

COMMUNICATION

The Hsin T'ang Shu passage about P'an-p'an

Sir,

I owe M.C. Chand and readers of this journal (JSS vol. 62 part 1) an apology. The translation I offered to M.C. Chand some fifteen years ago of the Hsin T'ang Shu passage about P'an-p'an was a bad one. I missed some place-name Proper Nouns, translations of which are as wrong as writing "new castle" for Newcastle or "ford for oxen" for Oxford. With the help of a S.O.A.S. colleague I present the unpunctuated text and a revised translation:

Hsin T'ang Shu, ch. 222 c, *Lieh-chuan* 147 c, *Po-na-pen* ed.

2 a 14: 盤盤在南海曲北交距環王限
少海與服牙脩接自交州海行四十

2 b 1: 日乃至王日楊粟翬

(2 a 14) "P'an-p'an is in the Nan Hai. (If you steer) some way off true North (you) get to Huan Wang's boundaries. (At the) Hsiao Hai it adjoins Lang-ya-hsiu. From Chiao Chou, travelling by sea, (you) reach (it) in forty

(2 b 1) days. The king is called Yang-su-shih."

Nan Hai is the "Southern sea", viz. the South China Sea and all points outward bound beyond it.

Huan Wang is Panduranga, South Campā of the T'ang period.

Hsiao Hai is the "small sea".

Chiao Chou is the Tonkin area.

Depending on how the passage is punctuated, other renderings are possible. May I make one comment on the "small sea": most translators have accepted it as the Gulf of Thailand. (For instance, see Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 50.)

The Hsin T'ang Shu references to the Southern shadow of 2 *ch'ih* 4 *ts'un* cast by an 8 *ch'ih* gnomon on the Summer solstice (夏至) at Ho-ling (*ibid.* 3 b 12) and a 2 *ch'ih* 5 *ts'un* shadow at Fo-shih (5 a 9) prompt me to observe that a southern shadow would be cast by any gnomon south of the Tropic of Cancer (it passes through Canton) where the sun is directly overhead. A simple calculation gives the latitudes as 6° 46' N and 6° 7' N respectively. The whole of Sumatra and nearly the whole of Malaya lie to the south of this latitude. At the very least, the 6° latitude reference should encourage more thorough surveys of old sites in the Takbai area of Naradhivas, one in particular being at *khôok-it* (โคกอิฐ), the "Brick Mound", near a field called *ûu-rya* (อู๋ริย), "Harbour", now well inland, beyond the *thâa-phrâük* (ท่าแพว) boat landing.

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REVIEWS

Claude E. Welch Jr. and Arthur K. Smith, *Military Role and Rule. Perspectives on Civil-Military Relations* (North Scituate: Duxbury Press, 1974), Annotated Bibliography and Appendix, pp. 294.

While interest in the study of civil-military relations has been great, few works have attempted to formulate models which could be applied to all political orders. Welch and Smith have taken the above to task. They remarked that "unlike other studies of civil-military relations that have concentrated on the so-called developing countries, this book develops a framework applicable to all states—modern, industrialized, and urbanized; transitional, agricultural, and rural." (p. xi) Another stated purpose of the book is to answer the question posed by the Roman poet Juvenal some nineteen centuries ago: "Who is to guard the guards themselves?" The authors maintain that civilian control over the military could not be achieved without understanding why and how military influence in politics becomes transformed into military intervention and control of political power.

Mechanically, the book is organized into three main parts—presentation of the principle independent variables, generalizations and model; five case studies; and the synthesis of theory and empirical findings. The authors also provide the reader with a brief annotated bibliography covering both general and specific studies of the civil-military phenomenon, and an appendix comparing military expenditures to manpower of one hundred and twenty countries.

In presenting their theoretical framework, the authors draw heavily from Huntington's concepts of modernization, development, political decay, and the ability of political institutions to manage and direct demands created by the processes of socio-economic mobilization. The

approach they use falls within the systems analysis school and the study they present suffers somewhat from the limitations of their analytical tool.

Four independent variables affecting civil-military relations are isolated. These are: political participation, civil institutions, military strength, and institutional boundaries between the armed forces and other groups. While these factors have been previously examined by several authors, Welch and Smith present interesting viewpoints of the relative importance of those variables in determining the nature of civil-military relations.

Looking at their model on page 43, a few things lend themselves to criticism. While the extent of political participation and political strength of the military are taken as independent variables, their importance are not clearly demonstrated by the model. What appears to be the crucial factors in determining the type of civil-military rule are the nature of civil institutions (defined as civic, or 'praetorian' polities), and the military institutional boundary (seen as integral or fragmented in nature). The authors argue not too convincingly that in civic polities, civilian control over the military is prevalent, while in 'praetorian' polities, the likelihood of military influence and control of political power is high (regardless of the level of political participation and strength of the military). The reviewer feels that the major contribution of the book centers around the question of the boundary of military institutions and the potential penetration of civilian values into the military's role perception. While the problem is difficult to operationalize, the concept of integral and fragmented boundaries and their interactions with civilian institutions which determine the type of civil-military rule, does merit further serious thought and research.

Furthermore, twenty generalizations dealing with "stimulants and deterrents" of military intervention are posited to be later verified by the five case studies. These generalizations are a summary of observa-

tions made by the authors and other scholars. However, the soundness of many are questionable as evidenced by the *caveat* offered by the authors themselves in their conclusion. Nevertheless, the generalizations are simple enough for those interested in the subject to understand and appreciate; also, they provide an adequate introduction to the subject of the political role of the military. But as the major aim of the study is to provide a framework for the analysis of all political systems represented by a model of comparative military political roles and regimes, it is hard for the general reader to make the connections between the generalizations, variables, and the model itself.

The study fails to integrate clearly the four independent variables and the twenty generalizations—a drawback reflective of the static nature of the model presented. The processes of change (in both directions—from the rise of military influence to the “guarding of the guards themselves”) was only peripherally dealt with. Also, implicit in the main thrust of the study is the assumption that civilian control is possible only if ‘praetorian’ polities shift in the direction of civic polities. However, this process is never made explicit. Thus, what is interesting in the study is not merely what is presented, but the questions one could further raise. For example: “What specifically are the withdrawal symptoms of a military dominated society?”

Some minor points which need strengthening include more discussions on socio-economic and international environmental factors, and the apparent imbalance of the case studies undertaken. Of a total of five countries examined, only France falls within the category of a developed system while the rest, Thailand, Nigeria, Peru, and Egypt are all developing political systems. While the authors concentrated on ‘praetorian’ societies which manifest high levels of military participation in politics, the reviewer feels that much could be learnt from the roles of the military in civic polities as well.

Because the purpose of the study is the presentation of a theoretical construct, the five case studies suffer from brevity and superficiality. In

many instances, the facts are not clear and even incorrect. For example, in the Thai case study, Field Marshal Phin was not the Army Commander-in-Chief at the time of the 1947 coup, but was on inactive duty as a result of post- World War II demobilization. Furthermore, because of recent political events, the Thai case study needs drastic revisions. The conclusion that "government in Thailand is a combination of military power, self-serving bureaucracies, and traditional authority – which forms a distinctive pattern of predatory military rule" (p. 81) must undergo re-examination. Generalizations drawn from conventional sources dealing with Thai socio-political culture must also be scrutinized and revised. While realizing the limitations of the authors (financial, time, and accessibility to local sources), this reviewer is not convinced that the literature used for the preparation of the Thai case study was adequate. The authors have ignored many recent studies concerned with socio-economic changes and dissertations in English dealing with Thai civil-military relations. Judging from the sources cited by them, they fail to appreciate developing trends of Thai civil-military relations which have been showing indications of a shift from a predatory military system to one of rising civilian (and royal) influence in politics. Furthermore, this process of system change is not satisfactorily explained by the authors' model.

Despite its short-comings, the book is a healthy addition to the growing literature on civil-military relations. Attempts at systematic "theory-building" has been lacking in the field, and the authors' endeavors have raised many practical and theoretical issues which pose challenges for future students to ponder and resolve.

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Corrine Phuangkasem, *Thailand and SEATO* (Program of Publication and Research in Political Science, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University, Thai Watana Panich, Bangkok, 1973), pp. 106.

Alliances traditionally had three main purposes: to aggregate military power among nations with parallel (if not identical) interests; to lend precision to the formulation of those interests, with all their implications; and finally to sanctify, perhaps to freeze, the relationship existing between the parties. At the very least alliances were thus intended to slow the alteration of commitments (or to prevent their being broken) when the interests of one party shifted.

Following the second world war the functions of alliances changed. At the central nuclear level, from the point of view of the superpower, alliances ceased to aggregate power; British and French nuclear weapons add nothing to the American strategic force poised against the Soviet force, nor do the conventional forces of those states and of other of America's allies add much. They do add liabilities, or so American statesmen have argued in European capitals. Still, the superpower must have contracted the alliance for some reason. What one usually finds is that recent alliances have had a more purely psychological function than heretofore. Alliances in the post-war era aggregated psychological power, which flows necessarily from the inability of the superpower to use his supreme force. Psychological manipulation of the potentials of this force thus became the means for waging the struggle for supremacy—or, at the very least, for survival. For the superpower, alliances were testimony of support for its global conception of order as much as forward positions for his bases. To the small power the alliance was reassurance, that if naked aggression occurred against it, friends would come to its aid, and the object of superpower diplomacy was to keep that reassurance credible.

When states manipulate images of intention, they usually begin creating myths, and this too has become another dimension of the psychological function of alliances. True, creating and sustaining myths is one of the hoariest functions of foreign policy. Every nation self-

servingly develops myths about its behavior in order to influence the behavior of others. The American myth, with respect to the alliance system on which its global strategy is based, is that it will fight for freedom everywhere. The 'freedom' of its allies is indivisible: there are no second class alliances. In fact, the United States has been extremely selective about where it fights for 'freedom', choosing according to domestic needs and external contingencies, as one would expect. Even the promise to invite attack against American cities to protect Europe—perhaps NATO's most sacred myth—has never been entirely credible.

The other part of the American myth is profoundly untrue also. As Professor Marshall has felicitously argued, if there are no second-class alliances, then there are no first-class alliances either, this largely because the contractive capacity of states differs, but also because geographic position makes some states more able to affect a greater space and number than their own size would imply.¹ Asian signatories always resented it, Americans just as fervently denied it, and it was always true: SEATO, compared at least to NATO, was a second-class alliance for the United States.

To Thailand, however, SEATO was always of vast importance, and it is thus appropriate that a book should appear devoted exclusively to this relationship. Ms. Corrine Phuangkasem's recent, short study, *Thailand and SEATO*, takes adequate account of SEATO's vital role in Thai foreign policy. What perhaps is insufficiently stressed is the extent to which SEATO's creation, sustenance, and form, in its heyday, was a product of Thai efforts. Until the archives of all the signatory states are open the causal relationships can only be conjectured, though the 'Pentagon Papers' give us a few clues. Thus the American Joint Chiefs of Staff, in a memo typical of the period, recommended to the Secretary of Defense in October 1954 that their forces not enter into combined military planning with Manila Pact countries, and not make known to them details of unilateral American plans in event of Communist

1) Charles Burton Marshall, "Alliances with Fledgling States," in Arnold Wolfers, ed., *Alliance Policy in the Cold War*, p. 216.

aggression.² Thailand and the Philippines kept pressing. In February 1955 at a meeting in Bangkok they pushed for a secretariat and a NATO type organization. It was not until 1959 that they got the Secretariat and only in 1960, when Laotian defenses were crumbling, that joint contingency plans were developed. The wonder is that they got it at all; in substantial measure it is owing to their own efforts.

The problem for the Americans, clearly, was always the disparity between the epoch in which SEATO was brought into existence and the ensuing two decades of its existence. In 1964 C.L. Sulzberger, hardly a foreign policy radical, wrote that "SEATO was a classic example of closing the door on a missing horse. In this case the horse was the Anglo-French empire. SEATO was written on the assumption of British and French armed strength that didn't exist."³ It was always an awkward alliance, formed as it was when Secretary of State Dulles was at the high point of his career, creating a network of alliances around the globe as the basis of American foreign policy. It was skillful Thai diplomacy in large measure that took advantage of that moment to see to the formation of SEATO. Thereafter, as America found itself over-stretched abroad and its adversaries increasingly powerful, it faced—as George Liska puts it—"one of the most difficult tasks of diplomacy: how to soft-pedal awkward commitments without extinguishing the vital ones."⁴ Given, then, this basic tenet of Thai foreign policy, namely the strengthening of SEATO, and increasing American resistance to this, the author's statement that "Prince Wan [at the 1954 Manila Conference] offered Thailand's service to SEATO by proposing Bangkok as its headquarters"⁵ leaves out rather a lot and is perhaps just a little ingenuous.

The author's observation that, "since 1950, Thailand has mainly based its own security upon the United States,"⁶ may seem contradictory, but is not, though the author unfortunately does not resolve the apparent contradiction. Thailand could not get a unilateral security commitment from the United States owing to adverse congressional pressure in

2) See *Pentagon Papers*, US Government Edition, Vol. 10, p. 885.

3) *New York Times*, 3 June 1964.

4) George Liska, *Nations in Alliance* (Baltimore, 1962) pp. 284-85.

5) Corrine Phuangkasem, *Thailand and SEATO*, p. 19.

6) *Ibid*, p. 7.

Washington. Nor could SEATO be relied upon to act swiftly in case of aggression against a signatory power, owing to the increasingly evident lack of consensus among its number. The task of Thai diplomacy (and particularly of the skillful foreign minister Thanat Khoman) thus had to be to get an American commitment from the American executive, whereby its multilateral SEATO commitment would effectively be made bilateral. Thus in reality it was American power that was seen to be guaranteeing Thai security—though Thanat Khoman was the first among Thai to see the illusory basis of that commitment, and thus the first to wish to move away from reliance on Washington.⁷

Many writers, seeing the centrality of American power (or the appearance thereof) in SEATO, came to consider the alliance a fiction. But this is precisely the type of 'fiction' of which international relations are often made. It was a convenient way on both sides of using an existing institutional framework to do something each wanted, but which was impossible by any other means. As the Vietnam war heated up anew, the Americans for the first time since 1954 had a new need for SEATO, as a framework of 'legality'.⁸ Thailand was an essential security backup to American operations in Indochina. Moreover, as Washington saw it, in the early 1960's, there was a far greater equivalence to the Thai and South Vietnamese susceptibility to communist aggression.⁹ Wishing therefore to secure Thai cooperation in the war, and fearing for Thai security all the while, the Americans thus allowed themselves to be negotiated into a corner (as they later were to see it) by the (then) more adroit Thai; they made an executive, bilateral commitment

7) In knowledgeable circles Thanat was known to fear, as early as 1967, that Thailand was 'in too deep' with the Americans; from 31 March 1968 (upon learning of President Johnson's abdication) Thanat worked steadily to find an alternative to the American alliance, and to convince his colleagues that reliance on the Americans was not in Thailand's interest.

8) See F.M. Kail's recent book, *What Washington Said*, for a discussion of the increased use of SEATO, particularly between 1964 and 1966, as a justification for American involvement in Vietnam; pp. 142-53.

9) Thus Vice President Lyndon Johnson, as he then was, recommended to President Kennedy, on his return from a trip through Southeast Asia, that \$50,000,000 be given to both Vietnam and Thailand, with which to strengthen their defenses. See *Pentagon Papers*, all editions.

to Thailand in March 1962—the famous Rusk-Thanat accord. The Thai had what they wanted, the essence of an American commitment, even if wrapped in an increasingly unviable multilateral alliance. For a decade none of the other parties had a sufficient motive to expose the 'fiction'. In this sense SEATO had accomplished the traditional end of alliances, giving the relevant party, the Thai, the benefit of a certain lag before the new realities would change (or eliminate) the obligations among all the parties.

It is no surprise, given the disillusionment in America with the war in Southeast Asia, that SEATO should be denigrated or, worse, ignored. France has ceased to contribute to the organization, Pakistan has withdrawn, Britain has ceased to matter, and the possibility of the introduction of American ground forces to protect a signatory or protected state is remote, owing to congressional strictures imposed in recent years. So what is the function of SEATO? To many this situation may be compared to the problem of new university programs, which are successes, definitionally. Their failure may be total, their appearance in relation to their founding impulse a pale shadow. But to abandon the program would be to admit failure, and worse, to invite the loss of job and perquisites. Universities (at least in America) are thus cluttered with programs whose usefulness has been outlived. On this analogy it is often argued that SEATO should fold up its tent, even if more viable alliances remain alive.

The states of Southeast Asia are in the process of taking each other's measure, sorting out their priorities, and seeking new ways of associating together to maximize their security in this new era. SEATO as such may have only an indirect relation to this process. But as long as it exists, Thai (and, to a lesser extent, Philippine) diplomats may invoke the notion of collective security as Asian statesmen build new edifices. Destroying the old edifice before the new one is built would make it less likely that any of the ends Thai statecraft sought to protect through SEATO would be preserved. It may be highly illogical to argue that a 'toothless' organization does, in fact, accomplish important purposes. International relations are not logical. Academic programs that have lost their usefulness are not guarding the security of nations,

only the vanity of men. The academic analogy thus does not hold. Keeping SEATO going for the moment costs little. Dismantling institutions can prove costly if the dismantling creates vacuums or problems whose filling or solution is highly difficult.

But once Thailand decides that it no longer needs SEATO, an era will end and SEATO would assuredly close its doors. That this day approaches rapidly is hinted at in Ambassador Anand Panyarachun's brilliant recent study of Thailand's role in regional diplomacy. In reference to the long-mooted Soviet proposal for a new regional security system, Ambassador Anand noted that "security pacts have at times proved to be somewhat ineffectual and tended to become obsolete. From past experiences, security arrangements of this [multilateral] kind can hardly be said to be satisfactory. In any case, a new military pact would not be in keeping with the international climate of mutual accommodation, compromise and negotiation now prevailing. It would retard and even obliterate any progress which has been made thus far in this direction, and would then put us back to where we were in the beginning."¹⁰

So much of the international relations literature in the past generation has been written by Americans that, inevitably, American perceptions and points of view (and sometimes interests) have been dominant therein. At best, and from a scholarly perspective absolutely, the nationality of a writer should not affect one's judgment. It will affect one's assessment of what is worthwhile writing about. In this sense at the very least the international literature is excessively 'Americanized.' Though the author is herself an American she does not write from an American point of view, which in itself would make the volume worthwhile.

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10) "Thailand's Role in Regional Diplomacy", *The Nation* (Bangkok), 25 April, 1974.

G.A. Marzouk, *Economic Development and Policies: Case Study of Thailand* (Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press, 1972), 458 pages.

The book under review on the development of the Thai economy in the postwar period was written by the former Deputy Director of the Research and Planning Division and Chief of the Regional Center for Economic Projections for ECAFE in Bangkok. As is proudly proclaimed on the title page the book contains a foreword by Professor Jan Tinbergen, Nobel-Laureate; lest the reader be tempted by an overwhelming urge to read what Professor Tinbergen might have to say about strategies of economic development particularly as they might apply to the Thai economy, let me forewarn him that no hint of Tinbergen's considerable knowledge on this subject is contained in the foreword.

As Dr. Marzouk states at the outset, a basic theme of his book is efficiency in the use of economic resources. Hence time and time again, the author asks the question whether factor prices in the Thai economy correctly reflect the underlying real costs to society from the use of resources, attempts to determine the nature of those distortions which create differences between market prices and social costs, and seeks out remedies which would make the Thai economy more efficient. An introductory chapter which briefly summarizes the outstanding features of Thai economic growth since 1950, stresses those aspects of the economy which have accounted for its quite successful performance over the period, and outlines the basic framework of the book is followed by a chapter on demography which covers those aspects of fertility and death rates which have led to the rather alarming current population growth rates and projections for the next twenty years and a chapter on the behavior of national income which traces out the basic trends in production, consumption, and capital formation since 1952 and provides a critical review of methods used to estimate various items in the national accounts.

With the foregoing background chapters out of the way, Dr. Marzouk follows with three chapters on the agricultural sector stressing the important theme that the decreasing availability of agricultural land has led and will continue to lead to a shift from extensive to intensive land cultivation and an evergrowing need to find methods of raising the productivity of resources in this sector. The important points that are made in these three chapters are seven in number: first, agricultural

growth up to about 1950 can be attributed to a rise in area planted not to rising productivity of resources. Secondly, output per rai actually fell over the fifty years prior to 1950, a fact which James Ingram attributes to the use of more and more marginal land but which Marzouk attributes to the rise in the average size of landholdings (a conclusion which he deduces from the apparent tendency of area planted to grow faster than population, there being no data on size of landholdings prior to 1963). Thirdly, since 1950 area planted overall has grown less rapidly than population, with rice cultivation growing very slowly and the area planted for other crops growing very rapidly thus leading to the achievement of considerable diversification in Thai agriculture over the two decades. Fourthly, the marginal and average rice yield per rai fall consistently as the size of landholdings increase in all four major regions of the country due to a less intensive application of labor, animal and mechanical power, and other inputs per unit of land as the size of farm increases. Fifthly, the marginal and average product of labor in rice farming rises as the size of holdings increases indicating a maldistribution of resources whereby there is relatively too much labor on small farms and too little on large (maximum efficiency being obtained when the value of the marginal product of labor is the same on farms of all sizes). Sixthly, while it has been shown that more intensive use of tractor inputs can apparently keep the rice yield per rai from falling as farm size increases and may even increase employment in areas which are switching to multiple cropping and the use of new varieties both of which are more labor-intensive, Marzouk rejects this avenue as a solution feeling that income distribution and employment objectives would be better served by land redistribution. Lastly, Marzouk recommends a package of agricultural reforms which includes a ceiling on land holdings of 15 rai per family, greater security in land tenancy arrangements and ownership titles to land, provision for tenants to buy out owners at fair prices and in reasonable installments upon application to government authorities, fixed rents in produce or in cash not exceeding one quarter of gross produce, heavy inheritance taxes and taxes on property values since progressive land taxes severe enough to break up large estates seem unlikely given Thailand's present social structure, and a host of government services including agricultural credit, extension programs, etc.

One need not be an opponent of agricultural reform in general or the spirit of Marzouk's recommendations in particular to argue that some of these proposals are difficult to swallow. Where does the 15 rai ceiling per family come from? It seems to be the result of dividing the total area under cultivation by the number of farm families. Is this the optimum size for rice farms or any farm regardless of the type of crop grown? The evidence, particularly for the latter, is very scanty. To be sure rice yield per rai is larger on small holdings and the marginal product of labor appears larger on large holdings (the latter is somewhat less clear as it is not evident that all other factor inputs are being held constant), but is this phenomenon true for all crops? Marzouk provides no evidence on this score. Moreover, before accepting such a proposal, one would like to know what family incomes would result from a 15 rai ceiling; such a ceiling might greatly raise the labor input per rai and the yield per rai but it does not follow that the resulting incomes would be large enough to support a typical family. Before setting a ceiling or embarking on the major administrative effort necessary to carry out this redistribution, one would like some notion of how well off the average family would be as the result of this scheme. Moreover, it is not altogether clear how a social structure strong enough to prevent progressive land taxes can be forced to accept heavy inheritance and property value taxes.

The following two chapters outline the growth and structure of the manufacturing sector in Thailand and provide a critical analysis of the industrialization strategy of the Thai government. Over the twenty year period, the rate of growth of this sector rose from 6.7% per annum during the 1950's to 10.9% per annum during the decade of the sixties raising the share of this sector in gross domestic product from 12-13% to 16.4% by the end of the period. During the 1950's manufacturing employment grew faster than output indicating a relatively rapid growth rate of labor-intensive industries but the last decade has seen heavy industry growing more rapidly than light industry indicating a switch toward more capital-intensive production, providing a slower growth in employment opportunities and a rising import content in the form of raw materials and capital goods in local manufacturing. Marzouk is highly critical of Thailand's industrial strategy which has overemphasized

import substitution (i.e. the use of policies which encourage the replacement of imports by domestic manufactures). High tariffs on final consumer goods with low tariffs on raw materials and capital goods has led to very high levels of protection for consumer goods industries which are then unable to compete in world export markets, discouraged the growth of industries producing raw materials and capital goods, and led to balance of payments problems because of the high demand for imported intermediate and capital goods by these protected industries. Marzouk rightly recommends that this strategy be reversed by reducing the import duties on final consumer goods and raising them on raw materials and capital goods (perhaps in the overall process reducing the average level nominal tariffs although Marzouk is not explicit on this point) and making up for any revenue losses by domestic sales and excise taxes which do not create differentials between domestic and world price structures. One can only agree with such a recommendation; clearly Thailand's future development will depend importantly on the development of an industrial sector able to compete in world markets. Such progress can only be thwarted by the creation of inefficient industries behind artificial tariff barriers.

The next two closely related chapters trace trade policies and the balance of payments during the periods 1944 to 1955 and 1956 to 1970 respectively. These chapters cover the multiple exchange rate system which characterized the period 1947-1955, the liberalization of trade policies that followed during the succeeding few years, and the effects on the balance of payments of the import substitution strategy already mentioned above. Marzouk breaks the post multiple exchange rate period into two parts: 1957-1964 during which exports and imports grew roughly in balance at 6.0 and 7.6% annual rates respectively and 1964-1969 when exports grew sluggishly while imports accelerated to a 12.8% annual growth rate with raw materials and capital goods growing at rates above this and consumer goods at rates below, the outcome of an import substitution strategy with the characteristics mentioned above. The basic theme behind Marzouk's analysis of the multiple-exchange rate and the import substitution periods, and indeed one of the most important themes of the entire book, is "that considerations of efficiency and competitiveness rule out export and import taxes and production taxes that distort domestic costs and isolate them from world prices. Thus,

fiscal policy for demand management has to be confined to net income taxes, domestic sales taxes on consumer goods, etc." (p. 302). Thus Marzouk appears, with some qualifications, (mentioned elsewhere), to be advocating free trade (although this is hard to reconcile with his proposal on pp. 250-1 to reduce import duties on finished goods and raise them on raw materials and capital goods), but the argument becomes murky indeed for he then advocates the use of exchange rate policy to bring the market prices of domestic factors into line with their shadow prices saying that the easiest way to do this is "to adjust the market exchange rate to conform to the shadow exchange rate defined as equal to the value of the marginal products of factors of production, mainly labor and capital." (p. 302).

Unfortunately, as anyone familiar with trade theory will realize, there are several alternative versions of the shadow price of foreign exchange, differing not only in their underlying theoretical assumptions but also (ordinarily) in their resulting empirical magnitudes in any particular application. None of the alternatives would (or could) be equal to the value of the marginal products of factors of production. Marzouk never lets us know which version he is employing and when he concedes that measuring the shadow price for Thailand is difficult and beyond the scope of his study, we are left in the dark as to what it is that he isn't measuring. If he had argued that the baht is overvalued because of high tariffs on imports and that a movement to free trade (which he at times appears to be advocating) would necessitate a devaluation to maintain the trade balance, the confusion would be ended because the concept of the shadow exchange rate here is that exchange rate which would maintain the trade balance given the elimination of all trade taxes. Instead he argues that "the Thai currency is overvalued in the sense that the shadow wages are lower than the actual market rates and thus, considering the importance of labour as a factor of production, the shadow exchange rate for foreign currencies in terms of baht is substantially higher than the market rate" (pp. 302-3). Despite what appears to be considerable seasonal fluctuations in employment and unemployment rates in Thailand, I know of no evidence that shows that market wages overstate the real costs of labor inputs. Marzouk provides no such evidence.

In chapter 11, econometric techniques are employed to explore feasible growth paths of the Thai economy up to 1975 and 1980 and to examine the implications of various growth rates on the gaps between investment requirements (to achieve the growth rate) and potential savings and between import requirements and potential exports (hence the term "two gap" can be applied to the model). Chapters 12, 13, and 14 explore monetary, credit, and fiscal policy developments during the past two decades. The final chapter of the book provides a description of the planning process in Thailand, outlining the relationships between perspective, medium-term, and annual plans and providing a critical evaluation of the methods used in plan preparation and implementation. This last chapter will undoubtedly be of great interest to many readers since few descriptions exist of the planning process in Thailand and none so complete as this.

At the beginning of his book, Marzouk states that "this book does not aim to be an encyclopaedia on the Thai economy" (p. 15). While it is obvious that he has not covered everything, my mind boggles at contemplation of what an encyclopaedia might include that he has left out (perhaps more on regional planning but this is a comparatively recent phenomenon in Thailand, or more on the effect on the distribution of income of his policy recommendations to promote greater efficiency in the economy but this is a hard subject to tackle given data limitations). Indeed one of the great strengths of this book is that it brings together a large amount of data and analyses about Thailand, heretofore obtainable only in quite inaccessible places. For this, students of the Thai economy owe him a debt of gratitude. However, as the reader must have sensed by now, I am not altogether happy with this book. While I am in agreement with many of his recommendations to enhance the efficiency of the Thai economy, I must confess that I find his underlying analysis often confusing, obscure, and at times misleading if not downright wrong.

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Chakrit Noranitipadungkarn and A. Clarke Hagensick, *Modernizing Chiangmai: A Study of Community Elites in Urban Development* (Bangkok: National Institute of Development Administration, Research Center, 1973), vii + 120.

The picture which emerges from social science research on Southeast Asia tends to leave the impression that the people of the area live either in small villages or in large "primate" cities. Secondary cities, such as Penang, Mandalay, Medan, and Chiang Mai, as well as small towns, have received very little attention indeed. One welcomes, then, a study of Chiang Mai, for this city holds particular interest not only because of its place as the second largest city in Thailand but also because of its long history as a pre-modern city. The authors of the book under review are interested specifically in the changes which Chiang Mai has undergone and still is experiencing. In their study they attempt to determine the roles which the "elite" of Chiang Mai city have played and are playing in the "modernization" of the city. Although the book does contain some useful information, it is conceptually and methodologically inadequate in its treatment of the city of Chiang Mai as a social entity, in its treatment of the composition and roles of the elites, and in its treatment of the process of modernization.

The question of what the city of Chiang Mai, as a social entity located in space, actually comprises is never directly confronted by the authors. At times, the legal entity—the municipality (*thetsaban*) of Chiang Mai—is specified; but at other times the referent becomes the municipality plus the sanitation district (*sukhaphiban*) of Chang Phuak, the municipality plus some undefined suburbs, the whole of Mueang district Chiang Mai, and even the whole of the province. The problem of what areas are included within Chiang Mai has important implications for policy affecting the city. One would have wished, in this connection, that the authors could have elaborated upon the political factors inherent in the decision made by the Ministry of Interior in 1970 to place suburban areas contiguous to the city in a sanitation district under the authority of the District Officer rather than to expand the boundaries of the municipality.

This decision does reveal the relative powerlessness of the local elite when acting in the political sphere. The authors provide a number of other examples of the extraordinary degree to which even small decisions affecting the city of Chiang Mai are made by ministries in

Bangkok or their local representatives rather than by the people most concerned with the outcomes of these decisions. Not only does the City Council have to request special funds from the Department of Local Administration in the Ministry of Interior for any major development projects such as bridge or road building, but it also has to obtain the Department's permission to use the funds which, by law, belong to the municipality. In the same vein, the current plan for the development of Chiang Mai, was drawn up by the Town and Country Planning Department of the Ministry of Interior rather than by the municipality of Chiang Mai itself.

The power of the central government in determining local affairs explains why high-ranking government officials are considered by the authors as important members of the Chiang Mai elite. This group constitutes what the authors call the "bureaucratic elite", a group which also includes, for reasons which are not clear, the manager of one of the private banks. In determining the composition of the "non-bureaucratic elite", the authors identified representatives of other local interests, namely "persons who own or operate large and modern economic and social projects in the city" (p. 3). This idea of the elite consisting of those who are representatives of interests or leaders of interest groups was, unfortunately, not pursued consistently and was diluted by introducing prestige or popularity as additional criteria.

Whether the 49 persons identified as being elite are considered to be a sample or to be the totality of the Chiang Mai elite is not made clear. If the latter, and this seems to be the author's position, then there are definite lacunae. For example only one monk is included and he is neither the Provincial Ecclesiastical Chief nor the abbot of the important wats of Phra Sing or Chedi Luang. This despite the fact that the Sangha obviously has vested interests in Chiang Mai city, not the least of which are the large land holdings. Similarly, no person was included in the elite because of his prominence in the Church of Christ in Thailand despite the fact that the Church of Christ also has large land holdings and controls two important private schools.

The question of recruitment to the elite and the social backgrounds of the elite are dealt with rather superficially. The authors allude to the fact that some of the elite are Chinese in origin or have Christian backgrounds, but they do not discuss ethnic or religious factors systematically. Moreover, in a scholarly study it is not sufficient to say that 29

of the 30 non-bureaucratic elite are "cousins and intimate friends". The authors do point out the importance of northern origin and of membership in one of the local aristocratic or prominent families for those who are members of the non-bureaucratic elite. However, they do not discuss why some members of aristocratic families are among the elite and others definitely are not, nor do they discuss how prominent non-aristocratic families achieved their prominence.

The roles which the elites have played in the "modernization" of Chiang Mai are classified according to whether they bring development in one of four spheres of activity: governmental, physical and environmental, economic, or social. While a number of interesting activities are discussed under these rubrics, the analysis is limited by the conceptual haziness regarding what is meant by "modernization".

Whatever modernization might be taken to mean, it must needs imply some sort of change from a state in the past. The historical background provided by the authors is sketchy to the point of inaccuracy and provides no clear picture of Chiang Mai or its elite in pre-modern times. The authors also use the terms "modern", "modernization", "modernizing" to mean a number of different and sometimes contradictory things. While the term "development" is often used as a synonym for "modernizing", the authors assert (p. 3) that the two are distinct. Elsewhere, "modern" seems to mean "new", "Western" (as, at p. 58, where "modern" and Chinese tea are distinguished), or simply "change". Towards the end of the book, an attempt is made to assess the "sophistication" (apparently another synonym for "modernity") of the elite. The criteria for determining sophistication are *ad hoc* at best and range from degree of formal training to participation in the "status sport" of golf.

Those who are members of the local elite in Chiang Mai most certainly hold different conceptions of Chiang Mai as a city than did the local aristocrats and monks who made up most of the elite of Chiang Mai prior to the implementation of reforms which centralized power and religious organization in Thailand early in this century. Unfortunately, this study failed to elicit what the conceptions of the present-day elite are, substituting instead the dubious assumption that the Chiang Mai elite possess "modern" attitudes (p. 3) which inform actions directed towards producing a "better city". A conceptually and methodologically adequate study of the roles of the local elite in effecting, and responding to, change in Chiang Mai has yet to be made.

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Chai-Anan Samudvanija, Sethaporn Cusripituck, and Sawaeng Ratanā-mongkolmas, editors, *Sat Kan Muang* (สัจการเมือง) (Thai Wattana Panich, Bangkok, 1971), pp. 317.

This work is a collection of articles by eight authors dealing with aspects of modern Thai political life. The arrangement is roughly chronological, beginning with developments under the absolute monarchy which foreshadowed the introduction of a democratic system of government, and proceeding to the 1932 *coup*, subsequent *coups* and rebellions, the membership of the National Assembly, political parties and pressure groups, and finally the present state of Thai democracy and its projected future as of 1971. At the time of publication the three editors were all members of the faculty of the National Institute of Development Administration, while the other five authors held positions ranging from graduate student to journalist to deputy *nai amphoe*. Although not discussed explicitly except in the final article, the underlying assumption shared by all the authors is that the establishment of a genuinely democratic system of government in Thailand is both desirable and at least in considerable measure feasible, and hence much of the analysis is devoted to the perceived failings of the past forty years—what went wrong and how a democratic system can be made to work in the Thai social, economic, and political setting.

A foreword gives a useful summary of the contents of each article, and is followed by yet another, briefer, summary of the contents with biographical data on the authors. The book concludes with a substantial bibliography (pp. 306-317), which lists more than a hundred books and articles in Thai, forty in English, and a like number of references to Thai documentary materials and newspapers.

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An excellent lead article, by Chai-Anan Samudvanija, discusses steps toward representative government initiated by the absolute monarchs. After dealing briefly with the Fifth Reign (which the author has treated elsewhere) and the Sixth Reign, the author describes in greater detail the efforts of King Prajadhipok to prepare Siam for

democratic government, and in particular the creation of the Committee of the Privy Council in 1927. Appendices give the text of King Prajadhipok's message to the inaugural session of the Privy Council Committee, the text of the 1927 Privy Council Committee Act, an (incomplete) list of the members of the first Privy Council Committee, and the text of King Prajadhipok's 1935 abdication statement, with one paragraph missing.

This article is of particular importance because it is the first published research to make substantial use of the National Archives records of the Seventh Reign, and it clearly demonstrates the value of these materials. Nonetheless Dr. Chai-Anan's handling of the archival material is open to question on some points. Several important documents, concerning both the King's aims in establishing the Privy Council Committee and other aspects of his plans for political reform in Siam, are not used at all, and in some of the documents that are used significant points are passed over. Thus there is a paragraph on Prince Sithiporn's proposal to give the Privy Council Committee slightly broader powers, but no discussion of the arguments presented at the crucial 20 June 1927 meeting when a 'liberal' majority headed by Prince Boriphat and Prince Sithiporn prevailed over a more conservative group. And the passage which follows quotes a memorandum on the problem of choosing members of the proposed Privy Council Committee without indicating that the memorandum was drafted by the King himself (pp. 16-17).¹

There is also confusion in the chronology. According to Dr. Chai-Anan's account (pp. 12-13) King Prajadhipok had considered granting a constitution from the beginning of the reign, but when Raymond B. Stevens and Phya Sri Wisarn Waja were asked to study the question of constitutional change they recommended delay, and the King accepted their opinion and began to lay the foundations for a democratic system by promoting local self-government, and on the national level by establishing the Privy Council Committee. But in fact

1) The relevant documents are in National Archives, Seventh Reign, Royal Secretariat, 6/3,4. (Because of the revision of the National Archives' classification system these references do not correspond to those given by Dr. Chai-Anan.)

the Privy Council Committee dates from 1927 (a year before Phya Sri Wisarn Waja was raised to the rank of *Phaya*), while the episode involving Stevens and Phya Sri Wisarn Waja took place early in 1932.²

On the basis of the minutes of meetings it also seems reasonable to question Dr. Chai-Anan's rather optimistic evaluation (pp. 14, 24) of the effectiveness and importance of the Privy Council Committee in its four and a half years' existence. And Dr. Chai-Anan asserts (p. 23) that Prince Sithiporn was an important leader of a developing 'opposition' party in the Privy Council Committee. While it is true that Prince Sithiporn was an outspoken critic of a number of government policies, it is unlikely that he played an active role in any 'opposition'. During the period Prince Sithiporn lived at the farm at Bangberd, and despite his important role in the establishment of the Privy Council Committee he had the worst attendance record of any member, being present at only three meetings in the first four years.* For this reason Prince Sithiporn was not included in the second group of members named in 1931; ironically, no sooner had he been dropped from membership than he showed up at a meeting, leading to a minor debate over whether or not he should be allowed to listen to the proceedings.

There are also several minor factual errors, including the dates of the first meeting of the Privy Council Committee (p. 18) and of the new government taxes (p. 10), and also in the figures for the increases in government revenue and expenditure cited on p. 8, where the percentages given should apply to the whole period in question and not, as Dr. Chai-Anan indicates, per year. On the whole, however, this is a valuable piece of research on a period that has been very little studied, and there are good grounds for Dr. Chai-Anan's favorable assessment of King Prajadhipok, and his conclusion that to date King Prajadhipok has received considerably less than fair treatment from history (pp. 28-29).

The second article is a detailed account of the 1932 *coup* by Kiattichai Pongpanich, discussing its background and causes, its execution,

2) There is a brief summary of the relevant documents by the present reviewer in *Journal of the Siam Society*, July 1973, pp. 190-191.

* National Archives, Seventh Reign, Royal Secretariat (ร. 7, ร.อ.), 6/6, 23.

and its consequences. This is a useful summary but based on well-known sources and offering little that is new, and it is rather surprising to see secondary Western works like Virginia Thompson cited for factual references. On p. 72 there is a list of pre-1945 confrontations between the executive and legislative branches of the government resulting in the resignation of the cabinet or the dissolution of the Assembly. In every one of the four cases—the crisis of April 1933 followed by the ‘second coup’ in June, the rubber agreement controversy of 1934, the royal lands scandal of 1937, and the fall of the Phibun government in 1944—there are inaccuracies in the dates given, and, more importantly, there is no mention at all of the September 1938 controversy over budgeting procedures, which resulted in the resignation of the government, the proroguing of the Assembly, the calling of new national elections, and ultimately the retirement of Phahon and the elevation of Phibun to the office of Prime Minister.

The third article, by Wichai Suwanarat, catalogues the nine major *coups* and rebellions from 1933 to 1958, in each case analyzing the causes. The conclusions reached are that modern Thai politics has been characterized by a lack of ideals or principles, and that further political upheavals are to be expected (p. 130). As in the case of the second article the sources used are for the most part well-known, and the author goes so far as to warn in the introduction (p. 85) that as many of the sources are questionable his account may be less than accurate. One important point raised (p. 84) is the failure thus far to solve the problem of the peaceful transfer of political power; this is evidenced by the fact that with the exception of *Phya* Phahon and a few civilians who served as heads of short-lived caretaker regimes, every Thai Prime Minister has died in office or eventually found himself in exile abroad.

The fourth article is a very interesting study by Sethaporn Cusripituck of the backgrounds of the elected members of the National Assembly. The article begins with a survey of the eleven national elections (two of which involved less than the total number of *changwar*'s) held from 1933 to 1969, and then gives data on successful candidates in terms of age group, educational level, occupation, sex, and prior political experience. This information is presented in the form of a variety of

tables, charts, and graphs (some of which appear to be inconsistent; cf. graph 7, p. 161, and table 3, p. 159). In some categories, such as education, there are significant gaps in the data for the earlier groups, and in the category of prior political experience data is given only for the group elected in 1969. An interesting finding is the very high percentage of Assembly members having formerly served at various levels of local government. Little information is provided about sex, other than the fact that in the 1969 election six female candidates were elected from among 32 who sought office, which was a higher rate of success than that of male candidates. On the whole the data shows surprisingly few discernible trends.

The fifth article, by Aphinya Charunporn, analyzes the chronic instability of Thai political parties. The original 'People's Party' is discussed, all the various parties which have participated in postwar elections are listed, and then the causes of their rather ephemeral existences analyzed in terms of internal and external factors. The author concludes that the major internal factor leading to instability and ineffectiveness has been that Thai political parties have been based on personalities rather than political principles, and the major external factor has been the frequency of *coups* by the military and bans on political activity. Whether or not one agrees with all the author's conclusions, the data given on postwar parties and their leaders is of considerable interest. Some might question whether, at least at the time of writing, Sri Lanka and the Philippines were really examples of one-party systems, and the account of the February 1957 elections (p. 193) confuses the results for the Prachathipat and the Thammathipat parties (cf. the correct figures on p. 141). Also, all of the postwar parties are lumped together in the discussion and analysis; there would seem to be justification for some separate treatment of the Prachathipat (Democratic) Party, as its relatively long existence, coherent ideology, ability to survive the deaths of top leaders, and enduring hold on the Bangkok electorate would appear to mark it as significantly different from the other parties.

The sixth article is Sawaeng Ratanamongkolmas' study of pressure groups in Thai politics, based in large part on the author's earlier work on Chinese groups in Thai society. After a summary of the theoretical role of pressure or interest groups in a democratic system, the author analyzes the present Thai situation and concludes that to date the only really effective pressure groups have been ethnically Chinese. However, as the assimilation of Chinese into Thai society continues these associations based on Chinese linguistic or cultural ties will inevitably disappear, and the author sees Thai business and professional associations as the most likely to take their place as genuine pressure groups. But the author believes that the groups most in need of encouragement are agricultural groups, both because they concern greater numbers and because they are less likely to develop on their own, and there is a lengthy and in parts less than convincing discussion of the past and possible future of Thai agricultural organizations. In view of recent events, the mention (p. 231) of student groups and their potential for developing into politically active pressure groups is of particular interest. One point which could well be discussed at greater length is the mechanics of just how Thai pressure groups might make their influence felt on government policy and its implementation.

The seventh article, by Prachaya Klaphachan, examines the state of democracy in Thailand. It begins with a long survey of political theory and political systems, and goes on to discuss the Thai case, dealing with such topics as interest groups, the weakness of local self-governing institutions, the domination of the legislative and judicial branches by the executive branch, and the likelihood of a military *coup* overturning the then in force 1968 constitution. One questionable point is the claim that the Thai of the Sukhothai kingdom lived in a 'democracy' (p. 247). The evidence cited (lines III/17-19 of the Ram Khamhaeng Inscription, to the effect that King Ram Khamhaeng discussed affairs of state with princes and nobles) hardly supports the assertion, and certainly the Sukhothai political system would not meet the various definitions of 'democratic' given throughout the volume under review.

The final article, by Manut Wattanakomen on Thai political development,³ also begins with a lengthy recapitulation of Western political theory. The question of whether a democratic system is suited to developing countries is discussed, and Thai development measured in terms of progress in education, medicine, and law enforcement. The percentages of those voting in national and local elections are compared. Among a variety of recommendations are that the Prime Minister be directly elected by popular vote, that he hold the position of supreme commander of the armed forces, which would become a civilian post, and that officials on active duty, both civilian and military, be barred from politics. The author suggests that more political history and thought be taught in Thai schools, citing specifically such documents as King Prajadhipok's 1935 abdication statement and the American Declaration of Independence, with the goal of creating a generation of 'political animals' (the *sat kan muang* of the title). He advocates the development of local government, political parties, and interest groups—especially in agriculture. The farm problems emphasized are income and land tenure, and there is the usual moral attack on the rice premium (p. 299). Unfortunately, also as usual, it would appear that the author has an incomplete understanding of the economic rationale or consequences of the premium. The rice premium question is a very complex one and in recent years the supporters of the premium have been considerably less eloquent and persuasive than its critics, but the experience of the last several years of low premiums suggests that the whole question deserves further study.

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As a whole the volume provides valuable information and analysis on most aspects of modern Thai politics, and the articles on the Privy Council Committee, the backgrounds of elected members of the National

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- 3) There is some question about the title. In both the text and the table of content the first part of the title is *Kan Patthana Muang Thai* (the development of Thailand), while twice in the introduction it appears as *Kan Patthana Kan Muang Thai* (the development of Thai politics). From the content it would appear that the latter is correct.

Assembly, and pressure groups in Thai politics are important contributions of original research. Topics which might well have been treated more explicitly or at greater length include the historical roles of the military and the civilian bureaucracy in Thai politics, the role of the National Assembly (as distinct from its membership) in various periods since 1932, the role of the judicial branch, which is scarcely mentioned at all, the role of the monarchy, and the role of the Buddhist religion. As noted above, there are occasional factual errors, including wrong dates for such well-known events as the 1932 *coup* (p. 248) and the June 1933 'second *coup*' (p. 190). The long discussions of political theory use concepts like 'interest articulation and aggregation', 'politics of primitive unification', 'societal reference', and 'disguised authoritarianism', which when rendered in Thai are usually even lengthier and more obscure than in English. Readers who are not political scientists, and particularly those who are not Thai, may prefer a less rigorous introduction to Thai politics in the form of the many primary sources available for the constitutional period. An important recent contribution in English is Jayanta K. Ray's *Portraits of Thai Politics*, containing the political memoirs of Thawee Bunyakert, M.R. Seni Pramoj, and Thanphuying La-jad Phibun Songkhram.

Finally, it should be noted that the work under review was published before the events of November 1971 and October 1973. The 'revolution' of November 1971 fits easily into the patterns described in *Sat Kan Muang*, and in fact was all but predicted by several of the authors. However the more recent events are a very different matter involving a number of elements unprecedented in Thai political history; future editions of *Sat Kan Muang* or similar works will need substantial revisions and additions to take these new developments into account.

Benjamin A. Batson

Visakha Puja B.E. 2517, edited by Sulak Sivaraksa, (annual publication of the Buddhist Association of Thailand under royal patronage, Thai Watana Panich Press, Bangkok, 1974), pp. 163.

As he says in the Editorial Note, it is now the eleventh year that the present editor and his staff have undertaken the publication of *Visakha Puja*. The difference between the present issue and those of the last ten years is that while the past ten publications came out in time for the auspicious occasion of the Holy Day, the present one was published late in time. This was, according to the Editor himself, due to the fact that the Editor had expected a change in the editorial policy and had tendered his resignation to the President of the Buddhist Association, expecting that a new editor would be appointed to replace him. However, it so happened that, as a result of the October upheaval, the President of the Association was appointed Prime Minister and became overwhelmed by the affairs of state, nothing was done to carry out the task and, when the time drew very near to the Holy Day, the present editor was requested to undertake the job again. Due to this delay and the paucity of time to seek articles for publication, the Editor was afraid that the quality of the present edition might not be on the level of the previous issues. But with even a cursory reading, readers will find that the present issue is of no less value to the study of the Dhamma than the previous ones.

The first two articles are two sermons by two late Supreme Patriarchs of Thailand. The first of the two, "the Buddhist Attitude towards National Defence and Administration" by His Holiness Prince Vajirañāṇa, was a special allocution on the auspicious occasion of the Anniversary of the Natal Day of His Majesty King Vajiravudh in 1916; while the second short sermon by H.R.H. Prince Jinavara was delivered *in memoriam* of King Edward VII and Emperor Nicholas II and is reprinted to enable the younger generation to compare it with another of the same kind delivered on September 25, 1973 in commemoration of His Late Majesty King Gustav Adolf VI of Sweden.

Two articles are directly drawn from Pali scriptures, both of which are translations by Bhikkhu Khantipālo, a well-known and competent hand on the Buddha-Dhamma. One, "The Tathagata, O Bhikkhus", is

a selected sayings of the Buddha, dealing with many aspects of the Buddha's teaching, probably collected to form part of a larger collection. The other is a Jataka story called Kumbhai-Jataka (No. 312) which tells how liquor was discovered and why its use should be avoided.

"A Talk on Dhamma" by Ven. Acariya Maha Boowa Nāṇasampanno deals with the gradual realization of the Eightfold Path in the progress of a monk-disciple from the moment of his ordination till he secures the spiritual wealth of Vimutti or Nibbāna. Those interested in spiritual development, whether monks or laymen, besides finding it helpful to their practice of the Dhamma, may also use it as a review of the basic principles of Buddhism.

An advanced student of Buddhism should find much interest in Bhikkhu Vimalo's "Awakening to the Truth", where an attempt has been made to show that the study of the Mahayana and the writings of great mystics of other religions may help to clarify the meaning of some important and difficult terms such as Papañca, Non-dual Gnosis, Pabhasara Citta, Jhāna, and Relative and Absolute Truth.

Readers who are interested in social aspects of Buddhism and the roles it is playing or is expected to play in the modern world should find *Visakha Puja* 2517 especially interesting as the subject is treated in various articles from different standpoints. In Bhikkhu Ratnasara's "Call for a Positive Role of Bhikkhus in the National Leadership", Buddhist monks are expected to be encouraged by the Discourses of the Buddha and the ample examples of the past to be active in playing their roles as leaders of the community and of the nation. Suggestions are also made to answer the question how best can the Bhikkhu-leadership be made use of in the development of Sri Lanka. Though all historical evidence cited and suggestions made are confined to the case of Sri Lanka, good lessons can be learnt by other Southeast Asian countries or, to be more specific, Thailand. Turning from Sri Lanka to Vietnam, more lessons can be learnt from Thich Nhat Hanh's "Listening to a Poplar Tree". In this article the writer tells what the poplar tree teaches him about the concepts of violence and non-violence. Besides ideas and concepts, the reader may find that he understands better the situation in Vietnam and the Vietnamese people, especially the Buddhists, what they feel and think, what they need and want, and why their monks burnt themselves to death.

In her "Stages of Spiritual Development", Miss Ruth-Inge Heinze tries to explain the stages of spiritual development of the Thai people through sociological approach. Words from the Pali Canon are also quoted at various places to support her ideas. Some of the concepts, such as the "silent agreements" and "patron-client relationships" are really worthy of study.

As the title indicates, Professor Hewage's "A Middle Path Approach towards World Community" is an attempt to show that the most effective way to develop a world community is to follow the Middle Path. In his own words, "Here there is no problem of a conflict between ends and means, and the ends justifying the means, because both ends and means are equally desirable here". According to the writer, one is following the Middle Path when he is "avoiding the two extremes and trying to follow a moderate way applicable and appropriate to (him), in responding to the environment". However, his interpretation seems to be a spiritual and intellectual one. Some may find more practical ideas to bridge the gap between theory and practice in Dr. Puey Ungphakorn's "The Role of Ethics and Religion in National Development", although in this article (comprising three Sinclair Thompson Memorial Lectures delivered at the Thailand Theological Seminary, Chiangmai) the scope of the subject is limited to the national level and it is seen from an agnostic's viewpoints. The writer (in reality, the lecturer) says he is not fully satisfied with the Buddhist Eightfold Path as the means to attain the ideals in life and suggests the Buddha's four kinds of strength instead. But, in my opinion, the two principles are the same, the four kinds of strength being only a restatement of the Eightfold Path applied to a specific problem for a given purpose. As there is a synthesis of Christianity and Buddhism here, the article should also interest Christians and students of comparative religion.

The Editor himself has his ideas expressed in "Some Aspects of Youth in Asia", which appears to be an attempt to explain, with reference to the values and attitudes differently held by the younger and the older generations in Asia and in the West, the why and wherefore of the roles played by the students in this changing world of frequent social and political protests. Suggestions are also made on how to review, refine and strengthen the role of young people in the creation of a new and

different world, and on what roles religious leaders should play to achieve this, that is to say, to choose between the priestly and the prophetic roles. For Thai society, Buddhism is, to be sure, still turned to as a final resort for the meaningful answer.

The *Visakha Puja* 2517 contains two articles on personages and their activities. One is "The Reformer of Chaiya" by Eldon R. Hay and the other, "Buddhism in the West" by H.H. Jastram. In the former, the writer tells how he came to meet, had a talk, and became impressed by the Ven. Bhikkhu Buddhadasa, his personality, his monastery, his work and all his followers. On reading the latter, many readers would at first find it nearly unbelievable that they are reading of a very hard form of Dhutanga or austere practice being followed by U.S. citizens in their own country. It is reported that Bhiksu Heng Ju, aged 28, accompanied and protected by Bhiksu Heng Yo, is on a one-thousand-mile journey of Dhutanga from San Francisco to Seattle, Washington. The monk, an American with a Chinese name, has taken a vow to make a formal bow to the Buddha and to all benevolent spiritual beings, with his head, elbows, and knees to the ground, every third step of his never-lying-down journey which started on October 16, 1973 and is expected to end a whole year after that. There is also mystical belief among some Americans in the supernatural power of his practice. Of course, the monks belong to the Mahayana school of Buddhism, and, for many Theravada Buddhists, this vow of theirs would be regarded as a modified form of Dhutanga practice. Some may admire the sincerity of their vow while others may find it a peculiar or even a queer practice. But everyone would get surprised and admit that the monks are doing very hard things. Besides the report of the two monks' journey, readers are also informed of the activities of the Golden Mountain Monastery, the place from which the monks started.

Also included in this *Visakha* number are a poem, "Self-portrait", by Kha, and book reviews in which ten titles are presented.

The picture of Sundarī Vānī on the front cover is not only a beautiful decoration but has deeper meanings. It is evidence of symbolism ever used in Thai Buddhism and from it one can also trace the influence of Mahayana Buddhism in Thailand. The back cover which depicts the golden urn containing the body of the late Supreme Patriarch, Lord Abbot of Wat Bodhi, cherishes the memory of a personality and an important event in Thai history, which adds special value to *Visakha Puja* 2517.

Phra Rajavaramuni

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Toward The Truth, by Bhikkhu Buddhadasa, edited by Donald K. Swearer (Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1971), pp. 189.

As it seems to be pointed out by the editor, the present book is an attempt to present Southeast Asian Buddhism from the perspective of its own understanding, and to counter the argument that modern Theravada Buddhism has not produced any noteworthy intellectuals and the contention that Theravada monks offer no significant interpretations of traditional doctrinal formulations. The fact that works of Buddhadasa are chosen for this purpose can be taken as an evidence of the wide acclamation of this personality as Thailand's most provocative intellectual in the Sangha.

Among the voluminous works of Buddhadasa, four are included in the present volume to form four of the five chapters of the book. They are expected to represent his ideas and his interpretation of the Buddha-Dhamma, and to "make a contribution toward meeting an obvious need in the area of Buddhist studies", though "some of his most important, longer works remains to be translated".

The four works are separate translations by various hands previously published in Thailand, namely,

1. *Toward The Truth*, (original Thai: วิถีสู่การเข้าถึงพุทธธรรม), previously translated by Bhikkhu Nagasena by the title, 'Toward Buddha-Dhamma'.
2. *Everyday Language and Dhamma Language*, (original Thai: ภาษาคน-ภาษาธรรม), previously translated by Bhikkhu Ariyananda.
3. *No Religion*, (original Thai: ไม่มีศาสนา), previously translated by Bhikkhu Punno.
4. *Handbook for Mankind*, (original Thai: คู่มือมนุษย์), previously translated by Bhikkhu Ariyananda.

The task of Dr. Swearer in this connection was only "to delete, revise, and edit where necessary, but only for the purposes of clarity and coherence". The success of the editor, which adds value to the original translations, lies in his ability to make them clear and coherent in a more readable language. This, in turn, depends firstly on his understanding of

Buddhadasa both as a thinker and a writer and as a person, both through the works and through personal contact, and secondly on the fact that the editor is a Western scholar of Buddhism. As a scholar of Buddhism and now a professor in Buddhist Studies at an American university with years of direct experience of Buddhism in Thailand and other Asian countries, he is in a position to represent Buddhism, Thai Buddhism in particular, to a somewhat reasonable degree, while, as a western scholar, he can act as a good medium in presenting this understanding to western people, a task few Buddhists can do.

As the four works selected are separate writings with different titles, the title of the one forming the first of the four chapters (i.e., Chapter II of the book) has been taken for the title of the whole volume. This may be due to the fact that it is the title of the first work to be selected and included in the book and to the comprehensiveness of the title itself which may cover all concepts and ideas presented in all the other chapters.

The review of the four selected works can be found in the Introduction of the book itself, which "draws not only on the translations included but on several other of Buddhadasa's writings". The Introduction, which forms Chapter I and provides the only space where the editor can freely present himself, is not only a review of the four following chapters of selected works and some other of Buddhadasa's writings, but also included are some interesting facts and descriptions of Bhikkhu Buddhadasa: a sketch of his life-story, his personality, his ideas and teachings, and an evaluation of his work and works.

From Dr. Swearer's viewpoint, Buddhadasa is seen as a religious genius whose mission is a prophetic one and whose approach is synthetic, "to bridge the old and the new, to synthesize traditional formulations of doctrine with fresh insights derived from personal experience".

"Buddhadasa, in his unique way, sees himself as a servant of the Lord Buddha not in a narrow, sectarian manner but as a vehicle through which the universal truths of the Buddha's teachings might reach man. His service, then is not simply to the Lord Buddha but to mankind."

"In general he is critical of anything standing in the way of the fulfillment of the primary soteriological purpose of religion."

"The primary concern of Buddhadasa, however, is not to exposit traditional teachings but to revitalize the tradition in such a manner that it becomes a vehicle rather than a block to the realization of Truth, or Buddha-Dhamma."

"They (some of the greatest spirits in any religious tradition) have, nevertheless, infused into the tradition a new life and a new light, summoning those around them to a reexamination of their religion and themselves. Buddhadasa is performing this function today in Thailand. As such, he is one of the most important monks not only in that country but in Buddhist Asia as a whole. Indeed, he summons not only Buddhists but all of us to reexamine our faith in the light of Dhamma, that is to say, Buddha-Dhamma."

The above-quoted sentences may serve as a good representation of Bhikkhu Buddhadasa, his personality, ideas and mission, at least as seen by a Western scholar of Buddhism. Now, it is left for the reader either to prove the exactitude of Dr. Swearer's view and evaluation of Buddhadasa, or merely to make a further contribution to their own understanding of the Buddha-Dhamma. Either of these will be achieved when he reads the other four chapters of the book. For those unfamiliar with Pali terms and Buddhist concepts, the "Glossary of Pāli Terms" appended at the end of the chapters will be a good help.

Phra Rajavaramuni

*Mahachula Buddhist Academy,
Wat Mahadhatu*

Thailand in Transition : The Church in a Buddhist Country (Pro Mundi Vita, Brussels, Belgium, 1973), pp. 36.

This monograph was published by Pro Mundi Vita International Research and Information Center in its bimonthly Bulletin series. The objective of the PMV Center is to analyze in a scientific manner the socio-cultural framework of local societies in order to better facilitate the work of the Catholic Church. The monograph under review, in its opening pages, outlines, in brief summary form, the geography and history of Thailand as well as the educational, economic and political systems. It is understandable that such brief descriptions are naturally subject to errors of omission and commission and oversimplification. But the material of intellectual interest and challenge is not in this initial section but rather in those dealing with the Sangha and its contemporary response to the pressures of modernization and the status and role of the Catholic Church in Thailand historically and in present day society.

Thai Buddhists would find the discussion of the Sangha's response to the challenge of urbanization and modernization both enlightening and productive. The authors describe with much insight the increasing alienation of modern urban society from the Sangha. A few individual monks, such as Buddhadasa Bhikkhu, are shown to be concerned with the problem of making Buddhism relevant to modern day society.

Educational reform within the two Buddhist Universities, directed at modernizing their curriculum and including lay subjects, is described as well as the community service leadership role the graduates of these Universities play in rural Thailand. The officialdom of these Buddhist Universities is obviously committed to achieving a creative tension between religious tradition on the one hand and innovation and reform associated with modernization on the other. Buddhism, as other religions throughout the world, is facing the problem of relevancy. How the Sangha responds to this challenge, how it draws the laity into a more pervasive and meaningful symbiotic relationship will determine how strong and lasting Buddhism as a religious force will be.

The last half of this monograph presents a concise and objective analysis of the structure, status and role of the Catholic Church. Detailed statistical information on the Church in Thailand is given. The

authors describe how historically the Church came to be identified with ethnic minorities and the cultural isolation of the Church that resulted and still persists today. It is noted, with regret, that, except in the sphere of education, the Church has had little impact on Thai national life intellectually, culturally, politically, economically and, for Christians far more disturbing, spiritually. The traditional education system for local clergy is outlined and the conflicts and tensions between the younger and older generations of local clergy and between local clergy and foreign missionaries described. The authors reach the interesting conclusion that today Catholic nuns represent by far the richest resource for new creativity within the Church of Thailand. Female religious community service initiatives in both the rural and urban areas are noted. Although such Church initiated action programs as the credit union movement and student centers are described, the authors are critical of the rigid strictures of conservatism that bind the church and make it less responsive to the liberalizing influences as exemplified in Vatican II.

The authors decry the lack of a meaningful dialogue and encounter between the Church and Buddhism. Both sides, with a few notable exceptions, are faulted for their lack of initiative. An eloquent plea is made to understand and to some extent share each other's religious experiences with a view to overcoming mutual suspicion and distrust. The Church of Thailand is also urged to move beyond sacramental routines and evangelistic fervor and become more socially conscious and responsive to the needs and pressures of the fast changing society. At the same time, the Church is enjoined to take a moral stand against encroachments on man's liberty from either the political right or left and seek a wider loyalty in the brotherhood of man.

This monograph discusses with much clarity, insight and compassion issues that are crucial to the survival of religious forces in Asia as in the rest of the world. Buddhist and Christians alike should find this study intellectually challenging and provocative.

William J. Klausner

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The Asian Journal of Thomas Merton, edited by N. Burton *et al.* (New Directions, New York, 1973), pp. 445+xxx, illustrated.

Thomas Merton was perhaps the most well known Catholic monk of this century. During his "lay" life, he undertook varied literary and intellectual pursuits. He was more or less "converted" to seek a deeper spiritual meaning of life by becoming a Trappist monk. Yet he managed to maintain a lively interest in worldly events. He kept in touch with political issues, commented on them, signed various petitions and protests, apart from writing prefaces, articles and books, some of which are very popular among the younger generation, especially *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* and *The Seven Storey Mountain*.

Someone asked Krishnamurti whether he regarded anyone in the contemporary world as having attained enlightenment. He mentioned Thomas Merton and Daisetz T. Suzuki. In fact, Merton had corresponded with Suzuki for years and they met when the latter visited America. Their correspondence has in fact been published in *Zen and the Birds of Appetite*. Although Merton did not know Chinese, *The Way of Chuang Tzu* and his correspondence with Suzuki as well as his article on "The Significance of the *Bhagavad-Gita*" show that he was one of the few Westerners who really understood the spiritual depth of the East. Yet he had never been to Asia until he undertook the Asian journey, which began from California on 15 October and ended by his passing away in Bangkok on 10 December 1968. On this journey he told an Indian Catholic priest that Zen Buddhism was the last of God's revelations. Indeed there was rumour that he was going to become a Buddhist monk. His biography, *The Man in Sycamore Tree* by Edward Rice, also mentions the conflict he had with his abbey at Gethsemane, Kentucky, U.S.A. There were also rumours that the electrocution at Sawanganiwas near Bangkok was actually a suicide, as he could no longer stand the tragedy of mankind.

In a way, *The Asian Journal* was edited to show that Merton would, however, remain a Christian monk, would go back to spend his last days at his "home" monastery and his death was entirely accidental. Besides, *The Asian Journal* is a superb document, relying on three separate note books: (a) the public journal, which the author intended for publication, (b) the private journal, which contains an occasional intimate note of conscience or spiritual self-analysis, and (c) the pocket notebook for his immediate notes during conversations, drafts for suddenly-inspired poems, etc. All of these blends into Part I of the book, which took the

author to Calcutta (via Bangkok), New Delpi, the Himalayas, Madras, Ceylon and back to Bangkok (via Singapore). His encounter with the Dalai Lama and Tibetan *gurus* are wonderful pieces of spiritual insight, since these people were all on "the fringe of enlightenment", and their conversations were so simple and straight-forward.

In Bangkok, he met the Abbot of Wat Bovornives and *Bhikkhu* Khantipalo, who also wrote, in Appendix II, 'On Mindfulness'. He had a chance to read and make notes of the Ven. Phra Maha Boowa Nanasampanno's 'Wisdom Develop Samadhi' (which has now been collected and published with other articles of his by the Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation as *Forest Dhamma*). His talk at Sawanganiwas on the day of his death 'Marxism and Monastic Perspectives' in Appendix VII, is also very relevant to our Buddhist brotherhood. There are a few spelling mistakes of Thai names, which are inevitable, since his hand writing was not easy to decipher, and the editors did not know much about this country. Yet they did their job thoroughly, supplying notes on almost everything he wrote.

Part II consisting of Merton's Complementary Reading helps us to understand the man much better, especially towards the last phase of his life. The books he read mostly came from the contemplative tradition of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Whatever name one gives to the Real and whatever paths one tread upon, they seem one and all to lead to the same goal.

It is a great loss to us that Merton's life came to such an abrupt end, for it would have been of great interest to the spiritual and the learned world to have been able to follow his further spiritual explorations.

Thomas Merton, the monk, E.F. Schoemaucher, the economist, and Eric Fromm, the psychologist, are a few leading personalities from the West who have tried, in their own disciplines, to show that Buddhism has something really unique to offer the modern world, if man wants to survive on this planet earth. Those of us who are familiar with Buddhism in this country may need the *farang* to convince us before we take our own religion seriously, especially when the contemplative part of our culture is very much lacking in this day and age. If we do, we should also learn other spiritual traditions thoroughly, as Merton has shown us in *The Asian Journal*; i.e. books help, but books alone cannot help us all that much.

S. Sivaraksa

Wat Bōwōnniwet and Mahamakut Royal Academy Foundation, comps., *Phraprawat somdet phramahasamanaṅchao kromphraya wachirayanwarorot* The Life of Prince-patriarch Vajirañāṇavarorasa (Bangkok, Mahamakut Press, 1971), pp. 314, 26 plates; Wat Bōwōnniwet, comp., *Pramuan phraniphon somdet phramahasamanaṅchao kromphraya wachirayanwarorot kan khana song* (Collected Works of Prince-patriarch Vajirañāṇavarorasa, Sangha Affairs) (Bangkok, Mahamakut Press, 1971), pp. 534.

In 1971 a fourteen-volume collection of works by and about Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa (1860–1921) was published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the prince's death. Half-brother of King Chulalongkorn, patriarch of the Thammayut order from 1893, and from 1910 until his death the tenth supreme patriarch of the Sangha in the Bangkok dynasty, Prince Vajirañāṇa wrote prodigiously in his various official and educational capacities. This collection, sponsored by Mahamakut Royal Academy, Mahamakut Educational Council, Mahamakut Foundation and several other groups, makes available his sermons, commentaries on the Sutta, historical essays, correspondence on education, and a host of other writings and documents too numerous to mention. Some volumes contain republications of such important sources as the prince's correspondence with King Chulalongkorn and his relatively unknown essay on monastic orders [*Rūang nikai*]; others contain hitherto unpublished documents from the archives of Wat Bōwōnniwet, the monastery of which he was abbot for almost twenty-nine years. Also included in the collection are a facsimile reproduction of one of the prince's manuscripts, examples of the Ariyaka script invented by King Mongkut with equivalences in the Siamese alphabet, and a pamphlet of rarely published photographs. The two volumes under review may be taken as a sample of what the collection has to offer the historian of modern Siam.

The biographical volume [*Phraprawat...*] consists of two works, separately paginated: the prince's *Autobiography* [*Phraprawat trat lao*], first published in 1924, and Chün Yōtserani's *Biography*, first published

in the Buddhist monthly, *Thammachakkiw*, between 1956 and 1960. The *Autobiography* ends in 1883, the year Prince Vajirañāna received his first appointments to princely and monastic rank, and although it thereby deprives us of the prince's reflections on his official career, it is, nevertheless, a revealing document. It illuminates child-rearing within the royal family during the nineteenth century; in its sketches of Prince Vajirañāna's teachers it outlines the flattering and unflattering qualities which distinguished these people, many of them associates of King Mongkut during his years in the Sangha; in a very personal way it describes the difficult early years of Chulalongkorn's reign when King Mongkut's sons suddenly found themselves fatherless and reduced to lesser status.

In his account of the early years Prince Vajirañāna wants the reader to see that he was destined to make his career in the Sangha. His own temperament and what others thought of him led inevitably to this end, as did the influence of Dr. Peter Gowan, a puritanical Scottish physician whose presence helped Prince Vajirañāna turn away from such vices as a penchant for gambling, spendthriftiness, and an expensive taste for the finest European fashions obtainable in Bangkok. By his own admission, Prince Vajirañāna was a monk who appreciated the knowledge he had gained from these earlier, "worldly" years, just as he appreciated the value of such extrinsic "worldly" rewards as monastic ranks which allowed monks to do the work of Buddhism. The tone of the *Autobiography* suggests that he was orthodox in his practice, but not pious; strict, but not self-righteous. His candor is refreshing. He even vented the occasional complaint.

Detailed comparison of this edition of the *Autobiography* with the Khurusapha Press edition of 1961 discloses that a number of misprints have been corrected. More importantly, a few sentence fragments, omitted in the Khurusapha edition, have been restored, evidently after

a rereading of the original manuscript. These fragments make reference to other monks, but hardly in a way which could be construed as indiscreet. No editorial comment explains the earlier omission or declares the text finally intact.

The companion item in the volume, Chün Yōtserani's *Biography*, is the most comprehensive study of the prince's life in print. Like other biographies, it relies on the *Autobiography* for the early years but then makes good use of the *Royal Thai Government Gazette* and *Announcements of Sangha Affairs* [*Thalaeng kan khana song*], a periodical which is almost impossible to consult in the West. To illustrate the comprehensiveness one might cite the description (pp. 63ff) of the Brahmanic ceremony making Prince Vajirañāṇa supreme patriarch, the only description of the ceremony I have seen in publications readily accessible. The author has included a bibliography of Prince Vajirañāṇa's writings in Siamese with annotations of the major works as well as a bibliography of his writings in Pāli and of those Pāli works translated, commented on, or edited by the prince. This volume contains an excellent selection of photographs, including six of the prince at fifteen at the height of his indulgence in fashionable clothes.

Shortly after Prince Vajirañāṇa became supreme patriarch he organized in 1913 the publication of *Announcements of Sangha Affairs*, a monthly which has performed the same service for monks that the *Royal Thai Government Gazette* has performed for civil administrators. *Sangha Affairs* [*Kan khana song*], the second of the two volumes reviewed here, consists largely of selections from this periodical along with archival material from Wat Bōwōnniwet. The 108 documents and letters, grouped under twelve headings and dating almost entirely from the reign of King Vajiravudh (1910-1925), concern the governance of the Sangha, monastery administration, monastic offences, ordination, the appointment of preceptors, wearing the monastic robes, monastic rank,

and several other topics. In the case of the robe conventions, an issue which had divided the Sangha since the 1830's and '40's and which was still being resolved in the second decade of this century, the archival material provides some context for the decrees and reports reproduced from the Sangha's monthly periodical. In other cases, the compilers have let the decrees and reports stand alone, leaving the reader to supply the context from other sources. The range of documents, everything from examples of appointment certificates to a hierarchical list of royal monasteries published in 1915, is wide enough to recommend this book as the best available introduction to Sangha administration using primary sources.

One reason the material on Sangha administration becomes so voluminous after 1910 is that Prince Vajirañāṇa breathed new life into the Council of Theras, a group of senior monks which convened to deliberate matters affecting the administration of the Sangha as a whole. Yet the burgeoning documentation after this date may be deceptive, reflecting not significant change so much as a "bureaucratizing" of procedures implied in the 1902 Law on the Governance of the Sangha, itself a consolidation of earlier practice. In religious education Prince Vajirañāṇa did indeed initiate changes after 1910, but in Sangha administration during the first decade of King Vajravudh's reign we may be witnessing the end of an historical process rather than the beginning of a new one.

The volumes in the collection containing only Prince Vajirañāṇa's writings bear the general title *Collected Works* and subtitles specifying the contents within. The collection is handsomely published and firmly bound in paperback. One wishes only that volumes appearing in a collection such as this would be numbered to facilitate citation.

Craig J. Reynolds

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M.R.W. Saengsom Kasemsri and Wimol Phongphiphat, *History of the Ratanakosin Period, First through Third Reigns (B.E. 2325-2394)* (Thai History Revision Committee, Bangkok, 1972), pp. 283, maps, plates, bibliography.

ม.ร.ว. แสงโสม เกษมศรี และ วิมล พงศ์พิพัฒน์ ประวัติศาสตร์สมัยกรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ ๑ ถึงรัชกาลที่ ๓ (พ.ศ. ๒๓๒๕-๒๓๕๔) (กรรมการชำระประวัติศาสตร์ไทย, กรุงเทพฯ, ๒๕๑๕).

This book, compiled by the authors in their capacity as members of the Thai History Revision Committee, was originally published in sections in the journal *thalaengngan prawatsat ekkasan borankhadi* (Notices on History, Documents, and Archaeology) during a period from 1967 through 1970. For greater convenience to students and other interested persons the authors published the book as one volume in 1972. The appearance of this work ought to be a welcome event, since there has thus far been no comprehensive survey of the first three reigns of the Bangkok period in one volume, but unfortunately this particular work is something of a disappointment. The book consists of nine chapters, dealing respectively with the foundation of Bangkok, wars with Burma, relations with Cambodia and Vietnam, expansion of the kingdom, government and administration, improvements to the country (which simply lists the construction of forts, digging of canals in Bangkok, building of ships and casting of cannon), arts and literature, patronage of Buddhism, and foreign relations (i.e. with China, Portugal, Britain and the United States).

Since this book does not pretend to be a work of original research, all the information contained within it is readily available elsewhere and would as a matter of course be consulted in the original by any scholar doing research on the period. Thus the purpose of a book such as this should be one of synthesis and analysis in order to give the student and general reader a cohesive and integrated survey of the history of the period about which the book is concerned. Unfortunately, it is precisely in the area of successful synthesis and imaginative analysis that the book falls down. The book is essentially a collection of paraphrases of accounts taken from other works strung together with very little new added, either factually or by way of analysis. The amount of coverage which the authors choose to give to any particular topic seems to be based not on the relative importance of the topic but on the amount of information on that topic

that is both readily available and easily utilized. Thus, for example, the entire chapter on government and administration for the whole period consists of only seven pages whereas more than ten pages are devoted to a minutely detailed account of relations with Portugal. Almost no consideration is given to the social and economic history of the period. In a book designed as a text for university students this could be considered a serious defect. Except for the last chapter, dealing with foreign relations, by far the longest chapter is the forty-eight page blow by blow account of the wars with Burma. The constant warfare or threat of war with Burma is indeed an important factor in the history of this period but since detailed accounts of the military aspects of this subject are available elsewhere perhaps a more useful approach for a book such as this might have been for the authors to summarize the military trends while giving more consideration to an analysis of the effect of this constant military threat on Thai governmental policies both internally and externally, or the effect of the need for constant mobilization on the social and economic life of the country and so forth. Similar criticisms of too much detail and not enough analysis might be made of the book's treatment of the Thai-Vietnamese conflict over Cambodia or the expansion of Thai suzerainty into border areas. Where analysis is present its value is questionable, such as the authors' categorical assertion that in spite of *Chao Anu's* revolt Bangkok's suzerainty in the Northeast and Laos was never in any danger throughout this period.

The authors' whole approach, of course, is that of the "traditional" school of Thai historiography, which leads one to pose the question of whether traditionalistic historiography has declined into unimaginativeness. On any potentially sensitive or controversial issues the authors are either reticent or defensive. A final criticism is that in preparing the book for publication as one volume the authors apparently did little or no revision in light of recent Thai scholarship. I am thinking in particular of the authors' apparent unawareness of well-accepted recent opinion on the authorship of the chronicle of Ayuthia originally known as the "two-volume" edition. This book does serve a useful purpose, however, in that it provides a convenient summary of this period from a traditional viewpoint. It is a pity that it does not provide more intellectual stimulation.

Lorraine M. Gesick

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Fine Arts Department, *New Acquisitions of three Bronzes from Buriram* (ประติมากรรมสำริดชิ้นเอก พบใหม่จากบุรีรัมย์) (Bangkok, 1973), pp. 80 (Thai & English), 20 pp. plates.

This little book was published on the occasion of an exhibition at the National Museum in which were displayed, among other bronzes, three handsome statues discovered in the village of Bân Fai, Lam Plāimāt District, Burīram Province, and acquired by the museum in 1971. The three statues, two Bodhisattvas and a Buddha that date from about the eighth century, have inspired three short articles, which appear in both Thai and English: "Geographical Conditions of Some Ancient Towns in Northeastern Thailand" by Pises Jiajanpong, "The Bronzes from Banfai, Lam Plai Mat, Buri Ram" by Chaweewan Viriyabus, and "Three Buddhist Bronzes in the National Museum, Bangkok" by Uraisri Varasarin. In addition, the book includes a preface by Capt. Sompop Piromya and an introduction by Chira Chongkol.

The bronzes acquired by the museum are important additions to a body of works whose entire existence was until recently unsuspected, works that have opened a new and vital chapter in the history of art in Thailand. This review will not delve into the scholarly problems raised by these bronzes: questions regarding date, place of manufacture, the relationship of Dvāravatī culture to that of the part of the Northeast where the bronzes have been found, and the link, if any, between the kingdom of Canāśa mentioned in inscriptions and the bronzes themselves. Most of what can be profitably said about these issues has already been said by others. To this scholarly debate Miss Uraisri's few pages especially are an admirably precise and suggestive addition. Instead, it might be best to take the opportunity to review the circumstances that have led to the creation of this new chapter of art history: circumstances that make a tale, however, not altogether joyful.

The first indication of the existence of a major school of bronze Mahāyāna-image-making in the Mūn River basin came in 1961, with the discovery of fragments of a colossal—perhaps nearly twice human size—bronze Bodhisattva at a village known as Bân Tanôt, about thirty kilometers southwest of Phimai along the Mūn River, in the district of

Nón Sùng (नुनसुंग), Khôrât Province. Bán Tanôt is the northernmost of the three sites at which bronzes have been found. It was a while before this Bodhisattva became generally known: it is illustrated in Jean Boisselier's *Le Cambodge* (pl. LVII, 1), which appeared in 1966, and was the subject of an extended analysis in an article by the same author which appeared in *Artibus Asiae* in 1967 (vol. XXIX, 4). Meanwhile, however, its various parts were sent from the Khôrât Museum to France for restoration, and the head came back to Bangkok looking, as someone put it, like a Rodin, though beautiful nonetheless. The restored head has since toured the U.S. and has as a result become widely known (Bowie, ed., *The Sculpture of Thailand*, #10b).

Boisselier's *Artibus Asiae* article of 1967 also included photographs of four bronzes said to come from Prakhonchai, which is the name of a district in the southern part of Buriram Province, an area through which a traveler from Bán Tanôt to the great cities of ancient Cambodia would have passed. This was not the first publication of "Prakhonchai" bronzes, however, for an Avalokiteśvara illustrated by Boisselier and now in San Francisco had earlier appeared with two other images in *The Illustrated London News* of August 28, 1965. Beside the photographs was the announcement of a "startling discovery made on the borders of Cambodia and Thailand". The three illustrated images, it said, "were acquired by Adrian Maynard of Spink and Sons, and are now being shown to the public for the first time at their London galleries. The discovery was made by two Cambodian villagers who were scouring the overgrown ruins of a derelict temple. They came upon a hole in the soil which had been softened by heavy rain; inside they found a buried chamber covered in brick dust from the temple ruins. An archaeologist was called in to secure [!] the recovery of the statues". The discovery was made in 1964, and in the ten years since then the "archaeologist" in question has not come forward with more precise information about where on "the borders" the bronzes were found or about how many—or what—pieces the cache in fact consisted of.

About these extraordinary images there has indeed been some helpful literature, to which the Fine Arts Department's booklet is the latest addition, yet uncertainty about both the number of images and

their place of discovery has not been dispelled. First the number. In an article ("Pre-Angkor Period Bronzes from Pra Kon Chai") in the 1971-72 *Archives of Asian Art*, Emma C. Bunker wrote that the "original group consisted of ten large figures, some over three feet high, and innumerable small ones, varying in height from three to eighteen inches." Mrs. Bunker's article is primarily an admirable piece of detective work; with the aid of the dealers whose help she acknowledges (Robert Ellsworth, Ben Heller, and Adrian Maynard), she was able to assemble a list of twenty-four Prakhonchai bronzes now in the West. After the purchase from Spink and Sons of one of these—a Maitreya—by the Musée Guimet, Albert Le Bonheur described the hoard as consisting of nearly three hundred bronzes (in "Un bronze d'époque préangkorienne représentant Maitreya," *Arts Asiatiques* XXV [1972]). Now even if these estimates, "innumerable" or close to "three hundred", both of which can probably be traced to Adrian Maynard, are considerably inflated, as they may well be, a certain number of bronzes in the hoard are unaccounted for. And if Mrs. Bunker's detective work is as acute as it seems, it would appear that many of the missing bronzes should be sought in Thailand rather than in the West. Two fine bronzes from the hoard, both in the collection of H.R.H. Prince Bhanubandhu Yugala, are not unknown, for they were exhibited at the National Museum in 1968 and have been published in *Masterpieces from Private Collections* (Bangkok, 1970, figs. 18 & 19) by M.C. Subhadradis Diskul. A third bronze, probably from the hoard, a small Maitreya which was donated to the Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University, was exhibited at the National Museum in 1970 and published in the catalogue called *Môradok thâng watthanatham phaendin thai . . .*. Finally for the exhibition of October and November, 1973, which this booklet accompanied, nine bronzes were borrowed from three additional private collections. But the book does not make it clear (the English and Thai texts differ) whether these bronzes did indeed belong to the "Prakhonchai" cache. Only two are illustrated, Maitreyas 19.5 and 21 cms. in height in the collection of Phra Khru Khanânam Samanâchân (Phôrian Pao); the rest are not even described. From the point of view of scholarship (putting aside questions of legality and justice), what seems to be needed, therefore, is an attempt to survey the Prakhonchai bronzes remaining in Thailand, after the model of Mrs. Bunker's survey of those in the West.

At the same time, of course, an investigation into the circumstances of the discovery would be desirable. In Mrs. Bunker's article there appear three photographs of the "temple precinct at Pra Kon Chai." These photographs were given to Mrs. Bunker (who is here thanked for this information) by one of her dealer-informants, and she made no attempt to be more precise in her identification of the temple. Meanwhile, Boisselier, according to Le Bonheur's article (p. 133n.), had suggested that the temple in question was Prāsāt Lom Thom, which lies in the eastern part of the district of Prakhonchai. Prāsāt Lom Thom was missed altogether in the Fine Arts Department's survey of 1960-61 (*Report of the Survey and Excavations of Ancient Monuments in North-eastern Thailand*, II, Bangkok, 1967) and for information about the temple it is necessary to consult Lunet de Lajonquière's inventory of 1907 (*Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge*, II, pp. 201-203). There can be found a ground plan of the temple and a short description. From these alone it is impossible to determine with certainty whether the photographs published by Mrs. Bunker are in fact views of Prāsāt Lom Thom; Lajonquière mentions sandstone false doors, for instance, while Mrs. Bunker's photographs show only ones of brick.

The treatment of the issue of the exact provenience of the "Prakhonchai" bronzes, ten years after their discovery, is the most dismaying aspect of the Fine Arts Department's book. Mr. Pises writes that the bronzes came from "a chamber underneath a pre-Angkorian temple called Prāsāt Lom Thom or La Lom Thom, which is situated in village of Khôk Rawia" (p. 15, reviewer's translation). But Mr. Pises provides no clue as to how he has acquired this information. Miss Uraisri says in a note that "Professor Boisselier thinks the temple where they were discovered. . . may be the Prasat Lom Thom described by Lajonquière. . . ." She does not tell us that Mr. Pises or any other Fine Arts Department official has confirmed the identification on the spot. Finally, among the illustrations, one of Mrs. Bunker's photographs of the temple is reproduced but is said to have been copied from Lajonquière's *Inventaire*, which is false, and to be a view of Prāsāt Lom Thom, which may or may not be correct.

An apparent absence of ancient material remains at Bân Tanôt and the lack of controlled archaeological exploration in that area mean that it is not known precisely why fragments of the colossal Bodhisattva should have been found where they were. About the "Prakhonchai" hoard, there are of course much greater uncertainties. The three bronzes from Bân Fai acquired by the National Museum have, in contrast, both a fixed and a much more meaningful archaeological setting, one that may some day tell us a good deal about the culture of the region and about its relationship to the civilizations of central Thailand and of Cambodia. Bân Fai (or Bân Mûang Fai) is a village in the Lam Plâi Mât District of Buriram Province. In ancient times, when it was a town, a traveler from the Prakhonchai area would probably have passed through it on his way to Bân Tanôt. Apparently the place marked "Kuk Fai" on Lajonquière's map of 1911, Bân Fai was nicely described, and shown on a map, in an article by Pises Jiajanpong in *Bô-rânkhatî Nakhôn Râtchasîmâ*, a special publication of the Faculty of Archaeology that appeared in February, 1969. In its plan, the ancient town looks much like a Dvāravatî town of central Thailand. The evidence of sculpture also suggests Dvāravatî contacts, and a stone Nāga-protected Buddha from Bân Fai has been analyzed in an article by Prince Subhadradis (M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, "The Buddha and the Snake King," *Hemisphere*, May, 1971). The three lovely bronzes acquired by the museum were found accidentally by a villager. The book does not tell us when. But it is known exactly where in the ancient town the bronzes were found, and perhaps some day more about their cultural setting will be revealed by archaeological investigation, removed, it might be hoped, from the pressures of the international art market. For this possibility and for the enrichment of the National Museum, we must thank Mr. Sanō Nākhintha-rachât, who found the bronzes, and the Fine Arts Department, who presented a reward to Mr. Sanō. The profits from their legal actions will be lasting ones.

Hiram W. Woodward Jr.

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Piriya Krairiksh, *Buddhist Folk Tales Depicted at Chula Pathon Cedi* (In Thai and English, Bangkok, 1974), pp. 45, 44, ill., 5 pls.*

Mr. Krairiksh's study is a detailed and sophisticated interpretation of the Buddhist birth-tale reliefs found during a road building project in 1968, on the base of a Dvaravati period stupa at Chulapathon near Nakhon Pathom. Religious structures surviving from the Dvaravati period are exceedingly rare, and as the author points out, the Chulapathon relief panels of terra cotta and stucco would have long since disappeared if they had not been covered over and thus preserved during alterations to the stupa at some early stage in its history. Dupont's 1939-40 excavations of the site did not discover the birth-tale reliefs.

The panels as they survive today are not of very fine workmanship, and offer little in the way of detail to help in their identification. But by comparative means, Mr. Krairiksh has made admirable identifications of eight of these apparently obscure reliefs through comparison with other birth-tale representations in Asian art—at Ajanta, Kizil, Borobudur, Pagan, and on boundary stones from Kalasin province in Thailand. For example, a seemingly quite obscure scene of two figures in a boat (figure 12) is fairly convincingly connected with the story of Supārāga, an old and nearly blind mariner who saves a disastrous voyage by performing an Act of Truth. Although the evidence offered by the Chulapathon panel is reduced and schematic, with only two figures representing the boat full of merchants, in the context of other representations such as the one at Borobudur, it seems fairly likely that the story of Supārāga is being shown. The author's main point here, and with all the panels at Chulapathon, is that their textual sources lie not in the Pali birth-tales (jātaka) but in Sanskrit language birth-tales (avadāna) belonging to the Sarvāstivādin school of Hīnayāna Buddhism. This thesis is a reasonable and viable one, but numerous problems arise in the course of trying to prove it. In the case of the tale of Supārāga for instance, the Borobudur representation of a boat full of voyagers with Supārāga at the bow holding a jug in both hands, is offered as evidence of a version based on a Pali text, for the Pali indeed mentions a "full bowl of water in both hands." In point of fact the Borobudur reliefs show a considerable fidelity to, as well as some variance from, the Sanskrit Jātakamālā, whose order and main contents they preserve in the first

* This monograph was published for free distribution on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday anniversary of the author's father. A limited number of copies is now on sale at the Siam Society at 40 bahts each. *Ed.*

thirty-four tales depicted in the upper series of reliefs on the balustrade of the first gallery. With the Chulapathon illustration of this story on the other hand, Mr. Krairiksh, who wants to link it to the Jātakamālā version, where the hero kneels on the deck to utter his Act of Truth, is obliged to ignore the standing posture of the figure who would be Supārāga and the object clearly held in his upraised arm which does not relate to anything in the Jātakamālā version.

The author's case for Sanskrit versions as the source for the Chulapathon birth-tale panels is more successfully illustrated in the remaining seven identified tales. Heavy weight is put upon the interesting fact that all these particular seven stories are included, often in a like form, in the wall paintings at Kizil in Central Asia where Sanskrit Hinayana Buddhism flourished. At a remove of 2000 miles, this correspondence is a valuable point of information but it may not truly constitute evidence of the transmission of birth-tale representations to central Thailand. The story of Maitrakanyaka is particularly close in its representations at Chulapathon and Kizil, differing sharply from the scene used at Pagan for this story which relates to the Pali version. It makes a strong case for the author's principal argument. In the story of Śyāmaka it is not mentioned that the hero appears to be carrying a pole on his shoulders in figures 29 and 30, which is absent from the Chulapathon version (figure 25). This may represent his fetching of water for his blind parents, but so prominent a prop ought to have a major and explicable bearing on the story.

This study meticulously summarizes the entire range of known textual versions of the stories identified at Chulapathon, versions from India, Khotan, Tibet, and China. Yet it remains a regrettable fact that inexplicable disparities frequently exist between the representations in art of such stories and their known texts. In the detailed depictions of birth-tales at Borobudur for example this widespread disparity has forced scholars to postulate the existence of lost texts, or of variant local versions which were preferred to the Indian language texts, or even that the designers of the reliefs introduced their own arbitrary variations into the depiction of a story either out of ignorance or caprice. P. Jaini has expertly shown in "The Story of Sudhana and Manohara: an analysis of the texts and the Borobudur reliefs" (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXIX, Part 3, 1966) how the surviving textual sources are insufficient to explain the Borobudur depiction of the story of Sudhana. Meanwhile until an explanation is found for these disparities we must be extremely grateful for studies like Mr. Krairiksh's, offering excellent analysis of the existing evidence at a particular site.

Henry D. Ginsburg

Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Monuments of the Buddha in Siam*. Translated by Sulak Sivaraksa and A.B. Griswold with footnotes by Prince Subhadradis Diskul and A.B. Griswold. Monograph No. II (revised) (The Siam Society, Bangkok, 1973), pp. ix, 60, illus.

The latter part of Prince Damrong's pioneering Thai study of Buddhist "monuments" first published as *Tamnan phraphutthachedi*, was translated into English by Sulak Sivaraksa in 1962. This translation, now extensively revised and newly edited with profuse footnotes, is available again as the joint work of the original translator in collaboration with A.B. Griswold and Prince Subhadradis Diskul. Prince Damrong's original Thai work was a difficult introduction for the beginner interested in learning about Thai Buddhist art. For one thing, its treatment of the early periods was necessarily based upon the very limited body of knowledge available at that time. An unsatisfactorily vague historical framework serves for the discussion of the periods prior to the fourteenth century. Moreover, the very title of the work is misleading, for the word "monument" (Thai *chedi*, Pali *cetiya*) quite reasonably leads one to expect a discussion of buildings or constructions, i.e. stupas, temples, or the like. But in fact the word is interpreted in a very wide sense and embraces many different types of memorials of the Buddha, including official Buddhist writings, plantings of the holy *bodhi* tree, sculptural representations of the Buddha, etc. in addition to the expected structural monuments, mainly in the form of stupas. These various "monuments" are discussed under four Pali headings conforming to a traditional Buddhist division. The English title has been altered in this revised translation in the hope of clarifying its sense, from *A History of Buddhist Monuments in Siam* (1962) to *Monuments of the Buddha in Siam*, but without much success.

The revised translation aims to please the scholar rather than the general reader. The introduction of Indic transliteration can only be a headache for all but readers of Sanskrit. They may indeed quite possibly

be a trial for the latter as well when words like *phanom* (from Cambodian for 'mountain') appear in such varying forms as in Dhātu Bnam and Pnom Plōng, in accordance with doubtlessly logical but highly obscure rules of precedence of transliterating systems. In fact the 'scholarly' transliteration is probably of no use to a scholar who knows Thai well, as he will already know how to spell the words, so it must then be intended for the Indic scholar who does not know Thai. This raises the question of whether books really ought to aim for the narrowest possible audience, putting off the largest possible number of readers. Surely the solution to the difficult problem of transliteration is to favor phonetic spelling, while providing accurate versions of the spelling in a glossary or in parentheses.

These matters aside, this is a most fascinating edition of a work of great interest. A.B. Griswold's excellent introduction lucidly explains the viewpoint and organization of the text, indicating its strong and weak points, with some notes on the nature of copying in Buddhist art. The very exhaustive footnotes elucidate and update almost all of the obscure points in the original text, even though many of these are still far from settled or fixed. But the footnotes admirably sum up the present state of knowledge, and they are a pleasure to use. The text's discussion of the Ayutthaya and Bangkok periods is highly authoritative and thorough in its original form. From the Sukhothai period the text includes a convenient summary of the Pali sources mentioned in the *Traibhūmi*. The illustrations in the new edition have been amplified and in some cases replaced, but the general quality of reproduction remains rather disappointing.

Henry D. Ginsburg

British Museum

P.L. Amin Sweeney, *The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-Play* (The National University of Malaysia Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1972), xiii, pp. 464, 2 maps, 2 illustrations, diagrams, notes, glossary, index.

If a reviewer describes Amin Sweeney's *Malay Shadow Puppets*¹ published by the British Museum earlier in the same year as "a finely cut gem"² the book under review should be lauded as "an emerald necklace", (as green is Rama's colour). While the former is a condensation of the latter and aimed to give general readers introductory information on the Malay *Wayang Siam* complete with 36 fine illustrations in colour, and black and white, the latter is an intensive scholarly piece of research for a Ph.D. thesis submitted to and examined by the University of London in June 1970 under the original title, *The Rama Tree in the Wayang Siam*.

As the title in its original and present forms indicates, the thesis concerns two interwoven subjects: the *Ramayana*, and the Malay shadow-theatre (despite its misleading name, the *Wayang Siam* is Malay), both of which receive full treatment, leaving very little for further questioning. It is true that there have been numerous works of different approaches to the *Ramayana*. In the comparative study of the *Ramayana*, Jacobi³, Stutterheim⁴, Zieseniss⁵, and Hooykass⁶ are foremost authorities who offer points of departure for later scholars. Among less ambitious works, which have appeared during this decade, are S. Singaravelu's *A Compara-*

1) Amin Sweeney, *Malay Shadow Puppets: The Wayang Siam of Kelantan*, The British Museum, London, 1972.

2) Derek Brereton, Review of Amin Sweeney, *Malay Shadow Puppets*, *JSS*, January 1974, Volume 62, Part I, p. 272.

3) H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyana, Geschichte und Inhalt nebst Concordanz der gedruckten Rezensionen*, Bonn, 1893.

4) W. Stutterheim, *Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesia*, 2 vols., Munich, 1925.

5) A. Zieseniss, *Die Rāma Sage unter den Malaien, ihre Herkunft und Gestaltung*, Hamburg, 1928. (English translation by P.W. Burch, *The Rama Saga in Malaysia*, Singapore, 1963).

6) C. Hooykass, "The Old-Javanese Ramayana, an exemplary kakawin as to form and content", *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1958.

tive Study of the Sanskrit, Tamil, Thai, and Malay Versions of the Story of Rama (1967)⁷ and Juan R. Francisco's *Maharadia Lawana*⁸ (1969). In the very near future, we expect to receive a significant contribution from Dr. V. Raghavan when his *Ramayana Versions: A Comparative Study and Evaluation* appears in print sometime this year. All these works, however, concentrate only on the literary texts of the great epic. Few works have been written on the popular and oral versions, and very little indeed, to say the least, on the relationship between the *Ramayana* and the Malay shadow-theatre. This present thesis opens a gate-way to a virgin territory in which academic explorers still have great opportunities to discover invaluable treasures.

The book is conveniently divided into three parts, each dealing with different aspects of the two above-mentioned subjects. The three parts are distinct from one another in content and approach. In the meticulous treatment of the subjects, the author is able to give a complete coverage of the *Ramayana* and the *Wayang Siam*, encompassing literature, drama, art, culture, as well as socio-anthropological aspects. Both the traditional methods of comparative philology and literature and the scientific process of observation, investigation, and analysis are employed to great advantage.

Part I (72 pages) is a socio-anthropological study of "*The Vehicle—Wayang Siam*. The *Introduction*, offers enough general background information about the four types of *Wayang Kulit* (shadow-play) found in Malaya and Malay-speaking Southern Thailand: *Wayang Siam* (popular, Malay), *Wayang Jawa* (aristocratic, Malay), *Wayang Gedek* or *Nang Talung* (popular, Thai), and *Wayang Kulit Jawa* or *Wayang Purwa* (Javanese). The author also points out the common and variant characteristics in the basic repertoires, puppets, musical instruments and accompaniment, and dramatic presentations. However, one would wish that he had elaborated more on these.

7) S. Singaravelu, *A Comparative Study of the Sanskrit, Tamil, Thai, and Malay Versions of the Story of Rama*, JSS, 1968, Vol. 56, Pt. II. pp. 137-186.

8) Juan R. Francisco, *Maharadia Lawana*, Asian Studies, Vol. VII, No. 2, August 1969, pp. 186-249.

On the historical aspects, Sweeney briefly describes the cross-cultural routes in South-East Asia between Java, Siam, Malaya, and Cambodia. While ruling out the possibility of discovering the true origin of the *wayang* as being "largely a futile task" (p. 22), he reaffirms,

"Similarity of technique, coinciding areas of distribution and language similarity indicate that both *Wayang Jawa* and *Wayang Siam* possess a common origin. The *Wayang Siam* portrays Thai influence and the *Wayang Jawa* exhibits recent Javanese influence." (p. 25)

Against the opinions of previous scholars namely, Jacob⁹, Goslings,¹⁰ and Cuisinier¹¹, he raises an argument that

"the presence of foreign influences in puppets, repertoire or music does not in itself prove that the technique originates from the same source as these influences. Thus, for example, the *Wayang Siam* exhibits Thai influence in both puppets and repertoire but there is no evidence that the technique is Thai." (p. 22)

A further discussion on these influences would be most valuable to scholars of comparative theatre arts.

Mlle. Cuisinier's works on *Danses Magiques de Kelantan* (Paris 1936) and *Le théâtre d'ombres à Kelantan* (Gallimard, 1957), in particular, are strongly criticized by Sweeney as being weak in theories due to lack of actual investigation and concrete evidences. Other earlier works of Winstedt¹², Hill¹³, and Rentse¹⁴ are acknowledged for their general

9) G. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters, im Morgen und Abendland*, Hanover, 1925.

10) B.M. Goslings, *De Wajang op Java en Bali*, Amsterdam, 1939.

11) Jeanne Cuisinier, *Danses Magiques de Kelantan*, Paris, 1936.

———, *Le théâtre d'ombres à Kelantan*, Gallimard, Paris, 1957.

12) Sir Richard O. Winstedt, "A Patani Version of the Ramayana", Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij Gelegenheid van zijn 150 jarig bestaan 1778-1928, 2 vols., Batavia, 1929.

———, "A Panji Tale from Kelantan", JMBRAS, xxii, (1949), pp. 53-60.

———, "A History of Classical Malay Literature". JMBRAS, xxxi, 3, 1958, (second edition).

13) A.H. Hill, "Wayang Kulit Stories from Trengganu", JMBRAS, XVI, 3, (1949), pp. 85-105.

14) Anker Rentse, "The Kelantan Shadow-Play", JMBRAS, XIV, 3(1936) pp. 283-301.

descriptions and summaries of the *Wayang Siam* repertoire. Rentse, however, is criticized for showing several inaccurate and misleading illustrations of the puppets. Ironically, Sweeney offers only two in this present volume of 464 pages! one full plate in colour featuring *Seri Rama* and another small one in black and white showing a female head-dress. This is the main weakness of the book. The author half-heartedly explains that a large number of illustrations are not included since they already appear in his earlier publication, *Malay Shadow Puppets* (British Museum, 1972). This is hardly an adequate excuse. Many who have no access to both copies at the same time, which is more likely to happen than not, will be deprived of full enjoyment or will have to strain their imagination in trying to visualize the puppets and performances. Even the 'savants' will find it difficult to compare the puppets out of memory. The author tries to avoid as much as possible comparisons of their physical appearances which he could do much more effectively in the earlier illustrated work. Instead, he concentrates more on the delivery and presentation of the repertoire, the language, and the variation of voices to represent each type of characters. For examples, refined princes, *dewa* (demi-gods), and women have a nasal, somewhat effeminate mode of speech; coarse princes, apes, *raksasa* (ogres), and *patih* (officers, ministers) have a deeper, louder and more masculine voice. (It is interesting to note that government officials should be classified with the second group of mainly villainous characters.) However, there are comparisons of puppets and sections on rituals, manipulation and movements of the puppets which are definitely in great need of illustrations. To borrow Professor Hooykass' words, the reviewer wishes that "the managers of learnedness" (who in this publication are the National University of Malaysia Press) would be wiser "in their use of manpower and money". An extension of funds would bring this already accomplished scholarly work to perfection.

The following four chapters in this first part deal with the cultural context: economic and social aspects of 'dalangship', teacher-pupil relationship, methods of instruction, rituals, religious beliefs, the delivery

and presentation of the repertoire, and the language of the *Wayang Siam*, including geographic distributions. Using Kelantan as his home-base, the author spent sixteen months in field research in five regions: Kelantan, Trengganu, Patani, Perak, and Kedah. His remarkable fluency in the Kelantanese dialect as well as the Malay language in general, plus his close, personal relationship through marriage with the Kelantanese artistic milieu, made it possible for him to investigate the subjects, more deeply, while other foreign researchers would have to be content with second-hand information or mere speculations.

Sweeney remains very precise and straightforward in the rendering of his materials, avoids making vague hypothesis which often mar the works of western scholars indulging in superficial romanticism about the East. Through such an objective and scientific approach, he is able to give us realistic insights into the public and private lives of the *dalangs*: their family structure, social status, income group, marital practices, education, literacy and illiteracy, political involvement, etc. To cite a few interesting examples:

In private life, the *dalangs* receive little respect and are often criticized as having loose morals due to their polygamous practice and 'Don Juan' behaviour.

"It is not rare for a *dalang* of 25 years old to have had five wives, and the champion, as far as I know, is Jambul, aged 72 who has had thirty official wives." (p. 34)

The *dalangs* usually have a dual role in society: they are primarily entertainers and frequently spirit media or soothers of cares. For their practices of magic, superstition, and polytheism, they are often condemned by the Muslim conservatives. However, they argue that these rituals are done in the name of *Allah*, for at the beginning of each, one or more short Koranic verses are usually recited, after which they make offerings to *dewa* (gods), infidel *jins* and ghosts, or perform trance-dancing and possession by *jembalang* or spirits of the puppets. In the *menyemah* ritual, the *dalang* symbolizes the collective aspirations of the villagers and wards off the threat of cholera by the propitiation of local spirits.

The reviewer wishes to note here that these magico-religious practices are also common among Southern Thai *dalangs* and dancers. Famous *Nora* (*Manohra* dance-drama) dancers, such as *Khun Uppatam-roengnon*, are highly respected both as artists and shamans. The reviewer has witnessed spirit possession and trance-dancing in the *Nora* 'Wai Kru' (worship of teachers' spirits) ceremony in Pattalung (a southern Thai province). On the same occasion, *Khun Uppatam* performed the curing of a skin disease by placing his foot on the face of a child patient.

As Islamic practices are found in the Malay *Wayang Siam*, Buddhist rites are conveniently incorporated into the rituals connected with Thai dance, drama, and shadow-play, both in the classical and popular forms. Bhikkus will chant blessings appropriate to each special occasion and perform religious functions at the beginning of the ceremonies. A Buddha statue is placed on the highest altar above the 'Kru' idols. Masks and head-dresses for purposes of worship are usually placed on a different altar.

In many instances in this book, Thai influences on the *Wayang Siam* are noted. Aside from the motifs and episodes borrowed from the *Ramakien* in the repertoire, magic formulae obtained from *Nora* teachers are used in the *Wayang Siam* rituals. The genealogy of Kelantanese *dalangs* even traces back to a Siamese woman, *Mak Erok*, who, according to some *dalangs*, introduced the *Wayang Gedek* (*Nang Talung*) which then became malay-ized and was called the *Wayang Siam*. Others believe that she invented the *wayang* "using mango leaves to make puppets" (p. 47). The Kelantanese *Prologue* consists firstly of a semi-ritual performance of a sage reciting Thai invocations (p. 59).

Part II (220 pages) constitutes the main 'trunk' of the study which will be more valuable to specialists in the field than to general readers. Here, Sweeney shows his painstaking efforts in transmitting the key text of the *Wayang Siam* repertoire, the *Cherita Mahraja Wana* or the life of *Ravana* from his birth to his death (the roots, trunk, and main branches

of the Rama Tree), from its oral narrative form to a written form, through the time-consuming process of numerous and continuous tape-recordings of actual performances, with the help of one of the oldest and most famous, still very popular and active, *dalangs*. Excerpts of the text appear in the original Malay form in *Part III*. In this second part, it is summarized in English and compared with other literary versions, principally, the Malay *Hikayat Seri Rama* (HSR) and the Thai *Ramakien* (RK). Unfortunately, but understandably, the author had to rely on the English summary of the Thai version by Swami Satyananda Puri and Charoen Sarahiran (Bangkok, 1948)¹⁵. The text of HSR used as basis for comparison are romanized transcriptions of the original manuscripts and analyses by previous western scholars¹⁶. Other non-Malay versions: Javanese, Khmer, and Lao are examined in relation to HRS, RK and *Wayang Siam* versions in the chapter: *Comparison with Local Literary Versions*.

A very interesting part is the comparison of 24 versions narrated by *dalangs* of different age groups, teachers and students, representatives of the five regions: Kelantan (10), Trengganu (2), Patani (5), Perak (3), and Kedah (4). Kelantanese versions receive more attention (thirty versions had originally been recorded from the area alone, out of which ten were chosen) for the simple reasons that Kelantan is the author's choice as the center of his study and that "they provide a representative sample of the state of the *Cherita Mahraja Wana* in Kelantan today." (p. 79)

While many western scholars tend to make vague generalizations or dangerously embark upon metaphysical interpretations and analyses of Asian cultures and arts, Sweeney maintains his objectivity throughout.

15) Swami Satyananda Puri and Charoen Sarahiran, *The Ramakirti (Ramakien) or the Thai version of the Ramayana*, (second edition), Birla Oriental Series, Bangkok, 1948.

16) (a) W.G. Shellabear, "Hikayat Seri Rama," JMBRAS, 71, 1915.

(b) *Hikayat Seri Rama*, Raffles Malay Manuscript No. 22, Royal Asiatic Society, (romanized transcription by Mr. E. C.G. Barrett.)

(c) *Hikayat Seri Rama*, Cambridge University Add. 3756.

H. Ulbricht in his *Wayang Purwa: Shadow of the Past* (Oxford, 1972)¹⁷ attempts to give esoteric and metaphysical analysis of the Javanese puppets in that they are "visible interpretation of non-material forces" of evolution, mystical media between man and his creator. Ambiguous and questionable statements are the main faults that often obstruct rather than serve his ambition. Sweeney's detailed descriptions of the puppets, repertoire, and rituals leave more room for the readers to exercise their intellect and imagination. His final observations and remarks at the end of the comparisons are very precise and enlightening especially on the frame of the plot, motifs, and characterization.

One interesting point that comes out of these comparisons of the oral and written versions is that confusions and contradictions in the *Wayang Siam* versions are, in most cases, due not only to the creative inventiveness of the *dalangs*, but more so to their illiteracy and lack of knowledge of the literary texts, either in Malay or Thai. These prevent them from preserving the accurate story-line. In a way, these diversions and deviations are entertaining to popular audiences.

Moral qualities of the characters in the *Ramayana* repertoire are often changed to suit the *dalangs'* personalities, their likes and dislikes, as well as to please the local public. For examples, *Seri Rama* in the *Wayang Siam* is in general more effeminate, petulant, harsh and lacks resource, depending more than in HSR and RK on his followers". (p. 258) By contrast, *Laksmna* is made a hermaphrodite and gifted with second sight. He has great wisdom and is a moderating influence on *Seri Rama*. In some versions, he manifests the powers of a shaman. This reminds the reviewer of *Laksmna* in a Bengali version who, maintaining his vow not to look at a woman's face for fourteen years is endowed with a special sight. He is thus able to see the invisible Indrajit and kill him.

Mahraja Wana Ravana and his followers in the *Wayang Siam* are "reduced to the level of 'all-purpose baddies' and few *dalangs* ever feel sympathy for them." (p. 258) In modern political environment, *Mahraja*

17) H. Ulbricht, *Wayang Purwa: Shadow of the Past*, Oxford in Asia Paperbacks, Kuala Lumpur, 1972. (Reviewed by Bonnie and Derek Brereton, JSS, July 1972, Vol. 60, Pt. 2, pp. 338-342).

Wana is sometimes described as "a cruel dictator suppressing his subjects and allowing them no freedom." (p. 40) To the reviewer's knowledge, this practice is also common in Indonesia where he is cast as an imperialist or a capitalist. In the *Ramakien* on the contrary, *Tosakanth* (Ravana) is portrayed with nobility and dignity. In general, Thai audiences while watching the *Khon* (classical mask-dance-drama) have great sympathy for this highly cultivated villain in his tragic feats and his great courage in the face of death. Many even prefer him to the weak, effeminate, and indecisive *Pra Ram* (Rama). Great *Khon* dancers are usually those performing the role of *Tosakanth*, which they will duly treat with high respect.

In the comparison of "ranting" or twig-tales of the Malay *Rama* tree, many show definite influence of the *Panji* cycle. *Seri Rama*, given *Panji*'s personality, is a great lover who cannot resist women. In some episodes, he even becomes a *dalang* and performs the first *wayang*; while *Siti Dewi* (Sita) becomes a man, defeats rivals, and marries princesses. In a few tales she is a *penjurit agung* (robber).

Part III (122 pages) is dedicated to the Malay texts in both narrative and dramatic forms. Students of Malay will profit from two excerpts of the key text of the *Cherita Mahraja Wana*. The first relates events up to the birth of *Seri Rama*, and the second, the story of the mad buffalo¹⁸ and the death of *Raja Bali* (Vali). In the last chapter, the author compares the transcribed Malay texts of two performances of the same episodes. These are preceded by prologues. Tunes, melodies, musical instruments, special sound effects, and stage directions are given throughout. In the juxtaposition of these texts, one can easily see similarities and differences of content, style, motif language, and performance.

The comparative study of literary texts and repertoires in these three parts demonstrates that much of Malay HSR resembles Thai RK, and consequently, the elder Khmer version (as seen from Ankor Wat bas-reliefs which show much similarity to RK but preceded the Thai version by many centuries), and the later Javanese recensions as found in

18) *Baba Sapi*'s son (*Torapi* in the *Ramakien*).

the *serat kandas* and the *Rama Keling*. The content of the *Wayang Siam* is half-way between HSR and RK. These similarities found in all South-East Asian versions lead the author to reaffirm Stutterheim's theory in concluding that the popular Rama sagas of South-East Asia fall into a distinct group belonging to the same streams of oral tradition, quite separate from the Sanskrit current of Valmiki's *Ramayana*. Prince Dhani in his article, *The Rama Jataka* strongly supports the theory:

"I do not by any means commit myself to the opinion—still clung in many quarters—that the *Ramayana* (of Valmiki) is the source of any of these versions of the story of Rama. Nevertheless there can be no denial that of all the descendants of the old story of Rama in India that survive either in the motherland or its neighbours, the *Ramayana* of Valmiki will have to be looked upon as the proper heir to the ancient heritage."¹⁹

To conclude this rather lengthy review, the writer wishes to express her deep appreciation to Dr. Sweeney for having made it possible, in this impressive work, for his colleagues to take a step forward in this special area of research. The author deserves applause from academic quarters as well as from readers interested in South-East Asian literature and dramatic culture. The reviewer cannot agree more with Professor Hooykass in his *Foreword* that Sweeney "is to be congratulated with his subject which brings him in relation with most other countries of continental and insular South East Asia". (pp. vii-viii) Despite its inadequate illustrations, the thesis is definitely a passport which will take him far ahead of his contemporaries for at least a decade.

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19) Prince Dhani Nivat, "*The Rama Jataka: A Lao Version of the Story of the Story of Rama*", *JSS*, Vol. 36, Pt. I, 1946, pp. 1-22.

Vimolphon Peetathawatchai, *Twelve Festivals* (Mahachon Press, Bangkok, 1973), pp. 116, 20 illustrations, 7 colored plates.

วิมลพรรณ เปตธวัชชัย, *สิบสองเทศกาล* (โรงพิมพ์มหาชน, กรุงเทพฯ, ๒๕๑๖).

Khun Vimolphon merely whetted our intellectual appetites in *Isarn Cloth Design*, while this latest offering provides a veritable feast of information and insight into the cultural world of northeast Thailand. In the *Twelve Festivals*, the author describes twelve traditional village festivals, one for each month of year. Several of these such as Bun Khão Jèe (Roasted Glutinous Rice Festival), Bun Bång Fai (Skyrocket Festival), Bun Samha (Expel Evil Influences Festival), Bun Khâw Padap Din (Decorate the Earth with Rice Festival) are indigenous to the northeast. Others such as the Songkran Festival, Bun Pawaed (Bun Mahachat in central Thai dialect) and the Kathin Festival while basically similar to their counterparts in central Thailand nevertheless evidence significant local variations.

For each festival, the author outlines its origin and purpose including historical references to the Dhammabod and describes in detail the preparations involved. A word picture of the festival itself is given describing how the monks and villagers carry out their assigned roles. Of particular academic value are the verbatim records of selected chants and songs associated with certain of these festivals. The author is able to bring the festivals to life for the reader with her accurate and sensitive audio-visual recording.

The reviewer has made meritorious offerings of Khun Vimolphon's book to many northeastern monks and they have all remarked favorably on her descriptive powers and complimented her for verisimilitude.

One cannot help but regret that the author has not had the benefit of academic training in the discipline of anthropology. Such training would have enabled her to provide interpretative insights necessary to view the festivals as an integral part of the village social and cultural

setting. We would then understand the Bāng Fai festival as not only a propitiatory rite to seek bountiful rain but as an accepted institution-alized channel—albeit restricted in time—which sanctions the release of repressed sexual inhibitions and normally frowned upon aggressive anti-social behavior. The salacious and bawdy sexual antics associated with this festival are symbols of fertility which, by sympathetic magic, will bring about rain and abundant crops. But the sexual license displayed in crude forms in both word and motion—including quite realistic “sexually active” puppets—can also be interpreted as a necessary psychological safety-valve for a village society that is basically quite Victorian in its attitude to overt expressions of sexual behavior.

Khun Vimolphan has enabled us to see the intertwining threads of Buddhism, Brahmanism and animism as they are woven into the festival mosaic. She has given to the reader an appreciation of the rich uniqueness of northeast Thai cultural traditions and thus has broadened the reader's understanding of Thai culture as a whole.

Somdej Phra Maha Virawong's interesting introductory essay places Khun Vimolphan's description of northeast cultural traditions in historical perspective and the delicate and evocative drawings of Khun Pao add measurably to our enjoyment of this valuable addition to writings on Thai culture. Regrettably the author has not expressed appreciation to the artist nor given the reader his full name.

The reviewer looks forward to further revelations of northeast life and customs by this northeastern author who approaches her subject with such dedication and love.

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A. Thomas Kirsch, *Feasting and Social Oscillation : Religion and Society in Upland Southeast Asia* (Data Paper No. 92, Southeast Asia Program, Dept. of Asian Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. July 1973), viii + 49.

When reviewing a publication for this journal, I assume that I do so not as an anthropologist for the benefit (or to the despair) of my professional colleagues, but as a student of "Things Siamese" for others similarly inclined. If this is indeed my task, then I must say first that Kirsch's essay—despite its alluring subtitle—is not meant for those seeking a general account of religion and society in the Thai uplands. Kirsch's avowed aim is to stimulate discussion of certain problems of anthropological theory and of the ethnography of Southeast Asia; his essay is neither a layman's book nor one of immediate relevance to Thailand. Indeed it requires a particular enthusiasm for anthropological theory to cope with the author's inelegant prose, not to mention the social scientist's predilection for esoteric jargon. And as Kirsch himself points out, he does not here tackle all upland societies in Southeast Asia. With one exception his ethnographic examples come entirely from the north Burma-Assam area. This not only excludes all the upland peoples represented in Thailand but also, as I hope to show, seriously reduces the relevance of the analysis for those whose first concern is with Thailand's hill peoples.

Yet in all justice I must say that this is a stimulating essay. Kirsch first wrote it in 1964 as a pre-fieldwork study, taking as his starting point Professor Edmund Leach's study of the political organization of the Kachin people of Upper Burma. Leach, in a major theoretical breakthrough, had identified two contrasted ideal models of Kachin political organization between which real Kachin groups were continually oscillating (hence Kirsch's essay title). One pole was the autocratic system called *gumsa*, based on the model of the Shan principality, and the opposite pole was the democratic *gumlao* system. Both these ideal types, Leach showed, were unstable: as individuals manipulated the system in their struggle for political power, the *gumlao* democracy tended to develop into a *gumsa*-type autocracy, while the autocracy broke down into a democracy. Individuals who achieved personal

power in democratic societies would establish themselves as autocratic chiefs, while in autocratic societies people struggling to increase their own power would repudiate the traditional chief's authority and lead their communities towards the democratic ideal.

Extending this analysis to other upland peoples of Southeast Asia, Kirsch like Leach maintains that the various social systems of "hill tribes society" are not static, existing in a given form for all time in equilibrium, but are constantly in flux. He retains Leach's categories of "autocratic" and "democratic" as the poles of oscillation, insisting that they are not specific to the Kachin but are of widespread analytical value in upland Southeast Asia. But Kirsch views the dynamics of oscillation in terms of religious rather than political factors. He invites us to examine the proposition that individual hillmen or household units are striving not so much for political power as for religious "efficacy" or "potency", i.e. for enhanced *ritual* rather than political status. Indeed he argues that political and economic structures are "embedded" in the religious system. This shift in emphasis, Kirsch maintains, enables him to explain the oscillation between autocratic and democratic ideals in terms of the *internal* tensions of upland culture, where Leach in emphasizing politics was compelled to introduce an external factor, the autocratic ideal derived from the political organization of the lowland-dwelling Shan.

For his ethnographic base Kirsch examines five Naga groups, the Central Chin, the Kachin and the Laotian Lamet. All of these, he argues, "conform to a single analytical model." Specifically they share a common mountain habitat, the "swidden" form of agriculture, a system of religious feasting, and the feature of "oscillation" between autocratic and democratic forms of organization. Linking these characteristics, Kirsch focuses on the "feast of merit", a particularly important aspect of the religious life of all these societies. Feasts are sponsored by a household and involve a conspicuous display of generosity. The sponsoring household must provide the community with a large amount of meat in the form of sacrificial animals and a quantity of grain, mainly in the form of liquor. In return, the community rewards the sponsoring household in a number of ways. The members are permitted to wear

or otherwise display special decorations; they obtain a larger share of the feasts offered by others; they get a better share of village farming lands; and they command greater respect in village councils. But, Kirsch insists, the real basis of their enhanced status is the public recognition of their religious potency, an innate attribute made manifest by successfully sponsoring a feast. It is some such quality as "potency" or "fertility" that Kirsch finds to be the chief product (in economic terms) or focus (in religious terms) of hill tribes society; the whole society, he suggests, is oriented to "maximizing" this quality, and those people or households who demonstrate it are the ones who become powerful. Having gained prestige through successful competitive feasting, household units consolidate and enhance their status through advantageous marriages; thus Kirsch explains the development of aristocratic lineages with a "monopoly" on religious potency.

It is Kirsch's emphasis on the feasting complex, so important in the societies he discusses, that decreases the relevance of his analysis for those of us whose primary interest is in the upland communities of Thailand. Here religious feasting seems to be of a very different nature from that found among Kirsch's sample. So far as I know, the idea of competition between households through ritual feasting is absent among the hill peoples in Thailand. Among the people with whom I am most familiar, the Lahu, a feast is provided either as a surety against future trouble or, and much more frequently, in order to alleviate present misfortune. A household which sponsors many feasts is to be pitied not praised, for a succession of feasts must indicate a particularly bad patch of misfortune. (It was to prevent confusion between this Lahu concept of feasting and the "feasts of merit" of the Nagas and others that, in a recent article in this journal,¹ I wrote of Lahu "blessing feasts" despite the fact that in other contexts the translation "merit", in the Buddhist sense, is preferable to "blessing".)

Kirsch argues that competitive ritual feasting has developed in response to the particular ecological setting of hill tribes society. "To ensure that the exigencies of climate, ecology and technology are over-

¹ "Blessing Feasts and Ancestor Propitiation among the Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu)", *JSS LX* Part 1, 345-73.

Come, there must be some mechanism which will motivate persons to strive as hard as they can to produce . . . [and] there must also be some sort of mechanism which will distribute any surplus production equitably throughout the group" (p. 10). Both the motivation and the distributive mechanism, he says, are supplied by the religious system, which emphasizes fertility, and in particular by the feasting complex. An interesting idea, but similar ecological conditions and identical swidden (slash-and-burn) agricultural techniques have failed to produce in upland Thailand a feasting complex on the Naga or Chin model. A possible reason, I suggest, is that the religious and economic energies of Thailand's hill peoples have been channeled in other directions (cash crops, wage labour, lowland markets, Buddhist and popular Chinese religious ideas) by their close association with lowland Thai and, for some of them (Meo and Yao in particular), a former close association with Chinese civilization.

But if Kirsch's emphasis on competitive feasting lessens the comparative value of his work, his essay is nonetheless full of stimulating ideas relevant to the study of upland society in Thailand. Here I must limit myself to listing a few of these. Kirsch's emphasis on religion enables us to see how, as he puts it, "technical acts are embedded in a matrix of religious ritual, i.e., for the hill tribes technical acts and ritual acts are necessarily aspects of *same* action" (p. 12). Again, I find interesting his explanation of the hillmen's oft-reported lack of concern or imagination regarding the afterlife. Some have tried to explain this characteristic in terms of a basic indifference to matters religious, but Kirsch suggests that the hillman's overriding concern for the present telescopes his view of past and future time. This, not his lack of religious perception, accounts for the vagueness of his views on the afterlife. I am particularly fascinated by the idea that the complex lowland societies of Southeast Asia manipulate their social institutions to fit their mythology (consider the position of the king, the layout of the royal capital, etc.) while in upland societies "myth is constantly being reconstituted in order to conform to the actual contemporary structure of the society" (p. 17).

Kirsch concludes, in keeping with his emphasis on *internal* cultural dynamics, with an invitation to us to view the hill peoples of upland

Southeast Asia as "sharing a single generalized culture". Individual groups, he suggests, may be seen as "playing out the internalized values and norms defined by this generalized culture" of hill tribes society (p. 36). Again this is a valuable idea but, I suggest, is to be treated with caution by those of us concerned with the upland peoples of Thailand, whose adaptation to "external" lowland forces seems much greater than the Naga, Chin and other western groups discussed by Kirsch. Meo and Yao, for example, might equally well be seen as playing out in a hill environment the values and norms defined by *Chinese* culture, rather than by a generalized hill culture.

And perhaps I should not leave unchallenged Kirsch's remark that intensive fieldwork may be ill-adapted to an approach which insists on wide geographical and historical scope. If he means that the anthropologist who has studied intensively a single Southeast Asian hill society is ill-equipped to generalize about upland society in this part of the world, nobody can quarrel with him. But professional competence in anthropology has long been recognized as requiring both intensive field experience and a wide-ranging knowledge of the work of other scholars in related areas and disciplines. Without the detailed reports of fieldworkers who have taken pains to learn the languages and study the lifestyles of single upland societies, Kirsch could never have produced this valuable essay.

In any account, Professor Kirsch and the Department of Asian Studies of Cornell University are to be thanked for making this "working paper" widely available. It is a pity that the text was not more carefully proofed; such howlers as "Ariya and the golden Buddha" for Stern's article "Ariya and the golden book" should have been detected, as well as numerous typos that are merely irksome. But this is a small price to pay for having the essay readily available on one's bookshelf.

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