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Review

Reviewed Work(s): Buddhist Monk, Buddhist Layman. A Study of Urban Monastic Organization in Central Thailand by Jane Bunnag

Review by: Donald K. Swearer

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south-eastern and north-western group according to the use they make of long final vowels in various syntactic environments. Of particular interest is the general retention of long *-ā* before enclitics. The comparison of this phenomenon with *pluti* (p. 88) seems barely justified, since *pluti* occurs in a totally different semantic and syntactic context, in urgent questions and in calling from a distance. It would have been preferable to link the retention of long final *-ā* with other features of emphasis noticeable before enclitics in Prakrit: these need to be investigated further, e.g., the preferred use of *-āni* instead of *-āṃ* in the neuter plural before enclitics. But the present study does not deal with any linguistic matters as general as this, it is a true depth study, exhaustively documented. The style of the work is cumbersome, but the headings above each page facilitate reference.

The author could be accused of over-stating his case but he does show convincingly that the notation of final vowels in the Aśokan inscriptions is by no means as random as had been thought, and that the pauses are meaningful probably even beyond their function as punctuation marks. He goes further and speaks of "zwei unterschiedliche Vortragsweisen der kaiserlichen Urkundentexte, rezitiert jeweils in Gegenwart der je für sich für die Fixierung verantwortlichen Schriftkünstler." (p. 38). This may appear somewhat exaggerated, because as Janert himself admits (p. 39) we do not know how the texts were transmitted from the imperial court to the stone-mason.

The second and major part of the book is also a continuation of earlier work by Janert: it was started already in 1956 and consists of an edition of the Kāśī Rock Inscription and a synoptic edition of the Pillar Edicts, as well as the inscriptions of Rumindēī, Nigāli Sāgar (Calcutta)—Bairāt, Sōpāra, Ahraura and the Bombay Vase. Janert gives his own transcription for each line of text followed immediately by Hultzsch's transcription, and by detailed notes on graphical matters. The main change introduced by Janert lies in the notation of pauses, even small gradations of distances between letters are noted. This is a very useful piece of work: it is followed by 107 excellent photographic reproductions of impressions showing those inscriptions which were transcribed.

Whereas the first part of the present book contains material and argumentation that will serve for reference, this second part is ideally suited for a much wider public than appears to be envisaged by the author; the transcriptions and the beautiful clear reproductions combine to make a fine reader for students learning the Brāhmī script. This book will therefore be of great value for the future study of Aśokan inscriptions.

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Buddhist Monk, Buddhist Layman. A Study of Urban Monastic Organization in Central Thailand. By JANE BUNNAG. Pp. 219. Cambridge: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS. 1973. \$17.00.

Jane Bunnag's *Buddhist Monk, Buddhist Layman* proposes to analyze the religious roles of these two groups and the relationship between them. She does so from the somewhat behaviouristic perspective that the nature of their role performance hinges largely on the social and economic status of the individual actors. She does not engage either the kind of social-psychological correlates pursued by Melford Spiro in his study of Burmese Buddhism (*Buddhism and Society*, reviewed *JAOS* 93.4 [1973] pp. 603-7) or the functional and structural correlates S. J. Tambiah synthesizes in his study of myth and ritual (*Buddhism and Spirit Cults in Northeast Thailand*, reviewed *JAOS* 92.2 [1972] pp. 327-8). In relationship to the two above mentioned works Bunnag is closer to Spiro in that both locate the explanatory key to role performance in the social matrix. They differ considerably, however, in that Spiro focuses on the isomorphism between child-rearing patterns, religious role performance, and religious belief while Bunnag concentrates on the economic status of monk and layman within Thai society. Consequently, she is interested in such issues as: the great majority of monks in permanent residence in the Ayutthaya region of her study come from farming or lower class urban groups for whom the monkhood offers a form of social mobility; and, the degree to which a layman's economic status affects the nature of the reciprocal relationship (merit-material support) between monk and layman.

Bunnag organizes her vast amount of material in a logical, coherent manner moving from a brief analysis of the Thai social system, then on to a study of the monk, the relationship between the monastic and lay communities, the *wat* (temple-monastery) and its social matrix, the role of the layman, and an interesting addenda where she casts new light on the characterization of Thailand as a loosely structured social system. The research for this study was carried out in the town of Auytthaya, central Thailand, in 1966-67, and holds a special interest for its attempt to analyze institutional Buddhism within a provincial town rather than a village. Consequently, some of the special features of Dr. Bunnag's study stem particularly from this context, e.g. the multiplicity and variety of *wats*, religious and lay actors; the effects of modernization and westernization on role performance. Indeed, this last issue is not discussed thoroughly enough and is one of the disappointing features of this volume. For example, no mention is made of the *Dhammadhūta*

in Ayutthaya, an arena in which some interesting role relationships are emerging between monk and layman.

From this reviewer's perspective the most provocative part of the study is the chapter on the monk and the lay community. There Dr. Bunnag analyzes the most eminent Ayutthaya monks into two basic types—active and passive. The most highly revered monk in the town, Chao Khun Thep, is a passive type—elderly, generous, detached—embodying many of the highest Buddhist ideals. The active type may have special educational qualifications, be a particularly good administrator, or a charismatic speaker. This discussion addresses in its own way the Weberian problem of the other-worldly/this worldly dilemma. Bunnag avoids an easy generalized solution and seems to be almost implicitly contending that in a monk like Chao Khun Thep the polarity is resolved by someone who is in the world but not of it. His attitude toward life, expressed in a variety of religious activities, gains the respect of the lay community. There has been and continues to be among western students of Buddhism a tendency to make the ideal of Buddhism too other-worldly, thereby emphasizing the apparent dilemma or contradiction between normative Buddhism and its institutional form in modern southeast Asia. Such a simplistic binary perspective does justice neither to the complexity of early Indian Buddhism nor modern Southeast Asian forms. On the level of Buddhist texts or the normative ideology of Buddhism as embodied, for example, in the Sutta Nipata there are several levels of interpretation and it is really somewhat amazing that western students of Buddhism raised in a form-historical, critical milieu should often be so literalistic in their approach to Buddhist scripture.

Buddhist Monk, Buddhist Layman is to be commended for its vast array of data which, however, borders on the excessive. This study will allow future researchers helpful statistics for comparative work in other parts of the country; nevertheless, the reader wishes they would have been assimilated into a more decisive interpretative scheme or perspective. While challenging crude attempts at correlating Buddhist ideology and social behavior, Dr. Bunnag does not really address that interesting issue at all, and after completing the volume the reader is apt to be left with a rather vague feeling of not knowing quite what to do with the vast specificity of the data. Still, Dr. Bunnag has addressed a problem in need of serious attention and her volume is a welcomed addition to the growing body of material on Thai Buddhism. One hopes that the study of the literature of Thai Buddhism will, in the not too distant future, begin to catch up with array of sociological and anthropological research.

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Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition. By C. HOOPYKAAS. Bibliotheca Indonesica - No. 9. Pp. vii + 177. 2 Plates (and numerous drawings in the text). The Hague: MARTINUS NIJHOFF. 1974. DGu. 50,-

Of the Śaiva sects in India the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas have become particularly important for Indonesia. The *Vāyupurāṇa* XXIII. 217-225 and the *Liṅgapurāṇa* XXIV. 124-133 contain a passage about the last (28th) incarnation of Śiva as Lakulin (Lakulīśa) and his four ascetic-disciples Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya (R. D. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS.* XXII [1910], p. 154). In a pillar inscription from Mathurā, dated 380 A.D. and dealing with the installation of two *liṅgas*, a spiritual leader states that he is the tenth in succession from Kuśika, the latter apparently being the founder of a particular branch of the Lākula system of *yoga* and the disciple of Lakulin (Bhandarkar, *Epigraphia Indica* XXI [1931-32], p. 5). This points to the first quarter of the second century A.D. as Lakulin's date (*idem*, p. 7). The sect must have spread from *Kārvāṇ* (not Karwar, Hoopykaas, p. 130) in the Baroda State. A Gārgya branch in Kāthiāwāḍ, known from a *praśasti* of about the end of the 13th century A.D. (later than the *purāṇa*-passage), mentions *Kuśika-Gārgya-Kauruṣa-Maitreyāḥ* as the names of the four disciples. No doubt, the four branches faithfully kept the memory of the founder "Bhaṭṭāraka Śri-Lakulīśa." About the tenth century there seems to have been a revival owing to the activities of a monk Chilluka, in whom Lakulīśa was said to have been born again. In the following centuries the Lakulīśa system spread widely, as is testified by inscriptions ranging from Gujarāt and Rājputānā to Mysore. Particularly Belgāmi in N. W. Mysore was the center of Kālāmukha monks "where commentaries were made on the Lakulīśa-siddhānta, the Patañjali, and other Yoga systems" (Lewis Rice in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* IX, p. 68; cf. R. W. Frazer, XI, p. 93).

In Central Java the "five Kuśikas" (*Pañca-Kosika*) are mentioned for the first time on the copper-plates of Kañcana, dated 860 A.D. In accordance with the Indonesian system of classification they were, as the "five Seers" (*Pañca Rēsi*), associated with the four cardinal points (in the order E.: Kusika, S.: Garga, W.: Mētri, N.: Kurusya, center: Pratañjala) and as such equated to the five gods Īśvara, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Viṣṇu and Bhaṭṭāra Guru, to the five colours, the five Tathāgatas of the Buddhists, etc.

So far this is the well-known story of acculturation processes. In Bali, however, an entirely new element was introduced by the incorporation of the four "concomitants of physical birth," viz., the amniotic fluid, the blood,