

REVIEWS

Joseph Fisher, ed., *Foreign Values and Southeast Asian Scholarship* (Center for South and S.E.A. Studies, University of California, Research Monograph No. 11 August 1973) pp. 320.

This monograph is a collection of papers, some presented in a Southeast Asian Regional Council panel of the Annual Association of Asian Studies meeting in 1971 and others for a project "to make explicit and examine the cultural values and professional preference in the research and writings of foreign academicians concerned with Southeast Asia".

The result is a rather mixed bag. There is a heavily philosophical discussion of Theory as a Cultural System made little more readable by references to works by foreign scholars on Southeast Asia. There are also two papers which appear to have lost their way and should belong to another monograph: an essay on Cambodia's struggle for independence and the Burmese road to modern nationalism.

The editor in a modest preface candidly admits the failure of the project. Notwithstanding the admission, many questions raised in the monograph are legitimate and some of the articles quite provocative.

No one believes anymore that scholarship is or can be completely objective but many academics working on Southeast Asia continue to produce or criticise other works without making clear their value premises or their particular bent of "objectivity". It is a rare scholar who evaluates his methodology and professional behaviour, values and criteria and is courageous enough to let this be publicly known. And yet the need for such intellectual and professional honesty is highly necessary.

The contributions by David Marr and Rex Mortimer sound a warning to all scholars by indicating the extent to which area studies are susceptible to the biased ideological premises of various academics and the disastrous effects these can have on planning decisions affecting the lives of the people of the area.

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Somsakdi Xuto, *Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia* (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, 1973), pp. 183 + index.

'Regionalism' appears to be one of the great forces for change—and for good—in the 1970's. The Arab nations are cooperating and collaborating more than at any time since the Ottoman conquest; Africans have found a voice and a sense of cohesion which no one would have dared predict even a few years ago; and two groups in Latin America report continued progress in the economic arena. Southern Asia—Pakistan around to the Philippines—hardly has the appearance of a region, stretched out as it is, and differing in culture, economies, and political interests as it does. Still, Professor Russett has found, on all but one of his key indicators, that, *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world, Southern Asia does indeed possess the characteristics of a region.¹ The exception is political behavior, and even there he finds two quite coherent groups, one a 'non-aligned' one largely in Southern Asia, the other, largely in Southeast Asia, more basically tied to alliance systems with the West. If all of Southern Asia has so much in common, then how much more Southeast Asia alone should possess: a common security dilemma, economies at roughly similar levels, and a host of other shared aspirations which surely reinforce the potential development of political-economic regionalism.

But how seriously are we to take regionalism in Southeast Asia? Rhetoric and myths are the stuff of international relations, and it is often sensible to be skeptical about the substance of anything talked so much about in form. Time was, after all, when most of the Southeast Asian foreign ministers spoke about regionalism because there was little else about which they found it safe to talk. Their foreign policies were set and largely made in the Government Houses, not the Foreign Offices. The major preoccupations were relations with the United States and the spill-over of the Vietnamese war, in Thailand and the Philippines, and, to a lesser extent, Indonesia; Malaysia and Singapore were less immedia-

1) Russett's four criteria are economic transactions, international organizational common membership, socio-cultural homogeneity, and national political behavior. see Bruce Russett, *International Regions and the International System*, Chicago, 1967.

tely effected thereby, but clearly understood the preoccupations of their partners. Regionalism was a safe, fashionable subject, toward which goal they could accomplish little.

So we must ask whether the insecurities and distrust which plagued Southeast Asia for so long have evaporated. Do Thai leaders really trust Malaysian leaders not to use the presence of kindred peoples in the southern provinces for irridentist purposes—even given the border agreement of 1971?² Have Philippine leaders finally put away for good the temptation to use the so-called Sabah issue for domestic purposes? Indonesia has vastly increased her military coordination with her ASEAN partners,³ and has given many indications of a willingness to play the game by the rules, but are her partners not slightly anxious that Indonesia's oil, size, and location could lead to her domination of Southeast Asia? Such questions are basic, and make one grateful for the timely publication of a short but succinct (if badly edited) study, *Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia*, by one of the foremost Asian scholars of international relations, Dr. Somsakdi Xuto.

Though Dr. Somsakdi provides the reader with a competent and workman-like survey of all regional efforts in Southeast Asia, his clear focus (and interest) is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN. Such a focus will not surprise Southeast Asians, familiar as they have become in recent years with public discussion of, and headline references to, ASEAN. Somsakdi goes further, asserting that "this core group of five countries could clearly claim to represent Southeast Asia as a region in terms of area, population and resources." (48) Though no doubt true as far as it goes, in the realm of military capability one alas must take into account the region's most accomplished and powerful member, North Vietnam, to which scant reference is made in this book.

2) A recent example of the difficulties inherent in boundaries cutting across ethnic groups was the demarcation dispute between Thai and Malaysian authorities. See "Thai-Malaysian dispute on Southern Border," *The Nation*, 20 April 1974.

3) See Justus M. Van der Kroef, "Asean's Security Needs and Policies," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 47., no. 2, Summer 1974. At the time of writing the Indonesian navy was contemplating joint manoeuvres with the Royal Thai navy, giving further evidence of the same trend identified by van der Kroef. See *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, 22 November 1974, Asia and Pacific report on Jakarta Domestic Service Radio, 18 November 1974.

The author, to be sure, makes the assumption that a war of aggression against a core member is unlikely, and thus the absence of any discussion of North Vietnam is comprehensible. But one must bear in mind the disruptive effects of the sort of infiltration and subversion that is likely—as the author points out—when considering his own assertion that political stability will be the most important condition for furthering cooperation among the ASEAN partners. This may be true in the general sense, but is it evident in this particular application? True, ASEAN manifestly could not get off the ground until the live conflicts between parties died, but one would hardly consider the years 1967-74 as “relatively stable” (81) in the core countries in comparison with the world at large, given communal strife, military coups, and communist insurrections in one or the other of the ASEAN states. What one suspects is that, once the conflicts died, the region’s leaders found a similarity of interests in their international stance, and could agree to broaden their ASEAN agenda not because of relative stability, but in spite of fairly substantial instability, and partly because they saw in regional cooperation a chance to strengthen themselves against some of the disruptive forces working within their individual countries, and those potentially aimed at them from without.

One of the author’s most interesting points has to do with the role of outside forces in promoting regionalism. He notes the “lack of self-confidence, inferiority complexes and defeatist attitudes,” and says that the states “seem unsure of doing anything by and for themselves and seem to put a great deal of reliance on outside help...outside assistance seems to be regarded as an indispensable factor...cooperation among Southeast Asian countries without outside participation is usually looked upon with skepticism”. (61) Perhaps it would be useful to make a sharper distinction between the economic and political forms of cooperation. International agencies and major powers played an important catalytic role in sparking most of the regional economic projects, to be sure, which is understandable given the disparity of economic capabilities between the ASEAN State and the world/great powers interested in the region.

Yet ASEAN has been an Asian initiative from the beginning, and emerged from political factors, not economic ones. American policy

makers often talked about ASEAN and regionalism in general as something of an antidote to their own problems in Indochina, to be sure; when they were searching for face-saving devices in their exit from Vietnam, they often attributed ASEAN's emergence to the stability the American war effort had lent to the region, and they often attributed their own confidence in Southeast Asia's future to ASEAN. But it was always official American policy to keep 'hands off' ASEAN itself, as Washington knew full well that an American blessing would at best be misinterpreted, and might be fatal.⁴

Southeast Asia's geopolitical importance inevitably must be taken into account in looking at the prospects for regionalism. Interestingly, Dr. Somsakdi considers this to have been artificially blown out of proportion by the cold war, the Vietnamese war and the emergence of Communist China. Something *is* important if it is considered important, however. Perhaps his meaning is that, if world conflicts subside, and once China's role in international affairs is regularized, Southeast Asia can escape the constant attention of the powers, and devote itself to building its regional structures. Two interlinked factors give one cause to wonder.

The first factor relates to the interlocking alliance system which the Soviet Union has in recent years been constructing. Alliances these days have a bad name in many circles, as evidenced by a recent and thoughtful speech by Ambassador Anand Panyarachun, in which he commented that "security pacts have at times proved to be somewhat ineffectual...a new military pact would not be in keeping with the international climate of mutual accommodation, compromise and negotiation".⁵ One would thus be disinclined to take seriously the oft-proposed Soviet Asian 'collective security system', and many an Asian leader has scoffed at the proposal.⁶ Deeds, however must be taken seriously, and if these

4) But Washington did work to reinforce the basic trend, for example in establishing the regional AID office with headquarters in Bangkok.

5) Paper presented to the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, April 1974, as quoted in *The Nation* 25 April 1974.

6) See van der Kroef, *op cit.*, for an incisive discussion of the progression of Asian views on this subject.

coincide with words, perhaps something is going on about which the international community and, in particular, the Southeast Asian community, is insufficiently appraised.

The rapid movement of Soviet naval vessels into the Indian Ocean coincides with the development of treaties of friendship or alliance with littoral states from Somalia to India. In the meantime the Soviet alliance system in Eastern Europe increasingly is used to increase flexibility in the use of the Middle Eastern Soviet alliance system, which in turn is used for the South Asian theatre, as is seen in the movement of materiel, equipment and supplies in the 1971 and 1973 wars.⁷ When the pattern of the Soviet deployment of forces and the construction of a network of ties and alliance, is carefully examined, one might be led to take the Soviet call for Asian security system seriously, especially as the American alliance system disintegrates apace. Soviet relations with her new friends and allies may be at widely different levels of intimacy, but all of the relationships reinforce each other—which is what an alliance system is all about. The point, of course, is that Southeast Asia cannot help being affected by the development of a new alliance system in the neighboring region; one must inevitably be curious also about what plans the Soviets have for expanding their system further eastward.

The second factor is the other side of the same coin. If the American alliance systems are disintegrating, they are not yet entirely scattered to the winds, and the American government, despite the attitude of Congress, will move to reinforce key allies wherever this can be done most efficiently, so as to insure access to all critical world areas. It may seem odd to think that Southeast Asia would be critical for American involvement in the Middle East, but consider the following points. The Persian gulf is now one of the most strategically critical places in the world. Any power who can control it is in a position to dictate policy to Europe and Japan. This danger will lead the United States to enlarge her presence in the Indian Ocean.⁸ But how does the United States get

7) See in particular Avigdor Haselkorn's brilliant study, "The Soviet Collective Security System: Time to Cry Wolf," unpublished, 1974.

8) An additional reason is the historical American interest, manifested in the Tripartite declaration of 1950 and the Eisenhower doctrine of 1957, in Middle Eastern security in general—policies which were usually taken to be merely a commitment to Israel (which in part they were—and an increasingly important part after 1967).

to the Middle East in a crisis? With the communist party now the strongest force in Portugal, with relations with Italy and Greece at a low ebb and the southern littoral of the Mediterranean in unhelpful hands along almost its entire length, the shorter, more logical approach from Europe may be precluded. Southeast Asia emerges in a crucial relationship to American strategy anew.

This new role for Southeast Asia may be inchoately perceived now, but undoubtedly will be seen with increasing precision in the years ahead. The United States has developed useful working relations with several ASEAN nations and has military installations in two of them. As Soviet power spreads throughout Southern Asia and makes her alliance system increasingly operational, the United States will be likely at least to try to provide a counterweight for the regions affected. The consequences for Southeast Asia, if this analysis is correct, are enormous. *Détente* is a useful concept and might obtain at the highest level, where the super-powers have sought to defuse the hostilities that made even communication difficult. But at the on-going level of military operations and political ties, *détente* has no pertinence (and in no event is mentioned in Soviet discussion of these matters). One might hope that on this question of geographic importance, Dr. Somsakdi were right—and at his time of writing a careful reading of events would certainly have led anyone to the same conclusions. But since that time new factors have made such a hope illusory, the ignoring of which will not cause them to go away. It seems the fate of Southeast Asia to be a crossroads of the powers. The best card to play in the circumstances is nonetheless—indeed, even more so—the ASEAN one.

Dr. Somsakdi is right to see this “movement of promise” (95) at a crossroads also. There are a variety of indicators that, in the last few years, regionalism, and, in particular, ASEAN, have developed momentum of the sort long claimed but not truly achieved. A distinguished ASEAN diplomat at the United Nations, as early as 1971, commented that the ASEAN permanent representatives were, in their habit and ease of consultation, the most cohesive group there, save only the NORDIC

group, which is an enormous accomplishment.⁹ There is evidence that, in times of scarcity, ASEAN states have reallocated resources to provide for partners. In the rice crisis of 1973, Thailand made a special, notable, and noticed effort to supply Indonesia with her needs. The coming year will tell to what extent Indonesia will help her partners to adjust to the new oil prices. If ASEAN heeds Dr. Somsakdi's wise counsel, in avoiding "grandiose schemes" and directs its efforts at "low-risk and low-cost" projects, (87) it will surely lay the groundwork in the 1970's for a cohesive and prosperous region in the 1980's which can fend for itself despite the continual attention and involvement of the great powers.

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Ngo Vinh Long, *Before the Revolution: The Vietnamese Peasants Under the French* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973) 292 pp.

Truong Chinh and Vo Nguyen Giap, *The Peasant Question (1937-1938)*, Translated, with an Introduction, by Christine Pelzer White (Cornell University Data Paper Number 94, 1974), 102 pp.

These two books are concerned with conditions among the Vietnamese peasantry in the last years of French colonial rule. *The Peasant Question* was first published in Hanoi in 1937-1938. This edition was confiscated by the French in 1939, at the demise of the Popular Front, and a third volume, in manuscript at that time, has apparently been lost. The book was reissued in Hanoi in 1959; Mrs. White has translated from this second edition. The material in the second half of *Before the Revolution* (pp. 145-287—chapters from three Vietnamese novels and two journalistic memoirs)—also dates from, or describes, conditions in the 1930s and 1940s.

9) Interview, New York, 1971.

The Vietnamese quality of the books is one source of their importance. The idea that scholars in the West should learn Vietnamese before pontificating about Vietnam has only recently caught hold. Ignorance of the language failed to deter such generally sympathetic authors as Joseph Buttinger, Jean Chesnaux and the late Bernard Fall. One consequence of this illiteracy was that the written sources on which they based many of their conclusions were much narrower than they should have been. Happily, with the work of such writers as Alexander Woodside, Ralph Smith and Georges Boudarel (to name only three) this situation is being corrected—but very slowly, after over a hundred odd years of Western activity (to use a neutral word) in Vietnam. Ngo Vinh Long's translations, and Mrs. White's, reveal the richness of the materials that have so often been overlooked.

Another point of interest in the books is an historiographical one. A sizeable gap in time occurs, on the one hand, between the first and second editions of *The Peasant Question* and, on the other, between the first appearance of the texts translated by Ngo Vinh Long and the analytical chapters with which he introduces them. The gap is filled by the Vietnamese revolution and by the growing eminence of Giap and Chinh in the hierarchy of North Vietnam. It is tempting to read the translated materials with hindsight—as the editor of the 1959 edition of *The Peasant Question* clearly does, when he asserts that this rather tentative study “clarifies the role of the peasants in...the national democratic revolution”. The books are worth reading for their force and freshness, rather than for the “inevitability” of what happened after 1945.

From the peasants' point of view, the price of haphazard “modernization” under the French was very high. One statistic, quoted by Long, shows that in the 1930s the *average* French civil servant in Indo-China earned over *one hundred times as much* as the average Vietnamese peasant. The Frenchman, moreover, paid no taxes, whereas the peasant in direct taxes alone often paid as much as 20 per cent of his cash income. Indirect taxes on such items as salt, matches, tobacco, alcohol and fish-sauce soaked up most of his other *piastres*. The point that both books make is not that the peasants paid their rulers' salaries (they had always done so, after all) but that they paid exorbitant ones and paid as well for

benefits (like railroads and colleges) which had only marginal effects on their daily lives. The benefits of French rule flowed to the French and the *elite*. The peasants, meanwhile, were the "perfect instrument", in Governor General Doumer's bloodless phrase, for France's *mission civilisatrice*. By bringing landlords (known as "tapeworms in the belly of the people), money-lenders, tax-collectors and villagers to life in the colonial context, these books have performed a valuable humanising task.

The first part of *Before the Revolution*, unfortunately, is marred here and there by dubious statistics. For example, Long cites several novels as sources for his statement that the "majority" of Vietnamese colonial bureaucrats were addicted to opium; a single newspaper article from the 1930s for the statement that "many" pre-colonial villages boasted two schools of their own, and one nineteenth century provincial gazetteer to show that rice-yields under the Nguyen emperors throughout Vietnam were often five times as high as under the French. Long could have enriched his analysis by consulting archives in Paris and Vietnam or he might have been less ambitious and simply limited his introduction to placing his translations into a literary social and political context.

Like many non-Marxist Vietnamese, Long succumbs to an extent to the idea that Vietnamese officials learned to treat peasants unjustly from the French. A "golden age" preceding French exploitation is difficult to place alongside the over five hundred "rebellions in a just cause" which Long mentions as having marked the first eighty years or so of Nguyen rule. The French made few institutional innovations in everyday peasant life (although some phenomena, like plantations, landlordism, and *efficient* tax-collection, can be connected with French policies); indeed, there appear to be a great many institutional continuities between the pre-colonial and colonial eras. As Giap and Chinh assert, "The hammer strikes the chisel, the chisel strikes the wood; the man above puts pressure on the man below...ending up with the village inhabitant". It is likely that this had always been the case, although the French struck harder blows.

Long's translations are superb, and his explanatory notes are useful, though he might have been more rigorous in placing the works in the context of each author's *oeuvre* and in relation with other novels of the time,

Perhaps the most effective text he has chosen is Tran Van Mai's memoir, "Who Committed the Crime?" Which describes the famine that broke out in northern Vietnam in 1945.

Coming from *Before the Revolution* to *The Peasant Question* is like returning to a classroom after a day in the country. Giap and Chinh, in 1937-1938 (as now) leading intellectuals of the Vietnamese communist movement, suffer in this early work from an urban, literate bias—and a kind of intellectual fastidiousness that keeps them at a greater distance from the peasants than is the case with the writers translated by Ngo Vinh Long. The virtues of the peasantry, as they see them, are potential ones, rather than the life-enhancing ones that Mao Tse-tung discovered among the peasants of Hunan in 1927. In *The Peasant Question*, the people rarely come to life. In one passage, for example, the authors print an (imaginary) Socratic dialogue with a peasant:

"Would you like to hear the land history of the human race?"
(we asked).

"Go ahead", answered the peasant, listening intently. What follows is a stroll through Marxian historiography. The rest of the book, by sticking closer to the ground, is an eloquent indictment of the peasant's lot. The statistics, for one thing, hang together better than Long's (and, ironically, Long seems to have been unaware of *The Peasant Question*).

It is a little regrettable that Mrs. White, in her introduction, doesn't fan out to link *The Peasant Question* more precisely with the writings of Giap and Chinh before and after 1938 as well as with other Vietnamese pronouncements about the peasantry in the 1930s. It is unclear, also, to what extent Trinh and Giap were aware of, or guided by Chinese writings on the subject; it would be interesting to know, for example, if Truong Chinh (literally, "Long March") was already using this pseudonym in the 1930s. Finally, although Mrs. White's explanatory notes are copious and to the point, it might have been useful to include a conversion chart for Vietnamese currencies, weights and measures. The triviality of my complaints, however, points up the value of her work, and both studies bring to life a crucial and often ignored segment of Vietnamese colonial society.

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J. Alexander Caldwell, *American Economic Aid to Thailand* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1974), 248 pages.

The United States' influence on the momentous economic and social changes that Thailand has experienced in the postwar period has many dimensions. By focusing in depth on a single aspect of the relationship, the official American aid program, the author contributes a significant addition to the record of this period. His qualifications arise from his experience in the Bangkok aid mission, USOM, as a practitioner of foreign aid and from his research as a student of aid and development.

The volume can be considered a case study of the "institutional relationships that develop between an aided government and an aiding mission over long-time periods, and to the many interlocking factors, both economic and noneconomic that combine to make that relationship constructive, ineffective or counterproductive (p. 2)." It is based upon exhaustive interviews, mastery of the academic literature, and analysis of enormous amounts of internal materials that the American aid agency liberally made available in spite of the author's openly critical attitude toward many of their operations. The author reasonably decides not to include statistical analysis of the macroeconomic effects of American aid on the growth of the Thai economy, but his justification—that U.S. aid has represented only a small percentage of Thai resources—is unconvincing. American aid's addition of 5.2% of total resources or 41% of foreign resources surely had a significant impact in aggregate terms.

At the outset the author states the personal value judgments concerning aid that affect his conclusions. He believes that foreign aid from the developed countries can significantly contribute to the process of modernization in the poorer countries, that Thai society, because of its stability and resilience, has had the capacity to utilize aid particularly effectively, and that the United States' obligation to provide aid rests on moral grounds.

In contrast to these articles of faith, the author states that aid has been determined primarily by America's assessment of its security interests in Southeast Asia. During the two-decade period of this study, 1950-

1970, American aid to Thailand totaled \$580 million; only one third was justified to the American Congress as support for economic development. Although a basic group of technical assistance programs—in health, education, agriculture and public administration—were sustained at fairly constant levels, abrupt and wasteful shifts in the level and composition of aid followed changing perceptions of the Communist menace.

The author defines four phases of aid programming on the basis of these perceptions. The first phase, Point Four (1950-1954), consisted of small-scale technical assistance programs designed to share America's advanced technology; the aid rationale rested on the less well-remembered Point Three of American President Truman's address, which cited the need "to strengthen freedom-loving nations against aggression."

The Nation-Building phase lasted from 1954-1959. Greatly increased funds were channeled to economic infrastructure—transportation, telecommunications and power—to strengthen the economy and society against communist expansion. The strong growth of the Thai economy and the belief that the communist threat was receding provided justification for a severe reduction in aid levels during the Phasedown (1960-1965).

Aid plans were reversed again during the last phase, Counterinsurgency (1965-1970), as new programs were built up for the stated reason of assisting Thailand's defense against subversion. The author suggests, however, that the increased aid may have represented formal or de facto compensation for the Thai's strong commitment to the United States in the Indochina conflict or, more bluntly, rent for the use of Thai airbases. Programs to support the Thai National Police Department and the new Accelerated Rural Development Program were based on the premise of a direct causal linkage between economic development and village loyalty. The steep increase in the flow of equipment and commodities to the "security-sensitive" *changwats* surpassed the Thai and American capacity to control and utilize them efficiently.

The cyclical history of the American aid program supports the author's judgment—he cautiously terms it an interpretation rather than a

conclusion—that the political rather than economic justification for aid has increased the sum of available resources while reducing their effectiveness in contributing to development.

The author's second major judgment is that the structure of the American aid administration has directly and adversely affected the efficiency of the aid process in Thailand. He describes such management deficiencies as the illiteracy of the USOM staff in Thai language and culture, the high turnover of personnel, and the inability to attract advisors from the top strata of American expertise. Moreover, the structure of the organization is too cumbersome to follow fluctuations in aid levels and policies. The time from initial planning of a new program to the actual expenditure of funds for its implementation is at least five years. Since the four historical phases each lasted about five years, the execution of new programs has seldom been in phase with the conditions which justified initiating them. Since the average tours of USOM directors has been only two years, they have seldom been able to execute projects which they themselves had planned.

Thai capacity to administer foreign aid, in contrast, steadily improved. American aid, by measures such as supporting about 8,000 Thais to study in the United States, contributed substantially to the increasing professional competence of the Thai bureaucracy. The result has been a shift in the control over the selection and evaluation of projects from foreign donors in the 1950's to the Thais by 1970.

The author's third major judgment is that, in spite of the political constraints and inefficiencies, American aid has been successful in many cases in identifying and breaking key bottlenecks. The last half of the book is devoted to chapters with detailed assessments of the aid performance in 1) providing technical assistance, 2) institution-building, and 3) assisting the Thai government to counter subversion.

Three cases of technical assistance are described to demonstrate varying approaches and degrees of success. USOM financed a contract for a private American firm, Public Administration Services, to provide technical advice on fiscal management to the Ministry of Finance. This effort, which led to the establishment of the Budget Bureau in 1956, was highly successful, according to the author, because there was "a strong sense of need in the Thai Government for such assistance...high technical ability and personal qualities, and continuity of tenure, on the part of the advisory staff; the formal commitment of highly qualified Thai 'project associates'; and the fact that major institutional changes were neither required nor implied by the techniques transferred" (p. 80). The second case of technical advisors, the area development advisors stationed in the rural areas to advise the governors on changwat development programs, failed because of the absence of these factors.

Twelve years of American technical assistance on rural credit produced ambiguous results. USOM finally phased out of this activity because of frustration over delays in establishing a recommended bank for agricultural credit. The bank was, in fact, started just three years later. (Ironically, when the local aid mission requested funding for the new bank in 1970, Washington rejected it because the bank was not adequately related to the counter-subversion rationale then current). The author shares the American impatience with the delay because he believes that the lack of agricultural credit was a major obstacle to rural progress in the early 1950's. He attributes the delay to philosophical differences and temporary political barriers, but a simple alternative explanation is that the Thais delayed because of a valid belief that credit was not a critical constraint until the later development of demand for modern inputs such as fertilizers and tractors.

The author analyzes four cases of USOM-supported institution-building. This review can only identify them: Prasanmitr College of

Education and the Training Division of the Department of Local Administration—successful examples. Institute of Public Administration—less successful. Northeast Agricultural Research Center—"Perhaps no other major institution-building effort in which USOM has been involved was preceded by such searching preliminary studies...Perhaps in no case were the prerequisites thus identified so totally ignored..." (p. 117), too early to judge.

The last substantive chapter presents an excellent analysis of subversion in rural Thailand and an evaluation of the counter-subversion programs supported with American aid. The author does not believe that the large-scale injection of development funds into the rural areas is a useful weapon against subversion and he argues that development may well, on the contrary, increase villager discontent.

There is growing agreement with the author's conclusion that the role of aid should be more limited and specialized as Thailand enters a more complex period of development. USOM will require a higher level of professional sophistication if it is to contribute effectively to the economic and social problems of the coming decades. The author has provided careful studies of aid's successes and failures in Thailand during the past two decades. As American aid enters, what has been reported to be, a new phase as a Developmental Program free of political constraints, this volume can serve as a partial substitute for the aid mission's lack of an institutional memory. The Western philosopher, Santayana, has stated that he who knows no history is doomed to relive it. By increasing our understanding of the aid process in the past, the author implicitly conveys powerful lessons for the future.

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Ross Prizzia and Narong Sinsawasdi, *Thailand: Student Activism and Political Change* (Allied Printers, Bangkok 1974), pp. 221, illus.

The widespread phenomenon of student activism has become a familiar feature since its sudden emergence in the Western world about 5-6 years ago. Though the issue in individual countries varies from demonstrations and demands against anachronistic academic curricula (as in the case of students in West Germany) to those against computerisation and impersonal administration and course instruction (as in the case of students in the U.S.A.) etc., the common message seems to have been unmistakably identical, namely that the up-and-coming generations have found the existing structure of society wanting, and are demanding that this must be changed. The mood did catch resounding response from Asia, but it was mostly confined to such countries as Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, India, i.e. countries whose student populations have historically been active participants in the politics of the nation, and were ready to demonstrate their displeasure and discontent on one issue or other. This experience has not generally been shared by Thai students, particularly during the period before the setting up of the National Students Centre of Thailand (NSCT) in 1969, in spite of the fact that Thailand "has had more experience with national elections than any of the countries of the region (i.e. South East Asia), except the Philippine Republic." (p. 143). In fact, Thai students had not been keeping up with the pace of student activism in general until after 1969 onwards.

It is therefore most pleasing to see a comprehensive account of student activism—past, present and future—in the politics of Thailand in the shape of "Thailand: Student Activism and Political Change". This is a pioneer work attempting to give a full story on the subject. The effort has much to commend "Thailand Student Activism and Political Change" to those interested in the sociological, historical and political development of Thai students. The writers, Dr. Ross Prizzia and Dr. Narong Sinsawasdi, well-qualified to write on the subject of student activism and politics, have, not surprisingly, given with admirable success a sociological, demographic analysis which offers the reader plenty of food for thought. For examples:

"There are presently only 2 groups in the realm of domestic politics which have recently presented a serious challenge to the decision-making power of the ruling clique, the Communist Guerrillas and the students" (p. 61).

"The seemingly contradictory nature of governmental rule by martial law tolerating illegal protest demonstrations as somewhat legitimate forms of participation is one of the unique aspects of Thai political system which has its roots in Thai political culture." (p. 61-62), and,

"....Thailand's development towards democracy will require the transfer of legitimacy from the traditionally autocratic regime to a democratic form of authority and government, or the Thai may achieve a Constitutional form without the substance of its political freedom." (p. 145).

The book comprises 7 chapters and an epilogue, dealing with the general pattern of student activism (Chap. I); history of student movement in Thailand, focussing on the Ten Days period of October 1973 (Chap. II-III); to the detailed study of the political culture of the Thai in comparison with the development of student activism elsewhere; the demographic variables study between Thailand and seven other nations, plus a careful survey and analysis of Thai university students; then logically concluding the study with an assessment by one of the co-authors on the political development and future of Thai student activism (Chap. IV-VII). The epilogue concerns itself significantly with the authors' anxiety on some aspects of such development which may lead to a negative effect on student activism and political progress in Thailand, such as :

"From a strictly cultural perspective some of the very conditions which supported the students in their quest for power might prove to be their undoing." (p. 163), and,

"....even the moderate NSCT will have a more difficult time convincing a public suffering from a major economic depression which reached crisis proportion after the October revolt, to support them on various idealistic issues" (pp. 165-166).

"Thailand: Student Activism and Political Change" contains numerous points of interest, precise and coherent trends of thoughts,

which make reading it fascinating, in spite of a perhaps dry academic style of presentation. In Chapter I, for instance, the author is quick to arrest the attention of the reader with such topics as the type of protesters, and some factors relevant to student political socialisation. It is interesting to learn that American Peace Corps teachers have much to do with awakening the Thai students' sense of participation in politics and that university location, students' fields of study, and increase of student enrollment, *inter alia*, provide a fertile soil for the process of "resocialisation" of Thai students. The Chapter on the chronological narration of student activism in Thailand accompanied by an informative list of tables and diagrams also deserves some admiration. Dr. Prizzia and Dr. Narong have condensedly recorded the so-far scattered history of Thai student participation in politics in one place and made it easier and useful for other scholars in the same field.

The account of the fatal morning of October 14, 1973 is honestly recorded, and conflicting evidence of some eye-witnesses are here related (p. 55). What is perhaps more interesting is the fact that after the violence of the early hours of October 14, the demonstrators were left leaderless, "as all NSCT leaders disappeared from the crowd. Saeksan was said to have collapsed from exhaustion due to his intense and continued activity in the five days of protest" (p. 55). Another booklet published recently under the title "Thai Student Movement: Past and Present", edited by Wittayakorn Chiangkul, has revealed further that the NSCT executive committee did something more than disappearing. The NSCT issued a statement after the violent incidents of that morning to the effect that the skirmishes outside Chitrlada Palace were the pure work of subversive elements, (see "Thai Student Movement: Past and Present" p. 94). It shows therefore that the NSCT had not prepared itself for, in fact faltered at the prospect of, violent struggle, which has gone down in history as The Bloody Sunday.

Another revealing aspect of the book is the pointing out of outstanding Thai social structure damaging to the process of political re-socialisation. Some traditional practices, in the authors' opinion, contribute significantly to the passive nature of the "non-participant" Thai citizen.

There are some instilled beliefs such as fear and respect of authority beginning from the relations between child and parents up the social scale of the society, shame-avoidance tendency, contentment with one's lot etc. (pp. 65-66). Students do not entirely escape these Thai social characteristics. It is true that they can easily turn susceptible to change, once they are in the Mathayom Sueksa 4-5 and upwards. Yet the findings of the book also conclude that they can also be tempered in the "resocialisation" process, when they become graduates and accept employment.

Chapters V and VI are most demonstrative and effective in the attempt to give an overall and close-up pictures of Thai student activism and Thai students themselves. As one of the co-authors has promised in the preface, Chapter VI may be too much for newcomers to the sociological tactics of driving home its findings :

"It is advised that the novice to behavioural research who may find Chapter VI overly tedious, should perhaps skip over the data analysis and read only the summary statement at the end of the Chapter to enjoy the full continuity of the book....."

The authors are also candid in forewarning about the pitfalls of cross-cultural survey research, and the monumental task facing any would-be researcher on cross-cultural survey research (pp. 111-114).

Dr. Prizzia's assessment of student activism and political progress in Thailand after October 1973 is cautious and perhaps, because of the assessment being surmised during too early a period after October 1973, a bit off the mark. It is valid that significant cultural factors may weaken further students' apparent success, while the long-time ingrained nature of non-participation and Thai aversion to open debate and compromise—the essence of legislative bodies in Western democracy—may likewise amass unfavourable consequences to the prospects of political change. In addition, it is undeniable that student activism has resulted in more exercise of student power in academic affairs e.g. the case of the NIDA (pp. 157-158) which, if continued, will certainly bring about democratic innovations in the academic world and probably to other levels of Thai bureaucracy. Yet in retrospect, it was too overanxious in its prediction about the military's significant role in politics in 1974. In truth, the

opposite having been the case, it seems now that, though "a remote chance" of a military coup may exist as it will always be with Thailand for the next 5 years or so, the military leaders have reasonably realised that the best possible effort on their part is to keep out of politics during this transitional period.

Moreover the role of the NSCT and the split within the student organisation have clearly illustrated both the strength and weaknesses of student activism. The split of some groups such as the Free Thammasat Movement, the Independent Chulalongkorn Student Group etc., together with revelations of mismanagement and personal conflict in the Centre, have weakened the NSCT a great deal. At the same time, these independent student groups are more flexible in their role of keeping alive the cause of political awareness.

Perhaps it is more accurate to conclude, like "Thai Student Movement: Past and Present", that the significance of student role in the October Event in essence is twofold, i.e. the success in kindling political responsibility and awareness in the mind of the heretofore nonparticipants in politics, namely common people like the farmers and the misgoverned people in remote rural areas, the teachers, and the workers. Another is the new role played by the various groups of students in their struggle for a just and humane society (see "Thai Student Movement: Past and Present" pp. 125-146).

There are some little aspects of "Thailand: Student Activism and Political Change" which puzzle the reviewer. The arrangement of the book with the names of one of the authors, or both, at the beginning of individual chapters, for instance, is very peculiar when one considers that the book is supposed to be a joint effort. Even the preface is signed by Dr. Ross Prizzia solely, which raises many queries in the curious mind. The unevenness of the printing (e.g. pp. 142, 145 and, in fact, throughout the book), and the disorderly method of foot-note arrangement (Chapters I-IV and VII having foot-notes at the end of the chapter; the Chapters V and VI foot-notes are placed along relevant pages) give the impression that perhaps not sufficient attention has been rendered to the publication of "Thailand: Student Activism and Political Change".

To the mind of the reviewer, the most glaring, though still lightweight, errors are the slips made in connexion with Mahidol University and the interpretation of the Thai saying "Sit lang kru". The authors relate that;

"In 1942, the Faculty of Medicine was separated from Chulalongkorn University and became 'Mahidol University', named after the father of King Bhumibhol...." (p. 16).

Mahidol University was only founded not so long ago i.e. in 1969. Perhaps the authors meant the setting up of the University of Medicine in 1943 which later extended to include the 3 campuses of Siriraj, Chulalongkorn (hospital) and Chiang Mai. On page 156 Dr. Prizzia writes,

"This seemingly disrespectful behaviour on the part of the students became commonly referred to as 'Sit lang kru', which literally (*sic*) translated means 'student who wash teachers'....." (p. 156), and again,

"An informal practice which eventually was to be referred to as 'lang kru' (literally translated meaning 'wash' or 'clean-up' the teachers) began to be carried out..... However, the harsher interpretation of 'lang kru' is to 'clean out' by removal or transfer, in such cases where teachers are seen as a threat to the student's political and social movement....." (pp. 158-159).

The word "lang" in Thai actually carries two meanings, namely to wash as in the case of washing clothes, and to destroy as in the case of destroying the whole family of one's enemy (ล้างโคตร). The meaning of "lang" in the saying of "lang kru" is not to wash but to destroy. Thus "sit lang kru" is one of the most heinous crimes in the eye of the Thai. All the activities conducted by the NSCT and other student organisations have not been and cannot really be categorised as such, since they are aimed to improve, and weed out the incorrigible elements within the academic world.

"Thailand: Student Activism and Political Change" is a good overall study of Thai students and their political participation. It has persuaded the reader "to recognise that Thai student activism at its most recent (1968-1973) intensity is a relatively new phenomenon worthy of explanation". (p. 85)

Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian

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Philip Ward, *Bangkok—Portrait of a City* (Oleander Press, New York and Harrow, 1974), pp. 136.

Guidebooks exist to serve a purpose and their multiplicity is as much an indication of man's diverse interests as of the publishers' concern to whet or profit by them. There is no shortage of books on Bangkok and one needs to ask what purpose is served by one more.

As a brief introduction to the principle tourist sights—temples, palaces, dancing, sports, the floating market and the smiles—Mr Ward's book is brief, on the whole factually correct, but says nothing that has not already been said before, at greater length in a full guidebook to the country or more ideosyncratically in James Kirkup's extraordinary volume which, whatever its penchant for sybaritic excess, was at least amusingly individualistic. The most unusual thing about Mr. Ward's work is the great number of resemblances he finds in Thailand to things English and classical antiquity, and his photographs, pleasant enough but muddily reproduced, fall well below the standard of those in Riboud and Warren's picture volume.

From the start of the preface "The aircraft dips below the clouds and a wonderland of green flat squares..." the tone is set: personal impressions of a visitor. This is a guidebook of the first person singular—"I sauntered nostalgically..."—but seems to have been written with some occasional haste so that one is swept from prosaic reflections on the heat to religion with no apparent connective.

"Rome swelters less in August than Bangkok all the year, yet there are few fountains in Krungthep, the self-styled city of angels, and the Thai religion is, remarkably, known as the Middle Way."

Jim Thompson's house provokes deep thoughts about Buddhist beliefs and reflections on religious abstractions crop up elsewhere. One should not perhaps in these matters insist on linguistic coherence, for we are assured that in Thailand "the poetic spirit is everywhere". This comes out well occasionally when Mr Ward's sensibilities are touched.

"Shopping is a joy beyond compare even if done vicariously from a samlor, trundling past names like Very Good Shop, Glory Mattress, Dentists' Shop, Thais Eel Desk Industry, Sweat Home, Flourish Hair, and an edifice cryptically announcing 'Pleasure' ",

But there are times when reality is abandoned for fantasy, either factual, such as stating that half the population of Thailand lives in boats, or turgidly verbal.

"In the west only poets and composers are allowed to be convinced by the stirring of what is real. When the rest of society is blindfolded by dogmas of religion and politics, Graves and Britten bring us back, quite literally, to our senses, placing sheer love and the solitary magistrate cat of justice in their rightful place in a cosmogony."

This kind of reflection is no more illuminating than the poem thrown in about Wat Borworniwet with images of oxygen cylinders and bathyscapes.

So with quick itineraries and long sections of 'useful information', one is given an instant Thailand, land of smiles and all that. Some tourists might not get very far if they expected 'yisipha' to be understood as 25, if they use 'tom' for the first person singular, if they wanted a 7th century library in Suan Pakkard, or even if they were looking for 'the shopping centre' of Bangkok 10 minutes away from the YMCA in Sathur (*sic*) Road. One might express reservations on a more scholarly level at, *inter alia*, the dating of Chiengsaen works from the 11th century, the supposedly diaphanous robes of Dvaravati bronze images or the similarity to Thai architecture of the *chedi* of the Srivichaya temple of Wat Mahathat at Chaiya.

Like many books of its kind, the contents belie the title and we are taken out of Bangkok to the provinces for a third of the time. This reviewer did not have the full benefit of Mr Ward's comments since there were eight blank pages in this section in the review copy, but the information in the part that contained print dealt with Songkhla and the nearby Srivichaya temples of Wat Sating Phra and Wat Pako in a remarkably similar manner to that in *Discovering Thailand* which received a credit notice in the selective bibliography to the present volume.

The Oleander Press presumably knows its business and the book must have a particular public in mind. Essentially this seems to be charter-plane literature for the Western traveller coming to the land of smiles *etc.* for a couple of weeks. As such, it could be very much worse and it is a passable if prettified and tourist-oriented foretaste of things to come.

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Chotmai het ratchakan thi 2, ch.s. 1171-1173 (Bangkok, 2513), 137 pp. (Records of the Second Reign, Chulasakarat 1171-1173)

Chotmai het ratchakan thi 2, ch.s. 1173 (Bangkok, 2514), 137 pp. (Records of the Second Reign, Chulasakarat 1173)

The publication of primary Thai documents is always a welcome event. These two volumes of documents from the Thailand National Library *Chotmai het* collection, published in honor of the two hundred and second and two hundred and third birthdays respectively of Rama II are particularly welcome as very little scholarly attention has been paid to this period until recently. Unfortunately, certain drawbacks in format and a number of errors due to haste or carelessness make these two volumes less satisfactory than they might have been.

In the first volume the first serious defect is in the document printed on pages 12-15. Part of the original black book from which this document comes was torn off and seems to have been missing for a time. During this period a typescript was made of this incomplete book without noting the lacuna. Later the manuscript was repaired and is now available in the National Library in its repaired state. However, only the defective typescript copy has been printed in this collection, again not noting the lacuna. It occurs on page 14, fifth line from the bottom, between the first and second words of that line. The intervening material would amount to several pages.

In the second volume all the documents from the beginning of the book through page 24 come from the same black book which at one time or another got turned around so that the ends of the book were treated as the middle and the middle as the ends. (To some one familiar with Thai black books this is not as complicated as it sounds.) The list which is printed on page 12, here in the middle, actually comes from the beginning and the end of the book and serves as a table of contents. Above this list is a note, which has not been printed, to the effect that these are copies of documents from the Kalahom department made when Phraya

Borirakphubet (Noi) went out to govern Nakhon Sithammarat in Chulaskarat 1173. This oversight does not, of course, affect the contents of the individual letters in the black book but it does detract from our understanding of the character of the black book as a whole.

On page 28 of the second volume is printed what the editors have entitled a *bai bok* (ใบบอก). Actually this is not a separate document at all but is merely a notation made on the reverse of the document printed on pages 26-27 listing the contents of that document.

Certain documents, notably the very long *thamniap kha ratchakan myang nakhon sithammarat*, have already been published elsewhere and could have been left out to make room for other documents never before published. If the argument is that these volumes are intended to be a collection of all documents in the National Library from these three years, then it still does not hold up because Document no. 5 ch.s. 1172, quite a long testimony by a Burmese official about Burma, does not appear anywhere in this collection.

The only serious typographical error which I found, although this by no means should be construed to indicate there are no others, is on page 136 of the first volume, last line. The word *phraratchakan* (พระราชกร) should be *phraratchasan* (พระราชสาร i.e. พระราชสาส์น) which entirely changes the meaning of the sentence.

Finally, it would have been very helpful if there had been a table of contents and if the National Library number of each document had been given. Also, throughout both volumes the spelling is modernized or left as in the original quite arbitrarily. In spite of such defects as have been noted here, the publication of these two volumes has still been a valuable service to scholars and the continuation of such efforts is to be encouraged, but one hopes that in future collections of this sort such defects can be avoided.

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G. Coedès and C. Archaimbault, trans., *Les trois mondes (Traibhūmi Brah Rvañ)* (Vol. LXXXIX in *Publications de L'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1973).

Buddhist cosmology has long attracted the interest of scholars and observers of Siamese society. Standard European accounts by La Loubère and Pallegoix sketch the cosmic outline and anthropologists such as Archaimbault, Hanks and Tambiah have discussed it in their works; Henry Alabaster was aware of its importance at a pivotal moment in the intellectual history of the nineteenth century; Prince Damrong and Phya Anuman helped to inform the Siamese reading public of its contents. In 1957 Professor G. Coedès published a brief but crucial article in *East and West*, and more recently a Thai scholar has suggested how the cosmology was used by its putative author, King Līdaiya, to promote social cohesion (*Warasan thammasat* IV, 1, 1974). But learning of the cosmology through the words of others is no substitute for the real thing. Now we have this publication which brings us "the real thing" in translation, and since the printed Thai editions have no indexes and no editorial comment, this translation serves as a guide for those scholars who wish to return to the somewhat archaic language of the original text.

In Theravāda Southeast Asia the cosmology was a primary means by which kings who sought to rule as exemplary Buddhist monarchs propagated Buddhist values. Versions of the cosmology are known in Cambodia, where they are so close to Siamese texts as to seem derivative, and in Burma. Siamese recensions of the Traibhūmi (Three Worlds) cosmology include one from Chiengmai (cited in *San Somdet*, XI, 320 and XIII, 2, Khurusapha ed., 1961), one from the reign of Rāma I (1782-1809), and one of 1778 from King Taksin's reign known as the Brah Rvañ recension, as it attributes the original compilation from Pāli sources to King Līdaiya in the Sukhodaya period. There is also an illustrated manuscript of 1776, the Berlin copy of which was published in 1965 by Klaus Wenk with commentary and elegant photographic reproductions. Since the origins of the text are located in the commentaries on the Pāli canon, the popularity of the cosmology provides an excellent example of "Indianization", that historical process by which Southeast Asian kings,

seeing themselves as part of the Indian world, domesticated Indian cultural elements in a Southeast Asian environment. The fusion of the Indian and Southeast Asian worlds is evident in such a document as the *Traibhūmi*: Buddhism and animism are not separated but are one and the same religious system. Surely there are possibilities for comparative study here similar to that undertaken for the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In keeping with this wider framework the translators have set the *Traibhūmi* in an Indic context. All Indic terms are regularized in graphic transcription and the extensive footnotes lead us back to the Pāli literature and to the Pāli sources which Lidaiya (or subsequent compilers) so helpfully listed at the beginning and end of the work.

It is the *Braḥ Rvaṇ* recension which Coedès and Archaimbault have translated from the first printed edition of 1912, but the attribution of the original compilation to a fixed date in the Sukhodaya period has posed a number of problems. Readers of this journal will have seen Michael Vickery's "A Note on the Date of the *Traibhūmikathā*" in the last issue (LXII, 2) in which he asks us to remember the assumptions required to arrive at the date commonly accepted for the compilation, 1345 A.D. The provisional character which these assumptions lend to the date is sometimes forgotten, and Lidaiya becomes *the* author-compiler of a text which bears unmistakable signs of having been revised or amended at a later period. Princes Naris and Damrong discussed some of the anachronisms in their correspondence cited above. A review is not the place to assess Vickery's proposals, but it is worth noting here that some of the Sukhodaya epigraphy from the second half of the fourteenth century mentions key cosmological terminology. Coedès, in fact, made use of the *Traibhūmi Braḥ Rvaṇ* to reconstruct lacunae in some of this epigraphy. Elements of the cosmology were known, it would seem in Sukhodayan courts, but the full extent of this knowledge may be difficult to determine.

The "three worlds" refer to the three divisions of animate existence arranged in the universal hierarchy, a stratification based on the *kamma* of past lives. First come eleven levels of creatures conditioned by sensation and desire, then creatures conditioned by form but free from sensation and desire, and finally formless creatures who feel nothing and

want nothing. The beings in the upper two worlds are known as *brahmā*, and in regard to this term and other hybrid forms readers should take note in the preface of the transcription conventions employed. For ease of reference the translators have broken down the grosser scheme into eleven chapter headings. Almost one-third of the text is devoted to the terrestrial level ruled by the Universal Monarch (Chakkavattin) whose attributes and conduct are described with a wealth of detail I have seen in no other Indian or Southeast Asian source. The Universal Monarch exhorts his subjects to follow the teachings of the Buddha, that is, to live in accordance with Dhamma, rendered here as *la loi*. A case might be made for leaving such an important and ubiquitous term untranslated. The only way to deepen one's understanding of such a complex word as Dhamma is to immerse oneself in the contexts in which it occurs and to hear it repeated again and again.

In its classification of all animate existence the Traibhūmi must be the most complete bestiary in Siamese literature. Moreover, the descriptive details of the animals and other creatures are so sharp especially in their definition of color that they suggest instructions for painters. Good examples are the colors likened to flowers on pp. 184-85 and the Kesara lion on p. 46. Are these only metaphors for beauty or does the Traibhūmi contain a built-in manual to assist artisans in illustrating the manuscripts and in depicting the cosmology on monastery walls?

Although this publication has no bibliography to direct us to the secondary Indian and Siamese literature on this subject, it would be capacious to make much of this limitation. Interested readers will easily make their way to the references they need. High quality translation is exacting and laborious work (Archaimbault's first draft was completed in 1951), and this translation has been executed with scrupulous care and erudition. All scholars of Theravāda Buddhism and of Siamese art, religion, literature, mythology, and cultural history will be grateful to the late Professor Coedès for guiding the project in its early stages and to M. Archaimbault for completing it.

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Fine Arts Department ed., *Art and Archaeology in Thailand. In Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of the National Museum* (Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 1974), pp. 299, numerous plates.

ศิลปและโบราณคดีในประเทศไทย (กรมศิลปากรจัดพิมพ์ เนื่องในงานฉลองครบรอบ ๑๐๐ ปี พิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ วันที่ ๑๙ กันยายน พุทธศักราช ๒๕๑๖)

"Concordia Hall" was opened as a public museum in the Grand Palace on September 19, 1874, and to commemorate the centennial of this event the Fine Arts Department has published *Art and Archaeology in Thailand*, a collection of fifteen articles contributed by scholars from different parts of the world. The articles, which concern art history, history, and ethnology, appear in English, French, or Thai. The only ones having any translations are the articles in Thai, which are provided with summaries in English,

Describable as ethnology are "De quelques Plantes tinctoriales exposées au Musée du Bangkok" by Annick Lévy and "La Fête du cūl chnām (dhmī) dans les villages cambodgiens de la province de Chantaburi (Thaïlande)" by Marie Alexandre Martin. The first is concerned not just with dyes from the Northeast but, of more interest to the author, Thai ways of classification. "La Fête..." describes certain little-known and fascinating New Year's ceremonies and illustrates them with photographs; eventually, it may be hoped, the author will write more about these villagers and perhaps offer more analysis (here her tendency to characterize as "Hindu" certain cosmological notions that may always have been a part of the Buddhist world-view makes her conclusions less apt than they might otherwise be). A third article is in part ethnographical; at least it is the work of a scholar best known as an ethnographer: Georges Condominas's "Notes sur l'histoire lawa: A propos d'un lieu-dit lua' (lawā) en pays karen (Amphoe Chom Thong, Changwat Chiangmai)." The author takes as a starting point earthworks known as the "Lawa tomb", of which he supplies a diagram but which has not yet been archeologically investigated; from there he moves into a discussion of what legends and chronicles may tell us about the role of the Lawa in the ancient culture of the North.

The remaining twelve articles, mostly art-historical in nature, can be surveyed chronologically. Stanley J. O'Connor, in "Buddhist Votive Tablets and Caves in Peninsular Thailand", puts tablets from the South into a relationship to ones of the central Javanese period discovered in Indonesia; he makes tantalizing suggestions as well about what the placement in caves might tell us about local attitudes toward the landscape.

"Note on the Statuettes found at Khonburi, Korat" by Chaweewan Viriyabus is about four Mahāyāna Buddhist bronzes of no great aesthetic distinction but definite historical interest, due to their known provenience and the marked Dvāravati-like ethnic cast to their faces. Piriya Krairiksh's "Semas with Scenes from the Mahānipātā-Jātakas in the National Museum at Khon Kaen", with its exhaustive footnotes and thorough presentation of almost completely unknown material, will strike many readers as the outstanding article in the collection; the author identifies scenes depicted on boundary stones from Fā Daed (Kalasin province) and then moves over to Thaton, Burma, where comparable later stones have been found, apparently of the eleventh century.

Three articles deal in one way or another with Khmer-style monuments of the Northeast. "Essai d'interprétation d'une scène du Rāmāyaṇa représentante sur un linteau d'art khmer", by Uraisi Varasarin and Nandana Chutiwongs, demonstrates through detailed analysis of a lintel in the National Museum that the version of the Rāmāyaṇa being illustrated is Valmiki's (or a close relative thereof) and not the Thai *Rāmākian*. P. Pichard ("Note sur quelques ouvrages inachevés à Pimai et à Panom Rung") is able, by studying the incomplete parts of these temples, to suggest that the degree of specialization among the craftsmen may have equalled that in certain unionized trades in the West today, with their restrictions upon what certain workers are permitted to do. The third article is M.C. Subhadradis Diskul's "Establishing the Date of Prāsāt Phnom Rung" (in Thai); the prince points out different stages in the construction of the complex and assigns them dates on the basis of the established Angkorian chronology. What remains to be worked out are the details of the local development and questions about whether M. Pichard's corps of workmen can be followed from Mūang Tam to Phnom Rung to Phimāi.

The remaining articles range far and wide. Dorothy H. Fickle ("Crowned Buddha Images in Southeast Asia") reconsiders the meaning of Buddhas in royal attire. Srisakra Vallibhotama, whose article is in Thai, discusses aspects of the civilization of Haripuñjaya; he sees in the legendary material of the chronicles evidence of cultural diversity and an account of the growth of political institutions. Most important,

however, is his account of the archaeological evidence at various sites in the Lamphun region; at Wiang Manô, Wiang Thâ Kân, Wiang Thô and ?Khelanga in Lampâng. Jean Boisselier is also concerned with Lamphun, but less directly; what he discusses is the relationship between Lamphun sculpture and certain Buddhas of the Û Thổng style. In "A Pali Inscription from Vat Srîratanamahâdhātu, Subarnapuri", A.B. Griswold and Prasert ẵ Nagara present the epigraphical evidence for dating this *Prâng* to the reign of King Paramarājādhirāja II (r. 1424-48). Pises Jiajanpong ("Mouldings, Classification and Dating", in Thai) briefly analyzes certain types of mouldings found on the stūpas in Ayudhyā, Sukhothai, and Chiangmai. The remaining article ("The Technique of Thai Traditional Painting") is by Elizabeth Lyons.

It is a happy feature of collections like this one that occasionally the contributing scholars, though each moves in his own direction, end up facing and conversing with each other. In this volume, the articles by Condominas, Piriya Krairiksh, and Srisakra Vallibhotama ought perhaps to be read not just together, but in conjunction with a recent article in this journal (to which only Mr. Krairiksh refers), "Myth, Legend and History in the Northern Thai Chronicles", by Donald K. Swearer (JSS, January, 1974). Both M. Condominas and Mr. Vallibhotama, like Mr. Swearer, want to find historical significance in the legends. It is Mr. Swearer who is the most subtle, thorough, and suggestive, but the observations of all three scholars should be confronted by the theories of Mr. Krairiksh, who presumes a movement of ideas westward, from Fā Daed to Thaton, in the eleventh century. The question this group of articles leads to is that of the position of Haripuñjaya in such a westward movement. Mr. Krairiksh (p. 58) describes a new inscription in Mon characters at Fā Daed (more details about this inscription, it is hoped, will be forthcoming), and Mr. Vallibhotama refers (pp. 260, 261, 269) to Haripuñjaya links with the Northeast in the matters of votive tablets and of the form and positioning of boundary stones. For Mr. Swearer (pp. 72, 88) it is only during the time of Haripuñjaya's Ādittarāja, in the eleventh century, that Buddhism came to the fore. Before us lies, therefore, the engaging task of determining the extent of Haripuñjaya's cultural debt to Fā Daed.

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The Legacy of Phra Ruang. An Exhibition of Thai Ceramics and of Ancient Pottery of Ban Chieng (London, Bluett & Sons, Ltd., 1974), pp. 18 with two maps, 133 half-tone plates and a chronological table of the Ban Chieng Earthenwares.

This attractive and authoritative work is an auction catalogue prepared by Bluett & Sons, Ltd. of London for a display at its London galleries, June 12 to 26, 1974. The excellent text was prepared by Miss Roxanna Brown, a serious student of South-East Asian ceramics, who has become a well known authority in this field through her archaeological work in South-East Asia.

The text gives a brief review of Thai ceramics and a history of their study from the late Mr. Reginald Le May to the present writer. She also discusses in considerable detail the well known Thai Sukhō-thai and Sawankhalōk wares, and the later period San Kampaeng and Wang Nua (better known as Kālong) wares, and finally the very ancient painted earthenwares of Bān Chieng in Northeast Thailand, the very recent discovery and study of which have revised all previous concepts of Thailand's prehistory.

The Bluett & Sons Exhibition Catalogue presents a fine selection of the above wares, all magnificently illustrated in 133 plates, preceded by 10 pages of informative descriptive comment by the author.

While an auction catalogue rather than a treatise, this work is nevertheless a valuable addition to the still rather limited literature on Thai wares. It also contains a one page chronological bibliography of research on Thai ceramics in which most of the works of the present writer are duly cited.

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Florida*

H.G. Quaritch Wales, *Early Burma—Old Siam. A Comparative Commentary* (Bernard Quaritch, London, 1973), pp. 188, 39 plates, 6 Figures.

In the preface, Dr. Wales expresses his belief that, since both the Burmese and the Thai profess Theravāda Buddhism and received indirect cultural influences from India, they should have had the same kind of cultural evolution. This instigated him to write this book which mostly relies on *Old Burma—Early Pagan* by Professor G.H. Luce and *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* by A.B. Griswold.

In chapter I, entitled "Burma: The Participants", Dr. Wales talks about the people in Burma before the arrival of the Burmese such as the Mon, the Pyu and the Indians. In this chapter, Dr. Wales also refers to his theory that the Mon at Thaton in lower Burma probably turned back to Theravāda Buddhism from Hinduism after the Haripuñjaya population in northern Siam had fled to their town in order to escape from cholera. This theory was accepted by the late George Coedès.

Chapter II deals with the Mon influence at Pagan. Here Dr. Wales is probably correct when he says that what Professor Luce describes as "Mon" in his book *Old Burma—Early Pagan* really belongs to the Pāla influence from north-eastern India. The Mon cultural influence only lies in the terracotta Jātaka plaques, the language and the alphabet.

Chapter III concerns the early Burmese culture at Pagan in which Dr. Wales discusses the architectural change from "Mon" (Pāla) to Burmese type with the aspiration and the brighter atmosphere inside the structure. Dr. Wales also mentions the construction of a Burmese style of architecture which is hollow inside on top of a "Mon" solid one. He adds at the end of the chapter a few paragraphs on Burmese Buddha images and literature.

Chapter IV describes the late Burmese culture at Pagan. Architecture became smaller and taller but more colourful. The superimposing construction was still popular and here Dr. Wales attributes it to the "limited originality" of the Burmese architects. He however points to the late Indian influence on Burma of about the middle of the 13th century which created some beautiful constructions at Minnanthu, east

of Pagan. Dr. Wales praises this type of architecture, especially its stucco decorations which, according to him, might have received inspiration from the original Burmese art of wood-carving.

The last chapter on Burma, chapter V, concerns the post-Pagan period when architecture declined though the Burmese architects tried their best to imitate the classical period at Pagan. In this chapter Dr. Wales mentions that the Burmese "phyathat" also derived from the north-eastern Indian prototype. This is rather doubtful as when it appeared in the bas-reliefs at Ananda Chedi (Dr. Wales says it should be correctly termed Nanda) in chapter II it had already, according to the reviewer, assumed a Burmese special form. Dr. Wales admires the Burmese skill in wood-carving through every period but at the same time admits that other Burmese art forms in this late period had declined, even in literature, the Burmese had had to imitate that of the Thai, especially in drama.

For Siam or Thailand, the author begins in the same manner with "participants" which he refers to the Khmer and the Ceylonese. From India Dr. Wales admits only the Pāla influence on early Chiengsaen Buddha images and suggests that the influence might have come from the Śrīvijayan art in southern Thailand. On page 105 Dr. Wales refers to "one of the portrait statues of Jayavarman VII" at Wat Pra Pai Luang, but this is in reality a large stone Buddha image in meditation in the Khmer Bayon style.

From chapter VII to chapter IX, Dr. Wales follows closely Mr. Griswold's opinions in his book *Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art* except on only a few points. For instance, the stucco Buddha images in the niches of the eastern chedi of Wat Pra Pai Luang which Dr. Wales refuses to accept as the portrait statues of King Ban Muang and believes that they display the early Chiengsaen influence in Sukhothai art. Dr. Wales says that the brick *chedi* at the four corners of Pra Mahathat at the centre of the town of Sukhothai might have derived from the ancient Khmer *chedi* at the town of Pursat. These four monuments have generally been accepted by Thai scholars as deriving from the Śrīvijayan prototype. Dr. Wales also mentions the "limited originality" of Thai

architects in the same way as the Burmese. He however praises to the utmost the Buddha images of the Sukhothai period.

The reviewer would like to express here some of his opinions which differ from those of Dr. Wales. The *stūpa* (Plate 31B) in Dr. Wales' book was probably constructed in imitation of the late Dvārayāti square *chedi* at Wat Kukut, Lampun, much more than the Sat Mahal Pasada in Ceylon. The latter has a staircase on its western side, seven stories instead of five and also only one niche on each face. The Burmese influence from Pagan can also be detected at Sukhothai or Sisatchanalai such as a row of lotus petal motifs underneath the body of a bell-shaped *stūpa* which, according to the knowledge of the reviewer, never appears in Ceylonese art. The Pagan "spines" on top of the pediment-arch can also be observed in Sukhothai art. Compare for instance Plates 14 or 18 and 31A in Dr. Wales' book.

In chapter X, it is rather surprising that Dr. Wales writes that the *ubosoth* (ordination hall) and *vihāra* in Thai art derived from the Khmer structure. Though the stylized *garuḍa* and *nāga* as decorations on the roof probably came from the Khmer motifs, the form of the structure and the roof in general probably derive from the common source of using wood in construction in tropical climate. For the same form of roof in Yunnan see Fig. 157 in Reginald Le May's *The Culture of South-east Asia* (1954). The reviewer, on the other hand, agrees totally with Dr. Wales' opinion when he says that the *prang* is a genuine Thai evolution from a Khmer *prasat* and though the Khmer art would have the chance to pursue its own line of evolution the result would not have been the same. Dr. Wales also points to the aspiration of Thai architecture in the same way as the late Burmese.

In his conclusion, chapter XI, Dr. Wales explains that both the Thai and the Burmese have their own cultural freedom but the Thai probably have more because of their farther position from India. Both the Thai and the Burmese tried to expand their territories down to the sea. Though they both have their "limited originality" in their construction, their genius can still be appreciated respectively from wood-carving and sculpture during the Sukhothai period.

This book is sometimes difficult to understand but it is useful for those who would like to study Burmese art. As for those who would like to learn about the arts in Thailand especially that of the Sukhothai period, it is not so informative, as Dr. Wales has followed more or less entirely the ideas of Mr. A.B. Griswold.

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Charles Archaimbault, *Structures religieuses lao (Rites et mythes)* (Vientiane, Editions Vithagna, 1973), x, 289 pp.

In spite of the fact that over the past two decades Charles Archaimbault has produced probably the best ethnography of a mainland Southeast Asian ritual system, his work has only recently come to the attention of English-speaking reviewers. This is primarily because most of his writing has appeared in some fairly obscure French Orientalist journals. With the publication of *Structures religieuses lao*, much of his work is now available between the covers of a single volume, a most welcome addition to Orientalist literature. This collection of ten essays reproduces a series of papers on Lao myth and ritual originally published between 1956 and 1966. Unfortunately, perhaps for reasons of copyright, two important essays on ceremonies in Luang Prabang which have appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises* are not included in the collection.

The key feature of Archaimbault's work, and its outstanding contribution to Oriental studies, is its combination of uncompromising attention to the minutiae of Lao ritual behavior together with an appreciation of the varying historical fortunes of the Lao *muangs*. Archaimbault is able to divine the meaning of Lao communal rites not only from the details of the rites themselves but from the historical processes

which have led to various reinterpretations, via the rites, of the cosmogonic legends upon which the rites are founded. This underlying theme in his work is stressed in the fifth essay of the collection under review, "Structures religieuses au Laos," which is a translation of a paper that originally appeared in English in the *JSS* (52, 1). (The editors would have done better, in fact, to place this essay before the others as an introductory chapter). In this essay Archaimbault compares the major communal rites of the four most important Lao *muangs*. In Luang Prabang, the annual T'at festival faithfully recreates the imposition of Tai polity over the indigenous Kha population and the creation of order out of primal chaos; the continuity between archaic Tai cosmogony and contemporary ritual in Luang Prabang is possible, Archaimbault explains, because of the relative isolation and independence of Luang Prabang in contrast to the other Lao *muangs*. The analogous festival in Chiang Khwang, however, has undergone reinterpretation as a result of different historical circumstances; there, the conflict portrayed is not one between Kha and Tai but between the Phuan king Chao Noi and his rebellious vassals, a portrayal which in fact serves to mask the treachery of Chao Noi against his sovereign the king of Vientiane. In Vientiane itself, the archaic scenario has become virtually obscured by successive wars and invasions, and only the vaguest outlines of the ritual structure can be discerned. In the south, in Champasak, the ritual role of aboriginal peoples has been transformed into an expression of the primal guilt which pervades the cosmology of that area.

Most of the remaining essays in the collection expand upon the interpretations of Lao communal rituals given in essay 5. The introductory essay analyses in detail a series of ritual games played in honor of a complex of proprietary spirits at Ban Bo, a salt-mining community north of Vientiane. These games help to illuminate the meaning of the ritual hockey game annually performed during the T'at festival at Vientiane itself. The teams opposed during the T'at festival represent the opposition between administrators and administrated, capital and countryside, whereas at Ban Bo what is stressed is the antagonism between the sacred and profane orders of authority. But both ceremonies retrace the evolution of land-holding from aboriginal to Tai dominance, and both are focused on what must have been at one time indigenous Kha territorial spirits.

Papers 3 and 4, on the T'at festivals of Luang Prabang and Chiang Khwang, further explore the struggle between opposed cosmic and political forces enacted by the Ti-K'i or ritual hockey game. Of particular interest in these two papers is Archaimbault's skilled excavation of the phallic and ophidian symbolism of the rockets fired during the festivals. Essays 6 and 7 examine the cosmogonic legends upon which the communal rites of the *muangs* are based. Champasak is shown to be unique among the *muangs* in that its royal rituals and their mythic substructure are pregnant with themes of guilt, female pollution, exorcism, and regal inadequacy.

Archaimbault's treatment of Lao communal ceremonies rests on the fundamental premise that "... cosmogony . . . not only explains the religious structure, but also accounts for the rituals" (78). And indeed, under his skillful hands the public ceremonies of Laos are given significance largely by the myths and cosmology which he discovers underlying them. Powerful ammunition is provided for countering the traditional "myth-ritual" school of thought exemplified by Jane Harrison, Lord Raglan and S.E. Hyman, for whom all myth arises from ritual and any myth can be explained by its associated rites. Archaimbault deftly turns this argument on its head, but in the process he often blinds himself to anything other than mythic interpretations of the rites. During the New Year festival in Luang Prabang, for example, "By a curious reversal of society, the female element dominates" (19). Girls throw water, sand, and fish oil on men and blacken their faces with soot. This is interpreted as a complex of "prophylactic rites" which serve to purify the city in preparation for its regeneration during the ritual enactment of the cosmogony. On another level of analysis, and I believe a more fruitful one, the eruption of female aggression during the New Year festival can be seen as yet a further example of the role reversal and cognitive inversion which so commonly accompanies the liminal phase of *rites de passage* throughout the world. The prominent role of subjugated Kha tribesmen during public festivals might be interpreted in the same light. In India, it is common for persons of lower (and presumably more indigenous) castes to assume prominent ritual roles during rites of passage in the homes of their higher-caste patrons. The Kha

may in fact be a Lao form of the Indian *kamin*, and the ritual role of both *kamin* and Kha may underscore the danger and pollution inherent in transition.

The final three essays of the collection treat subjects other than the communal cosmogonic rites. Essay 8, which originally appeared in the *JSS* (51, 1), compares mortuary rites in different parts of Laos. It includes Lao and Tai Lue versions of a text entitled *Mūla Kūt* or *Mūla K'ūt*, which is similar to a Northern Thai text *Mūla Loka Dhamma Kaung* that I recorded in Nan province. I cannot but side with some of Archaimbault's informants, with whom he disagrees (169), in believing that the term *kūt* or *k'ūt* which occurs in the title of some variants of the text is a mistranscription of the Northern Thai word *khūt*, meaning "inauspicious" or "taboo". The term often applies to the willful violation of some powerful cognitive boundary, such as the distinction between senior and junior (thus the rule against a man marrying his first cousin if the girl is a daughter of his parent's elder sibling, cited on p. 196). Essay 9 is a description of agrarian rites, somewhat underpowered in interpretive commentary. It originally appeared in a popular non-specialist publication and is the weakest paper in the collection. The concluding paper is a detailed description of the rites connected with the annual fishing of the *paa loem* in the Mekhong. This essay is again more descriptive than interpretive, but the quality of the ethnography is impeccable.

Archaimbault's writing style is somewhat cumbersome, lending itself to over-long sentences and unnecessarily complicated syntax. Sometimes his most interesting data and commentary appear tucked away in footnotes, which are often longer than the text itself. His use of diacritical marks in the transcription of Lao words is difficult to follow and full of inconsistencies. In spite of these stylistic weaknesses, he makes fascinating reading. The reproduction of these essays by the master of Lao myth and ritual is welcome indeed.

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Atisha. A Biography of the Renowned Buddhist Sage. Translated from Tibetan sources by Lama Thubten Kalsang *et alia* (The Social Science Association Press of Thailand, Bangkok, 1974), pp. 58.

We are indebted to the translators, Thubten Kalsang, Ngodrub Paljor and John Blofeld for bringing to the attention of scholars in Buddhist studies this biography of the great sage and teacher, Atisha, so revered by Tibetan Buddhists. The translation preserves the wonderfully baroque style of religious historical writings of Tibet. The episodes in the life and travels of Atisha, as well as the phraseology describing them, are ornate and grandiose. Yet, the searing simplicity of the Eternal Truths of the Dhamma are starkly delineated throughout. Atisha, as the historical Buddha, resisted the temptations and cravings associated with the transitory material world and sought out hermit *gurus* to point the path towards enlightenment. Each of the *gurus* stresses the need to loose the fetters of attachment and craving which lie at the root of suffering and, through the cessation of suffering, reach a final understanding of reality and truth. Throughout this volume, one cannot help but note the Mahayana emphasis placed on *metta* (loving kindness) and *karuna* (compassion) as essential to one's search for insight and ultimate enlightenment.

The description of Atisha's voyage to Tibet recalls the trials and vicissitudes that folk heroes from time immemorial have suffered in their quests. The imagery is rich. As thunderbolts are thrown, false and illusory doctrines are struck down. For the thunderbolt surely signifies the spiritual power of the Dhamma which shatters the illusions of the material world of attachment.

In more prosaic style, the Tibetan Teachers' Training College at Dhavamgala, India, has provided historical background material relating to Atisha's visits to Tibet.

This volume is to be recommended to all serious students of the field of Buddhist studies.

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Georges Dumézil, *The Destiny of a King*, trans. Alf Hiltelbeitel (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1973)

The *Destiny of a Warrior* is fairly tough going for a novice in Indo-European studies; yet, he who prevails will be richly rewarded. The reader of this slender volume, delivered as the Haskell Lectures at the University of Chicago in 1969, leaves this study with renewed admiration for the Heracleian talents of Georges Dumézil, the acknowledged authority in the field (cf. *Mythe et épopée*, 1971; *From Myth to Fiction*, 1973; *Destiny of the Warrior*, 1973). Professor Dumézil's linguistic talents alone are nearly overwhelming. Textual references in the volume range over Indo-European texts in Sanskrit, Avestan, Phalavi, Icelandic, and Celtic, and references to research by modern scholars covers most European languages. Dumézil is much more than a philologist, however. Working within the arena of comparative Indo-European epic mythology, the book aims to unpack both the structural and functional aspects of the notion of the universal king by focusing on the figures of Yayāti in the Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*, and Yima-Īamšid of the *Avesta* and later Persian tradition. The main purpose of the lectures is set forth as an effort to test the assumption that these two figures, the "last of the 'universal' kings in the Indian and Iranian lists . . . may both have inherited epic material deriving in part from a common source". (p. 8)

As the primary framework is the story of Yayāti it seems appropriate to outline the main lines of development of that story, then indicate the nature of Dumézil's conclusions, and finally to make a few concluding remarks on the relevance of such a study for an understanding of the traditional Thai concept of kingship.

The story of Yayāti derived from Books 1 and five of the *Mahābhārata* falls into two major parts. In one the narrative deals with Yayāti and his sons and in the other with Yayāti and his daughters' sons. Each in their own way establish the functional virtues and the structural demography of the *cakravartin* or universal king. In the first narrative Yayāti, cursed by his father-in-law, Kāvyā Uśanas, to an accelerated old age seeks to transfer his decrepitude to one of his five sons. Four of them refuse and are exiled by Yayāti to four lands outside

the central kingdom. The fifth, Pūru, ancestor of the Pauravas, accepts the burden and inherits the central kingdom. In Dumézil's analysis "ethnography" then comes to reflect "topography." That is to say, the epic mythology of Yayāti's five designations reflects an archaic structure of totality both of humanity and the space it occupies.

In the second narrative Yayāti, who through his merit has lived in celestial realms for millions of years, is overcome by a sense of pride which produces scorn for gods, ṛsis, and men. For this sin he falls from the heavens back to the world of men. There, however, the hapless king is saved by the merits of his four grandsons: Vasumanas representing riches and generosity, Pratardana representing prowess, Śibi representing veracity, and Aṣṭaka the assiduous practice of sacrifices. All of them share in the highest generalized moral quality of truth-telling and together represent the qualities of the perfect king. Thus, as in the first narrative the five sons represent universality of space so in the second the grandsons represent the tri-functional perfection of the righteous monarch—distribution of wealth, powerful conquests, sacrifice and truth-telling. In terms of the epic story these virtues together with the merit of his daughter, Mādhavī, are sufficient to help Yayāti regain his heavenly status. Furthermore, in terms of the two foci of the study Yayāti, "... has almost realized the two fundamental tasks which one expects of a first king: the organization of the earth into its ethnic divisions, and the organization of society into its functional divisions." (p. 47)

There are numerous details concerning the Yayāti cycle, Mādhavī, and Vasu Uparicara the first king (i.e. universal monarch) in the maternal ancestry of the Pāṇḍavas which are of inherent interest and which serve to establish basic new directions for the comparisons with the Yima-Ÿamšid story and other facets of the Indo-European mythological and epic materials Dumézil investigates. In particular the New Year's festival in the Uparicara story and the power of chastity in the Mādhavī episode are given extended treatment. Through Mādhavī Dumézil discovers that the structure of the biography of Yayāti as universal king overlaps with the biography of Eochaid Friedlech, the supreme king of

In the *Voice of the Crab*, Geraldine Halls, utilizing her acknowledged flair for the fanciful, macabre and Gothic, has described, with both insight and compassion, the abrupt disintegration of a traditional culture. A Papua-New Guinea tribal group, in its death throes, seeks salvation in a rejection of its own traditional values, rites and customs and the blind acceptance of new gods: the material symbols of Western modernization i.e. the wrist-watch, the camera, the refrigerator, the radio. The gruesome manner in which the secret acquisition of the new tribal treasures begins gives a macabre twist to this variation of the Cargo Cult. As this new cult is born, the tribal soul dies. The author's word paintings of the native cultural setting are beautifully evocative. Mrs. Halls' also captures with exceptional clarity the world of those foreign invaders of cultural privacy: the colonial district officer, the missionary, the anthropologist, the medical doctor, the technical expert. Mrs. Halls deftly describes the psychological and intellectual ruses these outsiders use in their endeavor to accommodate to the alien environment that envelops them. Some withdraw into a make-believe world completely divorced from the reality of their cultural environs. This withdrawal may be accomplished through alcoholism; maintaining "old world" traditions of dressing for dinner and five course meals served at the stroke of the appointed hour; or absolute adherence to legal and bureaucratic forms while negating "incompatible" native traditions and customs. Some few make a meaningful adjustment through compassion, understanding and a commitment to empathy and dialogue. More often than not the latter are viewed as having "gone native". One cannot escape speculation that Mrs. Halls was, in a previous existence, the wife of a tribal lord or, at the very least, of a district officer "gone native".

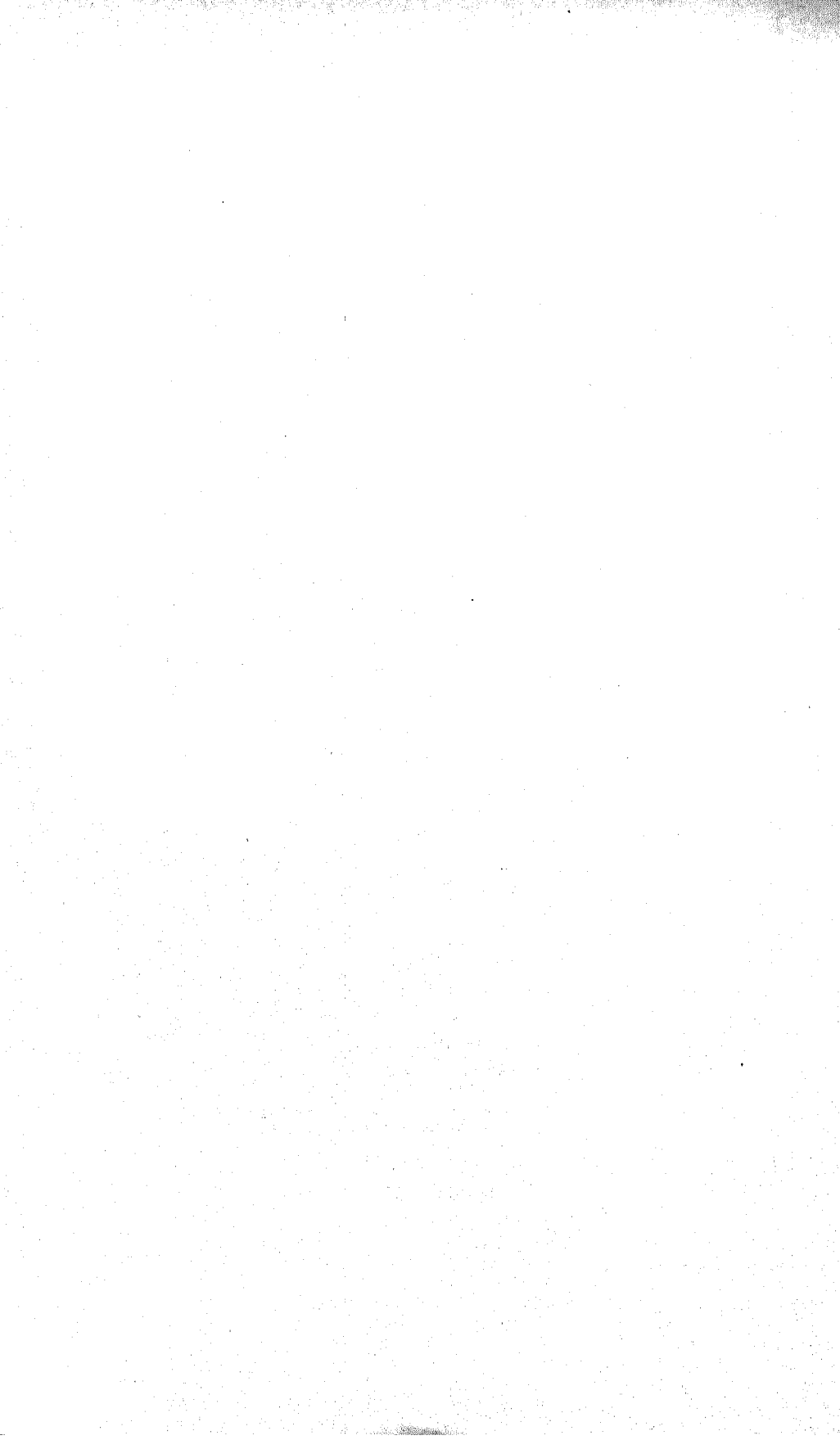
Chinua Achebe in his powerful and perceptive novel, *Things Fall Apart*, gives us a unique insight into African tribal society and its brutalization by the modernizing forces of colonial defined law and order and morality. He describes customs, taboos and rites in the context of the total tribal culture. He brings into sharp relief the psychological pressures that bear down on the traditional leadership elite as they face an alien administration backed by the force of arms. Similarly, the

social and cultural forces that conspire to maintain a stable and psychologically secure tribal society are brought into sharp relief e.g. social ostracism, banishment, spirit doctors, ancestral spirits speaking through masked leaders etc. Achebe writes with inspired lyricism in the idiom of the land and his novel is interspersed with folktales that provide additional insights into tribal attitudes and beliefs. The confrontation between the tribal leadership and the missionaries, who have slowly but surely infiltrated the tribal society, is a striking example of cultural ships passing in the night, a breakdown in communication. One of the converted, to show his contempt for traditional beliefs, unmasks an "ancestral spirit", a taboo so ingrained that there is not even a proscribed punishment. The villagers then burn down the church and confrontation ensues. The suicide of Achebe's tribal hero, when faced with his inevitable arrest and punishment for the murder of one of the native representatives of the colonial administration, is symbolic of the tribe's own loss of dignity and identity in confrontation with the new political and religious realities of westernization and modernization. One can envisage a continuing erosion of the cultural soil in which the tribe has found sustenance from time immemorial. Unlike the Balinese, one wonders if Achebe's tribal groups will endure.

The three books under review examine from differing perspectives the crucial problem of the survival of traditional cultural patterns in the face of the pressures of modernization and the encroachment of western ideas, attitudes, morality, laws and beliefs through their official interpreters. Each author provides unique insight into this area of culture conflict. Scholars and administrators concerned with the resolution of the conflicts inherent in the confrontation of cultures would do well to read these three literary lions disguised in anthropologist's clothing.

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A.B. Griswold

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