protection of Lok of Chienmai because of the alleged perfidy of Ayudhyā, the *casus belli* between Lok and his neighbour of Ayudhyā developed into a succession of wars, one of which formed the main topic of the present poem. In that campaign Lok was defeated, but not for good, for after a brief restoration of friendly relations, hostilities broke out again and continued until the leaders of both sides died when there was no one on the Lännā throne who cared to prolong fighting further.

The method of editing the poem adopted by Krasèsindhu is to take each stanza, comment first on the text, going on to the history and topography of each scene, and offering where possible a solution of problems arising from the texts.

One of the main difficulties of interpreting the poem is its archaic language, combining standard Siamese with the northern dialect. The former differs from present-day Siamese but is tolerably intelligible. With the exception of a few terms, such as เจริญนามบ่อน and ๒๓๓๓๓๓ and others, which we hope to discuss later, the editor has

been wonderfully successful and convincing in marshalling his arguments to come to some understanding of the text. References to Indian classics such as the *Mahābhārata* abound and have not been thoroughly understood by our savants. The editor has however collected correct information about the characters of the Indian epic. The references to the story of Rāma on the other hand are easy to understand for that saga has been well known among us Siamese for successive generations. Topographical references are often quite difficult because many names have disappeared since the time of the epic. The editor is to be congratulated especially for his identification of Chieṅchün with Chaliṅ and the modern Swankalōk through his clever interpretation of the stanza on page 231.

Turning back now to the difficult terms, the editor suggests an interpretation of the stanza referring to the coin *khāmpôm* (เงินขามป้อม) which seems acceptable. The term however of *yākonchīep* is still doubtful. There is hardly any corresponding term. The reviewer has even been so bold as to think of a possible Sanskritised Pali formation mistakenly written to refer to a form of *yākiñci* meaning *whoever* or *whichever*, thus “whichever celestials”. But this is admittedly an unsubstantiated guess and the reviewer is not ready to support such a reading although it does make sense that way.

Regarding the authorship, although there is no statement to this effect, the reviewer is ready to support Krasèsindhu that the originator was probably the son and heir of King Boromatrailōk, later known as Rāmādhībodi II, who would certainly have been conversant with Court ceremonials and the protocol of the time as evidenced by details in the poem.

Our “EROICA” has only one parallel—the TALENG PAI of the Patriarch Kromsomdeč Āra Paramānujit of Bangkok’s third reign.

435. *The Ordination of H.M. King Bhumibol in 2499* พระราชพิธีทรงผนวช, being the official report of the historic event, published on the occasion of the cremation of the remains of Ārayā Prasād Dhātukār in 2513, Teachers’ Association Press, Bangkok. 2513. profusely ill. 259 pp. Oto.

The deceased was a scientist and a scholar. His biography is well worth reading. It has been characteristically attached to the end of the book. We say characteristic because the deceased and his family were typically modest and prefer their personal items to be placed in an unimportant part of the publication.

The latter is nevertheless an important historical publication, for in the whole history of Siam only four reigning kings have renounced their exalted positions of their own free will to take up the monastic life, rendering such an occasion a special importance. The first was King Litai of Sukhodaya, then King Boromatrailōk of Ayudhyā and King Chulāloṅkorn, the fourth and last being the present King, whose ordination forms the subject of the book under review. The event in this case was a little different from that of his august predecessors. Whereas the kings of the past could assume what may be called a leave of absence from their duties for a time, our king of this age is bound permanently by his oath to reign over the nation. The binding is the Constitution itself. Another important difference is the constitution of the monastic chapter which superintended the King's ordination. Whereas an ordination of the School of Dhammayut is bound to limit itself to monks of the school permitting no others professing any but the Dhammayut to take part, in this case His present Majesty asked for a more liberal constitution to include monks of the other principal schools to join in. There had to be however a sort of confirmation ceremony to include only the Dhammayut monks in which order the King, following the precedence of his family, decided to join. The King took great pains to uphold the democratic life of the Holy Order to such an extent that he walked out of the monastic residence several mornings, bowl in hand, to offer opportunities to the public to make merit by emptying their portions into the bowl carried personally by "the monk Bhumibala", who without disdain mixed the popular offerings with his regular fare and ate it like any other monk.

Necessitated by the burden of his regal office, however, the King was not able to remain in the monastery for the duration of the

vassā, and after a fortnight of a strict monastic life of study he was petitioned to leave the monastery.

Within the kingdom the ordination was highly popular, for among other things it gave the sovereign a chance to move about freely among his subjects, sometimes without recognition. Had this happened in the old days recognition would have been less easy; but His present Majesty had been moving about a great deal before and made himself widely familiar already. From outside the country, Burma took the opportunity to send a delegation to offer monastic necessities to the King in the usual Buddhist way. The King in turn sent a mission to thank the President and nation of Burma.

436. *The Story of Palaces* ๑๓๓๓๖๓๓๓ published in dedication to the late Colonel Momrājawoṅs Lek Ngōnroth at the cremation of his remains at Wat Somanas, 2513 pp. 159.

The Story of Palaces has been published four times since it first appeared in 1922 as the 26th volume of Prince Damrong's *Historical Series*. The present edition has been revised and updated by Princess Duangčit, who was her father's Private Secretary, in conjunction with Mr. Bančoeđ Intučanyoṅ, an assistant master of the Tantrončit School at Wat Pra Jetupon. As an inventory it is good, its information being thoroughly revised as far as can be expected. The book should serve its purpose in supplying a trustworthy inventory of the residences of royalty.

In order to understand the status of palaces as such it should be borne in mind that old Siamese custom provided palaces for the King's sons only for as long as the Prince lived. At his death the palace reverted to the Treasury. The children of royal princes had to start their individual homes as best they could. The daughters of princes ranking as Momčao might seek homes within the royal palace, or with their respective relatives.

In the time of King Moṅkut more attention was given to the children of princes starting to have their private homes.

The deceased colonel was a young brother of Momrajawoṅs Tō, consort of His Royal Highness Prince Narisrānuvatiwoṅs, who

brought him up from childhood, and sent him into the Military Cadet School.

437. Bhānuraṅsi, H. late R.H. Prince: *Genealogies of the families of the Queens of the fifth reign*. ราชินิกุลรัชกาลที่ห้า revised by his daughter Princess Rampaiprabhā and Mr. Bančloed Intučanyoṅ for presentation on the 60th anniversary of the birth of the Princess. Bangkok 2510 pp. 213.

One would hardly realise how such a work as this needs careful compilation. Though it is useful as a record, the book cannot be reviewed as literature for there is no incentive to read it through. As a work of reference it is valuable.

Dhani

Books Received for Subsequent Review

- ed. Schweinfurth: *Problems of Land Use in South Asia* (Yearbook of the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University 1968/69 : Harrasowitz, Wiesbaden) 1969 pp.138 DM. 56
- John Bryant, M.D. : *Health and the Developing World* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London) 1969 pp.345 \$10 or £4.15.0
- David A. Wilson: *The United States and the Future of Thailand* (Praeger, New York) 1970 pp.181 \$7.50
- Klaus Rosenberg: *Die traditionellen Theater formen Thailands von den Anfängen bis in die Regier ungszeit Rama's VI* (Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., Hamburg : Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., Tokyo) 1970 pp.426
- S.J. Tambiah: *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in Northeast Thailand* (Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 2: Cambridge University Press) 1970 pp.388 £5.25 (\$16.50)
- Prince Subhadradis Diskul: *Masterpieces from Private Collections* (Silapakorn University, Bangkok) 1970 pp.28