

REVIEWS

The Buddha's Words in the Dhammapada, a translation by Sathienpong Wannapok (published by the Sathienkoses-Nagapradip Foundation, 1979), XXVIII + 494 pp.

As noted in the Foreword by S. Sivaraksa and Words of Appreciation by Professor Praves Vasi and in the Prefatory Note by the translator himself, the Dhammapada is, especially to Western people who are interested in Buddhism, the best known part of the Pali Canon. It has been translated by many hands into Thai, English and other languages. English versions alone, as pointed out by the translator, number more than thirty. But the present work is one of the very few versions, probably three, that contain both Thai and English translations along with the original Pali verses in one and the same volume. The other two versions, one containing also equivalent Sanskrit stanzas, have not been completed or at least have not been published in complete volumes. What characterizes the present volume is its independent free-styled translation in modern understandable language, avoiding tedious and difficult obsolete and archaic monastic idioms of the traditional more literal translation. However, the translator was careful enough to consult Buddhaghosa's commentary and scholarly translations by authoritative hands such as Narada Thera, Buddhadatta Thera and Radhakrishnan. In fact, the translator himself is an authority in this field. His mastery of Pali is certified by his attainment of Parien IX, the highest grade of Pali scholarship in Thailand's monastic education, and by long experience as teacher of Pali, both in the famous monastic school of the monastery of his residence and in modern universities. Truly, he was the first in this present reign to pass the examination of Parien IX while still a novice and whose higher ordination was sponsored by His Majesty the King of Thailand. In combination with his conversance with English through his years of Ancient Oriental Language Studies at Cambridge University, it aptly qualifies him for the task of this bilingual translation.

Regarding the contents, the present translation follows the original order of 423 verses grouped into 26 vaggas or chapters as arranged in the Pali Canon, beginning with the well-known oft-quoted saying, "Manopub -baṅgamā dhammā ... pe....." or, as translated in the present work,

"Mind foreruns all mental conditions,
Mind is chief, mind-made are they;
If one speaks or acts with a wicked mind,
Then suffering follows him
Even as the wheel, the hoof of the ox."

“If one speaks or acts with a pure mind,
Then happiness follows him
Even as the shadow that never leaves.”

The translator shows convincing reasons when he, not following the traditional renderings suggested in the commentary and later works, translates the term ‘Uttitthe’ in Verse 168 as ‘arise’ and ‘Vanno’ in Verse 109 as ‘fame’. Other notes and comments in the appendix, though short and sparse, are helpful to the understanding of the deeper and varying meanings of the verses. The Dhammapada is, like many other works of Pali literature, abounded with similes. These similes not only grace the ideas and the language, but make the teaching more forceful and impressive. The detailed index of similes appended at the end of the textual part therefore adds to the utility value of the work.

The list of the chapters may give some idea of the theme of the Dhammapada. Of the 26 chapters, some interesting ones are those on Heedfulness, the Mind, the Fool, the Wise, Evil, Self, the World, Happiness, Loving-kindness, Hatred, Being just, the Path, Craving, the Monk, and the Brahmins. The following quotations from the text may help to show what is the nature of the Dhammapada and how and why it comes to be regarded as a concise collection of the basic teaching of Buddhism. Quoted from the book under review:

“Abstention from all evil,
Cultivation of the wholesome,
Purification of heart;
This is the Message of the Buddhas.” (V. 183)

“Though one should conquer in battle
A thousand times a thousand men,
Yet should one conquer just oneself
One is indeed the greatest victor.” (V. 103)

“Though one should live a hundred years,
Sluggish and inactive
Yet, better is a single day’s life
Of one who intensely exerts.” (V. 112)

“Irrigators lead water;
Fletchers fashion shafts;
Carpenters bend wood;
The wise tame themselves.” (V. 80)

"Of bones is this city made,
Plastered with flesh and blood,
Herein dwell decay and death,
Pride and detraction." (V. 150)

"Soon alas will this body lie
Upon the ground, unheeded,
Devoid of consciousness,
Even as a useless log." (V. 41)

"Whatever harm a foe may do to a foe,
Or a hater to a hater,
An ill-directed mind
Can harm one even more." (V. 42)

"What neither mother, nor father,
Nor any other relatives can do,
A well-directed mind does
And thereby elevates one." (V. 43)

Phra Rajavaramuni

*Center for the Study of World Religions,
Harvard University*

Prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa Autobiography: The Life of Prince-Patriarch Vajirañāṇa of Siam, 1860-1921 Translated, Edited and Introduced by Craig J. Reynolds (Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio, 1979), liii and pp. 88.

Anyone who has read Reynold's unpublished Ph D dissertation on *The Buddhist Monkhood in Nineteenth Century Thailand* would obviously be impressed by his deep understanding of and very articulate and careful approach to his subject—not an easy one for a lay person to understand, even if he be a Thai. So it is indeed very fortunate that he undertook to edit, translate and introduce *Autobiography: The Life of Prince-Patriarch Vajirañāṇa of Siam, 1860-1921*.

Although the *Autobiography* was incomplete, the royal author wished to leave his story as it was. Yet the writing could still be regarded a masterpiece in Thai. In fact, it was the forerunner of this genre of Thai literature, such as Prince Damrong's *Memoirs* (ความทรงจำ) and Prince Dhani's *Seven Cycles of Life* (เจ็ดรอบอายุ) and Phya Anuman's *Recollecting The Past* (ฟื้นความหลัง).

Recollecting The Past, however, went on for four volumes and was still incomplete. It gave us the social background of Bangkok as seen by a commoner of 80 years ago more than the interior life of the author.

Prince Damrong's *Memoirs* digressed to give accounts of his august father, King Mongkut, and the early part of King Chulalongkorn's reign rather than about himself. In fact, he stopped telling us about his own life at the stage of having his top knot shaved off i.e. when he reached the age of puberty.

The only one which followed Prince Vajirañāṇa's *Autobiography* closely and carried the story to his old age was Prince Dhani's *Seven Cycles of Life*.

Both memoirs were plain, pin-pointed and finely focused, without bombast or pomposity. Although Prince Dhani's writing seems more modest, he was straight forward in criticizing his royal uncle and spiritual mentor. Yet the Prince-Patriarch's *Autobiography* must have had much influence unconsciously on the latter's *Seven Cycles of Life*.

The *Autobiography* was begun in 1915, when the author was fifty-five years old, and was published posthumously in 1924. It began with his birth, and went through his childhood, boyhood, early adolescence, growing up, and his time in the monkhood and until he received his first monastic rank.

In the Thai edition, Prince Damrong explained in the introduction that the Prince Patriarch wrote his *Autobiography* for the benefit of his pupils—who only knew

him after he was well known as a great scholar and administrator in the monkhood, as well as preceptor to the king.

They did not realize that it was a hard struggle for him—although a Prince of the Blood—to attain such a position. He had to struggle hard, spiritually, socially and academically to attain such a position. Hence he did not wish to write further after he received his first monastic rank, because from then on, he was known widely and officially and his activities were fully recorded in the *Sangha Gazettes*. Even so, in writing about his early life, he kept on referring to his habit as an administrator and as a scholar in later life.

As a monk and teacher, he always took occasions to teach his readers, whom he regarded as his pupils, that such and such should be done or should be avoided. Since he was very frank about himself and his shortcomings, the writing has much merit beyond its pedagogic values.

Members of the Royal House of Chakri who wrote *Memoirs* are known for their fairness and their self-criticism. Yet they were also tactful in not mentioning certain unpleasant sides of life.

Prince Damrong, for instance, refused to write his autobiography further, because he felt he had to be honest and in so doing he had to reveal certain unpleasantnesses which would not be beneficial to some of his contemporaries. As for Prince Dhani, he mentioned straightaway that he would rather skip over the episodes of the 1932 *coup d'état*. In the case of the Prince-Patriarch, he just did not mention certain events at all e.g. he wrote about his elder brother but did not say a word about his elder sister. However, whatever he wrote, it was so accurate and straightforward that the book is of a great value to historians and sociologists of that period. Spiritually, this *Autobiography* may not be compared with Augustine's *Confessions* but it is a good guide for those who wish to take the religious life seriously.

His style may not be as smooth and friendly as that of Prince Damrong, but it is as correct and to the point as if he were writing an official journal or passing a legal judgement on himself as well as on others. He used the royal 'we' and proper royal vocabularies for himself throughout.

The translator, however, substituted the word 'I' for the royal 'we' as he did not attempt "to translate the archaisms of an early twentieth century Siamese text into English". Indeed he made it as readable as possible, with very few translation errors e.g. เราอยู่ที่นี่ก็เจ็บใหญ่ should not be rendered as "If I had stayed there, I too would

have been very ill" (p. 5). In fact Reynolds took great care to translate and explain about royal insignia and monks requisites etc. He even employed three systems to transcribe Thai words into Romanized forms. One may disagree with him here and there,—as no full agreement is possible about the transcriptions of Thai names and for that matter Thai translation in general. Yet one doubts whether anybody else would give us a better version of the Life of Prince Patriarch Vajirañāṇa in English than Craig Reynolds. His introduction itself provides good historical background information for non-Thai readers to appreciate the Prince Patriarch who deserves to be better known abroad. Indeed if his *Autobiography* in Thai is republished, the Thai editor would do well to follow Reynold's example in editing the work as carefully and with just as scholarly an introduction, so that the Prince Patriarch would be better appreciated by contemporary Thai readers.

Sulak Sivaraksa

*Asian Cultural Forum On Development,
Bangkok*

S. Sivaraksa, **Religion and Development**,

Translated by Francis Seeley (Payap College, Chiangmai, 1981) pp. 72.

Religion and Development was Sulak Sivaraksa's lecture delivered as the 9th Thompson Memorial Lecture in Chiangmai in February 1976. The original version was in Thai which was then printed and distributed by the Church of Christ in Thailand in the same year. It has taken almost five years to have this book appear in English. The translation could be considered perfect, though it was not so easy to do so with Sulak's sometimes straightforward and at other times sophisticated Thai expressions.

Who Sulak Sivaraksa is needs not to be mentioned here since a short biography of the author is added already on the first page of the book. Moreover, his name is already quite well known to foreign intellectual and academic circles. As in his homeland, Sulak is distinguished as an intellectual, writer, speaker and leader whose integrity is rarely questioned in spite of his straightforward criticisms.

Though a committed Buddhist, Sulak, with a background of education in Christian schools, has an open mind and broad vision concerning religious issues, so that the title *Religion and Development* is not a one-sided Buddhist reflection. A great part of the lecture deals with religion in general.

Sulak begins his lecture by clarifying the often misleading term "development". This results from the fact that at present most people, be they in capitalist, socialist or communist society, cling to the materialistic aspect, taking this as an immediate goal, rather than the integral perspective of the development of man. Modernization is identified with development. Quantitative progress becomes at the same time the means and the goal.

The present situation of Thailand is seen by Sulak as the one with "modernization without development". The change of Thai society during this century is contrasted with traditional and simple way of living of the Thai. This results from the influence of western ideas of development which goes back to the industrial revolution after the Renaissance. Quantitative development prevails at the cost of the diminution of quality of human life since then.

Sulak criticizes both capitalism and marxism, the main origin of political and economic ideologies today. He does not consider them all negative in relation to real development. There are elements which could be and should be taken seriously in

search of new ways for integral human development. The case of Latin American Theology of Liberation is taken as an example of application of some marxist elements with Christian in order to struggle for a more just and better society.

As for Asian reality, especially Thailand, Sulak goes for Gandhi's non-violent way of human development, which he finds identical with the Buddhist way of living, as he quoted Schumacher, "The keynote to Buddhist economics is simplicity and non-violence. From the economist's point of view the marvel of Buddhist way of life is the utter rationality of its pattern amazingly small means leading to extraordinarily satisfactory results" (p. 49). To realize this ideal pattern of development, the process has to begin at small communities of villages, trying to be self-reliant and to have a simple way of life.

The last part of the book deals directly with the title *Religion and Development*. Sulak goes down concretely to what he considers as the ideal type of development. Though sympathizing with socialism rather than capitalism (p. 58), he rejects both as products of Western civilization which "1. lacks a basic understanding of humanity at the deeper level. . 2. Western type of development had its origin in a struggle against religion and it developed in the age of industrial revolution . ."

Sulak, as mentioned at the beginning, is not a one-sided Buddhist. He calls now for a mutual collaboration among religions to realize the ideal type of development. He affirms clearly that "As to the matter of different religions it should be possible for those of different faiths to work together in applying religious truth to development, with each one remaining faithful to his own doctrines, scripture, or historical background with his own group, keeping in mind the ultimate objective of his religion." (p. 59) The essential point of this application is that religion has to take an interest in social problems. This is not to be taken as getting involved in other fields unjustifiably. A true religious man who goes back to the essence of the teaching of the founder cannot act otherwise. Religion has to witness its prophetic role in the society today, which means that religious people should not only preach or talk but must also act for a better life, a better society. However, this presupposes already a personal conversion.

In the context of this last decade, we have to admit that Sulak has given a rather overall view of the issue and a new perspective of religion and development in Thailand. He could be counted one of the first lay Buddhists who, liberating himself

first, tries to initiate the liberation of traditional Buddhism from losing its essence and thus its role in society. At the same time, he promotes mutual understanding and collaboration among religions, overcoming any superiority or inferiority complex.

The value of this book can also be justified by the fact that its author is not a "pure" intellectual. Sulak is a practical man, who gets involved in different activities of different groups, both at national and international levels. Thus his thoughts on issues of concern are reflections of his experiences, especially his encounter with different religions, thinkers and leaders, which has broadened his outlook. The book is thus not only of great value for Thai people but should be recommended to foreign readers who wish to learn from a Thai.

Seri Phongphit

*Faculty of Liberal Arts,
Thammasat University
& Catholic Council of Thailand
for Development*

สามสมเด็จ สมเด็จพระพุทธโฆษาจารย์ สมเด็จพระวันรัต ดำรงราชานุภาพ
มูลนิธิเสฐียรโกเศศ-นาคะประทีป ร่วมกับ มูลนิธิพิพิธภัณฑ์วังวรดิศ
จัดพิมพ์ 1 ธันวาคม 2523

(Three Somdechs, Published by Sathirakoses-Nagapradip Foundation in Collaboration with the Varadis Palace Museum, 1980), Pp. 254.

“Somdech” is an honorific of Khmer language origin used in certain royal titles and religious designations. In the present instance, the three *somdech*s are 1. *Somdech Kromaphraya Damrong Rajanubhab* (H.R.H. Prince Damrong), 2. *Somdech Phra Buddhaghosācārya* (Charoen Nānavaro), and 3. *Somdech Phra Vanarat* (Kimheng Khemacāri), former lord-abbots of Debsirindrāvāsa and Mahādhātu Monasteries respectively.

Of the numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries in Bangkok, Debsirindrāvāsa and Mahādhātu Monasteries used to enjoy reputation in respect of disciplinary decorum of their inmate monks and the high standard of religious education they offered. This was especially so during the abbotship of the two “somdechs” aforementioned.

Though different in age, Prince Damrong being the senior most, the three somdechs more or less lived contemporaneously. In the field of academic achievements as well as in exemplary mode of life befitting Buddhist monks, both *Somdech Phra Buddhaghosācārya* and *Somdech Phra Vanarat* seemed to have won the Prince’s admiration while they were still not very senior in their ecclesiastical ranks and when the Prince was an influential figure in the administration of the country. In Thailand, unlike other Buddhist countries, the administration of the Sangha (community of monks) goes hand-in-hand with that of the State; hence considerable contact and co-operation are maintained between the State and the Sangha. Owing to his many-sided accomplishments and varied experiences gained during the long period of three reigns (Ramas V, VI & VII), Prince Damrong was entrusted with most of the civil and cultural administration of the country. The Prince’s unique position and pious temperament brought him into close contact with religious leaders and scholars of the country. Thus began his life-long association and friendship with several eminent and talented *Mahātheras* (elder monks) among whom *Somdech Phra Buddhaghosācārya* and *Somdech Phra Vanarat* stood out most prominently.

“Sām Somdech” is a collection of correspondence between Prince Damrong on the one hand and the other two *somdech*s separately on the other. The correspondence dates from 1918 and ends in 1943, a pretty long period of 25 years. A good portion

of this correspondence was carried on when the Prince was living in Penang, his home for several years after the 1932 revolution. The Prince's well-nigh enforced stay in the island was, in fact, the main reason for his having to communicate with the two monk *somdech*s by writing.

About 77 in number, this correspondence touches on several subjects ranging from mere enquiries after one another's health, invitation to accept alms, request for sermons, discussion on certain points in the Buddha's Teachings, education of monks, clarification of issues in connection with certain temples and monasteries, problems with regard to administration of the Sangha, etc., etc. In short, they cover a wide range of topics and affairs connected with Buddhism, its practice and existence in Thailand, all evincing deep knowledge and concern on the part of the three *Somdech*s.

Like "To Phya Anuman", "Three Somdech" gives useful indexes for reference of books, proper names and topics. The appendix includes the text of a lecture by S. Sivaraksa on "Prince Damrong and the Study of History & Archaeology" which, despite its strong language, is highly thought-provoking and deserves attention of those interested in the subject.

S. Sivaraksa is to be commended for his efforts in collecting these valuable documents and bringing them to light in book-form. Needless to say, it is a useful addition to this kind of literature in our country which, unfortunately, is still rare.

Karuna Kusalasaya

*Thai-Bharat Lodge
and Silpakorn University*

ใ้พระยาอนูมาน ลายพระหัตถ์ สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ
กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพทรงมีโต้ตอบกับ พระยาอนูมานราชชน

(To Phya Anuman: Correspondence between H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and Phya Anuman Rajadhon) (มูลนิธิเสฐียรโกเศศ-นาคะประทีป ด้วยความร่วมมือจากมูลนิธิ
จิมทอมป์สันจัดพิมพ์เป็นที่ระลึกเนื่องในวันครบรอบ ๑๐ ปีของห้องสมุดอนูมานราชชน ๑๔ ธันวาคม ๒๕๒๑
Sathirakoses-Nagapradip Foundation, with the assistance of the Jim Thompson Foundation, Bangkok, 1978), Pp. 470.

The name of *Phya Anuman* is well-known to anyone who takes interest in any aspect of Thai studies, or, to use the word coined by *Phya Anuman* himself, *Thaiology*. Even today, 12 years after his passing, anybody, be he a Thai or a foreigner, who wishes to have reliable knowledge of the culture, arts, language, customs etc. of the Thai people, cannot but refer to books written by *Phya Anuman*.

The present volume, a highly commendable publication by the Sathirakoses-Nagapradip Foundation, contains correspondence between H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and *Phya Anuman Rajadhon*, covering a period of about 10 years from 1934 to 1943. It will be recalled that the scholar-prince, whom many prefer to designate "the Father of the Study of Thai History", left Thailand (then Siam) and lived in Penang shortly after the revolution that overthrew the absolute monarchy in 1932.

Being of scholarly bent, both the Prince and *Phya Anuman*, despite political taboos prevalent at the time, started corresponding with each other on subjects relating to various aspects of *Thaiology*, such as the printing of rare and important books, organisation of the State Library, the National Archives, the National Museum, etc. etc. Prince Damrong who was 26 years senior to *Phya Anuman* and who, as long ago as during the reign of King Rama VI, predicted that *Phya Anuman* would become "a distinguished man of letters", was very sympathetic to questions put by *Phya Anuman*, and the result was a voluminous correspondence carried on between the two savants, in almost a manner resembling that between a preceptor and his pupil. The light shed by the Prince on numerous questions posed by *Phya Anuman*, as seen in the correspondence herein collected, is indeed an invaluable asset to students of various aspects of cultural Thailand. Thanks to the efforts of S. Sivaraksa of the Sathirakoses-Nagapradip Foundation, that light is now collected in book-form for convenient use of students and lovers of knowledge.

"To *Phya Anuman*" was befittingly published on the occasion of the 10th anniversary celebration of the opening of Anuman Rajdhon Library which fell on December 14, 1978. S. Sivaraksa, a fond disciple of the late *Phya Anuman* and

Chairman of the Sub-Committee for Publication, says in his foreword to the book that "knowledge imparted by the Prince thus comes down to us of the present generation and will spread among academic quarters."

S. Sivaraksa who calls *Phya Anuman* "a formidable link between the past and the present", explains in his foreword that the book derives its name from an autographed photograph of the Prince on which is written "To *Phya Anuman Rajdhon*, Damrong Rajanubhab, 1930."

Apart from the enlightening contents already referred to, the book has a very valuable appendix which includes, among others, articles in English namely, In Memorium, H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, by Erik Seidenfaden, a past president, Thailand Research Society; a Biographical Sketch by the Prince himself; and *Phya Anuman Rajdhon--An Obituary* by S. Sivaraksa. The accompanied indexes for terms and topics, personal names, and names of publications, facilitate the use of the book as well as enhance its value.

All told, the book will be found helpful to those who want to broaden their knowledge on various aspects of cultural Thailand.

Karuna Kusalasaya

*Thai-Bharat Lodge
and Silpakorn University*

Phya Anuman Rajadhon, *Essays on Thai Folklore*

(Editions Duang Kamol, Bangkok, 1981) pp. 383 *and An Obituary by S. Sivaraksa*

There is no doubt that for anyone interested in traditional Thai culture, this book is a mine of information. The book is divided into five chapters: The Cultural; The Language & Literature; The Folk Tale; The Buddhistic, and The Rites and Rituals. It also contains two pieces of writing in the Appendix. The first one was written by *Phya Anuman* himself and was translated into English by William Gedney. The second one is an obituary written by S. Sivaraksa.

Each contribution not only reflects his thorough understanding of the subject he deals with but also shows the high degree of scholarship he attained. I cannot but entirely agree with Gedney when he wrote that "no one has made so great a contribution as he (*Phya Anuman*) to the study of traditional Thai culture". What impresses me most is not his detailed knowledge of the subject he writes about, but his acquisition methods of such knowledge and his prose style. Given that "he is not an academician by training, nor is he a trained anthropologist, nor is he a student of language and literature" his contributions in this book are the hard evidence that challenges the myth of the western-trained academicians specializing in the same areas.

Even though the publishers are to be admired for their efforts in presenting the book to the wider public, they are, unfortunately, careless in making their efforts to improve the quality of the book. For example, several pieces of the writing, particularly, those on language and literature, are repetitive in their contents. Of course, this is by no means a responsibility of the author, but that of the editor or the publishers. These writings could have been better presented, had they been professionally edited. In addition, care has not been taken in terms of proof-reading and production. The copy I am reviewing contains a great number of spelling errors, and worse still, it contains several blank pages. These shortcomings should have been improved at least in respect to its author.

Despite these criticisms, I contend that the book is remarkable in scholarship. Its prose is straightforward and witty. I am sure that whoever does research on Thailand, be it traditional or contemporary, will readily appreciate *Phya Anuman Rajadhon's* great contributions in his *Essays on Thai Folklore*.

Uthai Dulyakasem

Silpakorn University

หม่อมศรีพรหมา กฤดากร อัตชีวประวัติ (พร้อมด้วยคำสัมภาษณ์
และเรื่องวิถีนอมรรักษาอาหาร)

Mom Sri Brahma Kridakara, Autobiography (Published by the Jim Thompson Foundation at the Suksit Siam Press, Bangkok, 1979), 415 pages, 15 black and white photographs.

It has been said that one of the greatest obstacles to Thailand's rural and democratic development is the selfishness of the upper class.

If this is true, there are fortunately exceptions and one of the most notable of these exceptions was *Mom Sri Brahma Kridakara* (1888-1978). But the life story of *Mom Sri* is of course incomplete without that of her husband, Prince Sitthiporn, who has most deservedly gone down in Thai history as the father of modern Thai agriculture. All their lives together Prince Sitthiporn and *Mom Sri* shared and lived up to an ideal, often with great personal sacrifice. They believed that the future of their country laid in agriculture. They also believed that agriculture was the most noble and satisfying way of life and their high birth and sophisticated education spurred them on rather than prevented them from living off the land. They also wanted to set an example and leave this rural heritage to their children. All their energy went into trying to educate the peasants so that they would eventually have a better life. They had hoped that one day Thailand would have an educated middle class of agriculturalists as its backbone rather than ignorant and destitute peasants. Perhaps this would have come about had Thailand's political history taken a different turn after June 1932. Who knows what would have been achieved had Prince Sitthiporn been allowed to be in charge of Thailand's agricultural policy instead of being taken political prisoner and banished to a malaria-infested island for eleven years.

They had decided on their honeymoon that they would become farmers, and five years later, in 1920, Prince Sitthiporn submitted his resignation as Director-General of the lucrative Opium Department, to the King. That *Mom Sri Brahma* wholeheartedly supported her husband's decision to leave that heaven on earth, Bangkok, for the wilds, was considered by many to be something close to insanity.

Their farm at Bangbird was the first experimental, diversified, modern farm in Thailand. The story of its trials and tribulations as well as its successes and the impact it has had on Thailand--for example, the fact that we no longer import hen's eggs from China and Europe is a direct result of Bangbird farm--is told to a certain extent by *Mom Sri Brahma*, but mostly by *Khun Sulak Sivaraksa* in the 50-page introduction to the book under review.

The bulk of the book is the story of a bright and independent-minded little girl with an extremely colourful background and unusual education, who was sensitive to the sufferings of the poor and who grew up to be a compassionate, uncomplicated woman with moral integrity, a fine sense of humour, and devoid of malice.

The book is divided into four parts. The first and introductory part by *Khun* Sulak is a biographical sketch of *Mom* Sri from birth to death, giving the reader some idea of the social and political climate of Thailand during the first half of this century. It also underlines the debt of gratitude Thailand owes to the pioneering work of this selfless couple as well as to their integrity and moral courage. This introduction is invaluable to the book in that it places the autobiography in its social and historical context.

Part two of the book was started by *Mom* Sri Brahma when she was already in her eighties. The style is chatty and entertaining. We learn of her early childhood in Nan, her amusing life at the court of King Chulalongkorn, her travels in Europe. The observations and criticisms of a twelve-year-old of Paris, London, Berlin and St. Petersburg and members of the Thai royal family she came across at the turn of the century make fascinating reading.

The last chapter of this second part describes the mourning ritual after the death of King Chulalongkorn and is of historical importance; she herself took part in the ceremonies.

The third part of this book is the text of recorded interviews with *Mom* Sri Brahma not long before her death. Some of the material in this part is a repetition of the memoirs in part two, but these transcripts have immense value in that they are authentic document and they allow *Mom* Sri to come alive through the rhythm and choice of her words. Many interesting details of a Thai woman's education at that time are described in this part and we learn just how thoroughly our upper class women were trained to be good homemakers. Most regrettably the eleven years during which the prince was a political prisoner and *Mom* Sri had to manage the farm alone are mentioned only in passing. The autobiography breaks off here.

The final part of the book is a reprint of articles which *Mom* Sri had written in the late 1920s for the agricultural journal which they ran and Prince Sitthiporn edited from their farm. They are for the most part excellent recipes for food preservation which are as applicable today as they were then. How many people know how to preserve fresh durian, for example? Imagine bacon, ham and sausages being produced by the average rice farmer's wife!

It is also in this final part that we have her testimony to the fact that she loved her farm and why. As a child she enjoyed life at court; as an adult she found it extremely dull. At Bangbird they lived a frugal life away from civilization and with no near neighbours, but she said she never felt alone, lonely or deprived.

I thoroughly enjoyed this book and came away with a sense of gratitude that *Khun* Sulak had helped make *Mom* Sri Brahma's story available to a wider public. Perhaps it will indeed be an inspiration to the younger generation as he hopes. One of *Mom* Sri's regrets was that "Everyone admires Prince Sitthiporn, but no one follows his example." But *Mom* Sri Brahma deserves to be even more widely known and it is a pity that her autobiography is available only to the relatively small number of people in the world who can read Thai.

Sumalee Viravaidya

Wiesbaden

Piriya Krairiksh, **Art in Peninsular Thailand Prior to the Fourteenth Century A.D.** (Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 1980), 264 pages with 18 coloured illustrations, 80 black and white photographs and 6 maps

One should congratulate the Fine Arts Department of Thailand for producing such a beautiful and informative book. This scholarly book is divided into an introduction section and four chapters. At the beginning there is a preface by Mr. Dejo Savanananda, Director-General of the Department of Fine Arts, informing that this book is a catalogue of the exhibition entitled "Arts in Peninsular Thailand Prior to the Fourteenth Century A.D." which had been arranged to commemorate the birthday of His Majesty the King on the 5th of December. Then follow the acknowledgements of Dr. Piriya Krairiksh, the author.

In the foreword Dr. Krairiksh divides the arts in southern Thailand into four periods : the Indianized period, 3rd to 5th century A.D.; the Mon and Peninsular states period, 5th to 8th century A.D.; the Indo-Javanese period, 8th to 10th century A.D. and the Khmer period, 10th to 13th century A.D.

At the end of "The Mon and Peninsular states period" section, Dr. Krairiksh writes that "Since Dvāravatī was but one of the many Mon states that flourished during this period, the term "Dvāravatī" should be used only in the context of political history. As a nomenclature of an art style it should be discarded in favour of the term "Mon" which is culturally more comprehensive". One might ask whether this "Mon" style has been found everywhere where the Mon people used to live especially in lower Burma.

For "The Khmer period" Dr. Krairiksh argues with the reviewer on using the term "Lopburi art" for Khmer antiquities (*including those produced in imitation of the Khmer art – the reviewer*) discovered in Thailand dating from the 7th to the 14th centuries A.D. For this question the reviewer has already remarked in his review of Dr. Krairiksh's book "The Sacred Image : Sculptures from Thailand" which was published in the Journal of the Siam Society (JSS) Vol. 68 Pt. 1, January 1980 that "on this point the reviewer agrees if the Khmer antiquities found in Thailand will be termed as "Khmer art in Thailand" and if it is also accepted that there exist certain discrepancies between it (Khmer art in Thailand) and "Khmer art in Cambodia".

Dr. Krairiksh then discusses about the permission of Professor George Coedès to change his nomenclatures on the arts in Thailand. The reviewer agrees wholeheartedly if the change is done from thorough research to facilitate the understanding of students and not to overlook the genius of the local artist. They should not be changed just for the sake of newness.

Then come the colour plates, no. XII of which is reversed from right to left, maps 1 and 2 on Thailand and southern Thailand and the introduction. The introduction is divided into geographical location, settlements, people, social organization, the states and periodizations. It is rather surprising that on the section on "people", Dr. Krairiksh writes that "Unlike the other clearly defined geographical areas of central and northeastern Thailand, whose populations prior to the eleventh century A.D. were basically homogenous with the Mons in the centre and the Khmer in the northeast" when he has insisted all the time that the Dvāravatī art in northeastern Thailand during that period should be termed "Mon" art. It is also noticeable on pages 10 and 11 that Dr. Krairiksh believes that the Śrīvijaya kingdom was situated on the Kra Isthmus in southern Thailand in the present provinces of Nakhon Si Thammarat and Surat Thani. But he also infers that there might have been another Śrīvijaya kingdom flourishing in south Sumatra at about the same time. Malāya according to him also appears to have been somewhere around the tip of the Malay Peninsular. He also expounds the idea that Śrīvijaya (Chaiya in southern Thailand), whose sculptural remains are closely related to those of Central Java, may have come under the political and cultural hegemony of Java from the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 10th centuries A.D. Kālah is also identified as Takua Pa instead of Kedah in the present-day Malaysia. He concludes that Zābaj, Jāvaka and Suvarṇadvīpa represent a generic name for the people of the Malay Peninsular, and not the name of any particular state. At the end of the introduction come the bibliographical notes.

Then follow map 3 concerning the Kra Isthmus in the Indianized states period from 3rd to 5th century A.D. and chapter I on the Indianized period followed by notes. As the reviewer agrees totally with Dr. Krairiksh on this chapter there will be no comment.

Chapter II on the Mon and the Peninsular states period : 5th to 8th century A.D. is also preceded with a map showing peninsular Thailand of that period. On the Hindu Sculpture : Viṣṇu images section Dr. Krairiksh follows Professor Stanley J. O'Connor Jr. in dividing these images into three groups but his date of the last group with the hip scarf eliminated and the anterior hands spread away from the body is probably too high. Dr. Krairiksh attributes the best one of this type from Takua Pa as belonging to the sixth century A.D. but in his catalogue of this image (plate 12) he writes that "In contrast to the relative sculptural timidity in earlier figures (*which he also dates to the 6th and late 6th century A.D. as can be seen on p. 27 and plates 10, 11*), in which arms are carved against the body, this torso displays technical virtuosity in the arms spread away from the body". Should they belong to the same

century? It is also rather astonishing that Dr. Krairiksh does not explain at all from where this type of Viṣṇu wearing a cylindrical hat derived, whether from Indian Gupta, post-Gupta or Pallava arts or whether it originated from local artists in peninsular Thailand. Here the reviewer would like again to stress his opinion that the Group B which wears a diagonal hip scarf might be anterior to Group A which is wearing a horizontal one. The diagonal scarf seems to derive directly from the Indian prototype rather than the horizontal.

As for a stone head showing Dvāravatī (Mon) influence and found at Tha Chana District of Surat Thani Province dated by the author back to the 7th century A.D. (pl. III), one cannot help wondering whether the head really represents Viṣṇu as none of those wearing a cylindrical hat and has four arms resemble it. The strong Dvāravatī influence on the face from central Thailand might indicate a little later date, say about the 8th century A.D. For this head one should also think of Professor Boisselier's statement in his article "Dégagement du Phra Chedi de Wat Keo, Chaiya" published in JSS Vol. 67 Pt. 2, that "probably dating back to the 8th century, this head reminds by its headgear the tradition of the Cham pediment of Mi-son E. 1 and of the lintel of the pre-angkorian period of Tuol Baset, whereas the model of the face is inscribed in the style of Dvāravatī". The Professor however admits that it is probably (*sans doute*) the head of Viṣṇu.

Then Dr. Krairiksh discusses in details the evolutive form of Śivaliṅga (the phallic emblem of Śiva) and the figure of Gaṇeśa. For the figure of Gaṇeśa Dr. Krairiksh compares the one from Sathing Phra in Songkhla Province with those found at Oc-èo, Tuol Phak Kin and Mi-so'n E 5 and states that the one from Sathing Phra antedates the latter sculptures. If one examines the figure from Tuol Phak Kin one will see that the god has only two arms and wears no decorations. The one from Sathing Phra has four arms as well as wearing a necklace and a sacred thread. It might have been contemporary with the one from Mi-s'on E. 5 which Professor Boisselier dates to the 7th-8th century A.D. According to the reviewer's point of view Gaṇeśa from Sathing Phra is surely later than the late 6th century.

Dr. Krairiksh goes on to the Buddhist sculptures which he divides into the first and second Chaiya styles. For the second Chaiya style the reviewer always thinks that the dating of Dr. Krairiksh on the Dvāravatī (Mon) native school (Buddha images with joined eyebrows executed in a ridge, robe worn covering both shoulders, and forearms projecting perpendicularly to the body with both hands executing the same *mudrā*) to the end of the 6th century A.D., even in central Thailand, is too early. It should be according to the reviewer's idea not earlier than the 8th century.

Then follows chapter III on the Indo-Javanese period : eighth to eleventh century A.D. when the author talks about the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism from Nālandā combined with the close familial ties between the ruling houses of Chaiya and Central Java. Dr. Krairiksh believes that Śrīvijaya is at Chaiya in southern Thailand and known in Chinese transliteration as San Fo Zhai.

The author divides the art at Chaiya this time into two periods : the third Chaiya style showing the Pāla features from Nālandā and influences from Central Javanese art and the fourth Chaiya style, marked by Cham influence.

For the third Chaiya style it is rather surprising that Dr. Krairiksh writes that the life sized bronze Bodhisattva (plate 30) was found at Wat Wiang, Chaiya. The exact provenance of this important figure should be further researched. Though the present official registration of the Bangkok National Museum records that the image was discovered at Wat Wiang, Chaiya, by H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, the older registration though recording the same information was corrected in pencil that the image came from Wat Mahathat, Chaiya. The book entitled *Ars Asiatica*, XII, les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok written by Professor George Coedès and published in 1928 as well as the Thai version published in the same year inform that Prince Damrong found this image (plate 30) and the other one (plate 32) together in front of Wat Mahathat, Chaiya. The prince himself verbally informed the reviewer before his death supporting the information of the Thai book. As for the epithet “Padmāpaṇi” given by Dr. Krairiksh to this image (plate 30) as well as to the other figures of the same god having two arms though one cannot know for certain whether they hold the lotus or not is rather surprising as in the book “Introduction à l’Iconographie du Tāntrisme Bouddhique” written by Mlle. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann and published in 1975 Avalokiteśvara with one face and two hands, the right one in the gesture of benediction and the left holding a lotus (*padma*) should be called Lokanātha (p. 107). Mlle de Mallmann also indicates (p. 288) that in the three texts she uses : *Sādhana-mālā*, *Nishpannayogāvalī* and *Kriyasamgraha*, Padmapāṇi has never appeared as a proper name for the Bodhisattva. It is also to be remarked that in the inscription of 775 A.D. supposed to have come from Wat Wiang, Chaiya instead of Wat Sema Muang, Nakhon Si Thammarat, the name Padmapāṇi is not mentioned in the Sanskrit text but Karakaja (the holder of lotus) instead.

After the free-standing sculptures in the third Chaiya style, Dr. Krairiksh discusses the votive tablets of that period and the fourth Chaiya style which shows the Cham influence. The author cites two examples for architecture : Phra Baromathat and Wat Kaew at Chaiya. The first one however resembles the Central Javanese

monument much more than that of the Cham. As for Wat Kaew at Chaiya (the plate on page 49 should be numbered IX not XI), it certainly denotes some Cham influences and according to an article entitled "Dégagement du Phra Chedi de Wat Keo, Chaiya" published in JSS Vol. 67 Pt. 2, Professor Boisselier dates this monument at the earliest to the middle of the ninth century A.D., therefore later than the 775 A.D. inscription of Wat Sema Muang, Nakhon Si Thammarat or of Wat Wieng, Chaiya.

Dr. Krairiksh then discusses about the sculpture of this fourth Chaiya style by beginning with clay Buddha figures in the Khuha Sawan Cave in Kanchanadit District of Surat Thani Province. As for the stone Padmapāṇi figure from Wat Phra Barommathat Chaiya which Dr. Krairiksh regards as the image most representative of the Fourth Chaiya style (plate 40), if one will compare it to the Cham bronze figures of Avalokiteśvara in Professor Boisselier's "La Statuaire du Champa" (1963) figs. 34-38, though the ornaments are more or less the same, one will still see many differences such as the high chignon, the different attitudes of the hands, a short flap of cloth under the belt over the median pleats or a single or double loop in front of the *sarong*. Professor Boisselier himself writes about this image in his article "Dégagement du Phra Chedi de Wat Keo, Chaiya" (p. 46) as "pour lequel G. Coedes notait "certaines analogies avec la sculpture chame" qui ne nous paraissent pas tellement évidentes". For the reviewer Plate 39 might be easier to see the Cham influence from the headgear and the dress though the face is not the same.

Then Dr. Krairiksh continues with the Javanese influence, the description of which the reviewer mostly agrees with except one cannot understand why Jambhala (plate 42) wears a *kirīṭamukūṭa* when in the glossary that word is explained as Vishṇu's *mitre-like* headdress. For plate 46 it should be specified that the *stūpa* on the right is placed on a lotus, the stem of which can still be seen clearly.

The Northeast Indian and South Indian styles are then mentioned at the end of this chapter. Although the reviewer agrees with the points raised by Dr. Krairiksh concerning the Northeast Indian style, he is rather reluctant about the dating of the two Buddha images showing the South Indian art. For the first one (plate 54) by comparing the image with the one found at Nāgapaṭṭinam (pl. XIX, fig. 3 in T.N. Ramachandran: *The Nāgapaṭṭinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum* (1965)) Dr. Krairiksh dates it to the 9th century A.D., Mr. Ramachandran in his book on page 50 refers to this image (pl. XIX, fig. 3) as "The image may be considered to be one of the earliest in our collection, perhaps dating from the 6th century A.D." The reviewer rather inclines to agree with Mr. Ramachandran's opinion on the date and thinks that the image found in southern Thailand (plate 54) should date back to the same period, especially when there is no end of the robe on the left shoulder which is typical of the Nāgapaṭṭinam bronzes.

For the standing bronze Buddha image (plate 55) which Dr. Krairiksh also dates to the ninth century A.D. by comparing it with a bronze standing Buddha found at Nāgapaṭṭinam (pl. V, I in the same book of Mr. Ramachandran), one will see many differences. Though the monastic robe is worn in the same manner, the one found in southern Thailand is standing in a triple flexion but the one in Nāgapaṭṭinam is standing straight. The former has no halo on top of the cranial protuberance which is characteristic of the Nāgapaṭṭinam bronzes. Also the end of the robe over the left shoulder is missing and the hands are much lower down from the shoulders than those found at Nāgapaṭṭinam. The reviewer would also like to date this image found in southern Thailand around the sixth century A.D.

This chapter III ends with pottery: local wares, Chinese export wares, summary and notes.

Chapter IV concerns the Khmer period: eleventh to thirteenth century A.D. In this chapter Dr. Krairiksh expounds the new theory that "Java" whence King Jayavarman II came to unite Cambodia "in all likelihood refers to the Malay Peninsula". The old theory that he came back from the island of Java is however still supported by influences from central Javanese art on the Khmer Kulen and Prah Ko styles (9th century A.D.). The theory of Professor Coedès that Jayaviravarman came from Tāmbraliṅga (Nakhon Si Thammarat) to rule Cambodia in A.D. 1002 is also rejected by many scholars such as Dr. Michael Vickery in his recent paper entitled "The Reign of Sūrayavarman I and the Dynamics of Angkorean Development" for the eighth conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 25th-29th August 1980.

In this chapter Dr. Krairiksh also expounds a rather strange theory that Grahi may have been in the Tha Chin River valley in central Thailand. If this is correct one has to presume that the rather large bronze image of the Buddha protected by the Nāga, 160 cm. high (plate 65) was removed at one time from central Thailand to Wat Wiang in Chaiya, where it was discovered, and created there a local art school for a long time down to the Ayudhya period. Moreover in the list of the fifteen vassal states of San-fo-ch'i (Śrīvijaya) by Chao Ju-kua at the beginning of the 13th century Chai-lo-hsi (probably Grahi) is also mentioned among the towns of the Malay Peninsula south of the Bay of Bandon in southern Thailand as well as those in western Indonesia.

In the last chapter on page 64 Dr. Krairiksh writes as if he believes Sukhothai and Hsien were different by saying that Hsien was the forerunner of the Ayutthaya (Ayudhya) kingdom but he does not specify where Hsien would be located.

Then the writer goes on to the fifth Chaiya style which shows the similar characteristics with Khmer art of the tenth and eleventh century A.D., followed by the sixth Chaiya style with features from Khmer art in central Thailand of the twelfth and thirteenth century. As for the stone head (plate 64) which Dr. Krairiksh attributes to the sixth Chaiya style, the reviewer rather disagrees with his dating of the late 11th or early 12th century A.D. If this head should be dated so late the Khmer influence should have been stronger for instance it should have a square form of face and a small band on the forehead. The circular *ūrṇā* among the eyebrows should not have also existed and there should have been a halo on top of the head. This head according to the reviewer still denotes strong Indian influence and should be dated around the 7th-8th century A.D.

On page 67, the last paragraph line 4 pl. XIV should be substituted by pl. XVI and on page 68 paragraph 3 line 3 pl. XII should also be changed into pl. X.

The writer then discusses the style of Nakhon Si Thammarat. For the votive tablets, on page 70 line 4 pls. XXVII and 68 should be changed into pls. XVI (upper) and 68. Here one cannot understand why Dr. Krairiksh can compare plate 68 in his book with "illustrated in Coedès, "Siamese votive tablets," pl. VII left hand plaque" (note 69 on page 76) since there are too many differences between the two. On pl. VII of Coedès' article there are three Buddhas, the central one in the attitude of subduing Māra and the other two in the attitude of meditation. The central one is seated in a typical Khmer tower supported by lion caryatids whereas the two lateral ones sit in a smaller edifice. For plate 68 in Dr. Krairiksh's book the main one is seated in an edifice probably crowned with a *stūpa* in the attitude of subduing Māra but the two lateral ones, probably Bodhisattva or divinities in each edifice of the same form but smaller are in the attitude of adoration and the central Buddha is probably supported by a lotus which is provided with a stem. The reviewer thinks that this latter type of Buddhist votive tablet shows more of the Dvāravatī (Mon) influence and should belong to the second chapter rather than the fourth. Its date should be 8th or 9th century A.D. rather than 12th.

Dr. Krairiksh then discusses the twelfth and thirteenth century A.D. Khmer-style sculptures, miniature *stūpa*, pottery: local wares and Chinese export wares. For the latter subject in the third paragraph line 1 of p. 72 pls. XIX and 79 should be changed into pls. XVIII (lower) and 79. The writer then goes on to pottery: Khmer wares and conclusion.

Then come the catalogue and plates which the reviewer will express his opinion only on those that have not been discussed or agreed upon. On plate 21 Dr. Krairiksh explains about the late Dvāravatī (Mon) Buddha image and says that the gesture of

beckoning (*āhūyamudrā*) executed with both hands is characteristic of the period. The reviewer wonders whether this form of gesture might have derived from the misunderstanding of the former *vitarka* (preaching) attitude rather than deriving directly from the Indian one.

For plate 38 though the hand gesture of asking the earth to witness belongs to Akshobhya, the Dhyāni Buddha of the east, but according to Mlle. de Mallmann's "Introduction a l'Iconographie du Tāntrisme Bouddhique" (p.6) the elephant is the mount of Akshobhya, not the lion. The lion is the mount of Vairocana, the Dhyāni Buddha of the zenith, who is in the attitude of the first sermon.

Plate 41 Śyamtārā should be written Śyamatārā as in the glossary.

Plate 66 it should be also explained that the smooth hemispherical *ushnīsha* in front of which is affixed the *bodhi* leaf-shaped radiance is a second *ushnisha*. The first one covered with small hair-curls is underneath.

For plate 67 it is rather doubtful whether it should belong to the 12th century A.D. or later. The lower garment seems to denote already the Ayudhya style. For plate 71, in the book "Introduction a l'Iconographie..." of Mlle. de Mallmann (p. 182) Hevajra is a demonic manifestation of Akshobhya.

On page 250 MBJ should stand for Muang Boran Journal not Journal of the Siam Society, Bangkok.

M.C. Subhadradis Diskul

*Graduate School,
Silpakorn University.*

Thak Chaloemtiarana, **Thailand: The Politics of Despotic Paternalism** (Bangkok, Social Science Association of Thailand, and the Thai Khadi Institute, Thammasat University, 1979), pp. xxx + 358.

Several years ago when a Thai newspaper asked a sizeable group of people which previous Prime Minister best typified the traits needed for the office, the overwhelming first choice was Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat. Sarit held the office of Prime Minister for a period of only a little more than five years, yet perhaps left a more enduring mark upon Thai politics than any of his military (or civilian) predecessors or successors, several of whom served considerably longer terms. Despite the passage of time, and the revelations of malfeasance which followed his death, a strong nostalgia for the Sarit era still emerges clearly both in casual conversation with the man in the street and from more systematic public opinion surveys. The nature of Sarit's rule, and how it marked a fundamental departure in post-1932 Thai politics, are the subject of Thak Chaloemtiarana's study.

This monograph derives from Professor Thak's doctoral dissertation at Cornell University, though there is considerable evidence of revision and updating to cover more recent events and recent literature in the field. An insightful Introduction is followed by a lengthy narrative account of Thai politics from the end of the Second World War to 1957 (Chapters I and II). After this extended stage-setting, which takes up a third of the total text, Chapters III to VI treat in detail the Sarit regime, and particularly its philosophical foundations. The Conclusion (Chapter VII) deals briefly with the scandals and the court cases precipitated by Sarit's death, and then sketches political developments from that period to 1978 and offers some observations on the Sarit legacy. The book ends with a two-page Appendix (with map) outlining planning for highway construction during the Sarit years; there is no bibliography or index.

On the whole this is a good study, with both new data and new ideas, and faults which are relatively minor in comparison. There are a number of misprints, particularly in dates, but most of these are obvious; occasionally however--as in the case of 'Cao Dai' for 'Bao Dai' in a discussion of Vietnam (p. 237, n. 25)--a wrong letter may dramatically alter the apparent meaning. Errors of fact are relatively few, and usually inconsequential, though in the historical background section (on the whole perhaps the most detailed and accurate account of Thai politics of the postwar period yet to appear in English) there is one glaring lapse, and conflation of events, when it is asserted (pp. 69-70) that during the 1951 'Manhattan' *coup* attempt "Thammasat University was occupied by Pridi and used as his headquarters."

There is at times a tendency to make rather sweeping generalizations on the basis of selective, scattered data. The data itself derives largely from public or semi-public sources (the records of the Office of the Prime Minister apparently being

inaccessible), often in the form of official speeches and decrees, or statistics (Thai and American). Particularly in the latter case of quantifiable data the author sometimes seems uncertain or careless in his handling. On p. 269, for example, we are told that certain figures represent "total American aid to Thailand" for fiscal year 1963, yet as the subsequent discussion and the table on the following page make clear, the figures in question relate only to aid for construction projects. Several pages later we are told that a certain Table 8 "illustrates the post-1964 emphasis on community development," though the table itself gives figures *only* for the year 1964 (and also shows another category of spending far exceeding Community Development; in yet another apparent anomaly, the table caption subdivides 'CD' by percentages into three sub-components, one of which is 'CD' itself). The assertions made concerning numerical trends may in fact be justified, but they need to be supported by a more systematic and rigorous treatment of the data.

Some of the uses of non-numerical data also raise questions. At times there seems to be too great a willingness to take legal codes or regime pronouncements at face value, as being representations of reality rather than normative or propagandistic exhortations. To give but one example, as evidence of the "relative success" of a National Defense College program we are given (pp. 286-7) a series of quotations from the College yearbook--hardly the place one might expect to find a divergence of opinion.

One might also wish that the author would express some views on how Sarit, elsewhere portrayed as something of a selfless patriot, might have rationalized his financial aggrandizement; instead, in one of the book's rare cases of circumspection, we are offered only various theories of others. And it might also be suggested that rather than using the translation 'revolution' for the term *pattiwat*, which the author himself convincingly argues does not connote 'revolution' in any Western sense, the term might better be left untranslated (as seems to be increasingly the case as the book progresses).

More fundamentally, one might question how distinctly 'Thai' Sarit's political philosophy and practice were, i.e. in what significant aspects did they differ from other latter-day paternalistic-hierarchical systems. Sarit and some of his advisors may well have believed they were pursuing something uniquely Thai, but for the observer it is a uniqueness which needs to be demonstrated rather than assumed.

But all in all the author has provided an innovative, comprehensive treatment of the Sarit years, in a suggestive analytical framework. Within the larger picture are some notable sections on particular aspects--the '*nakleng* ethic' in Thai politics (pp. 339ff), the role of the bureaucracy, the role of the monarchy. There is unexpectedly blunt discussion of the darker side of Thai political life, and the complex, controversial character of Sarit himself receives a generally balanced treatment. Rather surprisingly, Sarit's ideas on leadership and the twin concepts of *pattiwat* and *phattana* (development) sound perhaps less like Sukhothai, or rather the somewhat conventionalized, idealized vision of Sukhothai deriving largely from Western writings, than like the late Chakri absolute rulers, from Chulalongkorn to Prajadhipok. If Sarit's political philosophy was indeed atavistic, as the author and predecessors such as Toru Yano have argued, it might be suggested that--and despite the regime's rhetoric--primogenitors can be found a good deal closer in time than Ramkhamhaeng.

Benjamin A. Batson

Sulak Sivaraksa, **Siam in Crisis** (Bangkok : Komol Keemthong Foundation, 1980) pp. 462

Sulak Sivaraksa, the always persistent and sometimes abrasive gadfly on the Thai body politic, in the collection essays that comprise *Siam in Crisis*, has given us his personal critique of Siamese society as it struggles to overcome a "crisis" of national identity. In the initial section, the author, in a series of informative biographical sketches, evokes the richness of Thailand's literary and artistic heritage as personified by such renowned scholars as Prince Naris, Prince Dhani, Prince Damrong and Phya Anuman. Sulak's admiration for these exemplars of Thai culture is not limited to their professional excellence. Scholarly attainment, artistic prowess, technical expertise, must always be complemented by modesty, honesty, integrity, simplicity and virtue in order to demand and warrant respect. These role models in the cultural sphere were exceptionally adept, in the author's opinion, in maintaining their Thai "essence" and identity while at the same time utilizing, to the best advantage, knowledge and experience gained from contact with the West. We are constantly being cautioned by Khun Sulak not to forget our cultural heritage, to understand and appreciate our past if we are to successfully cope, at present and in the future, with the pressures of modernization, westernization, and "cultural imperialism". Khun Sulak castigates the heedless imitation and copying of and the unthinking borrowing from the West. He advises a more judicious selection that will not sacrifice the "quality of life" based on traditional Thai religious, social and cultural values.

As a logical extension of the need to understand our own Thai identity, Khun Sulak pleads for more knowledge and appreciation of our Asian neighbors. Just as the author rails against the paternalism of the West and particularly, what he often perceives as the economic, educational, political, social and cultural "imperialism" of the U.S. and, to a certain extent, Japan, he is similarly critical of Thai paternalistic attitudes towards Laos.

The author eloquently pleads for a more democratic, more equalitarian society. He is withering in his criticism of privilege, abuse of power, exploitation, and corruption. Just as scholars must be virtuous as well as wise, so political leaders must govern with honesty, integrity, and simplicity, ever imbued by the Dharma.

The last section of *Siam in Crisis* is devoted to an exposition of Buddhist principles and values as illustrated in the lives of revered bhikkhu elders. As might be expected, Khun Sulak's choice of role models in the Sangha complements his selection in the lay world. Buddhadasa Bhikkhu, Pannananda Bhikkhu, Dhammavitaka Bhikkhu, Phra Dhammacetiya exemplify not only modern and scholarly attainment but also the virtues of simplicity and humility. Each of these monks is concerned, as is the author, with the problem of applying the Dharma to the daily concerns, problems, needs of the modern-day world. How can the Dharma be made meaningful to the younger generation? How can the Dharma be explained, be spread? Imaginative propagation techniques are discussed. The author displays a deep knowledge and appreciation of Buddhist philosophy, discipline, ritual, education and art.

Khun Sulak holds up the shining mirror of "truth and beauty" to Thai society and more often than not we see the murky reflection of a society beset by contradictions, a society in tension, in conflict, in crisis. The author is most adept and eloquent as a critic. The prescriptions for reform, for innovation, for change, are less precise. There is a harkening back to a yesteryear when an aristocracy of excellence; moral, professional, academic, reigned supreme while the "common man" enjoyed a relatively just, free and untroubled life.

Khun Sulak, himself, may be viewed as a mirror image of the society he so expressively analyzes. He struggles, as does Thai society, for identity. He faults others for debasing themselves before the coffers of foreign aid, and, yet, he admits he has availed himself of such support and often basked under the umbrella of refuge and protection such foreign support may provide. He rebukes the posturing, the pretense, the posing so much a part of a grasping and materialistic society. And yet, Khun Sulak often postures and poses, uses hyperbole and sometimes intemperate language. Granted it is for effect. One has the impression he often takes a somewhat extreme position so as to elicit a reaction, to create intellectual controversy. The author admonishes his readers to beware of foreign influence, control, authority. And, yet, Khun Sulak has conspicuously benefited from the education, experience, and the personal contacts he has so assiduously cultivated in the world beyond the borders of his beloved Siam. He warns us of the difficult, but necessary, task we face in maintaining our cultural balance, personal integrity and national identity in the face of pressures of materialism and modernization and the threats to security as the international game of power politics is played out. The biting chastisement of the West comes from one who has been fondly labelled as the "last Englishman" by his peers. The author's photograph on the back cover of *Siam in Crisis* symbolizes the identity crisis he articulates with such precision: the rolled umbrella complements the graceful *panung*.

The author's obvious sincerity and integrity tends to offset his abrasiveness, carping, and testiness. A careful reading of Khun Sulak's essays lead to a better appreciation and understanding of Thai culture and of the identity crisis besetting Thai society. It will also illuminate the search for identity that such intellectuals as Khun Sulak have striven for with such determination.

William J. Klausner

*The Ford Foundation,
Bangkok*

Stephen R. Heder, **Kampuchean Occupation and Resistance** (Asian Studies Monographs No. 027, Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, January 1980), 121 pp.

Students of contemporary Kampuchean (Cambodian) affairs have good reason to be grateful for the contributions Stephen Heder has made to their knowledge and understanding of developments in one of the most sorely afflicted countries of the world. Even when--as certainly was the case for the present reviewer in the past--there have seemed sound reasons to disagree with some of Mr. Heder's judgments, his writings have always deserved attention. This comment on Stephen Heder's past writings applies equally to this present work. And once again, in this reviewer's judgment, there remain significant areas of uncertainty, if not outright disagreement, with some of the author's conclusions.

Mr. Heder's monograph is, as his title suggests, concerned with events in Kampuchea since the Vietnamese invasion of that country which brought the establishment of a Vietnamese protégé regime in Phnom Penh in early January 1979. Within a relatively limited compass of approximately 12,000 words he seeks to review the nature of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and the response that occupation has evoked. With reliance on considerable detail from a broad range of individuals whom the author interviewed he shows the differing responses to the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea with an important factor for the shaping of attitudes being whether or not these individuals were "new" people or "base" people. The former, in general terms, were those members of the Kampuchean population who had not joined or lived under the control of the forces of the Communist Party of Kampuchea before April 1975. The latter, again in general terms, were those who had the opposite experience and so had been associated with Pol Pot's C.P.K. from the time when Prince Norodom Sihanouk was turned out of office in March 1970. Mr. Heder discusses the nature of Vietnam's efforts to administer an occupied country and points to what he sees as the occupier's errors and failures. He assesses the future prospects of the ousted Democratic Kampuchean (Khmer Rouge) regime, of the Khmer Sereikar (Khmer Liberation) forces, and of Sihanouk, coming to the conclusion that short of some miraculous military disaster overtaking the Vietnamese the situation in Kampuchea was stalemated by the end of 1979. In this situation of stalemate Kampuchea "seemed likely to continue ... being disastrously governed by an unpopular foreign military occupation force and a few local collaborators and the resistance to this occupation [would be] unable to be anything more than a hope for the Kampuchean people and a nuisance to the Vietnamese."

With Mr. Heder's admirable linguistic capabilities at his disposal he has drawn richly on the mass of information he gained from the some 250 persons he interviewed during 1979. There is great interest in the picture he gives his reader of some of the organisational aspects of life in Kampuchea during the Pol Pot years. His assessment of the essentially limited future open to the Khmer Sereikar seems realistic and is joined to a telling review of the weakness of the Kampuchean bourgeoisie in the years following the end of the Second World War. Equally realistic are his comments on problems confronting the remaining forces of the Khmer Rouge and the difficulties attending any desire on the part of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to resume a significant role in Kampuchean political affairs.

Having come to the end of Mr. Heder's study, however, and while agreeing with some of his most important judgments, there remained areas of concern in this reviewer's mind as to the picture that emerges from the monograph. In part these concerns--or uncertainties--may simply be the result of the form of Mr. Heder's work. It has very much the air of being a chapter of a much larger study in which, perhaps, questions that go unanswered in this monograph will receive due attention. Partly, too, the monograph suffers from a total lack of any supporting detail of the sort that could have been contained in footnotes. (Chulalongkorn University's Institute of Asian Studies is to be congratulated for publishing this monograph and may well have judged that a rash of footnotes would have limited its readership. But if ever a study lent itself to having the text backed-up by footnotes with supporting information and explanations it is Mr. Heder's.)

First and foremost among the problems of Mr. Heder's study is the extent to which it leaves the impression that events post-January 1979 took place in a world that had only a tenuous connection with what had gone before. One result of the author's passing so briefly over the years before 1979 is to leave the impression that the Pol Pot years while bad were not, perhaps, all that bad. There is a curiously restrained tone to some of Mr. Heder's remarks about the period between April 1975 and January 1979. So he speaks of the "widespread unpopularity" of the Democratic Kampuchean regime. It is true that Mr. Heder uses terms such as "excesses" and "barbarity" when speaking of Khmer Rouge rule. He also takes note of purges and of "starvation or sub-starvation" rations while Pol Pot and his associates were in power. Yet overall the present reviewer was left with the impression that Mr. Heder feels that by being Kampuchean the Pol Pot regime had to be better than an imposed Vietnamese regime.

Whether this impression is correct--and it is noted as a personal *impression*--there is no doubt that Mr. Heder is convinced that the Vietnamese have been unsuccessful in their efforts to reestablish an administration within Kampuchea and stand almost universally reviled by those Kampuchean who remain within the country. It is still too early to come to final conclusions on this question. Few would disagree with the author that there is a healthy degree of ethnic antagonism felt by most Kampuchean towards the Vietnamese. Against this one would have to take some account of the frequent reports given by those who have travelled inside Kampuchea of a feeling that while there is little love felt towards the Vietnamese, since they are occupiers, there is gratitude for their having overthrown the Khmer Rouge and a recognition that the likely result of their sudden withdrawal in the form of a return of the Khmer Rouge is too terrible to contemplate.

Some of Mr. Heder's readers will be surprised by the strength of feeling for Prince Sihanouk he records having encountered among the Kampuchean refugees he interviewed. The present reviewer can only record that his own experience was different and that among a sample of 100 refugees interviewed in 1980, as well as in many informal discussions with refugees, even qualified support for Sihanouk appeared to be generally lacking. It should be noted that Stephen Heder does point to the various qualifications that exist in refugees' minds when Sihanouk is discussed, and he makes the important point that as a result of events since 1970 Sihanouk has lost whatever aura of quasi-divinity he previously possessed.

Readers with an interest in contemporary Kampuchean history will now look forward to further publications stemming from Mr. Heder's recent fieldwork along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Milton Osborne

*Australian National University,
Canberra*

Amphay Doré, **Le Partage du Mekong** (Paris, Encre Editions, 1980), 257 pp. 64 ff.

If French writing on Laos has been dominated over the years by, on the one hand, the Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient in the fields of prehistory, art history and ethnology and, on the other hand, by a certain penchant towards what might be called "colonial nostalgic", then Amphay Doré, in this first book length account of developments in the Lao People's Democratic Republic has, in accord with the spirit of the times, admirably risen above these two not unconnected genres.

An insider in Laos by virtue of his Lao matrimony and early residence in that country, Doré was to all intents and purposes an outsider owing to some twenty years residence in France, his father's country of origin. Notwithstanding the earnestness of the author in returning to Laos to quest out his "missing" patrimony, which actually supplies a large quotient of the autobiographical detail in this work, it must be said that Doré's real anointment into "patriotic" Lao life came not only by virtue of his experience of that *rite de passage* of Lao adulthood—entry into the monkhood—but more tellingly by dint of his appointment as Ministry of Information and Propaganda functionary under the new regime. While scarcely party to official secrets and in many ways as much a victim of the information and misinformation he once purveyed, the position clearly afforded Doré a unique vantage point from which to cast a retrospective glance over the first three years of Laos' social transformation and foreign policy re-orientation.

Doré's earlier professed enthusiasm for the line of the Lao Party and his acknowledged satisfaction with the direction of the "democratic revolution", however, soured with time. Whatever, then, happened in the interim? In the author's account, the removal of French and Chinese influence from Laos had the effect of destroying that country's neutrality by leaving no other effective counterweight to an expanding Vietnamese domination over Indochina. This was achieved, Doré argues, by the eclipse of a pro-China faction within the Lao Party by that of a dominant pro-Hanoi faction. Further, the erection of the "special relationship" by Vietnam over Laos and the restoration of a pro-Hanoi communist group in Kampuchea at the expense of the Khmer Rouge was a predictable series of events if one takes into account the vision of Nguyen Ai Quoc, alias Ho Chi Minh, founder of the Indochinese Communist Party and architect of the "Indochinese Federation". In an overwhelmingly peasant nation like Laos, Doré continues, the dictatorship of the proletariat is but a caricature of the reality unless one takes it to mean the dictatorship of the proletariat on an Indochina-wide plane, meaning that the proletarian mantle is borne by the Vietnamese.

While some, including Doré's former employees in the Ministry of Information and Propaganda, would dismiss this thesis as the utterances of an embittered apostate, the Party has taken to heart his and other's criticisms by facilitating a certain liberalisa-

tion on the cultural front and a corollary pragmatism towards economic policy generally, as signalled by "Resolution Seven" brought down in late 1979. While this is undoubtedly a pendulum swing it goes unreported in this work.

It can be said that Doré's dilemma, the demands of reconciling his class background—that of the foreign-trained intellectual—with that of his reacquired cultural orientation towards Laos does not essentially set him apart from those of the other "bourgeois nationalists" who found life under the new regime to be untenable and who partook of the route to exile and this "partage du Mekong". Except perhaps in the manner of leaving. Given the choice by Lao officials between opting for Laos or for France, Doré decided in favour of the latter. The ultimate indictment of the regime, as Doré expounds with not a little sensitivity to psychological nuance—he does, after all, hold a doctorate in ethnology—is that in the face of maladministration the Buddhist people of Laos have suffered an intolerable loss of collective *piap* (defined as "face", honour or merit).

Geoffrey C. Gunn

*Centre of South-east Asian Studies,
Monash University*

Perala Ratnam, **Laos and the Superpowers** (Tulsi Publishing House, New Delhi, 1980). pp. 166.

This work by a former Indian Ambassador to Laos is more than a memoir although less than an academic treatise. The burden of the book falls on an account of the 1960 Kongle coup d'état, the subsequent Battle for Vientiane and its sequel, the power plays leading up to the Geneva Accords of 1962 on the neutralisation of Laos. As a memoir the book conveys a probably exaggerated centrality to the Ambassador's own role in this troubled period of Lao history as measured off by the anecdotes, homilies and playful repartees engaged in with the leading actors of the day including Kongle, Commander of the Second Parachute Battalion and instigator of the coup, Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the "left" faction or the Lao Patriotic Front, Prince Souvanna Phouma, the latter's half-brother and leader of the "centrist" forces, Prince Boun Oum, patron of the "rightists" and Quinim Pholsena, the "leftist" and "patriot", but it is the eye witness quality of this work that provides its intrinsic value.

The professed object of the study is "to provide a reasonably exhaustive case study of how external powers can hurt a small and helpless developing country by the mutual rivalry for power and influence" (p. 5) Thus we are told that the internal and external factors represent a chicken and egg cycle. In this characterisation Ratnam follows in the tradition of scholarship on Laos set by Hugh Toye, Arthur Dommen and Marek Thee.

True to his "neutral" status (after all India was chairman of the International Control Commission which sought to ensure that the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Conference were upheld in Laos), Ratnam presents the case that power blocs, the Americans and their communist antagonists, must take the blame for the tragedy that befell Laos. Of the American endeavour, he declares, "any attempt to convert a backward community into a bastion of anti-communism is sure to lead only to a transformation of it into a community of reluctant communists". (p. 34) Moreover, "religion and culture would have proven more efficacious in combating communism than programmes of military aid". (p. 35) He might also have mentioned the counter-vailing actions of the Lao Patriotic Front in promoting itself as the repository of tradition and as the upholder of "true" religious values. Thus it is a limitation of Ratnam's enterprise as it is with Vientiane-centric studies in general that the observer in the city tends to display a certain blindness to the "united front from below" activities of the guerrilla in the countryside.

In chapter 2 Ratnam dwells on the legalities of the imprisonment of the leaders of the Lao Patriotic Front but concludes that on the basis of the evidence there is no doubt that they had been detained for political reasons than for any criminal offences. The Phoui Sananikone government which arrested them, he contends, "indulged in a sort of play acting just to please the CIA". (p. 45) Sananikone fares no better in

chapter 3 on the visit of a UN sub-committee in September 1959 to investigate alleged aggression by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against Laos. The upshot of the UN Sub-committee's report was to indicate that there was a strong case to infer the existence of a civil war rather than a foreign invasion. Sananikone is likened to one who had called wolf without a beast in sight. The general elections of 1958 provides the focus of the fourth chapter and it is here that we learn of the sabotage of the CIA. The rigging of these elections, then, provides conclusive proof for Ratnam that, "the democratic forms and procedures that are in vogue in the Western democracies are not relevant to the situation in Laos". (p. 72)

Midway through the book in a chapter on the 1960 coup, Kongle, a hitherto obscure personage on the Lao political scene is introduced and a remarkably sympathetic portrait of the youthful soldier emerges—unsullied by political ambition nor corruption. Ratnam affirms that in Kongle's revolt against the US supported government the Pathet Lao found someone to advance their own interests. It is one of the ironies of history that Kongle has now entered the new regime's pantheon of enemies for his alleged continued anti-government activities. Ratnam's particular contribution to the Kongle coup literature is to present a selection of the political pamphlets and notices of the time.

In a subsequent chapter on the Battle for Vientiane, Ratnam presents a worthy alternative account of that affair to that of a Thai publication of the same name. It thus comes as no surprise to learn that Thailand blatantly supported the Rightist forces because of its dislike of Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma's action of forming a coalition government in collaboration with the Pathet Lao. The Thai, he asserts, openly helped the Rightists led by Phoumi Nosavan to create disturbances in Vientiane. It is not so surprising that twenty years later Phoumi has again surfaced in the context of his interest in an anti-government coalition, but like his old antagonist Kongle relegated more in the way of a footnote to history.

Moving on to a discussion of the 1966 and 1972 elections, Ratnam then proceeds to tease out a sociology of electoral politics. The most influential institutions, it transpires, were the army and to a lesser extent the bureaucracy. But Ratnam stops short of analysing patron-client relations under the Royal Lao Government in a way which would clarify the kind of exchanges that took place between the regional warlords and their civilian protectors.

Ratnam observes that by 1972 the Lao were psychologically prepared for reaching an agreement. He affirms, however, that it was evident that the Pathet Lao were better organised than the Royal Lao Government. Ratnam correctly points to the combined political and military strategy of the Pathet Lao in bringing about the eventual seizure of revolutionary power leading to the proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in December 1975.

In the final analysis it can be said that the author of this book displays a certain basic ignorance of present day realities in Laos. Although, to be sure, events up until the end of 1975 are only under consideration, the fact that this book saw print in 1980 should have permitted the author to pronounce on the new regime with more precision. Thus in both the preface and the conclusion we are told that leftist control of the government is not in the best interests of Laos, that other political parties should be brought in to share power and that a position of neutrality (the term is never defined) should be upheld. It should have been emphasised that the Lao Patriotic Front was not just a "leftist" political party, the Pathet Lao was not just an army, rather they were instruments of the commanding Lao People's Revolutionary Party, itself heir to the precursor Indochina Communist Party.

In so far as the communist party in Laos is unlikely to share power, the more pertinent questions to be raised are whether Laos can maintain its "neutrality" in the Sino-Soviet split or whether Laos can uphold its sovereignty and national identity within the "Indochina Federation". Examination of the role of Laos (and India for that matter) within the non-aligned movement would illustrate that the concept of neutrality has come full circle.

Geoffrey C. Gunn

*Centre of South-east Asian Studies,
Monash University*

Heather Sutherland, **The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite:
The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi**

(Singapore, Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), pp.xx + 182.

Bureaucratic elites, their growth and adaptation fascinate both historians and sociologists. Thailand was well served by the works of Siffen and Riggs in the 1960s, but published works in English on the largest and perhaps the least efficient of Southeast Asian bureaucracies have been rare. Dr. Sutherland has worked up her 1973 Yale PhD thesis and it is presented as the second title in the South-East Asia Publications Series of the Asian Studies Association of Australia in this volume.

Generous use has been made of Dutch, as well as Indonesian and Javanese sources, to give a picture of the dual administrations of the BB (the Binnenlands Bestuur, the Dutch Civil Service) and the Pangreh Praja (literally, the Rulers of the Realm, the native administration) which could in some ways be said to be reflected in present-day Indonesian administration. The hierarchy of the Pangreh Praja spread from the *Bupati* (the Regent), through the *Patih* (the Chief Minister), the *Wedana* (the district chief), the *Camat* (the assistant *Wedana*) down to the *lurah* (the village head, the only person not likely to lay claim to an hereditary title), and the system was supported by low-level officials known as *mantri* and the *magang* and *nyuwita*, the apprentice administrators of the *priyayi* class. The extraordinary thing about it, apart from its typical Javanese complexity, with subtle gradations in rank and title, was that it did very little and had almost no power. The Dutch, believing in *rust en orde* (peace and order), worked through the traditional rulers, allowing them to squeeze within decent limits, so that they could continue to be more or less benevolent dictators of the people, while the Dutch got on with governing. The Regents ruined themselves in maintaining the outward trappings of their office, particularly on the occasion of their formal inauguration, and the relatives and attendants around them made such financial demands that they could only be forever in debt, and their expenses never diminished.

"In 1900 one of the arguments in favour of supporting a *priyayi* co-operative was the help it could offer in meeting new expenses such as *air Belanda* ('Dutch' i.e. mineral water) which was *de rigueur* (*sic*) when entertaining Europeans, or buying a tea service ..."

They were in a society which made little distinction between personal and official revenue or perquisites, which was fortunate for them, though not for the *wong cilik*, the small people whose limited rights they were supposed to uphold.

Gradually more educated Regents rose to appointed power, through the *Opleiding School voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*, the Training School for Native Officials,

and middle or lower *priyayi* boys rose in the system, but social mobility was hardly encouraged. The need to show the more outward forms of *hormat*, of traditional respect, was insisted upon at all levels, as well as the need to talk in high Javanese to superiors; the European civil servants were just as mad about *hormat* as the native rulers.

Colonial reforms came slowly if at all. The 'ethical' policy was only half-heartedly implemented, and the lowest of the Binnenlands Bestuur officials clearly saw in any change a challenge to their own power and position. *Ontvoogding*, detutalization, became the watchword after 1921, but with very limited success.

"The values inherent in the *priyayi* ethic and the network of interpersonal relationships shaped reactions to both Batavia-generated developments and also to evolution in native society. While some Pangreh Praja men welcomed innovation most set their faces against change and fought to defend the old ways."

The *priyayi* associations, the Regency Councils in the period leading to the mid-1930s achieved little or nothing. The hereditary principle survived, reactionaries prevailed, the Volksraad or People's Council was powerless and Soetardjo's petition to it of 1936 calling for a ten year period of preparation leading to the autonomy of the Indies went unanswered by the Dutch authorities for more than two years. The nationalist organisations that grew up in this period did so largely outside the *priyayi* class, which was too Dutchified. The Japanese were to abolish the hereditary principle and viewed with suspicion the Westernisation of the *priyayi*: Indonesian, not Dutch language, was emphasised, Muslim and nationalist groups encouraged. However, the Japanese came to rely, as the Dutch had done, on the traditional administrative class for assistance in control.

The section relating to post-war developments, when the Pangreh Praja was transformed into the *pamong praja* and then into *pegawi negeri*, is unfortunately skimpily dealt with in ten pages. Though outside the colonial framework of the title, it is the area where tradition and marginal transformation are of most interest. The administrators suffered financially, as previously:

"Monthly salaries could keep officials alive for two weeks at best, multiple job-working and illegal fee collection were widespread, responsibility was avoided as dangerous, and a growing number of useless employees distended the lower ranks."

The administrators also, as before, had to share power with and be subservient to a parallel command

"By the mid-1970s the *pamong praja* was not merely parallel by the Army's territorial organisation but usually subordinate to it."

However, in the all-important Javanese status system, the administration retained prestige. The tradition of aristocratic inactivity survives, the noble ideal, somewhat warped by the effects of "gross inflation and economic insecurity", of the official class forming a layer between the *wong cilik* and the rulers, the meat in the sandwich as it were, continues, changed but not unrecognisable.

It cannot be said that this book makes easy reading, and it still bears many of the hallmarks of a doctoral thesis. As seems inevitable when dealing with anything Indonesian, there is a rash of initials to master (fortunately there is a list of abbreviations). The facts come so thick and fast that one has difficulty in seeing the whole and there is a tendency for different chapters to overlap. Some subjects have too little amplification (for example, the origins and position of Soetardjo), and some too much (Pangeran Ario Tjondronegoro, as father of Kartini, is given full treatment, which goes over a fair amount of material easily available elsewhere, whereas the educational firsts achieved by the Paku Alam family are only mentioned in passing). The book is relatively free of misprints, if one excuses the inexcusable of "it's slogan" (though even *The Times* these days cannot distinguish between the impersonal possessive pronoun and the contracted form if 'it is'). *Poera-poera raden* translates 'pretending to be a noble' rather than merely "just pretend", and the antithesis of the Javanese *sepi ing pamrih, rame ing gawe* is completely lost in the flat and not entirely accurate translation "be disinterested, work hard"; a better rendering would be 'quiet in expectation, bustling in occupation'.

These are minor matters. The book provides an insight into the complexities of the twenty or so different and separate native administrative services in Java and how these adapted to circumstances, never entirely in control or for that matter entirely controllable. The class survives today, in slightly different form, and its attitudes remain strongly marked by a tradition dating back to the times of the VOC, the Dutch East Indies Company.

Michael Smithies

*Department of Language and Social Science,
Papua New Guinea University of Technology*

Colin McPhee, **A House in Bali** (first published 1947; reprinted by Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1979), pp. 214.

This unexpected reprint describes the stay in Bali of a young Canadian composer before the war and his reactions to the life, and more especially the music, of the island. Colin McPhee, who had accidentally heard some recordings of Balinese music in New York in the early 1930s, decided to go to Bali to find out more about its gamelans. His stay lasted on and off until the unmistakable clouds of war in Europe made his departure at the end of 1938 advisable.

The book is divided into three parts, covering the three periods of the composer on the island. The first lasted six months, and we have him moving out of the Dutch hotel into a small house in a nearby village. After a few months in Paris, homesick for Bali, he returned, setting up house in the village of Sayan, in the mountains near Ubud; this is the fullest part of his narrative, and covers a period of more than two years. McPhee then returned to North America for two years before another final six month stay.

McPhee has a poetical turn of phrase which manages to capture an essential image. Of Chinese shop houses in Buleleng, he says 'Here the shops were simple boxes with one end knocked away, their contents spilling into the street' and a Chinese inn in Java is described as 'friendly and crowded, and noisy as zoo'. The images of daily life in Bali are equally evocative, from the driver who 'kicked off his sandals, curled his toes over the clutch, and started the car' to the palm-leaf books at home decorated with a 'fan of blossoms'. But, not surprisingly, it is for music and dance that McPhee's principal descriptions are reserved, and these bring out vividly the particular quality of Balinese art.

'This music, I learned, had its "stem", its primary tones (which it is possible to preserve in writing) from which the melody expanded and developed as a plant grows out of a seed. The glittering ornamental parts which gave the music its shimmer, its sensuous charm, its movement – these were the "flower parts", the "blossoms", the *kantilan*... It was in these flower parts ... that a teacher showed his inventiveness, a *gamelan* its ability'.

The numerous descriptions of the excitement of crashing gamelans and the execution of intense dances are never boring and never repetitive, and the author puts his finger accurately on the contrast between Javanese and Balinese styles:

'The performances (at the palace of the Sultan of Jokjakarta) were unforgettable for their exquisite finish, the beauty and incredible refinement of the dancers, the strange, mystic atmosphere created by their languor of movement

at the soft velvet tone of the *gamelan*. I returned to Bali half under the spell of this dreamlike experience, yet eager for the violence, the shock, the exuberance of the performances that took place each night, not in palaces, but underneath the trees, surrounded by an audience of villagers'.

In Bali, McPhee loses sense of time, to the point of having to send his houseboy to the hotel to find out what day of the week it was. In his mountain village of Sayan he is surrounded by Durus, the poetical silver polisher, Sampih, the deer-like boy dancer, by Lebah, the *gamelan* drummer, Lotring the composer, by demons who have to be purified, by princes and villagers who stroll in and out, and he ends by founding a children's *gamelan* orchestra and providing its teacher. There is a child-like quality, so striking in Balinese life itself, in his daily life; his retainers persuade him to buy cricket cages, they all endlessly watch – and some doubtless bet on – the fighting crickets, and then they tire of the distraction after a while and abandon the cages.

Nevertheless, Colin McPhee managed to do some work; he transcribed Balinese *gamelan* compositions, had a volume of his transcriptions recorded, and of course he wrote his book. In spite of this describing the island as it was more than forty years ago, it still evokes as clear a picture of the fascination of daily Balinese life as one could hope to find today. This is where Corvarrubias, in his *Island of Bali* (1937), who was so often so right, was quite wrong, in saying that Bali would soon be spoiled (by the mass tourism of 1,500 tourists on winter cruises in the 1930s, a far cry from the hundreds of thousands of tourists pouring through Ngurah Rai airport today) and that 'the younger generation is rapidly being cut off from a cultural environment which they have learned to regard as below them'. Thank goodness, the Balinese tradition in the 1980s remains as strong as ever, and this indicates the tremendous cohesion and stability of a traditional society at peace with itself and the world around. McPhee's picture has not dated at all; even the condition of the roads remains the same.

What the book lacks is an introduction and adequate illustrations. We are presented the text as it was first published, and even that is a little mysterious; why was the copyright claimed by the author in 1944, 1945 and 1946 if the book was first published in 1947? Perhaps all three parts of the book appeared separately: we are not told. Nor are we told more about the author than what he tells us himself, or what the publisher's note, clearly taken from the first edition, chooses to tell us about his transcriptions. It would have been interesting to know a little more about the previous and subsequent life of the author, what he actually did with his collections of transcriptions, if he ever went back to Bali, and what effect his stay had on his own compositions.

Even from readily available dictionaries of music and musicians, a brief biographical note can be assembled. Born in Montreal in 1901, McPhee studied music and played his own piano concerto with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra in 1924. He then went to Paris to study, and from there to Bali. In between his second and third Balinese periods, he went to Mexico, where he wrote what is considered his major work, *Tabuh-Tabuhan* ('Percussion' in Indonesian), written for two pianos and orchestra; Chavez performed it in 1936 with the National Orchestra of Mexico City. He apparently did not return to Bali, but settled in the United States, though his Balinese stay had a marked effect on his compositions and writing. His second symphony was performed in Louisville in 1958 and he died in Los Angeles in 1964 at the age of 62; in his time he was considered by at least one editor of musical biographies as an 'outstanding modern composer'.

Unfortunately, the book is reprinted plain, and additional information, worth including as the manuscript goes back four decades, is not given. Similarly the thirty-two pages of black and white photographs are reproduced from the originals taken before the war, and their fuzziness and general amateurishness are very disappointing. The photographs in the Corvarrubias reprint of 1972 were similarly reproduced from pre-war originals, but either they were of better quality or were touched up, for they are far more successful than those in this volume. It would have been easy enough to take new clearly defined photographs of contemporary Balinese gamelans and dances, which are virtually identical with those of before the war.

What therefore has dated are techniques of mechanical reproduction: just as one no longer has to rely on scratchy 78 r.p.m. records to hear Balinese music but can hear it on a thousand and one hifi cassettes, so the photographic techniques have been left way behind. The essential unfolding of daily life in a Balinese village, with its intensely musical setting, is fortunately unchanged, and in this the volume is well worth having as an introduction to a charming way of life that has so much to teach the time-pressed and worried world today.

Michael Smithies

*Department of Language and Social Science,
Papua New Guinea University of Technology*

Stephan D.R. Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy* (Collection "Connaissance de l'Asie", 1ère édition, 1974, Editions Vithagna, Vientiane, Laos), pp. III, 263.

Feuchtwang's *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, first published in Vientiane in 1974 (Editions Vithagna), provides an excellent introduction to the ancient Chinese art, or science of determining the prospects of the future through the alignment of topographical features. The technique of *feng-shui* (literally winds and water) consisted, as Feuchtwang tells us, of knowing how 'to place oneself appropriately in relation to the disposition of the natural processes' (p. 9). *Feng-shui* arose out of that complex system of correspondences and oppositions which characterized what Needham (1956) has called the 'pseudo-scientific' thought of classical China. The 'universe of symbols' (p. 106) contained in the geomancer's compass, which was used to order the siting of both houses and graves (the residences of the living and the dead), linked temporal and spatial classifications together in a veritable cosmology which correlated the social world with that of nature. Feuchtwang describes how the system incorporated such fundamentals of Chinese thought as the Five Elements and the Nine Stars, the Twelve Earthly Branches and Ten Heavenly Stems of the lunar calendar, hexagrams taken from the Book of Changes, the animals of the four quarters, and the complex interaction of Yin and Yang, showing how various alignments of the seasons and directions coalesced with omens derived from the observation of natural phenomena to yield a model for correct conduct which guided and structured social life. The art of 'good siting' which is *feng-shui* also informed that perception of the natural environment we know of through the landscape painting and gardening which originated in China (p. 1).

Feuchtwang grapples with the problem of how this historically evolving system became a coherent ideology, and in the process draws a fascinating picture of the ways in which the different parts of the system came to cohere. Necessarily he has concentrated on a limited selection of diviner's manuals, illustrating his argument with material drawn from particular geomancer's compasses, and apologises in the preface for the unrevised nature of this early work, which was originally written as a Master's thesis and published owing to popular interest. But the real interest of the thesis lies not so much in the detailed examination of the compass which comprises the first half of the book as in the analysis of the practical effects of the system which follows. Here Feuchtwang shows how *feng-shui* was something *more* than an ideology, holding pragmatic benefits in the form of physical hygiene and the aesthetics of landscaping, subsuming an early form of town-planning with rural soil-surveying techniques. Thus the hard rocky soil considered inadvisable for house construction, for example, would

have deprived any houses built on it of the income to be derived from gardening, while the red, loamy soil recommended for burial sites lacked the termites which would have hastened decomposition of the corpse. A respect for trees and other natural formations was built into *feng-shui*, and any alteration to the environment would affect, for better or worse, the *feng-shui* of the locality.

He proceeds to examine the social status of the geomancer and the function of the system itself, which he sees as differing from other techniques of divination in being essentially concerned with the ordering of persons and events in physical space, and directly opposed to the corporate norms of 'ancestor worship' in being concerned with the future and based on propositions rather than on the will of deities. Thus *feng-shui* could become a focus of conflict, competition and change, allowing lineages to differentiate themselves from other lineages, since the siting of an ancestor's grave would affect each of the deceased's descendants in different ways. Feuchtwang finishes with an examination of some comparative material from Japan, Vietnam and Africa, and concludes that Chinese geomancy provides a theoretical *model* for action based on metaphorical, analogical relationships between the natural universe and the social environment, arising out of anxiety or the 'apprehension of change' (p. 243).

Lemoine's introduction to the book records his excitement at discovering that the Hmong of Laos also practiced a form of *feng-shui*. Feuchtwang's work is important not only because geomancy is so prevalent in Southeast Asia as a whole (see for example James 1973), but also because *feng-shui* has proved particularly adept at surviving radical social changes. Maurice Freedman (1968) reported on the extensive alterations which had to be made to apartment doors in high-rise Singapore buildings whose alignments ran counter to *feng-shui* principles (another example of the capacity of the system to articulate neighbourhood tensions), while the Chinese Government has recently been offering auspicious burial sites to overseas Chinese at a certain price (*The Times* Nov. 14, 1980). These facts may perhaps provide an excuse for bringing Feuchtwang's work, at this late date, back (?) to the reader's notice.

Nicholas Tapp

*School of Oriental & African Studies,
London*

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