Cadet, J.M.: Ramakien, the Thai epic, Kodansha International Ltd., Tokyo, Japan & Palo Alto, California USA, 1971, pp. 256, ill., \$14.50.

It was a happy idea of the author to have based his study on the bas reliefs of Wat Pra Jetupon on the balustrades surrounding the ubosoth or main chapel, because it has suggested a fresh source of information regarding the origin of the story of Rama in this land. The bas reliefs have of course been in situ for some time past, but it seems nobody has ever taken the trouble to solve the problem of the possibility of earlier versions of the legend thus suggested. The narrative presented here does not differ to any extent from the standard Ramakien of 1798, with the exception of a few inaccurate readings of the author. These are not due to any mistake of the bas reliefs; in the case of the guardian of Lonka being described as a male, a glance at the galleries could never lead one to see a male in the demoness of huge proportions floating topless in the oceans; again, in the episode of King Sahassadeja on the last tablets, whom Mr. Cadet suspects to be 'Totsakan', that personage as a matter of fact is invariably depicted wearing a crown with two tiers of demon faces superimposed with one of godhead, whilst Sahassadeja wears three tiers also superimposed with the godhead.

Without wishing to belittle the author's scholarship and skill in looking into the details of art, the reviewer is almost wondering if these slips are also due to the alleged insincerity of the Thai so scathingly complained of in these pages. The insincerity—cloaked, as the author points out, within an amorphous exterior—must therefore be the cause of the sad lack of understanding apparent throughout the book under review.

In any case the book is distinguished by its beautiful rhetoric.

Dhaninivat

Suwannee Sukonta, Kao Chue Karn (A Man Called Karn), Klang Wittaya Publishing Co., 1971, 564 pages, 50 Bht.

Readers who are familiar with Miss Suwannee Sukonta's novels would agree that while *Kao Chue Karn*, her latest novel which received the SEATO Literary Award of 1971, may be the best of the novels taken into consideration last year, it is not her 'best' work.

The novelist, reputed for her 'naturalistic' style and her 'stream of consciousness', here ventures into a new theme of the 'odd man out'. Karn, a dedicated Northeast-born doctor with humanitarian ideals, chooses to work in a remote northern 'umphoe' and struggles vainly against the corrupt provincial society. As is expected, he is finally killed by hoodlums, protégés of the 'nai umphoe' (district officer). Karn also fails in his domestic life. After marrying a Bangkok university graduate, Harutai, a 'wide-eyed' innocent girl with many contradictions in her personality and the romantic notion that she is marrying a 'Tom Dooley' missionary-hero who will conquer evil and become prosperous, his marriage gradually crumbles. Suffering partly from domestic hardship and boredom with country life, and mainly from the lack of communication between her and Karn, Harutai leaves him temporarily and 'runs home to mother'. The trip back to Bangkok, instead of solving their domestic problems, complicates their lives further. After this turningpoint the pace quickens. The author begins to lose her grip on the characters and concentrates more on happenings. Unforeseen incidents arise one after the other, some plausible, others quite irrational: Harutai's second reunion with her old flame, Tomorn, a rich good-for-nothing playboy, and their car accident in which she breaks her leg and loses her memory; Karn's encounter with the district officer's gambling hoodlums; Tomorn's maneuver to win Harutai back by sending Karn abroad; and finally Karn's murder by the district officer's hoodlums. Karn in the end finds himself entangled in a personal and social cobweb and becomes the inevitable prey of more powerful and 'corrupt' forces.

The social themes seem to be the strong points of the novel, especially the harsh and frank criticism of the corrupt government officials in Bangkok and the province, the contrast between the honest, peace-loving

country folks and the corrupted, hectic Bangkok people. This social criticism, which often appears in Suwannee's novels, is cleverly inserted in the lively dialogues of different characters. However, the criticism seems to lack depth and becomes merely 'clichés' of everyday conversation.

The themes of unsuccessful marriage and the love triangle, which seem to be Suwannee's favorite themes, unfortunately overshadow the intended theme of Karn's being 'l'Étranger' in society. The author concentrates more on the development of the love and marriage relationship than on the social theme.

The values of this novel are undoubtedly to befound in Suwannee's flowing style of writing and the presentation of a new kind of "anti-hero". This figure is not the usual tall, dark, and handsome Prince Charming who dashes off at the happy ending with his princess in a white convertible, but a plain-looking Northeasterner who struggles through hardship in life, fighting a losing battle both at home and in society. The novel, however, has its weak points.

The first weakness lies in the portrayal of Karn's character. Despite the title being dedicated to his name, Karn remains a two-dimensional character without much development, especially when compared with Harutai who seems to be a more dominant character. The reader knows as little about him as his wife does. Aside from being told he is a serious and dedicated doctor, very little is shown of his medical practice in the village, except for a few insignificant cases, such as the snake-bitten patient and the wounded gambler, both of whom Karn cannot help. His idealistic mission and dedication therefore remain 'verbal' and unconvincing. We learn about his merits through remarks of other characters and not through his own actions. At the end of the novel, his decision to return to the village for the last time before making any definite plan for the future seems to be prompted more by the unfortunate domestic incident, in which his maid is raped by the local police officer, than by any call of duty. Though the latter is mentioned in the letter from the girl's father, the former event seems to outweigh it.

If Karn's character and relationship with the villagers had been developed to the full, the tragic ending would have been more effective. Also, if the author had let him make a final decision either to go abroad or uphold his ideal, the irony would have created a more powerful impact. As it stands, the epitaph by the tearful boatman at the end, "His name was Karn. We loved him very much. But he had to die" seems to be a device to re-emphasize the title of the novel rather than as a moving statement.

Harutai, on the other hand, is the most carefully studied, analyzed, and developed character in the whole novel. Her complex personality, wavering between romantic illusion about life and common sense, idealism and materialism, love of nature and luxury shows Suwannee's 'forte' as one of the most sensitive creators of female characters. The author's famed skill in exploring the flow of thoughts, conscious and unconscious reflections, and flash-backs, is used here to the greatest advantage. The reader is able to follow the development of Harutai's character up to the turning-point. After the accident and the loss of memory, Harutai becomes rather flat and diluted. (It may be a little far-fetched to interpret this as her spiritual death.) In the writer's opinion, these two incidents seem to be merely fictional devices to add excitement to the plot. They serve neither the development of the characters nor the 'rationale' of the plot. Although the event allows Karn to confess his passionate feeling toward her in the shocking nearrape scene, it does not change her or develop in her a feeling of love for him. Her recovery, as the result of the shock, is so gradual that the rape seems altogether insignificant. The author could have explored further the stream of her unconsciousness during her loss of memory. This would have made the development of her character more complete.

Most of the other minor characters remain two-dimensional stereotypes, representing different sectors of Thai contemporary society: the bourgeois mother, the corrupt district officer and chief of public welfare, the maids from the province and Bangkok slum, middle-class engineers and

doctors, Chinese capitalists, etc. They appear like flashes of various images without much development.

The two antagonists in Karn's life are the district officer and Tomorn. The district officer, representing the corrupt country bureaucrats, seems more like a comic character who only becomes a black villain in the final scene. Tomorn is well portrayed at the beginning as a lovable, charming, witty, sophisticated playboy. Why he should turn into another 'black villain', quite out of his character, is still questionable. A young and handsome playboy in passionate pursuit of a married woman seems to be another one of Suwannee's favourite themes, as in Kuam Rak Krang Sud Tai (The Last Love). Ros, the heroine of the earlier novel, also finds herself between two men of contrasting nature, one, a quiet artist of few words, the other, a 'Don Juan'. There Suwannee analyzes much more delicately the psychological conflicts of the middle-aged divorcee.

Kao Chue Karn, despite these weak points, is an enjoyable novel, with many interesting uses of the language. The plot is intriguing and fast-moving, the dialogue witty, and the flash-back technique well explored. The novel gives a realistic account of contemporary Thai society. These, together with the sensitive portrayal of feminine psychology and the natural flow of Suwannee's pen, are virtues which deserve a literary award. The award should also be a credit to the more creative and sensitive work that Suwannee has written in the past, which constitutes a significant new step in the development of the contemporary Thai novel.

Mattani Rutnin

Prachum sila charu'k phak thi 3 (Collected Inscriptions Part 3) ประชุมศิตา ชาวีกภาคที่ 3, Bangkok, Khanakammakan chat phim ekasan thang pravatsat, vathanatham lae boranakhadi samnak nayók rathamóntri (Commission for the Publication of Historical, Cultural and Archeological Records, Office of the Prime Minister), 2510 .ก-ก .ก-ช. 253 pp. 79 plates. 50 baht.

Prachum sila čharu'k phak thi 4 (Collected Inscriptions Part 4), same publisher, 2513 .n-n .n-n .280 pp. 79 plates. 50 baht.

Prachum phra tamra baram rachuthit phu'a kalpana samai ayuthaya phak 1 (Collected Royal Decrees Establishing Religious Foundations in the Ayuthaya Period Part 1) ประชุมพระดำราบรมราชุทิศเพื่อกัลปนา สมัยอยุธยา, same publisher, 2510 .n-n. 84 pp. 8 plates. 10 baht.

The three collections under consideration here contain primary sources of great value to students of Thailand and its immediate neighbors, whether in the fields of early history, law, religion or linguistics; and the government commission responsible for them, which also has several other collections of source material to its credit, deserves high praise for its efforts to collect and publish rare documents of such interest to both Thai and foreign scholars. It is hoped that this review will direct the attention of scholars to these volumes which, published only in Thai, might otherwise have escaped notice in Europe and the United States.

The two volumes of inscriptions continue a series begun in 1924 with Part I and continued in 1929 (second edition in 1961) with Part II, edited by Prof. George Coedès and published in both Thai and French. The decision of the Thai government to continue the series will be welcomed by all students of the area, for the study of inscriptions is a precondition for serious historical and linguistic research, and a corpus of all existing inscriptions is a goal to be attained as soon as possible. The reviewer, then, is approaching his task as though the establishment of such a corpus were the principal aim in publishing these volumes, and critical comment will be conditioned by the degree to which they satisfy the needs of scholars wishing to use them for their research.

The two volumes contain 101 inscriptions, nos. 30-84 in Part III and nos. 85-130 plus a newly discovered part of no. 40, in Part IV. The major portion of Part III was done by the late Maha Cham Thongkham-

wan and most of the readings of Part IV are by Mr. Prasan Bunprakhong and Dr. Prasert Na Nagara. Various other individuals have also contributed to both volumes.

Most of the inscriptions are in one or another form of Thai and have been found in Thailand, but there are also some in Sanskrit, Pali, Khmer and Mon, and some originating in one or another of Thailand's neighboring countries. Each inscription is first transcribed using modern Thai script and then in a parallel column it is rewritten in Modern Thai orthography in the case of Thai inscriptions or translated into modern Thai where non-Thai inscriptions are concerned. Notes are provided on difficult points and there are full-page plates for nearly all. Although some scholars may feel that it would have been desirable to continue the bi-lingual format of Parts I and II, the necessity for students of Southeast Asia to know the languages of the area is universally recognized and it is generally admitted that serious work with inscriptions can only be done on the originals. The exclusive use of Thai in these publications can only be accounted a very minor defect, and should not detract greatly from their utility.

In date the majority of the Thai inscriptions range from mid-15th to mid-17th century. There are also a few Khmer and Sanskrit inscriptions from earlier periods and some 18th-century texts from Ayuthayan Thailand. Most of them commemorate religious foundations—the establishment of a temple or a relic, or the granting of land and people for the upkeep of a religious institution. Most are dated, the dates being given in one or more of three eras, the śaka, cula, or Buddhist eras, and both rulers and local officials are frequently named. Thus in many cases they provide a useful cross-check of the chronicles which have hitherto been used almost exclusively for histories of Thailand.

A number of these inscriptions, 38, 40, 45, 64, 93, 102, 106, have already proved their worth and have served as the basis for a series of articles by A.B. Griswold and Prasert Na Nagara which open up new interpretations of Sukhothai history, and these two collections include even more, such as 41, 42, 47, 48, 50, 51, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 108, 114,

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<sup>1)</sup> JSS LVI (2), July 1968; LVII (1), January 1969; LVIII (1), January 1970; 59 (1), January 1971; 59 (2), July 1971.

115, from the Central Thai and Sukhothai areas which are sure to enrich still further our knowledge of that part of the country.

Number 53, in Mon, but of unknown origin, mentions a king of Hansāvadī in B.E. 2048 (1505) with the titles srī trībhūvanāditya pavara dharrma trailokyanātha, who was a son of smin dhar rāmādhipatī srī parama mahādharrmarājādhirāja, neither of whom are known to the chronicles hitherto utilized for the published historical accounts of the Mon country.

Over a dozen inscriptions of Part III are in Khmer and Sanskrit, most already published by Coedès, and really pertain more to Angkorean than to Thai history. They have been carefully discussed by Claude Jacques in a review to which the reader is referred.<sup>2</sup>

Nearly half of Part III, nos. 62-84, consists of inscriptions from the northern Thai provinces of Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae and Nan. Many of them have been known from early in the century but were of difficult access and have remained unexploited although they are generally quite long and contain a wealth of information. Number 62 from Wat Phra Yu'n, Lamphun, details the coming of an important religious leader from Sukhothai and the establishment of a temple. It contains a genealogy of Mengrai's descendents which differs significantly from the chronicles and which has not yet caught the notice of historians of the area. This inscription was published by Coedès in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrème Orient in 1925, but its republication here, with legible plates which were lacking in Coedès' article, is welcome.

Most of the plates in this section are good, and were made from new rubbings taken between 1957 and 1960. One, no. 81, was not redone (has it disappeared?), and, as the editors note, appeared as no. XIX in Pavie's collection (Mission Pavie, Etudes Diverses, vol. II) from which the plate has been copied.

Part IV includes several more from the north, nos. 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 107, of which five are from Phayao and are the first

<sup>2)</sup> Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrème Orient. LVII (1970). pp. 230-236.

published from that area. Most of these northern inscriptions contain the titles of both ruling princes and local officials and are valuable sources for administrative and political history.

Another inscription in this volume which deserves notice is no. 88 from Nong Khai province. It is dated 897 (A.D. 1535) and is due to King Bhōdhasālaḥṛājaḥ, who, according to the Lao chronicles, reigned between 1520 and 1548. There is also mention of his capital, Căndapūrirājaḥdāni, and the titles of several officials are included.

In spite of the undoubted value of these collections, there are several areas in which improvements could be made to increase their utility for scholarly research. First of all is the matter of the choice of inscriptions for inclusion. Of course the eventual corpus of Thai inscriptions should include all those found in Thailand and perhaps certain others from neighboring countries, but since publication of a complete corpus is inevitably subject to delay for various reasons and will take many years to achieve, it would seem wise to publish the most important inscriptions first, and among these leave for later volumes inscriptions which have already been adequately treated in other publications. A rather large number of the inscriptions in these collections, for example nos. 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 39, 43, 52, 129, 130, are very brief religious texts of only 1-4 lines and could well have been left until later. Very many have already been published elsewhere. A dozen inscriptions of Part III were published by Coedès in his Inscriptions du Cambodge, and of Part IV, nos. 116 through 126, comprising over a third of the entire volume, have also been edited by Coedès in well-known and easily accessible publications.

To be sure, neither brevity nor previous publication is an absolute criterion for rejection to the last volumes of the *corpus*. The Old Khmer inscriptions nos. 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, from Sri Maha Phot in Pračhinburi, although of only one or two lines each, contain dates, names of rulers and place names and belong to a little-known part of the early Khmer empire located within the present boundaries of Thailand. Thus their early publication is fully warranted; and in addition to the previously mentioned no. 62, one welcomes the republication, together with new plates, of the northern inscriptions nos. 66, 71, 76, hitherto available only in Pavie's rather rare, and not altogether accurate edition.

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Lack of new and interesting inscriptions is certainly not a reason for republishing old ones, for the Northeast is full of unstudied inscriptions, including many already collected at the provincial museum in Khonkaen, and Hans Penth has recently written that about ten inscriptions are located in Amphoe Phan, Chiang Rai province<sup>3</sup>. The reviewer would also like to see a new edition, with good plates, of the Wat Cuļāmanī inscription in Phitsanulok.

When inscriptions are chosen for republication there should be better bibliographic data concerning their previous appearances. Several of them have been published in various issues of the Thai-language journal Silpakon, and this should be noted. Part III neglects to mention that nos. 34, 35, 39, 56, 59, 60, and 61 were edited by Coedès, and also omits the information that nos. 66, 71, and 76 also appeared in Pavie's collection where they figured as IX, XVIII, and VII respectively. In this respect Part IV is an improvement and the previous publication by Coedès of nos. 116-126 has been duly reported. Number 127, however, has been included without giving credit to the original editor, and is here presented in a very confusing manner. This inscription is no. K. 475 of the Liste Générale des Inscriptions du Cambodge, and was published by Louis Finot on p. 107 of Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrème Orient vol. 15 (1915), part 2; and from Coedès's remarks elsewhere it is clear that he accepted Finot's version. The seven-line text on p. 260 of Part IV, under the heading, "reading and commentary by Cham Thongkhamwan," is a Thai transcription of the text published by Finot and the plate accompanying it appears to be the same as in BEFEO vol. 15. Then, on p. 261, under "number 127, reading of the inscription of Wat Phu", is a sevenline text, the first line of which differs considerably from that of p. 260, but which is thereafter, except for a few differences of transcription, an exact copy of the first text. No plate accompanies the second text. On p. 262 there is a Thai translation of the text of p. 261. The first line of Finot's version begins, "1058 çaka ten tvan alo nu vrah mülasütra ta putra...", but the first line on p. 261 has "105 vra kamrateng tvan ranla nu vrah mulasutra ta putra ...". No such inscription is listed in Coedès's

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 <sup>&</sup>quot;A Stone inscription from Wat Dong Bunnak (Phan)", JSS 59 (2), July 1971, pp. 175-178.

index (Vol. VIII, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*), and it appears to the reviewer that the editor attempted to revise Finot's reading. This is perfectly legitimate, for many of the old readings of Khmer inscriptions are being revised by present-day scholars. However, the fact should be noted and explanatory notes provided for the proposed revisions. This reviewer is not qualified to judge between the versions of Finot and Maha Cham Thongkhamwan, but the former has the advantage of a title and name, "ten tvan alo", known elsewhere in Angkorean epigraphy, while the latter with, "kamrateng tvan ranlā", exhibits a title which is unique (assuming Coedès's index is complete).

Another problem is that of plates. With very few exceptions, the inscriptions are accompanied by full-page reproductions of rubbings or photographs of the stones. Unfortunately, many of them are illegible. Plates are very important. Recent articles on both Thai and Cambodian inscriptions not only demonstrate the necessity for reinterpretation, even of readings by masters in the field, but also show that there is still room for contributions by future scholars, and for such close study access to the originals is essential. A large number of the plates in these two volumes are not suitable for this purpose. Many of them could, however, be made legible by greater enlargement, even if this meant using two pages instead of one. The extra cost might be raised as an objection, but there is plenty of room in these volumes to take up slack. unnecessary title pages preceding each inscription could be eliminated and the essential information put in smaller print at the top of the first page devoted to the inscription proper. Some of the short inscriptions, such as nos. 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, could be printed together saving at least half of the space devoted to them at present. And where a legible reproduction is impossible the plate should be omitted entirely with a To be sure, putting these suggestions into effect note of explanation. might detract from the handsome presentation of these quarto volumes, but the reviewer feels it would be worth the sacrifice to get more inaccessible inscriptions into print.

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In a few places greater care could be given to arrangement of inscriptions by geographical area and in related groups. For example, in Part III the introduction to no. 44 says it is one of 10 silver plates

discovered together at Chainat, two others of which are published as nos. 50 and 51. One wonders where the others are, and why they weren't published together. If the others are entirely illegible it should be so stated, and the three included in the volume should be placed together. In addition, no. 48 was certainly, although the fact is not mentioned, discovered at the same place and the same time as nos. 44, 50, and 51.

In spite of these comments, which are made as suggestions for improving future volumes of the series, the reviewer would like to emphasize the great value of these collections which contain much unexploited primary source material on the early history of Thailand.

The third volume under consideration here, which will be cited hereafter as Kalpana, contains some of a collection of old documents from Phathalung discovered by Prince Damrong and presented to the Vajirañāṇa National Library towards the end of the last century. Given their age and intrinsic interest it is strange that scholars have not heretofore made use of them, and one may hope that this publication will attract the notice of historians and linguists and will lead to the publication of the whole collection.

The documents, written with black ink on white paper, all concern royal grants of land and slaves (1) with to temples in southern Thailand in the areas of Phathalung and Nakhon Sri Thammarat. practice dating from the distant past which apparently did not end until the reign of Rama V. The two documents which make up the bulk of the publication, catalogued at the National Library as Phongsawadan Phathalung nos. 37/4 and 37/4 respectively, are Thai and Khmer versions of a single text dated B.E. 2242 (1698), which gives the Cambodian document special significance as the oldest known Cambodian text on perishable material. That it should have been conserved in Thailand makes it doubly intriguing, and hopefully this fact will persuade linguists and historians to take more notice of the problem of relatively late use of Cambodian language and scripts in official documents of Ayuthayan Thailand. These include short inscriptions found in Wat Rajabun, a group of inscriptions from Tenasserim, and the inscription of Dansai, and the explanations put forth to account for them are not entirely satisfactory.

These two texts, edited with great skill by the late Maha Cham Thongkhamwan, were published once before in Warasan Silpākon<sup>4</sup>, and are republished here with some minor changes in transcription and notes on the vocabulary of the Khmer version. The present volume also includes a few pages of photographic reproduction from the original text.

The texts are arranged in three parallel columns, the Thai on the left, Khmer in the center, and a modern Thai version on the right. editing the manuscripts the Thai text, due to extreme damage, had to be reconstructed in places from the Khmer, which is still in quite good condition. They first describe the conditions under which the king, in 1698, renewed grants made to the temples by his predecessors, and as authority for the present grant parts of older ones are quoted. temples involved belonged to the Pa Kaeo sect and had traditional rights to a certain amount of land and a certain number of slaves. This rather long document of which the Cambodian original contains 58 pages of 6 lines each, seems to include parts of several different royal orders on the same subject. The names of a large number of temples are given and numerous officials, both monastic and secular, are cited by title. interest to students of law is a section giving instructions on the disposition of children born of unions between temple slaves and other categories of the population.

One of the first things historians like to do with newly discovered old documents is to check them against the chronicles to test the accuracy of the latter. In this connection it is worth noting that the titles of the king responsible for these texts, presumably Phetracha, "braḥśrī sarrbejña saṃtec braḥ rāmādhipati śrī sindara paramamahā cakrabarrtiṣaravara rājādhirāja rāmeśvara dharrmikarāja tejo jaiyabarrma debātideba trībhūvanādhipeśa lokajeṣtha. etc.", are very different from the titles of Phetracha in all of the published versions of the Ayuthayan chronicles, but are very similar to those used in the 15th-century Khmer inscriptions of Tenasserim and the late 17th-century Wat Cuļāmaṇī inscription of King Narai.

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<sup>4)</sup> In volume 7, parts 5 and 6, October and November 2496, and in volume 8, parts 2 through 8, July 2497 through January 2498.

The Cambodian version is of at least as great an interest linguistically as historically, for as Coedès noted briefly in his pamphlet, The Vajiranana National Library, pp. 30-31, it is "in a character entirely different from any known to have been used in Cambodia and which exhibits a peculiar mixture of Grantha, Cambodian and Siamese elements". Judging from one of the yet unpublished Phathalung texts which lists four types of *chian* alphabets known to its writer, the script was probably known to contemporaries as chian hluan (see Phongsawadan Phathalung, National Library 37/a). Certain features of the language are also different from that found in documents of Cambodia proper. this text belongs to what students of Khmer refer to as "Middle Khmer", represented chiefly by the later inscriptions of Angkor Wat dated 1566-17475. There are a few archaic words such as kanmuoy, "nephew", and vyar, "two", found in Cambodia in Angkor period inscriptions, but already replaced in Middle Khmer by kmuoy and pir. The numbering system is very different from anything yet discovered in texts in Cambodia. In the Angkor period numbers above 20 were based on multiples of 20 with Sanskrit sata used for 100, while available examples from the Middle Khmer inscriptions show the use of Thai-style numerals samsip, saisip, etc., and the modern colloquial expression for teens. For "100" Modern Cambodian from an as yet undetermined date uses the Thai roi. What the Phathalung document shows is the use of a decimal system with the word for "ten", dap, preceded by unit numerals to indicate "twenty", "thirty", etc., which of course translates exactly the Thai words visip, samsip, and so forth; but for "ten", dap is also preceded by muay, "one", a feature which has not been found in Cambodia in any period. Moreover, there is an utterly strange word for "100", kse (una), which does not seem to belong to any of the well-known neighboring languages.

The orthography is of some interest, apart from the fact that the script is unique. For example, there is a lack of distinction between some of the labials so that words written in modern Cambodian with p, b, ph, v (in etymological transcription p, b, v) are all written with a single character which would appear to have originally been v. There is also much confusion, in terms of modern Cambodian, of some of the dentals.

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<sup>5)</sup> See Saveros Levitz, "Textes en Khmer Moyen", BEFEO LVII (1970), pp. 99-126.

Space is not available for exhaustive treatment of the vocabulary notes. Although most of them are of interest to readers not conversant with Khmer, the really difficult points in the text-and there are some words and phrases quite incomprehensible to modern literate Cambodiansare not treated, and frequently the purpose of the notes seems to be to prove that the language is not Khmer, but "Khom", a point which I shall take up below. For the present I should merely like to point out certain factual errors among the notes. On page 49, the Khmer word for "20", bhai in Old Khmer, maphei in Modern Khmer, does not "come from the Pali 'vis' ". It is an old Mon-Khmer word found in Cambodian inscriptions before Pali had been introduced into the country. On p. 50, for the word thbun, "head, south, jewel" the Khmer do not "write Aus (tbur) read as Inux (thon), but write the word with an aspirate initial and final it just as in the text under consideration. On p. 51, you (cvn) is not equivalent to Khmer (og (cen), "go out", but is the common word cun "to offer". In notes concerning the titles of monks, on p. 55 the editor states that the Thai title rangasi (cau kū sangha) should be translated into Khmer as ค็มแดงสงุข (gomden sangha), and on p. 62 that Thai พระสงฆ์ (brah sangha) in Khmer should be figures (gomden sangha). This is not true. The word gomden in Khmer is very rare and no title, gomden sangha, exists today. The common expression for monks in Khmer, as in Thai, is brah sangha pronounced "preah song" or "lok song". One more clear error is in the note on p. 57 concerning aummu (anakdana), in Modern Khmer pronunciation "neak tean", which the editor wishes to identify with Dungson (antaradhana). There is no basis for this. "Neak tean" is perfectly straightforward Cambodian, meaning, "the people granted (to the temples)". Finally, in this connection, I should like to take issue with the editor's statement on p. n of the introduction that "the Khom never called themselves Khmer". Angkor period documents from several external sources show that the word "khmer" was in use at that time.

The third document in this collection of royal grants, edited by Mr. Prasan Bunprakhong, is in Thai and is introduced as dating from the reign of King Ekathasarat, which would make it nearly a century older than the other two. It does, in fact, begin with a date 977 (1615), year of the dog. Since the two chronological data do not agree, 977 being a hare year, one or the other is incorrect. The editor opted for the animal

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year, usually a good choice, and noted that the date "should be" 972 (1610). Indeed the royal title agrees with the first part of the titles of Ekathasarat as given in the chronicles.

Further examination shows, however, that this was not the date of its composition. In contrast to the first two documents, in which the first date is the latest and older documents are subsequently cited, this one is composed in historical narrative form, cites a number of royal grants in chronological order, and includes a list of Chao Mu'ang. This list generally conforms to that found in Prachum Pongsawadan, part 15, for the late 17th and early 18th centuries and ends with a Chao Mu'ang who, according to the chronicle, was in office up to about 1748. If the published Phathalung chronicle is accurate, then this is the earliest date to which our document may be assigned. Furthermore, it ends with the phrase, "śrī savastī subhamastu brah buddhaśakarāj", which is a normal opening phrase for this type of document and which indicates that the original from which our published version was copied continued its listing of royal grants even further toward the present. Therefore it cannot be used as a primary source for the reign of Ekathasarat. The original seems still to be in the south, for the National Library holds only a typescript copy, Phongsawadan Phathalung 37/1, on which is the note, "copied from the usun (phen thi) Mu'ang Nakhon Sri Thammarat".

The fourth document is essentially the same as the third, but ends at a point about midway through the former. However, it lacks a year date and there are many differences in words and phrases which seem to be due to errors in copying. The present edition is a reprint of its first publication, without commentary, in the journal *Tesaphiban* in 1907. The original cannot at present be found at the National Library.

The fifth document, reprinted from the same issue of *Tesaphiban*, is of a different nature from the others. Rather than a text of a royal grant or an enumeration of previous grants, it is an historical narrative concerning events connected with the establishment of the royal grants. It begins in the legendary past with a BE date, 990, equivalent to AD 447. Midway through the text there is a śaka date 1535 (1613), followed by mention of two succeeding Chao Mu'ang and then an invasion by people from Ujan Tānaḥ. This perhaps corresponds to the invasion by

Acheh Aru mentioned in the Phathalung chronicle published in *Prachum Pongsawadan* and if so dates the document to sometime between 1613 and 1636, the year of the death of Iskandar Muda, under whom Acheh extended its activities as far as the peninsula. It ends with a long list of names of people and lists of rice fields with their boundaries. Its original, like that of the preceding text, has also disappeared.

A few comments are necessary concerning improvements that could be made in the general presentation of such documents. In the publisher's introduction three texts are mentioned; (1) that from the time of Ekathasarat, (2) the Thai version of the text dating from Phetracha's reign, and (3) the Khmer version of no. 2. As we have seen, there are five documents, of which the one attributed to Ekathasarat's reign is third. A table of contents would have helped, and the present location of the documents, both originals and copies, should have been given along with the catalogue numbers for those in the National Library, which I have included above.

When publishing such texts in transcription a system should be used which follows faithfully the orthography of the original. Unfortunately, spelling in this collection has often been modified, and in the case of the Cambodian text words which are common to Thai and Khmer, such as Sanskrit loan words, have sometimes been transcribed not according to any Cambodian usage, either ancient or modern, but according to the spelling of modern standard Thai. One example is the Sanskrit word pavitra which occurs very frequently and is transcribed with the current Thai form uwas. A true transcription of the Khmer version, due to its confusion of labials and dentals, should be rather 3701 or wing. Another example is the word for "give", in Modern Khmer any. In the Phathalung document it is written with a single character resembling the standard Thai n, and the editor assumed it to be a Thai loan word. However, in every other occurence of the "h" sound usually represented by n and its Khmer equivalent, the script of our text has a sign entirely different from n or from anything used in other Khmer texts. assumption of the editor that both signs represent the same thing is not justified and the transcription should show that n in the original had a unique function in a single word. The modernized transcription of the published text has hidden much of its linguistic interest, which only appears on examination of the original. Of course scholars who wish to do serious work on these documents will need reproductions of the originals, and a publication devoted to these, with photographs like the samples included in this volume, would be welcome.

Even as they are, these documents are valuable sources, but in order to be of most use for historical purposes, the whole collection should be made available. They all treat the same question, but in different forms, written at different dates and from different points of view. Only when all are compared can their full value be extracted.

Finally there is one general criticism applicable to some of the introductory comment accompanying both the inscriptions and the Phathalung documents in *Kalpana*. This centers around the use of the word "Khom". In every case of the use of Khmer, or Cambodian, in the documents the editors call it Khom. Moreover, the notes to the Khmer text in *Kalpana* are at great pains to prove that Khom is not Khmer, and in the commentary to inscription 126, a 16th-century text from Angkor Wat, the reason given for republishing it is to show students of archeology that the Khmer are not Khom as some scholars used to believe.

Now readers who know Thai, but not Khmer or Cambodian history, might be led astray by this, and thus some comment is required. The word "Khom" occurs in some of the Thai chronicles, especially those of the north, but also once in Luang Prasoet and in the Royal Autograph version. It is also found in many inscriptions in connection with the dates. In the northern chronicles the Khom are a mysterious people with whom the Thai were often forced to do battle. In the inscriptions, when two dating systems are used, one of them, which is northern Thai, is called "Thai", and the other, that used in Cambodia, in Sukhothai and in Ayuthaya, is called "Khom" and sometimes "Meng". The occurrence of the word in Luang Prasoet says that in 965 (A.D. 1603) Thai forces "took Mu'ang Khom".

Most scholars have assumed that "Khom" means Cambodians. This may be true, but certain occurrences of the word need further study. It is not sufficiently close to "khmer" to convince linguists that the two words are of common origin, and in the inscriptions it is often the equivalent of "Meng" which elsewhere has been taken to mean Mon or Burmese. Throughout the 16th century the Luang Prasoet chronicle uses "Lovek" constantly as the conventional name for Cambodia, and evidence from foreign observers shows that in 1603 there was no Siamese conquest of that country.

In recent years some Thai scholars have apparently developed the theory that the Khom were the people of Angkor and that the modern Khmer are not their direct descendents. This use of Khom is rather new. When 19th-century Thai kings wrote of Cambodia's past they did not hesitate to use the word "khmer", and nearly twenty years ago, in his first edition of *Kalpana*, Maha Cham Thongkhamwan called the language straightforwardly "Khmer".

If "Khom" were used simply as a Thai word meaning "Khmer", there would be no objection to it, but no other scholars of the area would accept the present-day Thai usage. There is universal agreement that the Khmer of modern Cambodia are the direct descendents of the people of Angkor, whether the latter were in fact "Khom" or not, and that Modern Cambodian is the direct development of the language of the inscriptions. Naturally there have been changes over time as with any language. Some scholars like to distinguish Old Khmer, Middle Khmer and Modern Khmer. Coedès identified two dialects within Old Khmer, one found in the pre-Angkorean inscriptions in the south and another in the inscriptions of the Angkor period proper.

The present usage of "Khom" really obscures the interesting historical question of what specific meaning the word had for those people in Siam who used it in the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. If it meant "Khmer", its own etymology still remains to be discovered; and if it did not mean "Khmer" the inscriptions reviewed here, with their equation of "Khom" and "Meng", provide the sort of evidence we need to study the problem. Only objective investigation of all the various contexts in which the word "Khom" was used will enable us to determine its exact meaning and origin.

Michael Vickery

Note on transcription: Citations from inscriptions and from Kalpana, and names of archeological sites which are not at the same time modern administrative centers are given in the "Graphic System" based on the value of the letters in Sanskrit. See A.B. Griswold and Prasert Na Nagara, "Appendix" to "A Declaration of Independence and its Consequences", JSS vol. LVI (2), July 1968, pp. 245-249. With the exception of certain names the spelling of which has been established by usage, all other Thai terms are transcribed according to the "General System" recommended by the Royal Institute.

A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, *The Story of Patani*, Bibliotheca Indonesica, published by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal—, Land—en Volkenkunde, Leiden, and distributed by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1970: pp. x, 330. 2 maps, 2 plates, fl. 35.

As the authors state in their preface, "The stimulus for... the present book . . . was provided by the discovery of a Malay manuscript of the long lost Hikayat Patani by one of the authors, and the publication, quite independently, of a Thai version of the same text by the other." These two exacting scholars have thus brought to light a fascinating literary and historical work of the greatest importance for peninsular Southeast Asian studies. Historians long have been aware of the place of prominence formerly held by Patani in peninsular and regional affairs, but until now the evidence for this has remained dispersed in some of the one hundred forty odd sources here collated and examined by philologist Teeuw and historian Wyatt. Were the book to consist only of the first chapter, it would still set forth a valuable contribution to peninsular scholarship, for the "Short History of Patani" there presented is the first of its kind in English. A former principal of the Chinese School in Patani, Hsu Yun-ch'iao, later a professor at Nanyang University, Singapore, has published a version in Chinese, and Ibrahim Syukri purportedly drew from a manuscript quite similar to the ones employed by Teeuw and Wyatt for his Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani, though the latter is of dubious accuracy.

The first chapter traces events only insofar as is necessary to place an accurate framework around the Hikayat Patani itself, one copy of which Teeuw found by chance among contemporary Indonesian newspapers in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and another of which he obtained from the University of Oxford. Wyatt, in turn, had been able to photograph a Thai translation of the same original manuscript in Songkhla, Thailand.

But this work is much more than a mere collation of sources or historical outline, for the first of the two volumes also contains chapters which thoroughly analyze the relationship of the three manuscripts, as well as offering a composite version in Romanized Malay. Volume II gives the English translation of this, exhaustively footnoted for compari-

son of the documents from which it was made, followed by a commentary which offers many suggestive interpretations, sometimes providing revealing insights into the Hikayat, and sometimes paving the way for further research.

The Hikavat text itself begins with the story of the founding of Patani and ends with a chapter describing the court regalia and the royal Patani orchestra. The organization of the story follows the genealogical succession of rulers, each of whom makes his or her appearance as the Embellishing the genealogical framework is a narrative progresses. variety of colorful stories concerning the rulers of Patani, the conversion to Islam, internal and external politics, etc. No attempt has been made in the Hikayat text to establish dates for these events, but this is done most meticulously by Wyatt and Teeuw in the "Commentary". It is interesting to note that the writer of the main body of the Hikayat chose as the essential elements of the political history of Patani her relationships with Siam and Johore, her chief political and economic rivals in the region. To the author, apparently, the Portuguese, Dutch, English, Japanese, Chinese and Indian presence did not constitute rivalry, was therefore irrelevant to his purposes, and consequently is not mentioned in the text.

Wyatt and Teeuw suggest that the Hikayat text was compiled by at least three different writers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when Patani was on the verge of her decline. It was at this time, with the gradual tightening of Siamese control, that there was a strong need for a written history of Patani to preserve her prestige and her Malay identity. In presenting select glimpses into local legends, court intrigues, and above all, the flourishing of Malay culture despite formal Siamese sovereignty, the Hikayat filled this need,

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Being an extremely selective form of history, written from an insider's point of view with certain limited purposes in mind, the Hikayat Patani offers certain details and anecdotes which are less than transparently clear—until one arrives at the "Commentary". Here they are clarified as much as seems possible under the circumstances, these being the authors' remoteness from Patani and the apparent shortage of time under which they worked. For example, in describing the attempted coup d'etat by the Bendahara Sai (referred to as "the prime minister" below) on Raja Ijau (1584-1616), the Hikayat says . . . .

The Queen immediately put on a green jacket and a "flower-wreath" scarf of a yellowish colour and embroidered with gold; then she left for the audience hall . . . when the Queen arrived at the staircase of the audience hall she stood at the top of the stairs . . . By that time the prime minister had already entered the gate of the compound and was walking up to the audience hall. When he arrived in front of the staircase the Queen took the scarf from her person and threw it to the prime minister, who immediately caught it and wound it around his head. After the prime minister had put on this turban he drew his kris from his side and laid it on the ground. Then he knelt on the ground, paying homage to the Queen three times in succession. Then, after the prime minister had risen from his obeisance he bowed respectfully again and spoke: "Hail, Madam, may Your Majesty's might and prosperity ever increase on this most noble throne." Then the prime minister bowed again and returned to Takih, where he halted. The Queen also left to enter the palace. (p. 174)

Following are the authors' comments on this incident:

... the gold embroidered, yellow scarf apparently is a symbol of royalty. Is it also the Queen's womanhood which she surrenders to the bendahara, i.e. a sexual surrender? Does he, by accepting it on the one hand, take the responsibility for her life and receive power over her, and on the other, by using it as a headdress, i.e. by wearing it on his head, does he pay homage to her dignity as queen? The result, in any case, is a balance of power; the Queen has lost her power over this bendahara, and he is never again summoned to Patani, nor is he removed from his post. He himself never makes another attempt at seizing the power in Patani. (p. 244)

Throughout the Hikayat diplomacy is portrayed as such a test of wits, usually with an eye toward enhancing the image of the diplomats from Patani, whether it be in their dealings with Johore, Siam, or more local rivals as in this case. In spite of this, the authors are consistently either neutral or positive regarding the treatment of their people by the Siamese. This stance was most probably taken out of the necessity dictated by the then current Siamese supremacy. It is not so certain, however, why Wyatt, in his "Short History", fails to cite T.J. Newbold's critical account of how the Patani Malays were handled by the Siamese

after the rebellion of 1830-321, or why he says that resistance to the Siamese government collapsed 70 years ago, when the separatist movement which still plagues the government began in earnest shortly after that time.

Other such minor deficiencies, notable only by virtue of their contrast to the precise and thoroughgoing nature of most of the work, occasionally occur. With regard to the same account by Newbold, the authors make no mention of the burning of Patani by the Portuguese in 1523, nor is there any discussion of a Mr. Medhurst or his journal, cited by Newbold. Medhurst visited Patani in 1832 and Newbold drew much of his account of Patani from his journal, which, for all we know, may contain more information than Newbold saw fit to include in his own brief treatment of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

With the vast majority of peninsular history having been written from a European point of view, the Hikayat is most valuable in showing us something of what it was like to be a Patani Malay during the kingdom's most glorious years. It is unfortunate, however, that the publication

- Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, viz. Pinang, Malacca, and Singapore; with a History of the Malayan States on the Peninsula of Malacca; T.J. Newbold, Esq. in 2 vols. (vol. II); London, John Murray, 1839, p. 69.
- 2) In another instance, F.J. Moorhead, in his History of Malaya and Her Neighbors (p. 30), refers to a Chinese journal of 1631 (which he fails to identify) as relating how the Raja of Pahang was made a mockery of at the Patani court in 1612; Teeuw and Wyatt, who cite Moorhead's volume I in their bibliography, do not make use of volume II, in which this story occurs. Neither do they cite Peter Floris's account in which we are enlightened as to the nature of the insult suffered by the Raja. It seems that he had been offered the sister (Raja Ungu) of the Patanese Queen (Raja Biru) in marriage, but had refused, whereupon an army was sent to Pahang to encourage his cooperation. One can easily understand why the Hikayat omitted this story, since both the hand of the princess and the resulting connection with Patani would preferably have been more desirable than they apparently were. But, as in this case, many of the Hikayat's omissions are probably as telling as the inclusions, and we can only regret that Teeuw and Wyatt chose to omit them as well. (Peter Floris, His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615; Ed. W.H. Morehead, Hakluyt Society Series II, vol. 74, London)

Finally, the authors state that one of the Hikayat manuscripts offers certain factual information, moralistic comments, literary embellishments, and explanations not contained in the one on which their edition is based. They have deplorably and inexplicably elected not to avail us of these.

of a Malay version of Malay history had to be done by westerners thousands of miles away from the area itself, and that the experts whom they contacted for advice regarding the interpretation of certain passages were also all westerners. It would seem more productive for them to have consulted contemporary Malay sources, for example, members of the Kelantan royal family, on questions regarding court customs, regalia, symbolism, etc. Also, Ibrahim Syukri could have been consulted for authentication of the many sources which he "cites" but does not properly identify. The "Commentary", however, does not pretend to be definitive; in fact, one of its greatest attributes is that it clearly delineates the points on which further research is needed.

But the real significance of the publication of the Story of Patani is twofold: it is a reminder and a verification of the almost forgotten greatness and power of Patani, and as such it is a call for extensive field research in this area. It is generally known among Southeast Asian historians that this region, under the name Langkasuka, was an important trading port possibly as early as the second century A.D. Archaeological work has yet to be done, and one wonders how historians and archaeologists, after reading this exciting book, could fail to be tempted to begin immediately.

Several other areas of potential research are suggested, one of them being field studies by a musicologist into the musical forms and instruments described in the last chapter of the Hikayat. As Teeuw and Wyatt admit, "Outsiders such as the authors can give little or no explanation.." of the names of the melodies which the royal drums used to play or the directions for playing the other instruments of the royal orchestra. Consultation with Malay musicians in interpreting the phonetic rendering of the melodies and subsequent attempts at recreating them would be valuable contributions to existing knowledge about the cultural history of this region.

Finally, the need for a thorough study, extending beyond the historical scope of the Hikayat, embracing cultural as well as political forms, and including more complete accounts by both local people and visitors, is tantalizingly evident.

Bonnie and Derek Brereton

Toem Wiphakphotchanakit, Prawatsat Isan, (A History of Northeast Thailand) (เดิม วิกาลข์พจนกิจ, ประวัติศาสตร์จิสาน) The Social Science Press of Thailand, 1970, 2 volumes, illus., pp. 793, 30 bht. and 45 bht.

In 1956 Toem Singhatsathit published in two thick volumes (เดิม สิงห์ม มิต, นังมากแม่น้ำโขง) an ambitious work on the history of Northeast Thailand. The importance of this Right Bank of the Mekong River was underlined by the fact that very few authors had attempted to investigate and compile the little-known history of this area in detail. The work was the result of at least a decade of study, and tried to fit the Northeast better into the perspective of general Thai history. In 1970 there appeared two entirely new volumes entitled A History of Northeast Thailand authored by Toem Wiphakphotchanakit, now using as a family name the title of nobility granted his father. The new work is devoted almost exclusively to the important provincial centres of the Northeast and adds much detail to the outlines of Northeast history in the earlier work.

The author has searched the published chronicles for information on the region and has added references from newspapers and official journals such as the *Thesaphiban* and the *Royal Thai Government Gazette*. Both he and his father were in the provincial service, and the author has travelled throughout the Northeast since childhood. He thus adds generously from his lifelong acquaintance with and observation of the region. There is also a great deal of oral history to be found here. The author reports local tradition and beliefs concerning the obscure past, drawing no particular line between remembered and documented history.

The problem of adequate sources is a major one for anyone concerned with the area. There still remain large gaps in our knowledge of general Northeast history. The history of Nong Khai here, for example, begins with an account of the early town rulers. Having few details to recount about the succeeding period, the author tries to achieve a balance and maintain his chronological pattern by filling in with a section on Buddha images and monuments and other notes of interest about the province in later times. The authenticity of many provincial histories from which the work is drawn must often be taken on faith; and the 'tamnan' histori-

cal accounts of many towns, to which frequent reference is made, appear to be locally known but not always written down or published. The work is a digest of everything that the author has read and learned about the traditional Northeast; and his own ideas and discoveries merge indistinguishably with what he has gained from the printed sources.

The 1956 work provided a broad background of Thai history from earliest times to the reign of Rama VI, but with specific reference to the Northeast. The format of the 1970 work is entirely new. The first volume examines separately the histories of four geographically distinct areas of the Northeast, including some provincial centres in Laos for the periods in which they belonged to Thailand. The second volume is concerned in general with the change from the tributary system of government to the modern Thesaphiban system, although the account is heavily weighted towards changes in Ubon under the rule of High Commissioner Prince Sanphasitthiprasong from 1893 to 1910. There are also included some biographical sketches of important persons of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the extraordinarily long life and work of Phraya Sunthon Thamma Thada (A. D. 1832-1954) in volume one, pp. 272-274. The life of Chao Phra Khun Phra Ubali Chan in volume two, detailing his work as a most revered Northeast bhikkhu in helping to establish the Thammayut Order throughout Thailand, provides an interesting diversion from the text. An appended commentary gives the author's views on the creation of the modern system of roads and dams, the spread of electrical power. and the development of the economy in the Northeast. The style of volume one is that of a collection of chronicle records concerning traditional history of the region, whereas volume two is more thoughtfully written to provide explanations about political changes brought to the region as the centralized Thesaphiban system of provincial administration was introduced throughout the country.

A number of inescapable problems common to Thai historical investigation appear in the work. Since many important facts related to local histories are not widely known, it is often necessary for the author to repeat over and over again simple statements of fact concerning central

government policy or external circumstances in order to explain successions of events as individual accounts of provinces are taken up. The reduction of Roi-Et and Ubon to a single monthon by Rama VII out of economic necessity during the Depression is thus explained time and again. There is a problem of uncertain dates, perhaps because the chronicle sources themselves are not always reliable. It is not surprising to find a single event mentioned as happening on two different dates in different parts of the work. There is further a problem of noble ranks and titles. Any important noble might have been mentioned in various records at various times by many different titles. It is thus occasionally necessary to make detailed explanation merely to identify a certain man at a certain stage in his career and list all the successive ranks and titles granted him by the king.

The present work shows the Northeast to be an area largely neglected by historians of Thailand. We do not have clear outlines of historical patterns in the area partly, as amply demonstrated here, because the history, like the historical record, is highly fragmented. The accounts of founding towns and later of abandoning them, of establishing provincial rulers, and of shuffling of provincial officials among the highest offices, do not greatly illuminate the past of these provinces or provide themes for continuity in historical writing. It is unfortunate that the present work has no complete index of proper names; but one would be difficult to compile considering the barrage of names, many of which appear only once, that strikes the reader throughout. Some simple genealogical charts and tables listing local rulers and their families might have been a profitable aid in condensing the book and presenting the work in a more easily digestible form. One contribution of great benefit to further research is the author's consistent attempt to identify place-names mentioned in the old records but no longer in use.

Much of the work is not for the general reader. The specialist, however, will find it a useful handbook for the mass of information which the author has been able to compile.

Kennon Breazeale

Čhamu'n Amondarunrak (Čhaem Suntharawet), Important Works of King Rama VI พระราชกรณียกิจสำคัญในพระบาทสมเด็จพระมงกุฎเกล้นจ้าอยู่หัว Bangkok: Khurusapha, 2511-2513. Vols. 1-5. 10 baht each (paperback), 14 baht each (hard cover).

Chamu'n Amondarunrak, ed., Dusit Thani: The Democratic State of King Rama VI ดุสิตธานี: เมืองประชาธิปไตยของพระบาทสมเด็จพระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว Bangkok: National Library, 2513. pp. 334. 40 baht.

The five-volume set of papers and the separate book on Dusit Thani reviewed here comprise an important body of literature on aspects of the reign of King Rama VI. The amount of published material on the Sixth Reign, aside from the writings of Rama VI himself, is still very limited, and thus these volumes are particularly welcome for the new information they contribute on this period of Thai history. While many of the articles in the *Important Works* series have been previously published in the annual *Wachirawutthanuson*, they are now made much more accessible by republication by the Teachers Association Press.

The first two volumes in the *Important Works* series deal with the introduction of surnames in Thailand. An introductory essay by Čhamu'n Amon sets forth the main purposes of the king—to stimulate international respect, national unity, and family pride—and quotes some key decrees in the promulgation of surnames. The bulk of the volumes consists of lists of surnames, alphabetically arranged and grouped according to the dates the surnames were awarded.

Volume 3 is devoted to three essays—on Sanamčhan Palace, on Don Čhedi, and on the Wild Tigers and the Boy Scouts. The essays resulted from a seminar held at Thapkaeo College from January 3 to 8, 1968. The first essay resumés the history of Phra Pathom Čhedi and tells of the interest of Rama VI in the area even before he became king. Descriptions of the discovery of ancient objects regarded as auspicious—the monkey standards from Nakhon Pathom and the arrows of Rama from Nakhon Sawan—are quoted from a manuscript by Rama VI. And an exchange of letters between Prince Vajiravudh and his father King Chulalongkorn regarding the miraculous lights observed emanating from Phra Pathom Čhedi in 1909 is also included. The essay recounts the temple repairs, the roads, the palace buildings that Rama VI initiated in the Nakhon Pathom area and closes with a summary of the reasons for the king's interest, reasons that revolve around his intention of using

Sanamčhan as a bastion of defense in the event of foreign attack on Thailand. The essay on Don Čhedi is concerned principally with the march of the king and Wild Tigers in 1914 to the newly discovered stupa and the ceremonies performed there in honor of its original builder, King Naresuan, and his victories, which Rama VI cited as an inspiration for the Thai of his time. In the final essay on the Wild Tigers and Boy Scouts, Čhamu'n Amon gives a brief history of the movement, discussing some of its special features—its drills, pageants, maneuvers, songs, and uniforms—and weaves in arguments pointing out the utility of the Wild Tigers in promoting Thai national unity and preparing the nation for possible foreign intervention.

Volume 4 also contains three essays. The first is a general survey of Rama VI's writings, including his first productions as a prince; his impact on the development of modern Thai terminology; his writing habits; and the various genres he wrote in: poetry, plays, and expository prose. The second essay is a detailed examination of the king's love lyrics, with examples of his styles taken from Phraratchawangsan (Othello), Phra Ruang, Thao Saenpom, Sakuntala, Wenitwanit (The Merchant of Venice), and Matthanaphatha. Chamu'n Amon finds the king's lyrics imaginative in rhyme and diction (not at all like modern "I love you" lyrics) and refined in tone, free of all coarseness in language and idea. The third essay, on the king's role as a leading Thai artist, concentrates on his promotion of architecture, particularly the buildings at Vajiravudh College, Chulalongkorn University, and Sanamchan. It also briefly recounts the king's achievements in the theater, including his rescue of the khon and his establishment of a drama school.

The fifth volume in the series contains two essays: the first on the reasons for Siam's declaration of war in 1917, the second on Dusit Thani. At the start of the war, Čhamu'n Amon says, the Thai people in general were favorable to Germany principally because on the international scene Germany had never oppressed Siam and because within Siam the German business community was well liked. Rama VI perceived, however, that the dominant powers in Southeast Asia, Britain and France, although not popular because of injustices they had committed in the past, remained powerful. And so the king declared a policy of neutrality. The main object of the king, however, was to free Siam from the unjust treaties that limited the country's judicial and fiscal autonomy. The best means to this end, in the king's view, was to win over the Allies. By mid-1917

the king had decided to act, to join the Allies, in order to gain in the peace the equal international treatment that was Siam's most important objective. Later events proved the wisdom of the king's policy. In addition to supplying reasons for Siam's entry into the war, Čhamu'n Amon also provides a brief history of wartime events—the taking of prisoners of war, the ceremonies at the time of the declaration of war, the international reaction to the declaration, the contribution of the Siam Expeditionary Force, the victory celebrations, the achievements at Versailles. The second essay, on Dusit Thani, presents the justification for the miniature city originally built on Dusit Palace grounds in 1918 as an "experiment in democracy." The essay describes the city, its method of government (the full text of its constitution is included), its newspapers, and its courtier population.

The second title here reviewed, that specifically on Dusit Thani, is a great expansion of Čhamu'n Amon's earlier essay on the subject. This volume is an exhaustive and fascinating treatment of Dusit Thani, tracing the miniature city from the germinal idea of the miniature town, Mu'ang Mang, that Prince Vajiravudh built at Amphawa Palace in 1903. The account is fully documented and includes material from previously unreleased sources such as the diary of Momluang Pin Malakul. The volume is liberally illustrated with photographs of Dusit Thani itself.

Chamu'n Amon's five volumes on the Important Works of King Rama VI and his compilation on Dusit Thani comprise an "important work" in their own right. Although by no means covering all the achievements of the king or events of the reign, these volumes cover a great deal of ground and provide insights as well as information. Chamu'n Amon states more than once in these volumes that he is not a professional writer. He need not have been so modest. His writing is clear; it is well organized. It can be argued that Chamu'n Amon is not critical. that he is eager to praise. To so argue, I believe, misses the point. The author was once close to the king as part of his retinue of pages. He writes out of devotion; he writes out of gratitude. He writes also, on occasion, from personal experience. When he does so, as for example in his description of the march to Don Chedi from the point of view of a Boy Scout who noticed particularly the dust of the road, the shortage of water, and the illness of some young marchers, the text becomes particularly lively and immediate and real. Chamu'n Amon is to be commended and congratulated for his labor of love that preserves information on significant aspects of Thailand's heritage.

Walter F. Vella

A.A. Rozental. *Finance and Development in Thailand*, Praeger Publishers, New York, 1970, 370 pp. 385 Baht.

Finance and Development in Thailand is one of several books on Thailand recently made available in the Praeger Special Studies in International Economics and Development. The prices of these volumes, given their simple printing process and lack of an index, may appear shockingly high, and they do preclude purchase by the reader with only general interests in Thailand or development. Nevertheless the prices are related to the limited and relatively fixed size of the market. Praeger, therefore, serves a useful function by publishing these specialized studies, many of which, like this volume, are based upon research which would not have otherwise been readily available beyond the limited audiences for which they were prepared.

Dr. Rozental is a senior American development economist who was associated with the Faculty of Economics of Thammasat University from 1965 through 1967 while he conducted the field research for this study under the auspices of the National Planning Association on contract to the American Agency for International Development (AID). The enterprise was supported by the Bank of Thailand, which permitted Dr. Rozental to analyze unpublished data at the Bank, in a manner not prejudicial to the sources of the data, and which assisted in a pioneering, although only partially satisfactory, survey of the structure and operations of the unorganized financial markets in urban areas. His analysis of the rural financial market is based largely upon the valuable Kasetsart study, Agricultural Credit in Thailand: Theory, Data, Policy by Pantum, Virach and Long. The careful description and analysis of the post World War II financial market makes this an important reference on the topic of each chapter heading - the financing of rural households, commercial banking, branch banking, central banking, financing of urban business enterprise and the capital market. The analysis is presented in a conceptual framework relating financial structure to economic growth which leads to concluding suggestions for improvements in efficiency and effectiveness of the financial markets. The final report was submitted in mimeographed form to AID in 1968 and this book now makes the study available to a broader audience.

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Dr. Rozental's basic premise is that the structure of financial markets can directly contribute to economic growth by raising the level of voluntary savings and improving the efficiency of resource allocation. The analysis of each component of the Thai financial markets, both organized and unorganized, focuses upon its effectiveness in serving development goals. One general conclusion which emerges is that the Thai financial structure more strongly reflects historic circumstances and traditional objectives than in other developing countries which have deliberately modified their financial structure in order to promote development. Dr. Rozental praises the government's success in maintaining monetary stability and the excellent record of economic growth, especially in the 1960's. But he believes that the economy must increasingly shift emphasis from primary production to industry, and "piecemeal social engineering" to improve the financial structure should be a significant part of a development program to accelerate the process.

Dr. Rozental criticizes the performance of the commercial banks which dominate the organized money market in Thailand. Although they account for over half of all financial liabilities in the hands of the public, they finance only about one-fifth of private investment. They use their dense network of branches to transfer savings from the rural areas to Bangkok where they flow into the banks' traditional short-term financing of trade or augment excess reserves. The author attaches considerable significance to the commercial banks' "unused capacity", the excess of actual reserve levels over official reserve requirements, for he believes this reflects market imperfections which impair banking competition and efficiency. This discussion is not completely convincing because of the inability to reconcile excess capacity with the banks' aggressive pursuit of new branches and deposits, plus the failure to consider the possibility of internal managerial reserve targets which could consistently exceed the legal requirements. In the organized sector, the capital market is even less efficient than the money market. At the time of the author's research, the few public institutions in the capital market were limited by their size to only a minor impact and private participation was even narrower. Since that time the organized capital market has received great attention, much of it consistent with Dr. Rozental's suggestions. The rapid increase

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in sophistication of the private sector and the allocation of greater resources to public institutions may soon provide evidence to test the validity of the author's thesis that the financial structure really matters.

Almost all of rural financing and a surprisingly large share of urban financing takes place in the unorganized markets, over which the government can exercise relatively little control. The unorganized financial markets consist of many complex layers, ranging from the compradores operating within the penumbra of the commercial banks to the extension of trade credit, rotating credit societies, the petty retailing of credit, and transactions among business associates and friends. Even more than the organized sector, these markets favor trade, consumption and speculation; they provide expensive short-term funds on a contractual basis. The author believes that they tend to draw resources away from productive investments and the government should contract their scope so that financial transactions can be made more responsive to national social goals. One measure advocated, for example, is the increasing participation of the commercial banks' branch system in the field of agricultural credit.

Dr. Rozental's study is not a rigorous testing of economic hypotheses. Rather it is a balanced appraisal of the quantitative and the qualitative evidence available on the financial markets. It includes detailed policy conclusions for restructuring these markets in relation to three broad guidelines — economic efficiency, developmental priorities, and the extension of the scope of the organized markets. In recognition of Thailand's economic success, Dr. Rozental circumspectly recommends modest rather than drastic changes, so that the vitality of the present institutions can be preserved while being directed to more socially beneficial objectives.

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While students of the the Thai economy may not be willing to spend 385 Baht for this study, it is a basic reference on Thai finance which they should find available in their libraries. Unfortunately, however, they may be disappointed, for a survey of thirteen libraries (other than the Thammasat Faculty of Economics Library) in Bangkok two years after publication revealed only nine copies of the book.

Laurence D. Stifel

Edward Van Roy, Economic Systems of Northern Thailand: Structure and Change, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1971 pp. x, 289, 2 maps, 2 charts, 8 tables, bibliography, index. \$10.00

A great deal of the anthropological writing on Asia during the last few decades struggles with varying success to move out of the restrictions imposed by village studies. It is refreshing therefore to see an economist with a command of economic anthropology tackle a subject of this scope. The economic systems dealt with are those of "hill tribe peasants" (Van Roy's term), "upland Thai peasants" and the tea plantation. The upland Thai economy and society is integrated with the wet rice, valley civilization of the Northern Thai. This gives some indication of the coverage of the book. More important, the book is not merely a description of three kinds of economic activity; it sets out to establish some fundamental theoretical ideas about non-western economies and ends with a plan for economic development in the highlands of North Thailand.

One of the most important trends in modern economic anthropology has been the development of the "substantivist" argument. Karl Polanyi, who was the prophet of the movement, argued quite convincingly that the emergence of a market economy was a unique development of Western European history. In all societies, because it is the nature of man, there is evidence of "economizing" behaviour, but it is only in modern Europe that the "price-fixing market" was instituted so as to become the measure of all other activity. In "traditional" societies the institutions which ensure the production and exchange of material goods are "embedded" in the matrix of non-economic institutions and they do not necessarily have priority over any other institution. To use a case from Van Roy's presentation - the Northern Thai miang (pickled tea) producer prefers to supply his dealer with tea leaf for pickling rather than switch to the more lucrative business of supplying the tea factory the motivation being the value placed on the non-economic satisfactions in the patronclient relationship that exists between the miang dealer and producer. I shall return to this example. In these non-Western societies, Van Roy argues, there is no inherent striving for progress, and technological change is largely exogenous. It is with this ideological equipment that he examines the three economic systems.

I shall not comment on the hill tribe case except to say that the situation encountered by Van Roy appears untypical of the economic position of the opium growing tribes. Work by Geddes on the Meo and Miles on the Yao indicates that many tribal communities are very well integrated into the international market economy. They maintain their non-economic institutions from a position of economic strength. The major body of data in the book refers to the miang economy and the new phenomenon of the tea plantation. This is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Northern Thai society. Van Roy's policy recommendations regarding tea production in Northern Thailand may be sound. If they are, the value of such a policy in helping to woo the Meo and other tribes from opium cultivation would be immeasurable. I shall not comment on these further, but shall restrict myself to a critique of the way in which he has applied his theoretical equipment to the elucidation of Northern Thai sociology-particularly his identification and analysis of what he claims is a fundamental institution, the entourage.

An entourage is essentially the set of people formed by a patron and his clients. In traditional Thailand the theory of socio-political organization which manifested itself in the sakdi na grades appears to have been an elaboration of the properties of patron-client relationships. We know, further, that even today Thai personal relations tend to be hierarchical in nature. Working with ideas of this kind Van Roy argues that there emerges in Thai society a clear institution-the entourage. Init, hierarchical, but reciprocal, relationships between a patron and many clients become structural building blocks out of which the institutional framework of the society is built. Clearly, in many respects Van Roy is right. Patron-client relations are important in Thai society and often the client has as much to gain as the patron. I do not believe however that among miang cultivators, and other Northern peasants, the entourage is an institution within which economic relations are "embedded". On the contrary, I would argue that though patron-client relations in modern Northern Thailand are reminiscent of traditional Thailand, the relations themselves continue because of imperfections in the market economy as it prevails in the region. I am not arguing that economic institutions are never "embedded" but that they are not in this case, and certainly not in the entourage. I shall take one example, perhaps the most glaring, in which Van Roy's theoretical assumptions have led him astray and into contradiction of his own facts. The Chiengdao Tea Plantation discussed 426

by Van Roy depended for a good portion of its supply of tea leaf on small holders traditionally engaged in *miang* production. Having enumerated the technological difficulties which resulted in an unsatisfactory (in quality) supply of leaf, Van Roy continues

"More important than these essentially technological problems have been difficulties deriving from the cultural schism between the plantation and the Thai peasantry.....

.... the plantation's problem in controlling miang small-holders stems from the upland Thai peasants continuing reliance on their traditional entourage relations, which frequently take precedence over their dealings with the plantation." (p.169)

But Van Roy has devoted a great deal of effort to becoming conversant with the intricacies of *miang* and tea production and in the next chapter he discusses at length the gross incompatibilities between harvesting leaf for *miang* and tea (pp 228-9). His concluding comment on the entailments of adapting a garden from *miang* to tea is "No gardener in the Research Area has been willing to accept such risks and withstand such costs". Supplying the factory with leaf from bushes grown for *miang* is "a particularly tedious job" (p. 229 fn.). In such circumstances it would appear to be straightforward economic behaviour to supply the factory when the demand for *miang* was down and abandon the tedium when the demand improved.

The issue is not merely an academic one for policy proposals have been formulated with the institutional nature of the entourage in view. I wish therefore to pursue this question a little further. I do not dispute the reality of patron-client relations nor of the entourage as an identifiable The question I raise is whether patron-client grouping of persons. behaviour is to be interpreted as caused by the adherence of Thai to traditional cultural norms or as adaptation to intransigent political and economic facts. The political facts are complex and all I shall say of them here is that uncertainty in both the substance and enforcement of the law is one of the main factors in the formation of patron-client relations. On the economic side there is a great deal of evidence that Northern Thai enter into client relationships because economically it appears the most rational thing to do. Let us take as a paradigm a situation which I am sure is familiar to anyone who has had any contact with Thai business and which is merely a variant of international practice. When a local businessman acquires a franchise to retail a product, he contracts to buy at say, monthly intervals an agreed quantity at X Baht

per unit. The usual retail price may be X Baht+2 satang. If the market is highly competitive the retailer may sell at X Baht-1 satang. When I first encountered this, the conviction that I had strolled Through the Looking Glass was very strong. This was soon dissipated. With each order comes a credit note worth, say 1/3 the value of the order. This is used to pay for the next order. In a chronically capital-short environment the wholesaler is acquiring a client by freezing a part of the retailer's capital in this way. His aim however is not to savour the social joys of a patron-client relationship but to ensure that the retailer will not reduce his order to a minimun and market some cheaper product through the equipment that comes with the franchise. Where capital is short and under-employment rife, yet labour scarce at crucial periods of the year, patron-client arrangements represent a rational form of insurance as well as a mechanism for giving and receiving discounts. When opportunity presents itself Northern Thai farmers appear to be able to give up the 'old ways'-with some regret but with clear-headed market evaluations. In areas with which I am familiar communal and reciprocal labour at the rice harvest has given way increasingly to hired labour. The old satisfactions are missed, but the attractions of speed and economy now that lucrative winter crops may be grown override them. There is also the humane consideration that the new practices enable the landless to acquire some of the rice they need. This example does not involve a break down in entourage relations, but the principle is the same. One may also observe the mechanisms by which patron-client relations are established and identify the clear economic motives behind them. It is usual that a fixed quantity of rice per rai is calculated as the fee for the hire of a buffalo at ploughing. In the past this fee was paid only for the buffalo and not for labour. Now, with increasing pressure on rice land, buffalo owners discount the labour costs for the privilege of hiring out their animals and do the ploughing free of charge. The landless buffalo owner is becoming the client of the wet-rice cultivator as a direct consequence of market forces.

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My conclusion on Van Roy's monograph must be that the theoretical predelictions flaw what would otherwise have been a first rate case study of a minor but interesting facet of the economy of North Thailand.

Gehan Wijeyewardene

Boonsanong Punyodyana, Chinese-Thai Differential Assimilation in Bangkok: An Exploratory Study. (Data Paper No. 79, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University) 1971, pp. 117, \$4.00.

This book is of special interest for two reasons. First, the author is a young Thai scholar, and the research was conceived, planned, and executed while he taught at Thammasat University. Second, the book provides what is, to the best of my knowledge, a unique body of statistical information about Chinese people in Thailand. The data is interesting and valuable; the analysis, however, is somewhat less successful.

Mr. Boonsanong defines three classes of Chinese in Bangkok and Thonburi and hypothesizes that the three classes will differ from one another with regard to their being assimilated by the Thais. The classes are:

- I. People who have up to seven years schooling in Thai schools and who do not work for the government. This class also turns out to be older and to have higher incomes than Class II.
- II. People who have from seven to twelve years schooling and who do not work for the government.
- III. People who work for the government, regardless of the amount of education. In the actual sample, though, the median educational level for this class is over twelve years.

A quota sample was drawn which included three hundred people in each of the three classes; in addition, the sample controlled for sex, dialect, and religion and partially controlled for age, social class, and residential zone. A forty-five minute interview was administered to obtain information on the behavior and attitudes of the people on the following general topics: (1) language use; (2) education; (3) occupation; (4) religion; (5) inter-personal association; and (6) intermarriage and family relations. The interview schedule is reproduced in the appendices in the original Thai and in English translation.

Most of the book consists of frequency distributions showing the frequency of responses to each question on the interview schedule cross-classified with the three classes of Chinese. The accompanying text is generally confined to pointing out the salient features of the frequency

distributions; in addition, there are introductory and final chapters which explain the goals of the research and other more general matters, and which, incidentally, contain a heavy dose of rather pointless social science jargon. Mr. Boonsanong's hypothesis that the three classes of Chinese should differ with regard to assimilation is strongly supported. That he has constructed the questionnaire with considerable insight is suggested by the fact that the three groups differ on nearly every item in the interview schedule and that the differences are consistently in the direction of government employees being most Thai and people with less education being most Chinese.

Although we have been told long and often that Thais are great assimilators, I think my strongest impression from the book was surprise at the degree that even the most "Chinese" group is integrated, and perhaps even assimilated, into Thai society. For instance, only 68% of Group I, 47.4% of Group II, and 14.3% of Group III said they would choose a Chinese spouse over a Thai one, all other things being equal; 28.3%, 45.3%, and 66.7% respectively said it would not matter (page 57). And the potential for the assimilation to continue is indicated by the fact that 66.7% of Group I were willing to support close relatives in getting an education to prepare them to become government officials; an additional 19.7% said they were indifferent or had no opinion (page 25).

It should be noted that one table in the chapter on language is unusable due to misprints of some sort (probably reversal of columns or column heads). Table 2.2 on page 15 does not agree with corresponding figures cited in the text on pages 13 and 16; and there is a reversal of columns under "Language(s)/Dialect(s) Respondent Can Speak Now" as compared with Table 2.1 on page 14.

The analysis suffers from two major difficulties. The first is that the author avoided even the most elementary statistical techniques which he could have used with benefit. There are no statistical indices and few tests for significance of differences, for instance. More important, there is virtually no attempt to control for variables other than those controlled in the sampling process. For instance, the use of government employment as a criterion for defining the classes of Chinese would have been more convincing had the author controlled for educational level, since Class III differs from the others on both criteria of education and

occupation. A cross-tabulation of both occupation (i.e. government and non-government) and educational level with several crucial variables such as language use and religious preference would have served this purpose. (On page 12 the author has done just that to control for age for similar reasons.) Such a cross-tabulation would have had the important side-benefit of making the data more usable for other scholars for testing their own hypotheses, since it shows more relationships within the data.

The second difficulty is more important; it is that the analysis has no coherent theoretical framework, and we are given no clear idea of what the author means by such crucial terms as "assimilation," "integration assimilation," or "integration." Nor is it clear just who the Chinese are or what ethnicity is. Mr. Boonsanong uses a working definition of "Chinese," which is that Chinese are those whose parents are native speakers of a Chinese dialect. But he does not seem to be willing to say that this is what Chinese really are; rather, it is a convenient and workable way of identifying Chinese, which is quite another thing. So there is a question of whether to be Chinese is simply to be a descendant of Chinese parents. Or must one still speak the language, as Mr. Boonsanong seems to suggest on page 62? Or does one have to show other cultural characteristics of Chinese, such as observing Chinese religious practices, as the chapter on religion seems to suggest? There is also a question of what relation these cultural and linguistic differences bear to Mr. Boonsanong's working definition of Chinese, which was the basis for choosing the people who were interviewed, and of what relation they bear to the process of assimilation. These are matters that affect data collection and description as well as analysis, and they require careful attention if one is to take full advantage of the rigor of the survey methods.

These comments should not detract from the fact that Mr. Boon-sanong has a valuable corpus of data about Chinese people, and that this book should stimulate new research and should be useful to other scholars for testing their own hypotheses. It is to be hoped that Mr. Boonsanong will be able to turn his attention to a complete analysis of this data in the future.

Brian L. Foster

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Kamol Somvichian, *Pattana ganmuang thai* (Thai Political Development), Chulalongkorn University, Faculty of Political Science, 1970. pp. 1-82 + bibl. 13 baht.

Donald E. Weatherbee, *The United Front in Thailand*. A Documentary Analysis. University of South Carolina, Studies in International Affairs No. 8 1970. pp. 1-103. \$4.00, \$2.00 pb.

This short work by Dr. Kamol addresses itself to a big topic and will probably succeed in its purpose of stimulating discussion in Thailand on how to adjust political institutions and processes in accordance with "democracy' and "development." It should be of particular interest to foreign students of contemporary Thai politics. It articulates the political views of a member of the young intelligentsia who has been educated abroad and has returned to teach in his own country. The intellectuals, like other groups in the country, have benefited from the general political relaxations which followed the promulgation of the 1968 Constitution, and have joined in the growing public discussion of both narrow and fundamental political issues. Not unexpectedly, the author advocates greater involvement by scholars, intellectuals and businessmen of "the younger generation" as consultants to the government. He maintains that university employees (who are public servants) can best be utilized as technical experts, but that fresh and unconventional ideas are likely to be found among professionals and intellectuals outside the bureaucracy. It follows that the universities should be removed from the Prime Minister's Office and (presumably) established as semi-autonomous bodies.

On the question of democratic control versus administrative efficiency, which forms the theme to the book, the author appears to come down in favour of administrative efficiency. There has been considerable criticism of the National Assembly in Thailand since elected parliamentarians re-appeared in 1969, and much of this is reflected in the book. It is argued that the National Assembly is a necessary and good institution in theory, but in practice is far from perfect, although still necessary. Much blame is placed on the disorderly and self-seeking conduct of indi-

vidual parliamentarians, which in turn contributes to the low prestige of the Assembly among the public and the press. (Incidentally, this would seem a worthwhile field of micro-research. Some work has been done on the perceptions of Thai legislators of their own role and functions, but, to my knowledge, there are no similar studies of how various segments of the population perceive the role, status, efficiency, etc. of the parliamentarians). Dr. Kamol suggests that the extent to which the National Assembly promotes private rather than public interests and works inefficiently may explain its limited prestige and power. This resembles David Wilson's formulation of what he regards as a central Thai value: right is might. However, there are external limitations on the activities of the parliamentarians which sometimes prevent virtue from being rewarded with power. The author merely notes this in passing.

One would also like to see a fuller discussion of the role of the military. Dr. Kamol takes the view that military coups in Thailand have occurred at times of disorganization in the body politic—particularly in the National Assembly—and were products of dissatisfaction among both "the people" and the military. There is no further clarification of the two crucial and controversial variables—"the people" and "disorganization". The law-and-order rationale for military coups is not followed through rigorously. Some coups are necessary (but which?), while too many will block the development of stable, democratic processes, he concludes.

Concern with the shortcomings of the National Assembly is likewise apparent in the author's advocacy of a presidential system in Thailand. He rejects a parliamentary system where the cabinet is drawn from the majority party (or coalition) in the parliament, on the grounds that the weaknesses of the National Assembly would be transferred to the administrative side. A presidential system, on the other hand, would combine popular consent and censure with stronger administrative control. If the head of the executive branch were subject to direct, popular elections, the administration would be more democratic than at present, and could also act more efficiently since it would rest on a solid, legitimate base,

A different but familiar view of parliamentary institutions is found in Donald Weatherbee's analysis. Whatever the defects of the National Assembly, the reintroduction of elections and political party competition made a strong impression on the clandestine Communist Party of Thailand. It "struck at one of the CPT's major propaganda appeals—the undemocratic, illegal government—and it might recruit back into the Thai political system non-communist targets of the united front's propaganda." (p. 73). CPT propaganda reflected these apprehensions as early as the end of 1967, and continued to attack the Constitution and the elections.

The National Assembly is of course only one factor in a discussion of the CPT's position. Probably more important was the gradual withdrawal of American troops from Thailand, which deprived the CPT of a major propaganda target. These and other points are summarized by Mr. Weatherbee who concludes by emphasizing the fallacy of the CPT's version of the so-called domino theory. One of the major weaknesses of the CPT, he maintains, has been to repeat the Vietnamese and Chinese communist doctrines without making allowances for peculiarities of the Thai socio-political landscape.

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As the title suggests, Mr. Weatherbee's book is primarily a documentary collection of propaganda by the CPT and presumed front organizations emitted through the New China News Agency, the foreign-based radio station "Voice of the People of Thailand", and other channels. It is useful for bringing together material which is otherwise scattered and sometimes difficult to obtain.

Astri Suhrke

James Basche, *Thailand Land of the Free* (Taplinger, New York), 1971 pp. 273, ill, \$8.95.

Inflation in population, finance, pollution and education throughout the world has its effects, it would appear, on the book trade. From the title alone one is left in no doubt that this volume is yet another general introduction for armchair travellers in cosy apartments somewhere between Monterey and Maine who want to find out more about those quaint little people over there. Mr. Basche starts badly:

"Every year thousands of visitors arrive in Thailand (pronounced Tie-land) from all over the world. Most of these visitors are tourists. Some are there for business or trade. A few are there to take up residence as businessmen or as representatives of their home governments or international organizations."

and one's heart sinks at the idea of having to read through the remaining pages.

But in fact the beginning and the title belie what is a sincere and sensible piece of popularization which contains remarkably few factual errors (and these are minor, e.g. the advisor on justice, mentioned on p. 229 as being a Frenchman, is presumably the Belgian Rolin-Jacquemyns) and, even more remarkably, few errors of misplaced emphasis. Mr. Basche does not see everything through hibiscus-coloured spectacles, and passes deserved comments about, for example, the 'administrative hodge-podge' surrounding the agencies dealing with hill tribes and the need for the southern Muslims 'to be dealt with with greater intelligence' than hitherto. The book is sufficiently up-to-date to include references to the work of the artists Damrong Wong-Uparaj and Prapan Srisuta, but does not quite make Pridi's removal from Peking to Paris.

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The chief criticism of this volume, taking it for what it is, is the chronic disorder in which the material is presented. One feels that Mr. Basche, or his editors, assembled the file cards with their written-out paragraphs by picking them at random off the floor after the card-box

had fallen down. Catchy chapter heads like 'Saffron Robes and Temple Bells' and 'Palaces and Coups' contain reasonably homogeneous material, but 'Phuket' for instance, deals consecutively with Songkran (in Phuket, Bangkok and Chiengmai), the Ploughing Ceremony in Bangkok, Visaka Puja, Loy Krathong, sundry other holidays, being sanuk, Songkhla, the Malays, Srivichaya, the Negritos, southern border insurgency, Wat Mahathat in Nakorn Srithammaraj, travelling by train in Thailand, the death railway, the Kanchanaburi cemetery, the Japanese occupation, and Nakorn Pathom.

One would be tempted to consider this approach as stream of consciousness or even *enchainement naturel* if the author did not repeat himself so exactly so often. On p. 157 we are told:

"the Thai ambassador to Washington, M.R. Seni Pramoj, refused to deliver the declaration [of war] to the United States government", and again on p. 229 we are informed:

"the Thai ambassador to the United States, M.R. Seni Pramoj, refused to deliver the declaration [of war] to the United States government"

(In fact, M.R. Seni was minister, not ambassador; those were the days before diplomatic inflation.) This is not by any means the only example of repetition.

As a popular introduction with no pretence of scholarship, Mr. Basche has produced a sincere and balanced volume a good deal better than most others on the market. It suffers from the faults of nearly all such volumes by being personally intrusive (why do farangs always generalize about Thais with their servants as a model?), by its random discursiveness and by occasional stylistic lapses.

Michael Smithies

Melford E. Spiro, Buddhism and Society (Harper & Row, New York, Evanston and London, 1970), pp. 510, \$17.95.

The chief merit of Spiro's ambitious 510-page volume Buddhism and Society lies in the descriptive rather than the analytical contribution it makes to Southeast Asian anthropology, in particular, and religious sociology in general. This volume is ambitious not only in size, but also in scope, as the author sees it as an attempt 'to fill the gap between textual scholarship, which underscores the uniqueness of Buddhism, and anthropological field investigations which place it within the normal cross-cultural range of religious variability'. The material is arranged accordingly into the following sections;—Buddhism as an Ideological System,—Buddhism as a Ritual System,—Buddhism as a Monastic System,—Buddhism in the World.

The section 'Buddhism as an Ideological System' is perhaps the weakest of these. The author's exposition of 'the main doctrines of normative Buddhism', despite lengthy quotations from acknowledged experts (and others), cannot but be less than satisfactory for the reader who has any knowledge of the subject, and is insufficiently clear and concise to be of much use to the newcomer. Nor is the cause of clarification furthered by Spiro's classification of Buddhism into Nibbanic, Kammatic (although he uses the terms *nirvana* and *karma*), Apotropaic ('A Religion of Magical Protection'), and Esoteric ('A Religion of Chiliastic Expectations'). All this despite his avowed intention not to inundate the reader with unfamiliar terms, from Pali, Sanskrit and Burmese. The use of this new system of classification seems to possess the doubtful advantage of teaching an alien language by means of a phonetic system rather than the original alphabet.

One is not nerved for the challenge of this ideological section by Spiro's prologue, in which he sets up a number of theoretical straw-men, some of which he recognises for what they are, and cuts them down in the following paragraphs. For instance, he reports that initially 'Theravada Buddhism seemed to present a stunning problem and remarkable opportunities — the chance to uncover those social and cultural conditions

that lead to the acquisition of beliefs and attitudes which constitute dramatic exceptions to our empirical knowledge and theoretical expectations concerning human nature and religion (thereby leading to their amendment) and the opportunity to discover the consequences - more especially the cultural and social consequences - attendant on their acquisition.' However, as he acknowledges immediately, the secondary sources he used gave an inaccurate and ethno-centrically distorted picture of the so-called normative Buddhist doctrines; and in the second place, as he was later to discover in the field, the majority of his informants were ignorant of, or ignored, the classical Buddhist tenets. 'It should be noted incidentally, that the very fact that Buddhists do not subscribe to all the doctrines of normative Buddhism is itself an indication of how similar they are to other people (sic) - Christians and Jews, for example, who reject many normative doctrines of Christianity or Judaism while still claiming to be 'Christians' or 'Jews'.' This naivete is scarcely credible. But one is convinced of its sincerity by further examples.

In theoretical terms this book does provide a service by bringing together in one place many useful points, although few of them are new; no stone in 'the 'stock-in-trade' of religious sociology' is left unturned. Few people would deny, for example, that many of Weber's pronouncements as to the relationship between Buddhism and society are palpably flawed, and by the same token it is difficult to believe that Spiro thinks he is the first (and it is thus a worthwhile venture) to point it out. It is both tiring and tedious to be presented with bathos upon bathos. Indeed reading this book is a little like being driven by a person who promises a pretty turn of speed, but who never, in fact, takes his foot off the brake. One is repeatedly led to expect something new in the way of analytical observation, only to be presented with something old or something borrowed.

On the more positive side, it should be mentioned that the author attempts to examine the interplay not only between ideological and sociological variables, but also between these factors and the variable of the psychological predispositions of the Burmese; he generalizes from

this that religious doctrines, more particularly those of 'Kammatic' Buddhism, are accepted if they are consistent with the actor's psychological structure and motivational system, which is largely formed and acquired during childhood. This leads him to the inevitable and uncomfortable conclusion that 'Nibbanic' Buddhism can only appeal to manic depressives and to those sated with worldly pleasures.

In examining the monkhood, Spiro discovers that recruits to the Order (whose backgrounds tend incidentally to offer fewer worldly pleasures than does life in the monastery) appear to be characterised *inter alia* by a high degree of emotional dependence, childishness, narcissism, vanity and timidity, and that celibacy presents little problem as they exhibit relatively little sexual drive.

For myself, and I suspect for many other readers, this section on monasticism and the monkhood is the most real and satisfying part of this book, whether or not one can endorse the author's attempt to add a psychological link to the usual, causal, vicious circle. This is not the place to indulge in the well-known anthropological parlour game of comparing 'my people' with 'your people' but I would think that Spiro's material on the relations between the monkhood and the State, between monks and the local community, and on recruitment into the monastic system might provide some students of Thai society with food for comparative thought. Indeed, and to recapitulate, the strongest point of this study is its provision of excellent ethnographic material which will surely stimulate other anthropologists.

Jane Bunnag

Bunchhan Mul, *Kuk Niyobay* (Political Prison), Phnom Penh, Apsara Press, 1971, pp. 271, illus., 35 *riels*.

On July 18, 1942, the French authorities in Phnom Penh arrested two influential Cambodian monks, and accused them of preaching anti-French sermons to the militia. Two days later, over five hundred members of the sangha, encouraged by their superiors, by civilian patriots, and by the Japanese, marched on the office of the French résident supérieur. Several people were injured before the crowd dispersed. The leaders, including the author of this memoir, who was a twenty-one-year-old civilian at the time, were arrested and sent off to prison.

Most of *Kuk Niyobay* is about the three years that Mr. Bunchhan spent on Poulo Condore, a penal island off the coast of southern Viet-Nam. As a description of conditions there, his book is well worth reading, for he has a good memory and a vigorous style.

The book's historical value, though, is in its first fifty pages or so, which describe Cambodian nationalism — or, more precisely, Cambodia's anti-French movement — in the late 1930s and early 1940s. *Kuk Niyobay* is the first book about this movement by a Khmer, and the first to discuss it in depth.

Mr. Bunchhan asserts, correctly, that anti-French feeling in Cambodia was weak, sporadic, and slow to develop. He fails to tell us why this was so, although two reasons come to mind. Most Cambodians, scattered throughout the country in isolated villages, have generally shown little aptitude or fondness for the discipline which a long-term anti-authoritarian movement requires. Furthermore, traditional Cambodian society, when it organized itself at all, did so on authoritarian lines. Cambodian culture still emphasizes the virtues of obedience and the correctness of traditional forms of leadership. Under the French, these traditional leaders – provincial governors, Buddhist monks, and the royal family – remained in place, insulating most of the people from the effects of colonial rule.

By the late 1930s, however, a small anti-French movement had begun to develop in Phnom Penh. Mr. Bunchhan describes how part of

it was made up of conservative, nationalistic monks, who saw themselves as the curators of Cambodian culture, and who wanted to root out French influence, even though it was slight, from Cambodian literature and education. Another part of the movement, which included young people like Mr. Bunchhan as well as some school teachers and minor government officials, believed in the ideas of republicanism and democracy which filtered down to them from the French. Both groups wanted the French out of Cambodia. They also believed that pro-French members of the royal family, including King Sisowath Monivong (reigned 1927-1941) had let down their country.

In 1937, a Khmero-Vietnamese named Son Ngoc Thanh, the librarian of the Buddhist Institute in Phnom Penh, founded a mildly anti-French newspaper and named it after Angkor Wat. Mr. Bunchhan writes that the paper "woke up" the Cambodian people. Although this is an exaggeration, the paper's influence was large enough to draw rebukes from King Monivong and from the French. More importantly, the paper drew together the civilian and clerical strands of the anti-French movement, building up to a climax in the July, 1942 demonstration.

The shared experience of the newspaper, the demonstration, and life on Poulo Condore shaped the subsequent behavior of Cambodia's nationalist leaders. The same people were active in resisting the French in the late 1940s, and were later the ones who led the opposition, clandestine and parliamentary, to Prince Sihanouk. *Kuk Niyobay* could not have been published before March 18, 1970, when Sihanouk was overthrown, because it successfully corrects the myth that Sihanouk alone was responsible for Cambodia's independence. In its own right, the book is a valuable addition to the historical record.

David P. Chandler

Donald Fryer, Emerging South East Asia: A Study in Growth and Stagnation (George Philip & Son Ltd., London, 1970), pp. 486, £3.

It is a delight for a political economist to be able to recommend Professor Fryer's new book. Professor Fryer is a geographer, but *Emerging South East Asia* will be useful to many different classes of readers. The regional scholars of South East Asia will be able to use it to improve their basic knowledge of soils, natural resources, river systems and basic patterns of agricultural cultivation. Economists will seize on the book as a method of teaching structural problems of economic growth under differing political systems. Geographers will almost certainly adopt it as a basic textbook in the economic geography of the region. It is also enormously valuable to those interested in the region, but without the specialised knowledge or the time to read detailed sourcebooks and monographs. It is hoped that the publishers will allow the book to be translated into Indonesian and Thai so that it can be used as a textbook for courses on regional economics and geography at an undergraduate level in those countries where English is not easily read by the majority of students.

Emerging South East Asia is certainly not without its faults: much of the material ends in 1965 or 1966; it is depressing to be confronted by Indonesia's direction and composition of trade in 1963 (Table 7-10 p.356). The influence of Japan in the region is not adequately treated. The influence of the Vietnam war, which brought in its wake escalation to Laos and Cambodia and massive military expenditures in Thailand, is not treated in sufficient detail. The continuing recovery of the Indonesian economy from its post-Sukarno traumas is only partially recognised. The Malaysian riots of May 1969 are unsatisfactorily treated (pp. 286-287), but in this case it was too late for the author to produce a major reconsideration of his optimistic chapter (pp. 206-287). Finally throughout the book there is far too little emphasis on unemployment, the impact of education (and subsequent unemployment among the educated) and the distribution of income and wealth. These are major flaws on the record of the economic growth, which is Professor Fryer's particular interest. The study of growth and g.n.p. is not in itself a major fault (we do need indicators, however unreliable, by which to measure the progress of nation states), but one may question whether it should be elevated to such an uncritical position, i.e. the chapter on Burma which displays Professor Fryer at his worst. His statements about Burma's supposed natural resource wealth are largely incorrect and at best highly misleading. His praise of the Chettyars is misplaced (p. 369), and his complete failure to analyse changes in income and wealth distribution between 1939 and 1966 is extremely unscholarly. The Burmese chapter is short, only twenty-nine pages, uses deplorably outdated statistics (from 1964/5 or 1965/6) and its ill-tempered tone mars an otherwise excellent book.

These criticisms should not be allowed in any way to diminish the book's worth. It is far better than any other available volume and a second edition prepared for publication in 1972 or 1973, using more recent statistical data, would cover the most serious of these complaints. bibliography is really excellent and useful for specialist and non-specialist (pp. 451-473) as well as being extremely extensive and detailed. (The use of recent articles from the Far Eastern Economic Review, which are accessible to many students, to supplement journal articles, obscure and out of print monographs such as J. Russell Andrus's Burmese Economic Life (Stanford, 1947) or J.J. Puthuchlary's Ownership and control in the Malayan Economy (Singapore, 1960) and the usual staple of well-known books, government reports and ECAFE or FAO background work, is a splendid innovation which should be followed by more scholars). The maps used are very clear and easy to understand. The photographs are always interesting and will be useful to those who have never visited the region, although there is often very little connection between text and photograph. It is hoped that the second edition will remove such touristic delights as the photograph (p. 171), which is captioned: "The smooth cone of Mayon in southeast Luzon forms a back drop for a scene of rural domesticity".

The planning of the book is sensible. There is a brief introduction "Southeast Asia in the modern world" which gives population figures, and stresses the importance of the Nanyang Chinese in the region and the Peoples Republic of China's critical role. Then the overall relation of the region to the world is developed. Finally the author develops his "Two Southeast Asias" thesis, which will, rather erroneously, be stressed

throughout the book. Burma, Indonesia and the Indochinese states even in 1967/8 could hardly be humped together as (pp. 20-21): '... inward looking countries; economic growth has never been accorded a high degree of priority by their governments, which have tended to follow doctrinaire rather than pragmatic policies...." In 1971, it can be seen that South Vietnam and Laos had no options, Cambodia has become "involved" in the Vietnam war and Indonesia has steadily been moving into a phase of rapid, export-oriented economic growth.

Q

The second chapter "The land and its utilization" is very good and very useful for all non-geographers. Fryer's comments on the rice trade (p. 60) are most incongruous read after the low rice prices of 1969, 1970 and 1971, but famine in East Pakistan in 1972 may yet boost prices and trade volumes again. The discussion on estates versus small-holder cultivation of the region's cash crops is particularly valuable. The third chapter on "Urbanization, industrialization and modernization" is less satisfactory—one is surprised to be told about the "strong degree of unionization among established industries" and there is the distinct suggestion that high wages have handicapped the growth of manufacturing industry and have led to capital/labour substitution. (This phenomenon may exist in the Philippines, although real wages there have been falling since 1965, but it is difficult to believe it is a serious problem elsewhere in the region.) The section on the "bureaucratic armies" and "professional students" is more accurate, although too short.

After these opening chapters Professor Fryer begins a series of country chapters: Thailand (p. 127-164), the Philippines (p. 165-206), Malaysia and Singapore (p. 207-287), Burma (p. 361-389) and Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (p. 390-435). The major contributions of the book are the massive chapters on Malaysia and Singapore, and on Indonesia. These are the countries that Fryer knows best, having worked between 1961-1966 at the University of Malaya, and his knowledge of the geography, background material and past history are all surer: these two chapters take as much space as all the other country chapters taken together.

The chapter on Thailand is a little disappointing. The problems of the North, North-east and the South are recognized as is the importance of regional income disparities and the problem of Bangkok's economic dominance; but the author believes (p. 129):—

"Fortunately, the situation is not being allowed to deteriorate", and that the establishment of regional development committees is:-

"Further evidence of the country's determination to remove economic grievances in politically vulnerable parts of the country". In 1971 it can be clearly recognized that the security situation, particularly in Yala, Pattani and Songkhla in the South, is far from satisfactory, and the economic disparities have not been remedied between 1966 and 1971. Bangkok is still Thailand's "Great Wen" and all economic wealth and power continue to be sucked to the capital. Population growth at 3.2 per cent cannot be continued for much longer without producing further fragmentation of land holdings and the expansion of the numbers of "landless peasants" even in the Central Plain. The rest of the chapter is descriptive and there is no attempt to assess the future growth or the impact of political and bureaucratic substructures on Thailand's economic performance. Finally in Table 4-6 (p. 163) the author denominates the table in baht without anywhere supplying a conversion table; and this situation worsens as pesos, Malay and Singapore dollars and billions of rupiahs, kyats, kips and riels are all thrown at the unsuspecting reader, who is unlikely to have 1964-1966 IMF reports at hand. Only in the case of the South Vietnamese piastres does the author recognize the difficulty, inserting footnote 10 on page 402, which explains the piastre/dollar rates.

The chapter on the Philippines is good, although the failure to discuss the peso/dollar rate of exchange debates, which were responsible for much of the Philippines' poor growth performance in the 1950's and 1960's, is a serious omission. A basically overvalued exchange has done far more to hamper agrarian growth than landlordism and poorly coordinated government intervention. The badly under-utilized and inefficient industrial sector was created not so much by "tariffs" as by this overvalued exchange rate. The consequences of the "floating peso" adopted in February 1970 are still uncertain, but rebuilding the rural sector is a long-term structural problem, which the next President will face in 1973.

The chapters on Malaysia and Singapore and Indonesia are magnificent studies in economic geography. They will be read with profit by all, although the May 1969 riots in Malaysia and Indonesia's economic recovery will force major changes in tone when the second edition is produced.

The chapter on Burma is much less satisfactory. Professor Fryer is convinced that the Burmese resource base is very large (p. 361) "yet despite the bounty of nature," the three wartime roads (totally useless in time of peace and uneconomic even in war) "have been allowed to lapse into disrepair". And this irritates Professor Fryer, although it is difficult to understand what Thailand and Burma might dispatch to each other on the Burma-Thailand railway: rice and teak presumably along some Ricardian two-country, two-good theoretical trade model! Even in the forestry sector, there is annoyance. The access of the people to forests after independence in 1947 and subsequent cutting led to:— "abasement of forest composition and major damage to growing stock". However, since teak requires girdling for two years and must be moved by elephant or crawler tractors for floating down stream, it seems unlikely that Professor Fryer is right. The peasants probably felled smaller unexportable species whose loss will be felt a mere forty years on!

The chapter on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia is good. The source materials used to contrast the two rice economies of South and North Vietnam are very helpful, but liberal optimism prevented Professor Fryer from speculating on the war.

C

The final chapter "The destiny of South East Asia" is too short and suffers from an inadequate attempt to assess future U.S., Japanese and Chinese roles in the region and a terrible passage (p. 437) in which Professor Fryer parrots the views of other economists in praising Pakistan's growth performance without examining the income and investment disparities between the East and West wings. This is the disparity, which has finally (March-November 1971) brought the whole edifice crashing to the ground.

There is much criticism in this review, but *Emerging South East Asia* is an outstanding achievement by an exceptionally able scholar: the second edition should be even better than the first.

Angus Hone

Albert Le Bonheur: La Sculpture indonésienne au Musée Guimet (Les Presses Universitaires de France, Paris), 1971, pp. 359, numerous black and white plates. 60 F.

The Indonesian sculpture in the Musée Guimet consists of a few masterpieces, a number of works of unexceptional quality, and a certain amount of junk. Out of this collection a young French art historian has made a fascinating catalog. There is a photograph of each piece (at least of the front of each), and each has been studied with the same meticulous care. Classical bronzes and modern imitations are interspersed among works about whose genuineness M. Le Bonheur has the courage to admit he has no fixed opinion. There are illustrations of comparable sculptures in collections (mainly Dutch) known to the author, and dates are justified, not merely tossed out. In the realm of iconographical analysis, M. Le Bonheur's thoroughness is especially welcome; he makes no slipshod identifications and describes in detail divergences from the prescriptions of surviving Indian texts and from the systems of similar images.

The catalog per se is preceded by an "Aperçu historique" of sixtynine pages. Indonesia from prehistoric times through the 15th century is outlined for the general reader, who will find the information on the various dynasties and inscriptions baffling (though this is hardly M. Le Bonheur's fault; his synthesis is indeed a good guide to the present state of research), and the art history of little use without the illustrations in Bernet Kempers' Ancient Indonesian Art at hand. The value of these pages is diminished, unfortunately, by the awe in which M. Le Bonheur holds his elders; in a field with such an accumulation of hypotheses it helps to be bold and irreverent. He sometimes creates the impression that he is under some sort of constraint not to say what he really thinks. Perhaps, therefore, in twenty years or so he will write another "Aperçu historique" which will be the result of his own evident intelligence. In the catalog too there are a few unhappy instances of this timidity: three bronze images, possibly from a single mandala, must be photographed on the same unoriginal bases upon which they entered the museum, and a 19th century bronze charioteer is in the final analysis dubbed "xve siècle?", despite "notre sentiment personnel" that it belongs to the second half of the 19th century (pp. 226-228). M. Le Bonheur feels he must respect the claim made by "M. S. . . ", who sold the work in 1908!

Of more consequence is the author's tendency to believe that an observation made by his teacher Jean Boisselier about Khmer art may have universal validity. Prof. Boisselier thinks that Khmer bronzes, in comparison with stones, were ahead of time (see La statuaire khmère et son évolution, Saigon, 1955, p. 281, and pp. 53-54 of the book under review). As a general rule (and in the Khmer case itself) it would be preferable to say that the extent of advance (or old-fashionedness) of any particular art form is dependent on social factors; who and what the work of art is intended for is ultimately a more important consideration than the fact that bronze and stone have different physical characteristics. M. Le Bonheur, on seeing a bronze relatable to both central and East Javanese art, puts it in the 10th century, believing it to be "en avance". All any of us can do is guess, but it seems just as likely that after the 10th century the demand in central Java (where surely bronzes continued to be made), and probably to some extent in East Java, was for conservative works dependent on the great classical stone sculpture no longer being produced. What really happened will not be known, however, until the state of our knowledge has reached a higher plane. This plane may be attained when there are more fine catalogs like this one.

There follow some more detailed comments:

11

P. 76. The author suggests that the bas-reliefs at Chandi Djago (one of the funerary monuments of a king who died in 1268, according to the Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama of 1365 A.D.) were added in the 14th century. The stylistic connections between the decor presumably original (including the Kāla lintel illustrated by Bernet Kempers) and the bas-reliefs are sufficient, however, to make a single period of construction more probable. When exactly this period fell nevertheless remains uncertain.

P. 125. M.G. 18290, "xe siècle?". The Buddha's robe is pulled over both shoulders like a cloak and leaves the front of the torso bare. This is the arrangement found in the Philadelphia Museum of Art bronze (Ancient Cambodian Sculpture, The Asia Society, New York, 1969, no. 36; cf. JSS LVIII, 2, p. 184) and in a second 12th (?) century provincial Khmer bronze in a private collection in Bangkok. Rather than being an aberration, therefore, this method of wearing the monastic garb was evidently characteristic of a particular sect.

- P. 128. M.G. 3475, "fin du ixe siècle? -xe siècle?". Not only does the border of the aureole recall East Javanese decor of the 13th and 14th centuries, as the author points out, but the asymetrical fall of the Buddha's robe over the crossed legs, the thickness of this part of the robe, and the "reverse inflection" are characteristics found in a stone Buddha from Rawapuluh, East Java, Djakarta Museum #230.
- P. 132. M.G. 3825, "ixe siècle?". Such extension of the legs beyond the lotus pedestal is well-enough attested, being found in a stone Shiva from East Java in the Djakarta Museum ( $\ddagger$  51, dated to 1100 A.D. by its label) and in a bronze Buddha in vitarka mudrā in the Musium Badyapustaka, Surakarta ( $\ddagger$  A571). In the latter, moreover, the robe seems not to be shown on the pedestal. The three sculptures, which are post-9th-century, have certain stylistic similarities.
- P. 224. M.G. 3381, "ixe-xe siècle?". The author suggests that this Shiva was once covered with a precious metal; such is indeed the case with a larger head in the Sonobudojo Museum, Jogjakarta (# S.B.E. 7), which is also solid cast, is stylistically comparable, and has gold (presumably) overlay remaining on the lips.

Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.

3.1

## Recent Siamese Publications

- Yūdī, Chin: Prehistory in Thailand สิลปสมัยก่อนประวัติศาสตร์ในประเทศไทย Sivaporn Press, Bangkok, i11. 2510, pp. 95;
- 448. Diskul, Prince Subhadradis: The Art of Lopburi คิลปสมัยลพบุรี Sivaporn Press, Bangkok, 118 ill. 2510, pp. 34;
- 449. Wallibhodom, M: The Art of Uton คิดปลมัยอุ่ทอง Sivaporn Press, Bangkok, 25 i11. 2510, pp. 44;
- 450. Amātyakul, T: The Art of Ayudhyā คิลปสมัยอยุทยา Sivaporn Press, Bangkok, 46 ill. 2510, pp. 31;
- 451. Lyons, Miss E.: The Art of Bangkok, สิถปสมัยวัตนโกสินทร์ Sivaporn Press, Bangkok, tr. into Siamese by Mme C. Chonkol, i11. 2510, pp. 20,

Each volume is prefaced by an introduction from the pen of Dr. Dhanit Yūpo, at the time of publication Director-General of the Department, giving a sketch of the development of the National Museum into the Royal Institute. The author says that the Museum was set up in B.E. 2417 by King Chulalonkorn within the precincts of the Grand Palace. As a matter of fact this was but a continuation of the modismin พีพิธภัณฑ์ of King Monkut, which, however, was hardly known to the The omission of its mention is thus excusable. goes on to mention the removal of the Museum of King Chulalonkorn to the group of residences of the Prince of the Palace to the Front, the 'Wanna' in 2430. King Prajadhipok later established the Rajapandityasabhā, or Royal Institute, appointing Prince Damrong its first President, and turned over what remained of the Wanna to the National Museum. Further expansions soon became necessary, with the result that the modern extensions came into being as well as the new National Theatre and its School of Dramatic Art. The National Library was also built on the ground of the Wasukri Landing, as was a library for old manuscripts fronting Wat Mahādhātu on the Pramen Ground. All these were opened to the public on the anniversary of the King's accession in B.E. 2509.

The publications 447 and 448 are issued in two separate volumes, whilst the last three are combined into one with separate tables of contents and respective illustrations. These three volumes as well as a few others, some of which have been noticed in our pages, were published and presented to His Majesty and the guests who attended the inauguration of the new buildings of the National Museum on 25 May 2510.

Vol. 447 consists of a sketch of the study of prehistory, beginning with the discovery by E. Dubois in 1891-2 of the 'Java Man' and that of the Sinanthropus pekinensis in 1927 by B. Bohlen, near Pekin. Further discoveries around Pekin coupled with the evidence of the Java Man led to the suspicion that prehistoric man might have lived in lands between Pekin and Java such as our country, where the theory is confirmed by the existence of the Chimpanzee, the Orang Utang and the Gibbon. The author goes on to trace further researches which became inter-

national with the result that we are able to add extensively to prehistoric knowledge going back to the Palaeolithic period. He concludes that the scientific research of caves, commenced by Fritz Sarasin, should be carried on further by experts living here; the results may even prove that our country was one of the largest depositories of prehistoric remains.

The volume is clearly written so as to be readily intelligible to the non-specialist. A map is appended marking the localities where prehistoric finds have been discovered all over Siam, especially in the mountainous forests to the west.

In no. 448 Prince Subhadradis writes with characteristic clarity and a more precise chronology than, we imagine, would be adopted by most other writers. His opinion is nevertheless supported by well-known authorities whom he quotes. He defines, probably correctly, the art of Lopburi as being Khom, and his survey includes the sites of Cambodia as well as those of our own land which had been influenced by the former. The many pieces of Thai art showing Khom influence are naturally given full treatment. It is believed that this influence spread over the central and north-eastern sections of our country from the epoch of Sūryavarman I of Cambodia (B.E. 1553-1593), Sūryavarman II (B.E. 1656-after 1693), and Jayavarman VII (B.E. 1724-about 1761), the latter including the well-known monuments of Baphuon, Ankor and Bayon. The greater part of Lopburi art would therefore date from the XVI Buddhist century to the XXth. In any case, he sums up, it is overlapped by Ayudhyā art which commenced in B.E. 1893.

The treatment is divided into four sections: architecture, the plastic arts in stone and metal, painting, and stucco and terracotta. He includes of course the Khom in his treatment of architecture. The examples date from the pre-Aŋkorian through the intermediate Kulen style to the Aŋkorian and post-Aŋkorian periods, such as the monuments of Prako, Aŋkor and Bayon. Roof construction was modelled on Indian types. Monuments in our country, though based upon Khom models, were later. Later still were the purer Thai types at Sūŋnoen near Nakon Rājasimā, Utumporn in Srisakes, and Pimai north of Nakorn Rājasimā, stretching as far west as the Müŋ Siŋh north of Kānčanaburi.

Plastic art is found in the cases of figures of Hindu and Buddhist divinities. Commendable attention has been given to their mode of dress which, with the exception of one French savant, has never before received any attention. It should serve to explain some intricacies of modelling.

Pictorial art must have been considerable in the old days, though weather conditions have been responsible for their obliteration for the most part.

Sculpture exists in stucco and terracotta. There are also articles of household use to be found everywhere.

No. 449, dealing with Utôn art by M. Wallibhodom, is particularly interesting in that it covers new ground. Ufôn has certainly been a wellknown name, the existence of which was vague-almost mythical. It was later accepted as the capital of the founder of the dynasty which established Thai rule at Ayudhyā. The recent excavations at amphoe Čorakhé-sampan, the 'Three Thousand Crocodiles', yielded considerable results, sufficient to conclude that here was the seat of an old civilisation which preceded the founding of Ayudhyā-in fact, Siam as we knew it before a politically ambitious clique, eager to perpetuate their name as the original moulder of our culture, changed it to the mongrel word of Thailand. A controversy still remained as to the personality of that founder and the chronology of his time. Further excavations finally convinced historians that here was indeed the ancient Utôn whence its rulers migrated to found the city of Ayudhyā at an age as yet undetermined with certainty. The problem is here examined with great care by Wallibhodom, who deserves to be congratulated for a scientific treatment of the topic. A considerable part of Siamese history has thus to be revised, linking authentic history with the old quasi-romantic Ponsāwadān Nua, though the date of King Rāmādhipati, the founder of Ayudhyā, is still unchallenged.

As for Utôn art, the field covers a much larger ground than just the amphoe of Utôn. Its terrain now extends westwards to Pejraburi and Surashtra; while to the east it stretches up to Lopburi.

No. 450, Ayudhyā, from the pen of Tri Amatyakul, might with advantage have been written in greater detail, considering Ayudhyā's

existence as the capital of Siam for over four centuries. The treatment given here is chronologically arranged under four sections each, thus: architecture, sculpture, painting and fine arts. Some developments in these sections are noticed. The periods for treatment are divided into the earliest since the foundation of Ayudhyā in B.E. 1893 (1350 Christian era), the second from B.E. 2034 to 2171, and the third from B.E. 2173 till the destruction of Ayudhyā in "/2310.

Mr. Amatyakul cites individual monuments under the successive categories. His judgment of the merits of these monuments are quite acceptable, and need not be repeated here.

The last section, no. 451, dealing with the art of Bangkok, by Miss Elizabeth Lyons, translated by Mme Čirā Čoŋkol, also divides itself into two periods: that of the earlier part, in which the inspiration comes from Ayudhyā, lasting till the end of the third reign in BE 2394; and that of the latter, in which the influence of the west was on the increase. To do justice to modern Thai leaders from the time of King Chulaloŋkorn, it might have been mentioned how the influence of the west began to be counterbalanced by a trend of national artistic values. The example which might be quoted could be the beautiful uposoth of Wat Beñcama-bôpit.

452. Jātakamālā, মাল্লমানা tr. from the English of Dr. J.S. Speyer by Luan Rajatakara-kosol and publ. in dedication to the late Luan Sthira-Jotisār by his family with a history of the Jotikasthira family to which the deceased belonged. Bangkok 2513, pp. 256.

The work under review is divided into 34 short chapters with useful references, where identifiable, to the Pali Jātaka. Dr. Speyer's original text was, however, translated from the Sanskrit. In his authoritative Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, G.K. Nariman says in fact (p. 41)—

"The Jātakamālā or the garland of Jātakas is only the name of a species of composition. Several poets have written jatakamalathat is, they have treated with a free hand in an original poetic speech in mixed verse and prose selections of the Jātakas."

This conclusion has solved the problem which confronted the reviewer who was at first surprised and bewildered at the different versions of the  $J\bar{a}takam\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ , and by the fact that the original of the translation in the

work under review was not identified by the translator of our work. Our publication here contains 34 "former lives" of the Lord, some of which are identified by references to the Pali Jātaka and are said to have been translated into Siamese in the work under review. The nature of the contents is a manual for teaching, some-what resemblingthe Hitopadeśa or the Pañcatantra. The Siamese translation is linguistically refined and accurate, and the printing is very good.

For the benefit of the critical reader of literature, the English translation, said to be Dr Speyer's, seems to exist in more than one version. The Siam Society has one version which is too old for serious study and contains much alien matter. It was a sort of reader perhaps in Ceylon in 1914; Nariman gives also a Jātakamālā edited by Kern in the Harvard Oriental Series, Boston 1901, which was translated by Speyer and many others (cf. Nariman, supra).

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Also worth mentioning in our review is the History of the Jotikasthira family, in view of the large number of their members scattered in all walks of life. Many of them have attained social prominence.

453. Lalita-vistara อลิตวิสุตร ความสัสกฤตและคำแปลไทย ed. & tr. from the Saŋskrit into Siamese by Dr Seŋ Manavidūra. Sivaporn Press Bangkok, 2512. pp. 981.

The editing and translating from the Sanskrit of this work, the editing and translating of the Pali Jinakālamālī (cf. JSS XLVI, 2, RSm-Publns. no. 226), and the editing and translating of the Pali Rasavāhinī sufficiently prove the scholarship of Dr Manavidūra in the field of Oriental classics. Reading through this magnum opus, even for less than a hundred pages, one cannot but be convinced of the author's scholarship and method. To take but one small example his adoption of the spelling of danna instead of the usual anglicised form is indeed a relief.

The Lalita-vistara is of course a well-known classic of Mahayana literature. Though, for some unknown reason, not exactly considered the more literary type of classical Sanskrit, its passages are often quoted by savants who have not hesitated to cull some of it for academic use in

the University, for examinations of Unseen Translation of the classical language.

The subjectmatter of the work under review is certainly interesting for the student of Buddhist literature. It seems to have been aimed at being a devotional, rather than historical, reading of the Middle Ages. It is in fact, in the reviewer's opinion, a fitting presentation of the Lord's biography for a Middle Age congregation, though somewhat over bombastic in its exaggerations of the mystic glory of the central figure.

The narrative follows the usual line of telling, with extensive claims, of something almost supernatural in its glorification of the central figure, thus causing unnatural reactions in the minds of Theravāda Buddhists like ourselves. The narrative ends abruptly at the delivery of the first sermon of the *Wheel of the Law*, with the exaggerated appendage, also known to us, of the sermon echoing all over the earth and even up to the heavens.

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454. Rasavāhinī าสามพีนี ed. & tr. from the Pali by Dr Sèn Manavidūra, Teachers' Association, Bangkok, 2513. pp. 799.

In the preface written by the translator it is pointed out that this work was formerly known as the *Madhurasavāhinī*, dating from Ayudhyā. Several versions exist in the National Library under that name. Originating in Lankā in Sinhalese script, it was attributed to the scholar Mahāthera Mahinda, almost as far back as the introduction of Buddhism. The original work named the *Rasavāhinī* was written in the Sinhalese language and script. It was translated into Pali by the thera Ratthapāla in Ceylon. Commentries were added under the name of the *Sāratthadīpanī*. As time elapsed, copying tampered considerably with its textual accuracy. It was then, in BE 2444, critically edited by the Ven. Sirisāratissa of Paramadhamma-cetiyaparivena, and published in Pali using Sinhalese script. In spite of the claim that the work was composed by Arhats of old, such as the Mahāthera Mahinda, it is possible to detect its later age, by such evidence as the mention of King Dutthagāmani and of the *Mahāvansa* which of course postdate the claim.

In our country it was known as the *Madhurasavāhinī*, a name unknown in Ceylon though the text has been imported thence. It was translated in the reign of King Chulalonkorn into Siamese. The versions

here are said to have originated from two sources, the Jambdvīpa (India) and Laŋkādvīpa (Ceylon). The bulk of the material is made up of fables and folklore, probably used in schools of those days as reading matter. It was no doubt a habit of teaching inherited from India, as we learn from works like the Saŋskrit Hitopadeša which records a monarch having the fables told to his sons. Some of these fables even record historical personages such as King Mahāsena of Laŋkā (pp. 199-203), as well as Kings Kākavannatissa and Dutthagāmani of Ceylon (pp. 424 & 440). The book under review contains also a good history of Wat Ampavan in Samud Soŋgrām, which was built on the site of the home of Queen Amarinda, mother of Rama II. It was in her honour that the publication was issued to mark the 200th anniversary of the great poet, who was responsible for such literary gems of our literature as the Inao and other works reviewed in JSS LVII,1 RSmPublns. nos. 396-403.

455. Naradhip, H.R.H. Kromapra: In honour of the Queen เฉลิมเกียรติ กษัตริย์ a eulogy of feminine heroism, 2nd edition, Bangkok, 2514, p. 240.

The reprint of a poetic gem, first published some 56 years ago and never before noticed in our columns, deserves mention. The late royal author was a voluminous writer of poetry; his works, however, were not as well appreciated in his lifetime as many others because of their irregularities of metrical quantity and their extravagant sensuousness. Yet the work under review is almost free from such irregularities. It is more than the pastime of a poetically inclined patriot and more than an expression of legitimate pride in his nation's heroism as exemplified by a woman. From the point of view, moreover, of a scientific historian, his narrative is quite accurate in the more important details.

The gist is the war of conquest of Taben Shweti, King of Burma, and his successor, in which they acquired all before them with the exception of Siam, which then became their aim. The fighting reached its climax in the heroic death of Queen Suriyodaya who insisted on accompanying her husband to battle, became involved in saving her husband from death in single combat on an elephant, and was subsequently killed. Having thus gained a spectacular victory, the Burmese King laid siege to the citadel of Ayudhyā, but the arrival of the Pisnulok army of Pra Mahā Dharmarājā, who came to help his father-in-law the King to Siam, made him retire north. Fortunately for him, the young

sons of the King who set out in pursuit were caught by the Burmese. The tide of war then turned in favour of the invader and the young princes had to be ransomed. The Burmese pursued the fighting and finally took Ayudhyā, taking away with them a large number of the Thai aristocracy and war booty.

Prince Naradhip's poetical narrative commenced with the series of Burmese conquests up to the taking of Ayudhyā. It is more accurate than the official Siamese history of the period. He was perhaps too lenient to the young sons of the King of Siam who got caught as hostages. From the literary point of view the poem appears to have been based upon the model of Prince Paramānujit's Taleŋpāi, of which one cannot help being reminded as one reads through this epic, which ends with the cremation of the heroic Queen Suriyodaya whose ashes were duly interred in Ayudhyā.

The poem is certainly one of the best written by Prince Narādhip, who unfortunately seemed to prefer other lines of prosody, in which his enthusiasm often overstepped the technical bounds. One must in this connectionadmit also that the other distinguished poet, Prince Paramānujit, by no means stayed within the accepted bounds of prosody and yet he was a brilliant poet, especially in heroic epics like this one. His poems were written not to be read but rather to be orally recited, in which case one could modify to a great extent the quantities of the syllables.

One could of course find fault with the exaggerated sentiments over the Burmese King's departure from his home and family because he was above all a soldier whose greatest ambition was for conquest and not the ease and indulgence of home.

456. Bangkok Bank Ltd: Pra Bāramī Pokklao พระบารมีปกเกล้า Thai-wadhanā Pānij Ltd, Bangkok, 2514, pp. 222.

In dealing with Recent Siamese Publications it has been the aim of the reviewer to give, as far as possible, a translation or significance of the book's title. In the present case it is not so easy. Perhaps we may be content with "Under the King's Most Excellent Majesty", if that means anything to the average foreigner not used to regal formalities. The Siamese mentality however is accustomed to the formula, which means

more or less under the cooling shade of the protection of the King's Majesty; but, for foreign readers, especially those from the shivering northern climes, an opposite simile may be more intelligible, in which case one might just say 'under the warmth of the King's Majesty'. A name however is not important and one may conclude that its significance amounts to the protection of the King's Majesty, over, perhaps, the Nation in general.

The publication under review is a useful record of the King' activities during the past 25 years of his reign. It is arranged in 9 sections: biography, the King's encouragement of the Nation's education, his performance of duties in the realm of foreign affairs, his work on behalf of his people, his work as the Head of the forces, his work in support of religion and morals, his interest in the arts and music, his interest in sports, concluding with a bibliography of references employed in this book.

By way of giving an idea of the contents of the book, we may pick out some of its interesting features. Under the heading of the King's biography, a passage quoted from the King's own diary describes the last day of his visit to Siam when the tragic death of his brother occurred:

".. yesterday we were asked whether they should let the people in to pay respect to His late Majesty. We ourselves were paying our respects at the time. I said 'let them come in' for Sundays were days when they were ordinarily admitted. Besides it was our last day in our country. I was anxious to meet them for it may be a long time before I would see them again."

The chapter dealing with the state visits are also of interest, coming as they do from the pen of no less a personage than Her Majesty who accompanied her husband on all the trips. The visits covered the treaty powers, giving readers vivid pictures of royal courtesies and of most of the important points of interest in those countries, as well as glimpses of the modes of life therein.

In the old days of the monarchy the sovereign presented himself to the people of the capital for two days after his coronation. In the present case, although the King did not proceed in state around the capital for two days, His Majesty adopted the idea of visiting his people all over the Kingdom in three trips of an average of 21 days each. They yielded

inumerable scenes of devotion between the King and his subjects. That Tom, Dick and Harry—the Siamese equivalents of them of course—were obviously pleased to have the opportunity of knowing and talking to their sovereign so intimately was obvious, as may be seen for instance from the pictures between pages 111 and 113, which unfortunately are not numbered.

Among the communities which come under the attention of their Majesties by reason of their being near the summer palace of Klaikanwol at Huahin may be mentioned the people of Cha-am, who form a cooperative unit of some 130 rai of land. With royal patronage they have now been provided with modern means of farming and with schools and health centres. They have even acquired experts from Israel and are able to extend their scope considerably. Their Majesties pay regular visits to these as well as to other centres not only here but all over the Kingdom.

Almost every aspect of the duties of the constitutional monarch is dealt with, such as his leadership of the armed forces, his profession of the national religion and protection of Religion in general, his participation in the nation's moral and cultural progress, his personal patronage of the arts such as painting and music, as well as his participation in sports—especially sailing, in which the King has now become an expert.

457. The Electricity Generating Authority Club of Thailand sponsored: The Grand Palace พระบรมมหาราชวัง a memento of the King's Silver Jubilee 2514, Teachers' Association Press. The pages are not numbered.

The aim of the publication is stated at the beginning to be "illustrating the palaces, the royal residences and different places of worship in the Grand Palace compound.... to serve His Majesty the King's purposes of making known to foreigners Thai art, and of inspiring Thai people with the love of, and pride in the freedom nourished by the sacrifices of their ancestors' lives. The Grand Palace is a monument to the glory of the past which should be acknowledged and further preserved forever". This statement of the aim ends with a dedication to the King and his reign.

As may be surmised, the importance of the book lies in its superb photography, which is commented upon by way of explication by Drs. S. Niladej and E. na Thalāŋ (Siamese text), Dr. K. Sindhvānanda (English translation), and notes on the photography by Momrājawoŋs S. Latāvalya.

Its distinctive feature is of course the superbly artistic coloured photography which is unsurpassed. The commentary in Siamese is at times inaccurate; its English translation is very good indeed though labouring under the mistakes of the Siamese text which, after all, are very few. The inclusion at the commencement of the book of a plan of the old royal palace at Ayudhyā is a happy choice for it gives the reader an idea of the model upon which the Bangkok Grand Palace has been based. Of the artistic photographs, the ones worth mentioning are those of the Audience Hall of Dusit, especially the exterior view taken from its northeast corner which shows the whole group up so well. Others are the blue-grey interior of the same Audience Hall; the grounds of the Sivālai Gardens in the middle of which stands the majestic marble chapel of the Crystal Buddha which is further repeated on a larger scale. The interior views of the Chakri group are also beautiful vistas of artistic beauty.

The publication concludes with a chronological list of individual edifices within the precincts of the Grand Palace and a useful glossary of architectural terminology.

Dhaninivat