

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written between March 1 and March 31, 1968.

Field notes in this document were primarily written in Amphoe Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son Province (Changwat Mae Hong Son), Thailand, although one entry is related to a robbery that occurred in Mahasarakham Province (Changwat Maha Sarakham). This document is preceded by field notes written in Mae Sariang in February 1968 and is followed by notes written in Mae Sariang in April 1968.

Mae Hong Son

March 6, 1968

Trip to Mae Hong Son

On the 1st we drove up to Mae Hong Son to attend the cremation services of the late provincial abbot. We spent the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th in Mae Hong Son and returned on the 5th. On the way up we took 4 monks (Čao Khana Amphoe, Čao Khana Tambon from Wat Sitthimongkhon, another monk from Wat Kittiwong, and the visiting Phra Khrū from Bangkok), our 3 servants, Wan's brother, and a girl who had requested a ride. On our return, we replaced the latter girl, Wan's brother, and the monk from Bangkok, none of whom came back with us, with Kris and Sheila Lehman and Simon, Lehman's field assistant.

Talk with Governor of Province

During our stay, I talked with the Governor for a couple of short spells at various functions and then had a long talk with him on Sunday afternoon at his house. Most of this conversation consisted of his frustrations and desires regarding the development of the province. He has a deep interest in the province, manifest in his search through a number of books for any information on the history of the province and on Shan customs and in his journeys (sometimes several days walking) to remote areas of the province even though he is not a young man (I would guess that he is in his 50's).

Regarding the written literature on history and culture of the province and its inhabitants, he says that there is very little written. He said that there is a little in the second volume of the *Collected Chronicles* (the recently published versions). He was somewhat disdainful regarding Bunchuai Sīawat's writing on the hill tribes because he hasn't visited many of the places or

people he writes about. (The Governor said he knew Bunchuai's father when the Governor was a Palat Amphoe in Chiang Rai 10 years ago.) He also mentioned a mimeographed brief history of the province district to members of the King's party when they visited here. He promised to get me a copy and bring it to Mae Sariang, but I fear he will forget it.

I asked him about special programs for the hill tribes under the province. He didn't seem too clear about the "hill tribe school program" [the Provincial Education supervisor whom I talked to later said that there were special exams for those wishing to be teachers in these schools but these exams only tested knowledge covered in a M6 education. He did say, however, that the teachers were encouraged to learn tribal languages]. He did say, however, that at his insistence the Public Welfare Department had promised to establish a tribal development center at the Salaklang in Mae Hong Son). However, although this promise had been made some time ago, the building to house the center of the personnel to staff it have not yet appeared in the province.

Although there are no Lua in the northern part of the province, he says, there are remains which are identified with Lua – wat sites, a well in which the Lua are supposed to have thrown things, caves with skeletons, etc. inside. Kris Lehman wonders if these are identified as Lua by the local people or by officials, etc. who are familiar with Lua- identified remains further south. I suspect that they are "Lua" in the same sense the remains in the southern part of the province are, but whether they were built by the forbearers of the present-day Lua is another question.]

The Governor said he was very concerned about the Meo and Lahu in the province – that is, that they might be influenced by communists. [Kris says the Governor has also told him that he is frightened by KMT forces on the border and by dissident Communist elements among the Shan liberation army.]

Shan Word

I discovered at Mae La Noi that the word written in Thai as ฦ๎ง (*čông*) is the Shan word for wat. Simon, Kris Lehman's assistant, says that properly phoneticized, the word is *kyông* and is from the Burmese. Apparently, a word cognate with wat also exists, but is rarely used. *Kyông* is also a title for a person who sponsors the building of a pagoda/wat.

Cremation of the Late Provincial Abbot

The cremation of the late provincial abbot, Phra Rāṭchawīrākôn [พระราชวีรกร] (Bunmā Yānakhuttathēra [บุญมา ญาณคุตฺตเถร]), brought monks from all over the country. However, all there were certainly numerous officials and local people present at the actual cremation. The fact that the chief monks in charge of the ceremony had forbidden the Shan tradition of ‘tug-o’-war’ over the casket and other Shan customs, and because the Central Thai customs were not well-handled, the lay attendance was certainly less than it might have been.

According to the cremation volume passed out at the cremation [the subject of the volume was a sermon by a Bangkok monk. The original idea had been to distribute the Thai version of the Shan chronicles, but apparently the expense was too great], the following main facts about the Abbot’s life can be noted.

- 1) He was born on 9 October 1902 in Yasothon town, Ubon province in the Northeast.
- 2) He had a P4 secular education.
- 3) At 18 he became a novice in Yasothon.
- 4) At age 21 he was ordained as a monk in Yasothon.
- 5) Shortly thereafter he went to Bangkok to continue his clerical studies.
- 6) The next few years were spent in study at Wat Bencamabophit (the Northern temple in Bangkok). By 1932 (when he was 30 years old) he had achieved นักธรรมเอก status and passed the 5th ประโยค of เปรียญ studies (mainly Pāli language).
- 7) Between 1930 and 1934 he was a teacher of Buddhist scripture at a wat in the Bangkok area.
- 8) In 1935 he was sent as a teacher of Buddhist scriptures to a wat in Amphoe Sūngmēn, Cangwat Phrae. This was his first post in the North.
- 9) In 1936, because of the lack of clerical teachers, he was sent to Mae Sariang to live at Wat Sībunrūang. [I wonder if there was a policy of sending Bangkok-trained monks to outlying regions of the country at this time.]
- 10) He spent 6 years in Mae Sariang (he never was CKA here).
- 11) In 1942 he was appointed as Cao Khana Cangwat for Mae Hong Son. He served in the post, living at Wat Muaitô, until his death – a total of 25 years.

12) He died on 21 September 1967.

He is reputed to have strongly discouraged the practice of Shan ways in Mae Hong Son and was apparently responsible for the fact that wats in the northern part of the province are not within the ‘Burmese group’ in Thailand. [It is somewhat ironical that in consequence of his action, the ‘Burmese’ wats in Mae Sariang which has always been more of Khonmüang town than Mae Hong Son, seem to have preserved the traditional ways more than the wats in Mae Hong Son.]

The following is the translation of the official program for the cremation. A copy of the program is also below.

Translation of Cremation Schedule

SCHEDULE OF ROYALLY ORDERED CREMATION

[for] Phra Rāṭchawīrākôn (Bunmā Yānakhuttathēra Wat Muaitô

Amphoe Müang Cangwat Mae Hong Son

Phra Rāṭchawīrākôn, the late Cao Khana Cangwat of Mae Hong Son, began his life in Amphoe Yasothon, Cangwat Ubonrāṭchathānī, was ordained as a young man, received his education in the Winai at the residence of Ordaining Abbot Thā, Wat Amphuan, Yasothon and then moved to continue his studies at Wat Prasāt Bunyāwāt, Amphoe Dusit, Bangkok. He studied at Wat Bencamabophit until he achieved *naktham-ēk* status and passed the 5th *prayōk* of *parian* studies. The Monthon Abbot in that time arranged to send him as a teacher of scripture at Wat Niwitthasatthārām, Sūngmēn, cangwat Phrae and at Wat Sībunrüang, Amphoe Mae Sariang. He was then raised to the status of Cao Khana Cangwat and came to live at Wat Muaitô in Mae Hong Son where he lived from 1942 to 1967, a total of 25 years. [He lived in] Mae Sariang 6 years and in Phrae 1 year. Altogether he carried out religious functions in the North for 32 years. He carried out his clerical duties in government, education, missionizing, and general welfare for the people of Mae Hong Son as one of the best monks. He became ill of a hardened liver and passed away on the 21st of September 1967 at 5:30 A.M. at Sīsangwān hospital at the age of 65 and 46 years as a monk. A committee has arranged, thus, the following cremation rites:

2 March 1968

10:00 A.M. 20 monks will chant the *Thammaniyāmsūt* (ธรรมนิยามสูตร)

11:00 A.M. Presenting the monks with their midday meal.

7:00 P.M. Sermon dialogue.

8:00 P.M. Chanting of the *Phra Aphitham* (พระอภิธรรม)

3 March 1968

7:00 A.M. Presenting the monks with the morning meal.

10:00 A.M. 20 monks will chant *Nattalakkhanasūt* (นัตตลักขณสูตร)

11:00 A.M. Presenting the monks with their midday meal. 7

7:00 P.M. Sermon dialogue.

8:00 P.M. Chanting of the *Phra Aphitham* (พระอภิธรรม)

4 March 1968

7:00 A.M. Presenting monks with their morning meal.

10:00 A.M. 26 monks will chant *Satipatthānsūt* (สติปัฏฐานสูตร)

11:00 A.M. Presenting monks with their midday meal.

1:00 P.M. Sermon.

4:00 P.M. Please come to participate in the cremation and in pulling the *Mahā Bangsakun*.

4:30 P.M. Cremation

5 March 1968

Feeding of the monks for morning and midday meals.

On the occasion of this royally-ordered cremation, we would like to invite all students, faithful, officials, and everyone who was well-acquainted with and respected the Cao Khun to join and cooperate together in making merit on the day and at the place mentioned.

[Signed] Phra Khrū Sīlawarācān Acting Cao Khana Cangwat and
Chairman of the Sangha side

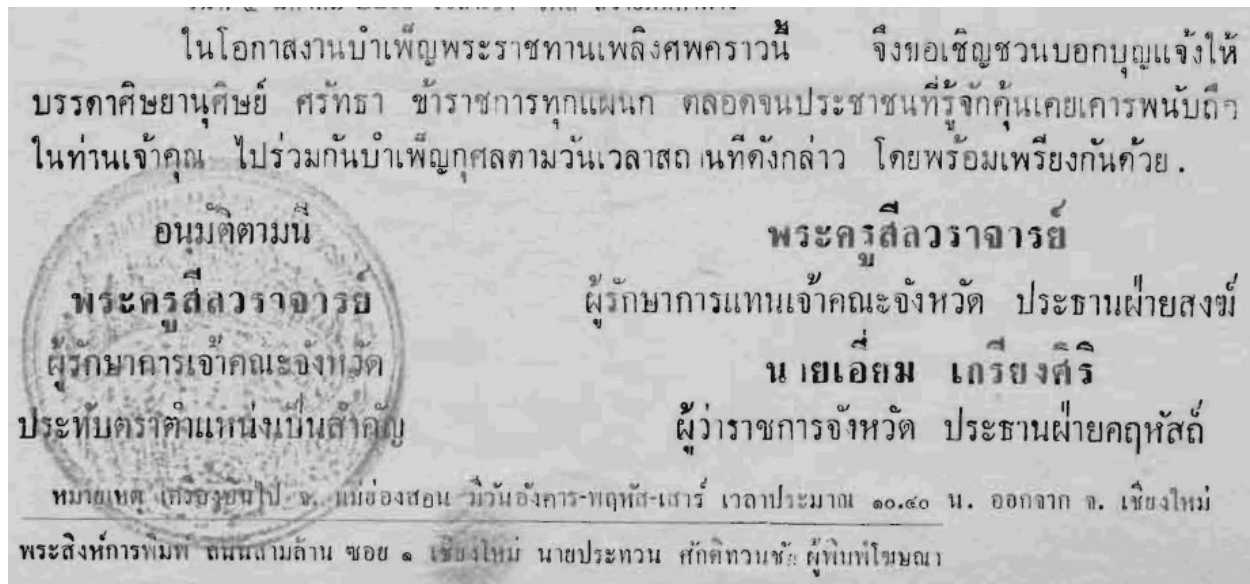
Mr. Iam Kriangsiri Governor and Chairman of Lay Side

The actual events did not accord with this schedule completely. [I hope to get the tapes made by the CKA to copy.]

กำหนดงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ
พระราชวีรกร (บุญมา ญาณคุตฺตเถระ)
 วัดม่วยต่อ อำเภอเมือง จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

เนื่องด้วยพระราชวีรกร อดีตเจ้าคณะจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน มีชาติภูมิเดิมอยู่อำเภอ
 ยโสธร จังหวัดอุบลราชธานี ได้บรรพชา-อุปสมบทมาแต่เล็ก ได้รับการศึกษาอบรมธรรมวินัย
 ในสำนักพระอุปัชฌาย์ทา วังอัมพวัน อำเภอยโสธร แล้วย้ายไปศึกษาเล่าเรียนต่อที่วัดประสาธ
 บุญญาวาท อำเภอคูสิด พระนคร เรียนอยู่ที่สำนักวัดเบญจมบพิตร จนสำเร็จ น.ธ. เอก และ
 เปรียญ ๕ ประโยค เจ้าคณะมณฑลในสมัยนั้น ได้จัดส่งไปเป็นครูสอนปริยัติธรรมที่วัดนิเวศ
 ศรัทธาราม อำเภอสูงเม่น จังหวัดแพร่ และวัดศรีบุญเรือง อำเภอแม่ระเรียม แล้วได้แต่งตั้ง
 ให้ดำรงตำแหน่งเจ้าคณะจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน จึงได้ย้ายมาประจำอยู่ที่วัดม่วยต่อ แต่ พ.ศ.
 ๒๔๙๕-๒๕๑๐ รวมเวลา ๒๕ ปี แม่สะเรียง ๖ ปี แพร่ ๑ ปี รวมเวลาบำเพ็ญศาสนกิจอยู่
 ภาคเหนือ ๓๒ ปี นับว่าท่านได้ประพฤติปฏิบัติศาสนกิจทั้งส่วนการปกครอง การศึกษา การเผย
 แผ่ การสาธารณูปการ ให้แก่ชาวแม่ฮ่องสอนเป็นอย่างดีซึ่งรูปหนึ่ง ให้อาหารด้วยโรคภัยไข้
 เจ็บถึงแก่กรรมลง เมื่อวันที่ ๒๑ กันยายน ๒๕๑๐ เวลา ๕.๓๐ น. ณ โรงพยาบาลศรีสังวาลย์
 อายุ ๖๖ ปี พรรษา ๔๖ ฯ คณะกรรมการจึงได้กำหนดงานพระราชทานเพลิงดังนี้

วันที่ ๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑	เวลา ๑๐.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๒๐ รูป สวดธรรมนิยามสูตร
	เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเพล
	เวลา ๑๕.๓๐ น. มีเทศน์ ๒ พรรมาสน์
	เวลา ๒๐.๐๐ น. สวดพระอภิธรรม
วันที่ ๓ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑	เวลา ๗.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเช้า
	เวลา ๑๐.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๒๐ รูป สวดอนัตตลักขณสูตร
	เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเพล
	เวลา ๑๕.๓๐ น. มีเทศน์ ๒ พรรมาสน์
	เวลา ๒๐.๐๐ น. มีสวดพระอภิธรรม
วันที่ ๔ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑	เวลา ๗.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเช้า
	เวลา ๑๐.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๒๖ รูป สวดสัคคิบัญญัติสูตร
	เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเพล
	เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ น. มีธรรมเทศนา ๑ กัณฑ์
	เวลา ๑๖.๐๐ น. เชิญเพลิงพระราชทานมาสู่ปราสาท และขัณฑ์มาขึงสุกุล
	เวลา ๑๖.๓๐ น. พระราชทานเพลิง
วันที่ ๕ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑	เวลาเช้า - เพล ถวายภัตตาหาร



Müang Pôn (เมืองปอน)

On the way down to Mae Sariang on the 5th we stopped at Müang Pôn (เมืองปอน) about 10-11 kilometers south of Khun Yuam (ขุนขาม) and in Amphoe Khun Yuam. We stopped there because the CKA wished to consult with the people about a major festival to be held on the 10th-15th of this month. Kris, Simon, and I took the opportunity to try to find something about the history of the place.

History of Müang Pôn

We were referred to an old man who has the title *kyông*. This man said that the name of the village comes from the name of the Pôn River, but didn't know why it was called *müang* as it has never been the seat of a *Cao fā*. He was born here, as were his parents. His grandparents came from Loilem state, Panglong in the center of the Shan States.

There are a few Khonmüang in the village in the southern quarter of the village. A small neighboring village in the North, Papan (? sp.), is also N. Thai. Together with this village, Müang Pôn has a population of 270 households of which 250 are in Müang Pôn proper.

During the time Bombay-Burmah was working in the area, the informant said the place became crowded. When people retired from the work, they settled here. They came here mainly from the North, from Mae Hong Son not the Pāi side

Previously there were some Kayah living here, but absorbed (or driven out ?) by the Shan. But this was before his time. No Lua live in this area. Karens (probably S'kaw) come searching for food here. Also came to make merit *when invited*. They come to watch people at Songkrān but don't make offerings themselves at that time. He said that the Karens do not keep Buddha images in their houses and are still animists. The Karens from Māē Sô (? sp.) are the only Karens in the tambon – village of only 7-8 households. (Karens come to buy things in Müang Pôn as I saw them in one of the shops. They were wearing shirts which are not quite the same as in Mae Sariang.)

I asked about tattooing in Müang Pôn since I observed that the old man had been heavily tattooed. [Kris says that one must distinguish between the 'picture' type tattooing which is done from the waist down and sometimes on the upper trunk and the 'Gatha' tattoos which are in Shan/Burmese script and are usually on the arms. This man had both]. The informant said that when he was a young man, there was a tattooer in the village. He wandered about tattooing both Shans and Karen. However, there is no one who can do tattoos.

We left this old man and joined the CKA who had discovered an even older man to ask about local history. This second informant claimed to be 97 years old. He said that his parents were born here, but that his grandparents came from Sadaw Luang (? sp.) in the northern part of the Kayah States. – Mawmai maybe. Kris asked about local Kayah and the informant said that the only Kayah in the area were those in Khun Yuam who still lived there when he was a young man.

He can't remember the name of the *Caofā* of Mae Hong Son because it was beyond communications. He didn't work in lumbering, but he heard about it. He doesn't know where it was carried out.

Another informant (youngish man) answered my questions about the school. There are 200+ students in the school and they all come from the village (not outside of it).

Interview with Old Monk at Wat Ommarāwāt

After listening to a tape which I had made of a service at Wat Ommarāwāt in which Burmese forms were used, Kris Lehman wished to get the correct order of service in the Burmese way as compared with the Thai since they differ. Thus, we went over to the Wat. The

young monk was not there, having gone back to Nāi Thian's mine. We then talked with the old monk whose name in Shan is U Phanti (? sp.) and who is known in Northern Thai as Tu Ti.

This monk was born in Khun Yuam, but was ordained in Mae Sariang. He was ordained in the Thai way because the old CKA of Mae Sariang insisted that monks here follow the Thai way. (I asked if this CKA was the same person as the late CK Cangwat since he had been CKA of Mae Sariang before being CK Cangwat. But Tu Ti said that it was another CKA who was here before the CK Cangwat was. The late CK Cangwat also was very strict in insisting that the 'Thai' way be followed.) Tu Ti has lived alternatively in Mae Sariang and Khun Yuam for 20 years, but has lived the last 6 years in Wat Ommarāwāt. Simon, Kris's assistant, says that the monk speaks Shan with many Kammüang words and speaks Kammüang with many Shan words.

The order of the Burmese service is something as follows (Simon later got the monk to write out the full service in Burmese, and I hope to get a copy of it.)

- 1) The people (or representative) come to request, not in Pāli, that they receive the precepts. They also request a sermon at the same time if there is to be one. There they lead the monk to the preaching chair.
- 2) The people repeat the *Okkasa* (? sp.) on the formal Pali form of request for forgiveness.
- 3) Then the monk leads the people in the *Aham Bhante*... (not in Thai service).
- 4) This is followed by the *Namo*... and the three refuges. However, in contrast to the Thai way, the monk repeats the *Namo*... once, the people repeat it thrice, and the monk repeats it once again (on the tape in question the monk did not repeat it once again. The repeating of the three refuges is different also. The monk chants all three, followed by the people. This is done for the three times.)

I asked about the young monk at the wat. When I asked about his ethnic group, an old layman who was present said he was *Yāng Kachin* (?) so I dropped the question. The monk's name is Phra Chintông (พระชินตอง) [? sp.]. His brother, who was a monk here before him, was named while a monk Phra' Chittīn Ōphāsō (พระชินตীন โอลภาโส). The present young monk was ordained as a novice in Burma. He was ordained as a monk in the Thai way at Müang Pôn. The relationships between the two young monks and the old man are interesting. The first young monk, after leaving the order, married a niece of the old monk. When she died, he went to

Müang Pôn where he found a new wife. The present young monk was sponsored when ordained into the monkhood by a nephew of the old monk who lives in Müang Pôn.

Comparisons between Northern Thai, Shan, and Siamese

Kris, Simon, La'ô and I discussed some customs and associated words which exist in the N. Thai, Shan, and Siamese traditions. In the Shan tradition, the people will come to present to the monks in a wat a tree on which are hung various gifts. Traditionally, they were supposed to come and wake the monks up with a rocket. The tree-gifts are called *tān tōt* (Lehman's translation) in Shan. La'ô says that this is the same as *tān tōt* (ตานต้อด) in N. Thai. The first of these words is cognate with *thān* (ทาน) in Siamese and the second with *thōt* (ทอด). The literal meaning is 'gifts which are thrown'. The equivalent in Thai is *thōt phā pā* (ทอดฟ้าป่า). Thus, what I thought were imported Siamese ceremonies at wats Ommarāwāt and Cantharawāt (see notes above) were in fact traditional Shan/Burmese ceremonies.

Kris has been particularly interested in the long banners which are found in Shan/Burmese wats because of their importance in Kayah religion. These banners are memorials for the dead and are thought to provide a way for a soul to reach heaven. The symbolism is quite complex. These banners are called *taam khôn* (Lehman's translation) in Shan and *tung* (ตุง) in Kammüang in this area. They are called *tagundaing* in Burmese.

Woman Peddler

A Shan woman peddler visited us today while the Lehman's were here. Simon was interested in her Shan background and began to inquire into her history. She is 41 years old and claims to have been born in Mae Sariang. [It is a usual ploy for Shans who have migrated to Thailand to claim that they were born in Thailand and then went to Burma. This way they are eligible for Thai citizenship. Simon, for example, claims to have been born in Fang although he only came to Thailand for the first time about three years ago.] Woman actually from Siseng (? sp.) which is on the border between the Kayah and Shan States. She came here shortly after World War II because of the Shan rebellions. Her parents were involved in lumbering prior to that time.

Miscellaneous Market

In the afternoon we went with the Lehman's to the market area. We first went to a shop opposite Khun La'ô's house. This is a chemist-shop owned by Shans. Clark Cunningham had discovered that the shop owned a book in Shan regarding traditional medical practices. He had started to have it translated (with Simon as the translator) but hadn't finished. Kris wanted to get the book for Xeroxing. While there he and Simon also discovered that the shop owners (there seem to be two older men involved) also had some Burmese 'medical' books. These he borrowed also. He also bought some samples of local medicines. The men would have liked to have the Burmese books translated into Thai because they have nearly forgotten their Burmese.

We then went to Nāi Sak's shop where Sheila bought some spices for making Burmese food. There was an Indian in the shop by the name of Patel who had just arrived from the Shan States 4-5 days ago. He spoke very good English. He was very unhappy about the situation in Burma at the moment, thus deciding to leave. He brought out a large supply of jewels to support himself. He also has money in New York.

We then crossed to the drug and miscellaneous shop across from Nāi Sak's shop. It is run by Shans. However, I had thought they were Burmese and Kris asked them if they were Burmese. They were very indignant at being called Burmese.

Interview with Khun Praphin

This evening we went over to the house of Khun Praphin (ประพิน) who works in the treasury office of the Amphoe He is a native of Mae Hong Son and is himself a Shan. His first wife was the direct descendant of the *Cao fā* of Mae Hong Son and his daughter and mother still live in the house of the *Cao fā* (his wife died some few years ago). He is now married to Khrū Sukhôn, a teacher at the Boriphat Süksā school. Kris was anxious to interview him because he is reputed to know more about the history of the *Cao fā* family than anyone else. He had a manuscript which he consulted in answering our questions. In the end he agreed to let us borrow the manuscript to make a copy. The manuscript is entitled "History of Mae Hong Son" and was written by Phra Phibūnborihān (พระพิบูลย์บริหาร).

Khun Praphin recommended that I talk with Nāi Nū Mālai in order to get the history of Mae Sariang [I had already interviewed this man on September 18, 1967]. I asked him about Tu

na Mae Hong Son, a *lūksit* at wat Kittiwong since his name suggests he is related to the *Cao fā* of Mae Hong Song. Phaphin says that he didn't know this man before he came to Mae Sariang and doesn't know why he has this name.

Mae Sariang / Mae La Noi

March 7, 1968

Interview with Monks at the 'Southern Wat' in Mae La Noi

This morning Kris, Simon and I went to Mae La Noi to seek out local history of the Shans in this area. We stopped first at the 'southern wat' where we talked with two monks – the abbot and a monk from the northern Shan States (who happen to come from the same town as Simon).

The abbot is a Khonmüang from Mae Sariang and has lived here 10 years. He has relatives in Mae La Noi. The other monk is from Müang Mao, has lived in Thailand 4½ years and in Mae La Noi nearly two years. During the forthcoming lent he will go to study at a Shan wat (Wat Dôn) in Bangkok. He has the same story as Simon about having been born in Fang and then migrated to the Shan States.

The abbot doesn't really know much about local history and suggested that we talk to a blacksmith in town who is reputed to know the history.

Phra Pan

The wat, according to the abbot, has three monks (the third monk is Phra Pan (พระปัน) who went on the trip to B. Dong). There are four novices in the wat.

The abbot, said that the *suat* and *thēt* in this wat are in Thai, Shan, and Khonmüang forms. The wat has scriptures and sermons written in Shan, Burmese, N. Thai, and Thai.

The abbot also told the story of the name of Mae La Noi coming from the Shan word for Lua. He says that La, Lā, and Lua are all related words.

The abbot says that the original settlers of Mae La Noi were Shan ox-cart traders. The majority who came from Shan States came during Kolan's Wars in Burma. There are also people related to Shans living in Bān Kāt Māē Wāng (บ้านกาตแม่วาง) in Com Thong District, Chiang Mai (See below).

I talked with the abbot about the Lua in the area. He says that there are remains of 7 old

Lua ‘wats’ in the area. He also told the story about the large boulder in the Mae La Noi River which was supposed to have chased the Lua across the Salwin and up into the mountains. (My assistants said that this stone is called *hinlai lua*, หินไล่ลัวะ, ‘the stone [that chased the Lua]’. He said that the stone got to the place it now is and then asked a bird, called in N. Thai *nok katua hua ngók* (นกกะตั่วหัวหงอก) – literally ‘gray-crested cockatoo’, if it had seen the Lua (who were now in the mountains). It said it hadn’t seen them, even though it knew that they were in the mountains. Thus, the chase stopped. The Lua today avoid walking pass this stone [Pete says that if they do they speak N. Thai rather than Lua when they pass the stone]. They also avoid eating the cockatoo.

The abbot says that in the cave near the river, (where some Buddha images were found and where the Thai-style image in this wat was found) there are some manuscripts. Some of them are in N. Thai, but others are in a language which the abbot doesn’t know but thinks may be *khôm*.

I asked the abbot if Karens come to make merit at this wat. He says that Karens from Bān Pāmāk, a nearby lowland Karen village, come to the ceremonies at the beginning of lent, end of lent and Songkrān to make merit. There have been some Karens ordained (as novices) in this wat, but there are none now.

Interview with Blacksmith at Mae La Noi

After leaving the ‘southern wat’, Kris, Simon and I went to find the blacksmith whom the abbot had suggested knows about local history. We found him working. The following is an interview with this man, *tsāng lek* (‘blacksmith’) Tsik’ta’ (Lehman’s translation) which was written up by Lehman, Keyes, and Simon. [The transcription of Shan words is based on Lehman’s phonemicization given following this interview¹.]

The informant says that the earliest time he can remember, there were 25 households on one side of the river and 30 on the other. There are now over 200 households in the village.

He says that he is 60 years old.

We asked him where the Shan people who live here come from. He answered that part of

¹ In reworking these notes, I have adapted this phonemicization. For the original, see the pdf versions of the handwritten notes.

the population came from the Burma side and part from Chiang Mai province. The areas in Burma where they came from include Kengtung, Mokmai, Müang Pan, and Laangkhaoe (Laikha). People came at the time of Kolan. The people who came from Chiang Mai came from Bān Kāt Māē Wāng and Hôphai nā sāi in Com Thong District, Chiang Mai Province. The latter came about 80 years ago.

The population from Chiang Mai the informant called *Yōn Mōn* (*Yōn* - 'northern Thai'; *Mōn* - 'smoky colored'; *Yōn* is the same word as Yuan). He explained that the term applies to people whom the Shan would call Northern Thai and whom the Northern Thai would call Shan. They are really Shans, but ones who are in the Yuan sect. "They speak real Shan." The *Yōn Mōn* he said, contrast with other segments of the population who are called *Tai laeng* (i.e. "Red Shan"). There is yet another Shan group, he said, the *Tai long* [*long* is cognate with N. Thai *luang*], a term which Simon explained meant 'main Shan' - that is, the Shans connected with old Kosampi or the Mao Kingdom. These people (of whom Simon is one) call themselves, Simon says, *Tai Maau*. The group includes the Yunnanese Shans.

There are only two people left who are really *Tai laeng*. The rest of the *Tai laeng* have been absorbed by the *Yōn Mōn* and all of them call themselves *Tai* - i.e. Shan. There is, in addition, one person who is *Tai long*, a Judo teacher who has recently migrated here from Moe ng Maau. His name is Hsara Laan Lu. He is visiting Chiang Mai at the moment.

Also in the village population, he said, there are some *Ly'* (i.e. Lue or Lü) from Kengtung. One or two S'kaw Karen from Bān Pāmāk (a nearby lowland Karen village) have married into the village and are now Shan. Khonmüang have also married into the village and become Shan. At this point, he indicated a young man, who he said is his niece's husband, as an example of a Khonmüang become Shan. Keyes asked this man where he was from and he answered Amphoe Hot. Keyes asked him how long he had been here and he answered a year. In responding to the insinuation that he was now Shan, he didn't reply but just sort of grunted. There are two or three people in the village the blacksmith said, who are of *Tōngsū* (*Taungthu*) descent who are by now Shan. Even the *Tōngsū* who were identified as such spoke Shan but they spoke with a *Tōngsū* accent.

Our informant's father was from Laikha and his mother was from Kengtung. They were married before they came here.

When the *tsaufaa* (*Čaofā*) of Laikha and Mokmai were fighting, the winner would burn

the villages of the enemy. Thus, the informant said, the ordinary villagers had to flee. Some of those who fled here died on the way. Refugees from the Shan States were permitted by the King of Chiang Mai to settle in the Fā Hām area of Chiang Mai.

In response to the question of whether there were Khonmüang in Mae La Noi when the Shans arrived, the informant answered that there were in the village called in Thai Bān Klāng (บ้านกลาง) and in Shan Waan Kaang. This village no longer exists (deserted); some of the inhabitants moved here and some moved to the village called in Shan Waan Khan and Bān Wāngkhan (บ.วังคั่น) in Thai.

In a digression the informant said that the Karen village of Bān Pāmāk was formerly called Phamayô. [Keyes suggested that this is probably still the Karen name of the village.]

He said that there were no Khonmüang living in what is now Mae La Noi [see above for exceptions to this statement – i.e. abbot of Southern wat and the informant's nephew-in-law].

He said in response to a question about the Buddha image kept in the Southern temple of the village that the image was Khonmüang style. It came from the cave which is near the village. There also used to be other images there – both Thai and Mandalay styles - but they have been stolen. He said that all of the manuscripts in the cave are written in Northern Thai.

In response to the question of the routes which the Shans from the Shan states used in getting here, he gave the following:

- 1) Tatômô to Naai Hsôî to Amphoe Muang, Mae Hong Son
- 2) Nōng Palam (in Moeng May) to Māē Lanā from which some people went to Müang Pāi and some to Amphoe Muang
- 3) Me Ā directly to Khun Yuam, Mae La Noi and Mae Sariang by three divergent trails (he drew a diagram in the ashes). [Lehman says that Me Ā was a main teak toll station on the Salwin, under Kanatarawadi, that is, under Kayah control. See below.]

In response to a question concerning whether Mae La Luang was settled by the same people as Mae La Noi, he said that it was – that is, by Shans from the Shan states and Yōn Môn from Chiang Mai. When both Mae La Luang and Mae La Noi were settled Bān Klāng was the only Khonmüang village in the area. Some Shans also settled in Nōng Phak Bung (Nōng Phak Pum) which is about 10 km. south of Mae La Noi and west of Māē Tē [could this be the village

of Bān Phā Pum (บ้านพ่าปุม) – which is shown on the 1:50,000 map? Whatever the name of the village, it suggests a more southern settlement of Shans than Mae La Noi.]

We asked about the war with the ‘Red Karens’. He said yes they came down here. He also knows Salawpaw’s name. He came to attack this area through the pass at the place where the Pāi River flows over into Burma into the Salwin. (Near the Thai police post called Nām Phiang Din). There was a big battle at this place and the informant said that Salawpaw was very lucky there. Simon asked him why Salawpaw was lucky and the informant replied because birds didn’t fly over his palace but flew around it or through it (i.e. through open spaces in the palace). [Lehman thinks that this is a metaphor suggesting that Salawpaw had nothing over his head – i.e. that he was the greatest one. He was a person of great charisma.] Local Shans under the rulers of Khun Yuam and Mae Hong Son together with some Khonmüang under the King of Chiang Mai defeated Salawpaw on this side and chased him to Yawnghwe on the Burma side. The victors built a pagoda there which has a Kammüang inscription and the young people built a pagoda which has a staircase inside it (i.e. a hollow pagoda). He says that no Kayah have settled here and he mentioned the ones at Khun Yuam as being the closest ones. [Lehman discovered that there used to be a Kayah community in Khun Yuam near the airport. They have long since disappeared with only a couple of old women left to bear reminder to their former presence.]

He himself has been to Loikaw to study at Kyông Kaanhsa under a teacher whose name was Pinkhet (? sp.). He has been to several other places in the Shan and Kayah States.

He worked in lumbering for the Bombay-Burmah Company under Burmese supervisors. In response to a question he said that a lot of people here worked for Bombay-Burmah. Bombay-Burmah had three headquarters with European Managers in Müang Pāi, Mae Hong Son, and Mae Sariang. There was no headquarters in Khun Yuam but head elephant drivers lived there. People employed by the company included Shan, Karen, and *Khamu*. The *Khamu* were elephant drivers and mahouts. *Khamu* came once from Laos as little boys and settled here. No *Khamu* are now left in the area [actually, there are some *Khamu* settled in the lowland Lua village of Bān Phae, a suburb of Mae Sariang - Keyes].

There are currently three people in Mae La Noi who are tattooists. Only one man goes up in the Hills to tattoo Karen - name is Hsara Hsaang Tsaai. There was also another man, now dead, who also went up into the hills – name Mū ling ta .

The following, given by the informant, are the clerical titles used in Mae La Noi

<i>wu-n tsau</i>	‘head monk’
<i>wu-n tsaang</i>	‘ordinary monk’
<i>tsau hsaang</i>	‘novice’
<i>tsau wu-n</i>	word used for addressing head monk
<i>tsau tsaang</i>	word used for addressing ordinary monk
<i>hsara</i>	ex-ordinary monk
<i>hsara long</i>	ex-head monk
<i>hsaang</i>	ex-novice
<i>tsau hsara to</i>	use for Phra Khrū

He said that the name of the ancient Thai capital, Sukhothai, is a Shan word, *hsyng khu tai* which means: *hsyng*, ‘settlement’; *khu*, ‘moated’; *tai*, ‘Shan’.

The ruler of Müang Yuam was the "son" of the King of Chiang Mai, according to the informant [probably does not really mean "son" but "relative" or someone sent by the King of Chiang Mai.]

The ruler of Khun Yuam at the time when Khun Lu’s father was ruling Mae Hong Son (i.e. Kōn Lôn), was named Phayā Phra Thōng (พญาพระทอง) in Thai. This was the title and name given him by the King of Chiang Mai. He was *Taungthu*, but doesn’t know if he was the *Taungthu* who built the first pagoda in Mae Hong Son [unlikely because he was later than the time when the pagoda was built]. He says that the ruler of Müang Yuam at this time may have been named Čao Nōi Hat. Müang Pāi was also separate.

He said that Phayā Phra Thōng sent, gold ‘flowers’ as tribute to the King of Chiang Mai. At this time Mae La Noi was under Müang Yuam while Mae La Luang was under Khun Yuam.

He said that if one did something wrong at this time and if one lived under Müang Yuam, one could just walk across the border into Khun Yuam and be free. Now if one lives anywhere in Thailand, there is no escaping.

Shan Place Names

Simon discovered in Mae La Noi that the Shan name for the settlement is Me-la’ôn

(where *ôn* is cognate with N. Thai *ôn* which appears in the word *la'ôn* (หละอ่อน), 'child') and for Mae La Luang is Me-la'long. *Mē la* (*Māē lā*) is the name of a river and *La'* is the Shan word for Lua. Regarding the term *La'* Simon says it can be found also in the Shan States. For example, one kind of Padaung located in S.E. part of Lashio district just on the edge of the Wa state (Headquarters at Myosa Lo-i mô in Taa'ng Yaan Township) are called by the Shan, *Lo-ila'* in polite speech and *la' kin ho* (i.e. 'Lua eat head') in disrespectful speech.

Shan Romanization

The following is Lehman's Romanization of Shan.

SHAN ROMANIZATION

The following is Lehman's romanization of Shan.

<u>Initials:</u>	<u>Finals</u>
k kh ŋ (ng)	vk, vng
ts hs ny	vt, vn
t th n	vp, vn
p ph, f m	a(a), i, a(i)u
v r, l, w, h	ay

<u>Vowels:</u>			<u>Tones:</u>		
i	y	u		๑	๒
e	ɔ	o	High (tense)	๓	๔
ɛ	a	ɔ	Low (lax)	๕	๖
	(ua)			๗	๘
NB: on the use of the letter "y"				๙	๑๐
as a vowel:	high, back, <u>unrounded</u>			๑๑	๑๒
	(eg. ly? (Thai lue))			๑๓	๑๔
as a glide:	high <u>back</u> unrounded			๑๕	๑๖
	{ eg. never heard initial final as in ka-lay (when) }			๑๗	๑๘
	: <u>front</u> , high, unrounded			๑๙	๒๐
	(eg. yu (ba ₂ at, stay))			๒๑	๒๒

Note on "length" (on a only!): a contrasts with aa only in closed syllables; before k, ng, t, n, p, m, i, u
 never before y (back, unrounded glide)
 never after initial clusters, i.e., # ({w y})_ (c) #

Other Notes on Shans

Kris and Simon both are bewildered by the term *ngiao* (ရှီယာ) which the Northern Thai use for Shan. They say that they have never heard the term in Burma and the Shans themselves do not use the term. The term, incidentally, is listed in no N. Thai dictionary except Purnell's where it is glossed as "Shan people" but it is listed in McFarland where it is glossed as "serpents (in general); the Shans, a tribe living in Northern Siam." When I was most recently in Bangkok, a Thai with an Indiana Ph.D. in Political Science and who now works for USOM/Research Division, Somporn Sangchai (Somphôn Sāēngchai) said that he thought the term *ngiao* did not refer to the Shans at all – that is to the Shans as they are known from Burma.

Kinship Terms for Monks

On the trip to Mae Hong Son, we had a number of monks with us. As I have got to be quite close to these and other monks, Sanga introduced kinship terms for Nick's use. Thus, for the CKA who is my elder by a few years, she said Nicholas A. Keyes should call him *luang lung*. For a monk who is my junior, *luang phī*.

Mae Sariang

March 10, 1968

Pôï khao sang (ปอยเข้าสังฆ)

Yesterday and today we have observed a ceremony called locally *pôï khaosang* (ปอยเข้าสังฆ). *Pôï* is the northern Thai word for festival; *khao* = rice; *sang* is similar to the central Thai word *sangkhathān* (สังฆทาน) – “gifts, alms, or food presented to Buddhist monks” (McFarland 1962: 848). The rite is held to make merit for a deceased relative. Sanguan (1962: 76-77) has a short note on this custom which I translate as follows:

“Besides the ordination *pôï*, there is another kind of *pôï* called *pôï khaosang*, that is, the making of merit and dedicating it to a person who has died in childbirth. It is believed that this type of death comes to a person with great negative karma (*bāpkam*, บาปกรรม). The soul of such a person is unlikely to emerge from vast cycle of karma. Thus, [one] must make merit and dedicate it to the deceased for its major effect. The offering is a model of a house, containing a boat, belongings and different [pieces] of clothing. This is taken and offered to the monks [who are] requested to dedicate the merit made from the offering [to the dead], thus allowing [the deceased] to be freed from the Karmic depths.”

In the morning of the 9th we visited the house of Mrs. Kiang Manīloet (นางเกียง มณีเลิศ) who was the sponsor of the ceremony in order to make merit for her late husband, Police Sgt. Sat (ทนต์), and one of her children, Bamrung (บำรุง), who died in childhood. She invited us to the celebration by offering us a candle in a silver *khan* (receiving the candle indicated our

willingness to attend). The invitation concluded in the terms that she would like to invite us to join in making merit. We also talked to Mrs. Kiang's father, Police Maj. Sgt. Bunphop (จำลอง บุญพบ). We were told that today was a day of preparation and that the actual ceremony would be on the 10th at 7:00 in the morning. As we were planning to attend another ceremony during the day on the 9th, we didn't see any of the preparations or what else went on. However, this morning we heard that guests had been fed during the day and entertained with *sô* music (traditional Northern music).

All informants we talked to agreed that the ceremony had as its purpose the making of merit for the deceased, though it was not specified that the deceased need have died in childbirth (as was obviously not the case in the ceremony being described).

The offering was a small house, complete to the details of corrugated iron roofing, windows, veranda, etc. The house was big enough that a person could climb up and sit inside of it. In N. Thai this house is called a *hüannôî* (เฮือนน้อย). In this case, the house had two 'rooms' because two souls were involved. They were filled with everyday household objects: mattresses (2), mosquito nets (2), blankets, clothing, mirrors, pillows, eating utensils, spittoon, bucket, calendars, etc. The interior was also decorated with paper flowers, garlands, and streamers. In each of the rooms were photographs of the two deceased for whom the ceremony was being held. This morning there were also three 'ritual' objects in the house: (1) a monk's alms bowl, the significance of which I did not gather: (2) an object called a *tung*, and (3) a metal tray filled with ash.

The *tung* is generically of the same class as the Shan *taam khôn*, although it is much scallier, being about 1½' high. The longer name for it is *tunglek* (ตุงเหล็ก), 'Iron banner' or *tung tông* (ตุงทอง), 'golden banner'. The top of the *tung* in this ceremony was a representation of a lotus made from tin. Hanging from the rim of the *tung* were a number of symbolic objects including a 'boat', 'paddle', 'raft', 'pole for propelling a raft', and 7 pieces of wood of the same shape. Some of the latter had pieces of metal inside and some other things. The symbolism of the boat and raft is that the spirit of the dead might need a craft to cross the river dividing hell from heaven (this was Saman's explanation) or to reach the louse of the spirits (Mr. Insuan's

explanation). [Saman, incidentally, says that the large banners which the Shan call *taam khôn* do exist in N. Thai temples. They are called *tung* also.]

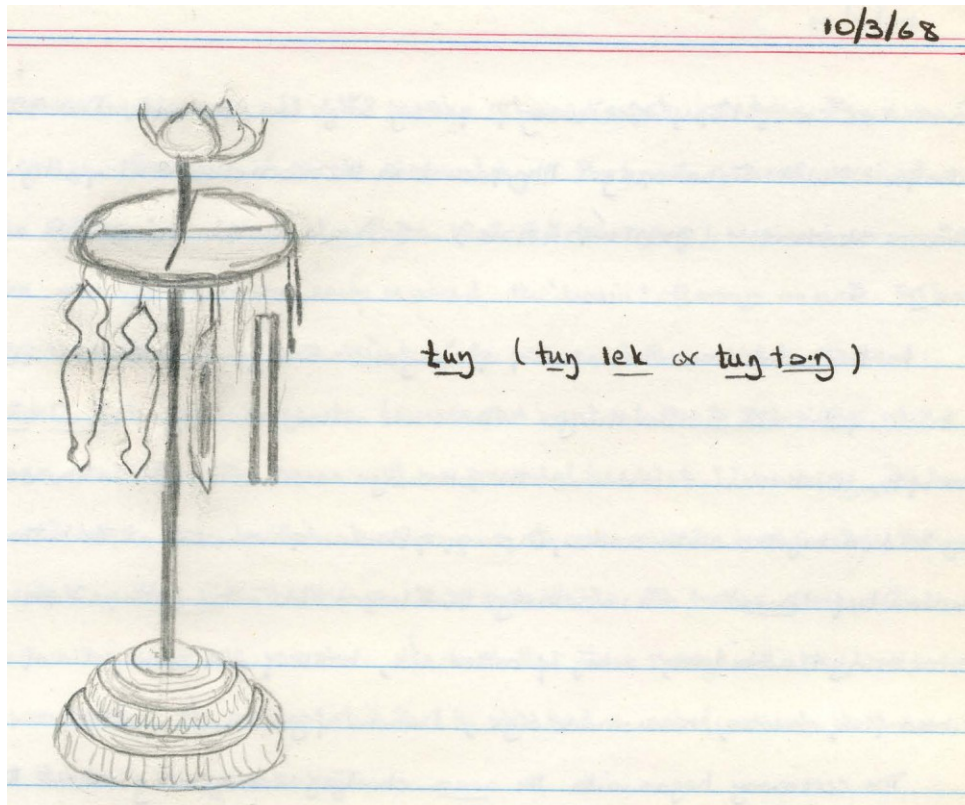


Illustration of a *tung*

The tray of ash, Mr. Insuan explained, was used for a sort of divination.

[The Mr. Insuan being referred to in this description and in the description of the ordination of novices which follows is a native of Mae Sariang, married to a woman from B. Khapuang He is now a court official, but was once a monk at Wat Benca in Bangkok and acts as a senior layman in Mae Sariang. He is very knowledgeable about local customs.]

This morning we arrived about 7:00 A.M. We were ushered into an upstairs room where there were six monks. All of the rooms of the house - upstairs and down - had been made ready to receive guests by removal of their normal objects - mattresses, etc., which were put under cloths and by being laid with mats. Guests were in all rooms. Most of the guests were middle-aged and older, and women predominated.

Shortly after we arrived another monk came. 'There must be an odd number of monks

and be at least 5) The monks present were the abbot of Wat Sībunrüang, the abbot of Wat Sithimongkhon, the abbot from Wat Čom Čāēng, and monks from Wats Chaiyalāp, Kittiwong, and Chông Sūng (an old monk). The 7th monk was also from Wat Sībunrüang. Also, present in the room was a lay religious practitioner, Ācān Wentān (อาจารย์ เวนตาน) [*Ācān* is the functional equivalent *mô* in the N.E.].

In this room were also a set of offerings consisting of 6 buckets filled with various items and 3 basins filled with similar things. These are called locally *kuai sang* (ถ้วยสังข์). One of the wash basins contained the following: a coconut still in its outer husk, a ‘money tree’ tied together with candles, incense, and flowers and wrapped at the bottom with banana leaves, banana leaf ‘*bāisī*’ for something that looked like a *bāisī*, 3 paper cylinders containing something I couldn’t see, a bag of milled rice, bottle of fish sauce, tin of milk, soap, cookies, tinned fish, candles, homemade cigarettes, bunches of garlic.

The ceremony began with the *ācān* chanting announcing about the making of merit for the persons who have died, and asking that the persons who have died to come and receive the merit from the relative sponsoring the ceremony.

Then the monks were presented with their breakfast. First two trays of food and two glasses were presented to the senior monks. This Mr. Insuan said was the *tān khan khao* (दानขันข้าว) (i.e., ‘presentation of food’ (literally, ‘offering-tray-rice’)) in memory of the sponsors’ dead parents, [I wonder, however, if it wasn’t for the two deceased for whom the ceremony was being held.] Then one monk poured the water as *truat nām* to send the merit to the dead and to inform the sponsors’ parents’ spirits of the ceremony so that they can come and express their satisfaction.

After this formal presenting of food, the monks sat around low tables and ate. During their breakfast, the *ācān* chanted.

After breakfast, three monks gave simultaneous sermons. The abbot of Sībunrüang gave a sermon in one half of the little house (the sponsor’s husband’s side) and the abbot of Wat Sithimongkhon gave a sermon in the other half of the little house (the sponsor’s child’s side). The abbot of Wat Čom Čāēng gave a sermon in the upper room. All sermons were in Standard Thai and all the merit received from this sermon was dedicated to the deceased.

When the sermons were over, all of the monks returned upstairs where they were presented with the offerings. Six monks representing the six wats present received a ‘bucket’ offering. The 7th monk, who was also from Wat Sībunrūang, received an envelope of money. The three monks who gave sermons each received the ‘basin’ offerings as well. After the offerings were made, the monks chanted the *truat nām* to send the merit to the dead.

The monks then left and the people began to disperse. We went outside to take pictures at the ‘little house.’ Mr. Insuan said that the house will be presented to Wat Sībunrūang. The house will be kept there three or seven days, then it will be broken up and its parts will be used for other things. Later I asked the CKA what are done with the things that are put inside the house since not all (especially the clothes) can be used by monks. He said that these things will be given away to *lūksitwat* or to poor people. He commented that he still had a set of women’s clothes in the wat which he hadn’t been able to give away.

On the house there was a placard which read:

นางเกียง มณีเลิศ อุทิศเรือนหลังนี้แด่ สบารุง มณีเลิศ.ช.พรรคน์ มณีเลิศ และ ด.ต. ผู้ล่วงลับไปแล้ว

Translation:

Mrs. Kiang Manīloet Dedicates this House to Police Sgt. Sat Manīloet and *dekchāi* Bamrung Manīloet Who Have Passed Away

Yesterday, Mr. Insuan also talked about this ceremony. He said that it is similar to the ceremony of the Chinese called *kongtek* (กงเต็ก) in which many objects are made in paper for the use of the deceased and then burned at a ceremony. He thinks that the *pōikhaosang* is a custom of Mahayana origin which came into this area via Kengtung. The CKA says that the Karen have a similar custom, but they put jewelry and the kind in the offering. However, they only make a temporary present of the gifts to the monks and then come and reclaim the objects.

The ceremony was over by 9:30 in the morning today. It is commonly held in the 6th lunar month, northern reckoning. But, it can be, according to Insuan, held any time except during lent. Not everyone does it, but only those who can afford it. There were at least two others on the same day on the opposite shore which the CKA attended.

Pôl Lūk Kāēo

Today and yesterday we have also been involved in ceremonies surrounding the ordination of one monk and two novices from Bān Khapuang – a Northern Thai village south of Mae Sariang about two miles on the opposite side of the river. Most of the explanations of this ceremony come from Mr. Insuan who was present.

The name of this ceremony in B. Thai is *pôl lūk kāēo* (ปอยลูกแก้ว)– literally ‘the ceremony of the precious (or jeweled) child’. Sanguan (op. cit., pp. 74-76) gives the following description of this ceremony (as translated by me):

Among the *pôl* or festivals, there is besides the *pôl luang*, a ‘little’ *pôl* – namely the merit-making *pôl* of ordination into the clergy which in the north is called *pôl buat lūk kāēo* (ปอยบวชลูกแก้ว) [‘festival of ordaining the precious child’]. In this ceremony if the person who arranges it has a good status [i.e. is wealthy enough], he will perhaps build a temporary pavilion (which in the north is called *phān*) in front of his house and decorate it with offerings and The ‘Eight Requisites’ (เครื่องอัฐบริขาร). In this ceremony, the preparation of the decoration takes place one day before. This day is called in the south *wan suk dip* (วันสุกดิบ) [‘ripe day’]. [On this day] there are various entertainments for the people who join in the rejoicing (in the north, [these guests] are called *kon mā hóm* (คนมาซ่อม),² such as *likē* and *sómüang*. However today, there has likely been progress in some places and there is short music to listen to also.

On this day of preparations, neither called *pôl luang* or *pôl nôi*, there is the food preparation to look after and many buffalo and cattle to butcher because in some places the usual number of guests is in the thousands. People in the rural areas have many connections and they are likely to know each other well. When they have a merit-making ceremony, they then spread the news widely. Otherwise it will be believed that they do not love and respect one another. Therefore, looking after guests is a major undertaking. The cooks will work until they are exhausted. But the feeding of guests takes place only during the day. For *pôl luang* festivals, there must be feeding of the priests in the morning as well, besides that, there will be feeding of

² Although I could not find ซ่อม in any dictionary, I think it may be the same as the Thai *ruam*.

guests at the time of monk's morning and mid-day meals. After that time there will be no feeding of food other than drinks such as orange juice and betel, *miang*, and cigarettes which are normally available for guests in the North.

In this ceremony when the day of preparations is finished, the following day there will be the ordination at the wat. Usually, it is popular to have the ordination in the morning. The *thamkhwān nāk* (ทำขวัญนาค) ['calling of the *khwan* of the novitiate'] of the south also exists in the north and is called *hōikhuan lūk kāēo* (ฮ้องขวัญลูกแก้ว) which is the calling of the *khuan* of the novitiate himself for which there is a *bāisī* (บายศรี) and an *Acān* (namely, [a man from among] the group of *nān* (หนาน) [Northern Thai] or *thit* (ทิด หรือ ทิดา) [Central Thai] who have left the monkhood). As for people who have been and left, they are called *nōi* (น้อย) For example, a person whose name is Bunmā would be called Nōi Bunmā who is the person skilled in calling the *khwan* to come to the ceremony by chanting [literally 'rhythmically reading'] for it to hear. There is reference, as in the south, to the merit of the father and mother [of the novitiate].³

We arrived in B. Khapuang about 10:30 on the 9th. The festivities were taking place at the house of Lung Nōi Wāē (ลุงน้อยแว) who was the arranger of the ceremony. [Literally, this person is called 'the owner' of the ceremony – *cao khōng ngān* (เจ้าของงาน).] When we arrived the novitiates (two would-be-novices and one would-be-monk) were not around. It was explained that they were at Wat Nām Dip from where the procession would come. This explains why we passed so many people carrying drums, gifts, etc. in the opposite direction as we were coming into the village. Since there was no activity going on when we arrived, I took the opportunity to ask some questions about the ceremony.

Mr. Insuan explained that in Shan this ceremony is called *sāng long* (*sāng* is the Shan word for novice). In this ceremony, the novitiates will ride on horses. The actual ordination will take place at Wat Kittiwong since the ceremony for ordaining a monk must be held in a *bōt* and must be conducted by a monk qualified to ordain, neither of which exist in the nearby wats of

³ For a description of an ordination ceremony in another part of the North see Kingshill (1965: 102-109).

Nām Dip, Huai Wôk or Khapuang.

Next to Lung Nôi Wāē ‘s house had been erected a pavilion (covering a raised platform. In front of this platform was a table. On the platform were four clerical beds, each with an assortment of offerings. One of these beds was for the monk-to-be, two for the novices: and one for the Buddha. On these beds were placed highly decorated pillows, mats, paper flowers in vases, water jugs, mattresses, also highly decorated, some money trees. On at least one of them there was a priest’s blanket, a cloth sack containing scriptures, a monk’s fan, the "8 requisites" (called *khriiang buat* เครื่องบวช in N. Thai), lacquered *phān* and betel box, two bundles of reeds/branches called *sālidā* (สาธิตา) on which a white cloth is placed, ‘lotus flowers’ in representational form made of woven bamboo used for *wai*-ing, other flowers made of wax, a mattress (called *atsanā* (อัสสนา) on which preaching is done. Also, on each bed were white cloths to be used in the ceremony and candles and incense.

On the table in front of the platform there were the following: a money tree stuck in a water jug, two trees decorated respectively with ‘gold’ leaves and with ‘silver’ leaves (these are called *dôkmai thong* (ดอกไม้ม้าทอง) and *dôkmai ngoen* (ดอกไม้ม้าเงิน) and *dôkmai sāli kham* (ดอกไม้ม้าสาธิตำ) and *dôkmai sāli ngoen* (ดอกไม้ม้าสาธิตำเงิน) in No. Thai They represent the Bo tree), one large golden-colored Buddha image modeled on the Emerald Buddha, one Buddha image in the form of the Naga protecting Buddha, one wooden image in Chiang Saen style made recently in Chiang Mai, one image of a monk (not Khrübā Sīwichai), two small blackware vases containing artificial flowers, one *bāt* and one silver *khan* in which the guests place money to help in this merit-making.⁴

Mr. Insuan said that this is the time of the year for ordinations and funerary rites.

A group of older men were seated on the platform with the beds. There were two benches near the table where ‘higher status’ guests sat. Still under the pavilion on mats sat many other guests while other guests were in the nearby house. Petty merchants were set-up around the place

⁴ Added comment: The ceremony is clearly one from which one will derive great merit, thus the redundancy of the symbol of the Buddha – both in images and in the form of the trees. The trees, with money or gold and silver, represent the consequences of merit, that merit produced from alms-giving will have fruit which is wealth.

with people milling about (some flirtation). A *sô* group was performing on the veranda of the house.

I noticed that next to the pavilion was a temporary shrine at which offerings are made to the gods of the four directions and to those of heaven earth (see notes for November 30, 1967). The shrine is called, according to Insuan, *tāo tangsī* (ต้าวตั้งสี่) [see notes of November 31, 1967 for etymology]. He said that offerings are made to these *thēwadā* in order to have them come and help insure that all goes well with the ceremony. Insuan, together with Ācān Wentān whom I met at the *pôl khaosang*, gave me the following list of *thēwadā* propitiated at this shrine.

- East: Tāo Tottalatha (ต้าวทิศระฐะ)
- West: Tāo Wipak (ต้าววิปาก)
- North: Tāo Kuwēn (ต้าวกุเวร)
- South: Tāo Wirunlaha (ต้าววิรุพห)
- Top: Pha In (พระอินทร์)
- Bottom: Māē Tholanī (แม่พระธรณี)

These names differ somewhat from those obtained before (November 30, 1967) and are more similar to those given in Nāi Mēt's dictionary.

The ceremony here had been performed the night before. Mr. Insuan says that these divinities are propitiated especially at the times of house-building and ordinations. The person who was in charge of the ceremony is called in N. Thai *ācān* (อาจารย์).

We were served lunch consisting of a *kāēng cüt* and *phrik dāēng* with glutinous rice. It was interesting to note that glutinous rice was served because this makes the village seem much more Khonmüang than other lowland Thai villages in the area.

After lunch the procession began. We met it as it was coming into the village. The three novitiates were riding horses (really ponies) which in turn were being controlled by 4 young men. A fifth young man held a decorated umbrella over the head of the novitiates. In front of the procession were older men carrying *phan* with gifts on them. The procession entered wat B. Khapuang (This wat is interesting since the *wihān* has its main entrance on the opposite side as

the entrance to wat grounds. Thus, on entering the wat one is faced not with the front entrance of this *wihān* but with the back end. The reason for this is that the Buddha Images in the *wihān* must always face East. However, the path from which one enters the wat is on the West). The procession circled once about the *wihān*, towards the left from the point of view of the gate of the wat, and also as if one were facing the front of the *wihān* (this is not the ‘correct’ direction for circling – see below). Then the procession approached the *khuti*. The novitiates were carried off their mounts and up into the *khuti*. Here they knelt before a lone monk, presented him the offerings which the older men were carrying, ‘begged his pardon’ (ขอสุมา) and received the monk’s blessing. (They had apparently done the same thing in Wat Huai Wôk and in Wat Nām Dip.) The novitiates were carried back to their mounts and then the whole procession circled the *wihān* once again in the same direction, left the wat and moved towards the house of the sponsor.

However, before reaching the house, the procession stopped somewhere and the novitiates were given their lunch. About an hour later, the procession did arrive at the house. The procession paraded through the pavilion and coins and popped rice were thrown in front of the novitiates. Then they were carried to the platform and there they sat for a while (not upon the beds but upon mats placed on the platform). They were given drinks and fanned (it was a very hot afternoon). Then they were carried back to their horses.

The procession then went to a suburb village of B. Dong where they went to the shrine of the village tutelary spirit, the *cao müang*. The procession circled the shrine once and then drew up in front of it. The novitiates did not enter the structure but an old man ("who could be any old man") entered and presented vases with long leaves. This same custom had taken place before at the B. Khapuang shrine.

The procession returned and the novitiates apparently went to rest. I took the opportunity to ask about what else was to occur. I was told that in the early evening, there will be the ceremony of ‘calling the *khwan*’ – *thamkhwannāk* (ทำขวัญ) in Thai and *hông khuan* (ฮ้องขวัญ) in N. Thai.

This ceremony will be performed by an *ācān hông khuan* (อาจารย์ฮ้องขวัญ). After this ceremony, the novitiates will go to ‘beg forgiveness’ (ขอสุมา) from various elders. The elders

will respond by ‘tying the wrists’ (มัดมือ) of the novitiates. The elders will also give the novitiates some small change. These are customs of respect.

During the evening there will be a special form of *sô* music called *sô kepnok* (‘songs of collecting birds’). Traditional *sô* music has been going on all day.

Tomorrow morning there will be a procession from Khapuang to Wat Kittiwong where the ordination will take place. It is expected the procession will reach the wat about 12:30-1:00 P.M.

The five attendants of the novitiates must be male. They are usually not married, but they can be.

Sometime after 4:00 P.M., the novitiates came back to the pavilion and we thought the calling of the *khwan* was about to take place. However instead, new form of entertainment (apparently the *sô kepnok*) began. We listened to this for a while and then left.

Today we went to Wat Kittiwong at about 12:30 only to discover that the would-be-monk had passed out and was now ill (at first they thought he had died). Sanga, who was with us, said that perhaps he didn’t have sufficient *bun* to enter the monkhood. But he was revived and the ceremony did take place in the afternoon.

I asked the CKA how many monks would be present at the ordination. He said that there would be 10. There must be at least 5, but in up-country towns there are usually 10. In Bangkok there are usually 25. He gave me the following names of groups of monks:

- (1) *pañca phikkhu* (ปญฺญจวระภิกขุ): 5 monks
- (2) *thasa phikkhu* (ทษะภิกขุ): 10 monks
- (3) *pañca wīsati* (ปญฺจเวีสติ): 25 monks

The procession from B. Khapuang arrived at the temple gates at about 3:45 after having moved through the downtown area of Mae Sariang. The procession entered the wat and circled the *bôt* once to the left. It was then explained to the leaders of the procession by a young monk from Kittiwong that this was the wrong direction. [He explained to me later that circling to the left is connected with funerary customs.] The procession then turned and circled to the right. They only made one circle, although they should have done so three times, because, someone in the procession said, the wind had come up and was blowing dust in everyone’s eyes.

The procession stopped in front of the *bôt* and the novitiates were lifted off their ponies

and carried inside the building. A number of men entered the *bōt*, while most of the women crowded on the porch outside.

The novitiates moved to the left-hand side of the *bōt* (as one faces the image). In the back-center of the *bōt* in front of the altar were the clergy. There were actually 12 monks, ranged as follows:

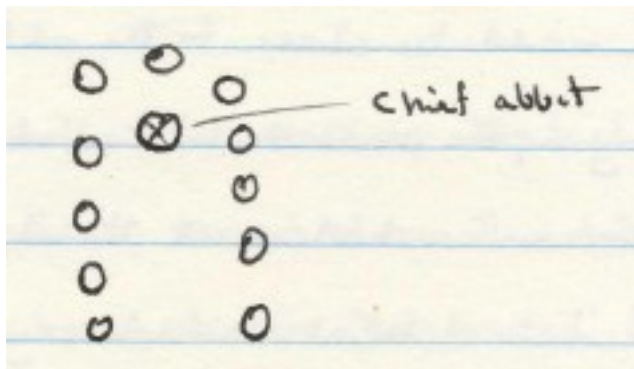


Illustration of arrangement of 12 monks at *pōi lūk kāēo* ceremony

On the right-hand side of the *bōt* were placed the robes for the novitiates and the monk's bowl. Slightly off of center-left were ranged 11 coconuts all with candles in the tops of them.

The first act of the ceremony was the change of the novitiates from their 'beautiful' clothes into the white robes of a candidate. The make-up was removed from their faces and they were made needy for the following events which -would transform them into members of the Order. The details of the ordination were not recorded (see Wells, 1960: 135-151), because my tape recorder is out of order. But I did make the following observations:

- 1) The two novices were received before the new monk, the littlest/youngest novice seemingly taking a subordinate position to that of his elder.
- 2) All three were given their robes, and the new monk his bowl, from a layman or laymen before approaching the monks. Dress was not donned, however, until they had first been presented to the ordaining abbot and then returned to the novitiate. One inner robe was placed over the head of the novitiate by the monks and then the novitiate withdrew to the right-hand side of the *bōt* to finish changing into his robe.
- 3) The CKA who was the ordaining abbot instructed each of the novitiates.
- 4) After the monk-to-be had changed into his yellow robe, he received his alms bowl from the ordaining monk and then withdrew to the doorway of the *bōt*. At this point, the

service took a far more sacred aura. No layman was allowed to sit anywhere in the *bōt* where he would be closer to the altar than any of the monks. The questioning of the monk-to-be about his filling the necessary qualifications was conducted at the doorway. Then the monk-to-be stood on a white cloth at the doorway.

- 5) After the questioning monks had performed their duty and reported to the ordaining monk, the monk-to-be was called forward. The lower monks then moved so that the novitiate was entirely surrounded:
- 6) Nobody in the lay audience *wai*-ed during the service, thus suggesting that the ritual was entirely that of the clergy and that the laity were only on-lookers, not participants. The only exception was the *truat nām*.

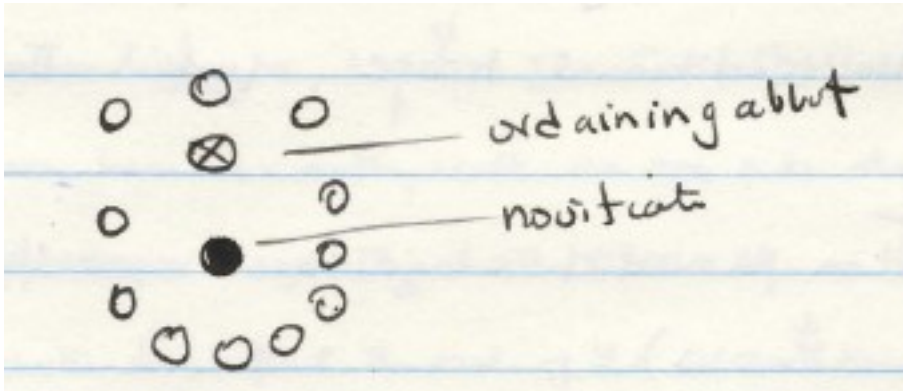


Illustration of arrangement of 12 monks and novitiate at *pōi lūk kāēo* ceremony

- 7) The *truat nām* at the end of the service was performed by the new monk now sitting with the rest of the clergy:

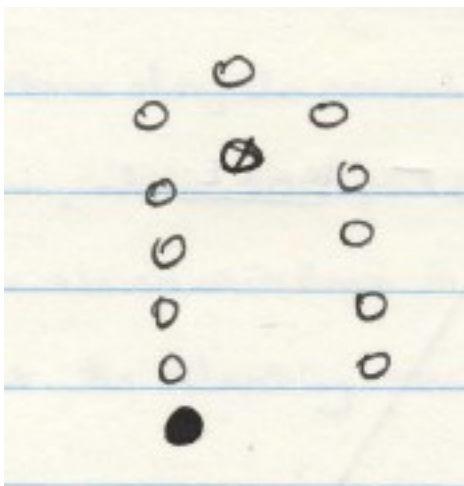


Illustration of arrangement of 12 monks and 1 newly ordained monk at *pôl lūk kâēo* ceremony

The laity did *wai*, but the merit accrued was solely that of the new monk and thus his alone to dispense to other sentient beings. (I did not notice if the two new novices also performed the *truat nām* but I think not.

- 8) After the official end of the service, the laity lined up outside the *bōt* and the new monk and novices moved down the line. The people placed coins in the monk's alms bowl and the novices' bags. Thus, the first act as a new monk (and novice) was to provide the laity with an opportunity to make merit by giving to the clergy.

Traditional House Style

Yesterday, in B. Khapuang Mr. Insuan explained to me the meaning of certain parts of the traditional house, of which there were several examples in B. Khapuang.

The gable ends on the roof of a traditional house are called locally *kalāē* (กะแล) (in Thai *pan lom*. (ปลอม).



Illustration of gable ends, *kalāē*, on a roof of a traditional house

Above the door of the bedroom in such a house is a carved wooden panel called *ham yōn*

(ห้ายน or ห่าญน or ห่าโยน) – *ham* is testicles and non probably is cognate with Thai *phayon* (พยนต์) ‘unfolded’. (Nai Mēt’s dictionary gives the gloss: ‘article brought to life by magician’s incantation’). [I have discovered from other sources that this panel symbolize ‘maleness’ and the dominance of maleness in a household.] These traditional houses are not straight up and down in line, but slant in slightly from the roof to the base. The shape thus made with the roof and base on the outer edge of the house is called locally *hū cāng* (หูช้าง) – i.e. ‘buffalo’s ear’ [NB. *sic?* elephant’s ear]. Since the main inner room outer wall on one side short of the outer edge of the building, there is symmetry on the two edges. However, the inner wall also slants in. A board protrudes past the end of the inner room, creating a small alcove. This is called *fā lap nāng* (ฝ้าลับนาง) since young girls sit leaning against the board. From the raised platform and extending into the inner room there is one round plank which divides the platform and bedroom into two parts. This board is called *pāēn tōng* (แป้นท้อง) – ‘board-stomach’. On the east side – near the outer wall of this board – is the area of the adults whereas the west side nearer the interior of the house is for children.

The board which runs along the raised platform is called *hom* (หม) . On the lower part is the work area, while the platform area is the living area.

In traditional houses there are no windows in the inner room.

Insuan thinks that the slanting shape of the house may symbolize a casket.

Karens in B. Khapuang

There were three Karens at the festivities in B. Dong. They had accompanied a Khonmüang petty merchant and were helping her (carrying water, etc.).

Coconut Water

When In B. Khapuang, we were given glasses of coconut water. This led Insuan to explain that coconut water is the purest (บริสุทธิ์) water there is (probably because it has never been exposed to the elements or to human hands). When a person dies his face is bathed with coconut

water so that he might be reborn with a pure heart.

Shan and Northern Thai Wats

Mr. Insuan explained that the old, name for Wat Sībunrüang was Wat Māk Kāēng (วัดหมากแกง) – *māk kāēng* apparently is a form of tamarind (it isn't listed in Nāi Mēt's dictionary but it may be a Shan word). He says it was a Shan wat in which Northern Thai texts were studied.

Wats Sībunrüang and Uthayārom are physically connected, but the former is now a Northern Thai wat while the latter is Shan. If one has been a novice in the former, his lay title is *nōi*, but if in the latter *sāng* (สง) – i.e. *tsaang*. (An ex-monk in Northern Thai is called *nān* – นาน).

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Mae Sariang

March 12, 1968

Conversation with Young Monk at Wat Kittiwong

This evening I went over to Wat Kittiwong to talk with the Phra Khrū However, he hadn't yet returned from a trip to the Tribal Development Center, so I talked with a young monk while I

waited.

This monk, Phra Mahā Āt Āsaphō (พระมหาอาสโถ) has the following official characteristics (from the short information given in the list, of the Thammacārik monks): ปฐ. (ประโยชน์ธรรม) 4; นธ.(นักรธรรม เอก); 24 years old, monk for three lenten periods. He told me that he was born in the suburb of Mae Sariang that lies across the river. When he finished P4 schooling, his parents strongly recommended he become a novice because he was a ‘naughty child’ (เด็กซน). He was a novice for six years. When he turned 20, he didn’t want to become a monk because it wasn’t *sanuk*, but his parents said that they hoped he would become a monk for at least one lent. After he had been in one lent, they suggested that he stay in one more lent. Now he doesn’t know how long he will remain in the monkhood. He obviously looks on it as a way to obtain an education that he didn’t get in the secular world.

He has studied in Mae Hong Son at two different wats (but doesn’t read Shan although he can now speak it) and in Lamphun.

This is his second year as a Thammacārik monk. He speaks only a few words of Karen.

I noticed a number of ‘temple boys’ (*khanōm*, ขะโถยม, in Northern Thai) in the wat. I asked this monk about them. He said that there were 11 of them, all attending secular schools in town. They are all Khonmüang, and come from villages outside the town.

He was complaining about the lack of knowledge people in the villages have about local customs and gave as an example the wrong circling of the bōt by the villagers from Khapuang (see above).

He obviously admires the CKA greatly, referring several times to his ability to organize things, to keep the *khanōm* in line, his knowledge of local customs, etc.

Talk with the Cao Khana Amphoe

The CKA arrived about 9:00 and we talked for a little.

He said that the ceremonies connected with the erection of a *chēdī* at the lowland Karen village will take place on the 18-21st of this month. At least one Karen novice will be ordained in connection with the ceremonies [it will be interesting to see what customs are followed in this

case].

He mentioned that there will be a major *songkhô* ceremony during Songkrān. The *satuang* will be dedicated at the wat and then taken to be left at least three ‘corners’ in town: (1) in front of Wat Suphanrangsī: (2) at the place where the bridge goes across to B. Thung Lāēng, and (3) near the District office.

I asked him about the meaning of *khô* (*khro* in Thai). He suggested that people believe it to have some sort of animate character which can be scared, beaten, etc.

Mae Sariang

March 15, 1968

Thammačārik Program

Today I helped take the monks connected with the Thammačārik program up into the mountains. I learned a number of things in connection with, the program during the day.

Čārik (จาริก), incidentally, means, according to McFarland, ‘one who goes from place to place; away luring man; a pilgrim’ and according to Haas ‘to travel, wander (often in reference to the Buddha)’. Given this etymology, Thammačārik would seem to mean something like the ‘Dharma as carried by wandering monks.’

There are four ‘centers’ (หน่วย) where there are ‘groups’ (of Thammačārik monks in Mae Sariang. They are all in T. Mae Sariang and are also ‘centers’ in the program of the Tribal Development and Welfare Center at Māē Hô. These centers, with the group number and ethnic identity are as follows:

- Bān Māē Phāē Luang (บ้านแม่แพหลวง) Group No. 4: P’wo Karen
- Bān Māē Rit (บ้านแม่ริต) Group No. 5: S’kaw Karen
- Bān Māē Čāng (บ้านแม่จ้าง) Group No. 6: P’wo Karen
- Bān Huai Kung (บ้านห้วยกุ่ม) Group No. 7: S’kaw Karen

According to the list of monk-participants, the following information can be obtained about the monks:

A) From B. Mae Sariang

- 1) Phra Ēla Kittiyānō (พระกิตติญาโณ) from Wat Uthayārom: Age 57, Monk for 8 lents, no clerical degrees; Group A; According to the CKA, this monk is Karen (living in a Shan wat). The CKA does not know where he came from. I noticed he has tattooing on his head as well as other parts of his body.
- 2) Phra Sirnuan Khuntisārō (พระศรีนวล ขุนตีสาร์โ) from Wat Nām Dip; Age 29, Monk for 9 lents, นักรธรรมเอก; Group 5
- 3) Phra Mahā Āt Ātsaphō (พระมหาอาจาสโก) from Wat Kittiwong; Age 24, 2 lents as monk, ประโยคธรรม 4 น.ธ.เอก; Group 5; Khonmüang (for further information on this monk see above March 12, 1968)
- 4) Phra Sinkham Singkham Sīlatēchō (พระสิงห์คำสี่เตโช) from Wat Sībunrüang; Age 24, Monk for 4 lents, นธ.เอก; Group 6
- 5) Phra Duangdī Kantathamnō (พระดวงดี กนตธมโม) from Wat Kittiwong; Age 24, Monk for 1 lent, นธ.เอก; Group 6
- 6) Phra Somcīt Punyakāmō (พระสมจิตร ปุญญกาโม) from Wat Mae La Noi (N. Wat); Age 28, Monk 3 lents; นธ.เอก; Group 6; probably Shan
- 7) Phra Bunpan Yānasōphanō (พระบุญปั้น ญาณโสภโณ); from Wat Waihūnkhun (S. Wat, Mae La Noi; Age 25, Monk for 5 lents, นธ.เอก; Group 7; Shan (monk who was on trip to hills with us see above)
- 8) Phra Somchāi Thantacittō (พระสมชาย ทนตจิตโต) from Wat Chaiyalāp; Age 26, Monk for 6 lents, นธ.โท; Group 7

B) From Mae Hong Son excluding Mae Sariang

- 1) Phra Somphon Itsarō (พระสมพล อิศฺลโร) from Wat Phōthārām (วัดโพธาราม), Khun Yuam, age 25, monk for 5 lents, นช.เอก, Group 4, probably Shan
- 2) Phra Niyom Paphatsarō (พระนิยม ปภสฺสโร) from Wat Cōng kham (วัดจองคำ), Amphoe Müang, Mae Hong, age 26, monk for 6 lents, นช.เอก, Group 4, probably Shan

C) From Bangkok-Thonburi

- 1) Phra Mahā Niphon Sumētthasō (พระมหานิพนธ์ สุเมธโส), Wat Mahanphārām (วัดมหารณพาราม Bangkok, age 24, monk for 3 lents, ปช.4, นช.เอก, Group 4
- 2) Phra Mahā Nūphet Mūphen Siritattakō (พระมหาหนูเพชรสิริวฑฒโก), Wat Phōkāēo (วัดโพธิ์แก้ว), Thonburi, age 25, monk for 5 lents, ปช.4, นช.เอก, Group 4
- 3) Phra Mahā Bunsī Santikarō (พระมหาบุญศรี สุนติกโร), Wat Thēpthidārām (วัดเทพธิดาราม) Bangkok, age 26, monk for 6 lents, ปช.4, นช.เอก, Group 5
- 4) Phra Mahā Thōngsao Siharatanō (พระมหาทองเสาร์ สีหรัตน), Wat Prachāsattthātham (วัดประสาทรัตนาราม), Bangkok, age 24, monk for 3 lents, ปช. 4, นช.เอก, Group 5
- 5) Phra Mahā Aphirom Ānnuthō (พระมหาอภิรมย์ อานนุโท), Wat Chanasonghrām (วัดชนะสงคราม) Bangkok, age 30, monk for 10 lents, ปช.4, นช.เอก, Group 6
- 6) Phra Mahā Bunnāk Khēmungkarō (พระมหาบุญนาค เขมมงคลโร), Wat Khīan (วัดเขียน) นนทบุรี, age 25, monk for 5 lents, ปช.4, นช.เอก, Group 6
- 7) Phra Mahā Wirōt Mētatikō (วิโรจน์ เมตติโก) or Phūsing (พีชสิงห์), Wat Fāng (วัดฝาง), Thonburi (Nonthaburi), age 31, monk for 10 lents, ปช. 4, นช.เอก, Group 7

8) Phra Mahāsawāng ? (พระมหาสว่าง ?), Wat Rātp̄hōthōng (วัดราษฎร์โพธิ์ทอง), age 28, monk
for 5 lents, ปช. 4, นช. เอก, Group 7

D) Meo Novices

- 1) Sāmmaṇēn Saksī Sāēthao (สณ.ศักดิ์ศรี แซ่เถา), Wat Bencamabophit, Bangkok, age 17 , นช.
ตรี, Group 5, originally from Nān
- 2) Sāmmaṇēn Sawāng Sāēsōng (?) (สณ.สว่าง แซ่โง้ง), Wat Bencamabophit, Bangkok, age
14, นช.ตรี, Group 7, originally from Nān

Summary of monk-participants

<u>Source</u>	<u>Monks</u>	<u>Novices</u>
Mae Sariang, including Mae La Noi	8	
Mae Hong Son excluding Mae Sariang	2	
Bangkok-Thonburi	8	
Meo Novices		2
Total	18	2

In addition, each group has with them a *khanjōm* from Mae Sariang (three from Wat Kittiwong) who gets a token pay for their services. I took part of the supplies and monks for B. Huai Kung.

Lua Villagers and the Khrū Bā Khāo

Today I met four Lua villagers (including two teenage boys) from B. Dong at Wat Kittiwong. They told me that they were on their way to Chiang Mai to find the Khrūbā Khāo. I asked why. They said they were going to offer alms to him. One boy, who answered me, said that he has never been to Chiang Mai before. They, are either going with some Karens or Karens are looking for the Khrūbā Khāo as well.

Fears of the Head the Tribal Development Center

While at the Tribal Development Center, I overheard the head tell the CKA about running into a wandering monk near Huai Kung. He suspected that he really wasn't a monk because (1) he didn't have a registration book, (2) he first said he was from one wat in Chiang Mai and then changed his story and said that he was from another wat, and (3) he was going about giving free injections to the Karens. The head said he suspects that he really is a communist.

I noticed, incidentally, that all of the officials who work at the center carry guns. They didn't used to carry guns – or at least they were not conspicuous when I was first there six months ago or so.

Bān Huai Kung

The Karen village of B. Huai Kung (which is very accessible to the main Mae Sariang-Hot road) has a notable 'development leader' in a young man of about 20 who has planted large gardens, and built fences to keep out pigs, etc. He has been to Lamphun and dresses like a Thai.

According to one informant asked by the CKA, the headman of this village is addicted to opium. Meos come through selling opium, but none is grown by villagers themselves. Karens seem more addicted to opium than Lua.

Pôi Khao Sang

I saw Mr. Insuan today and asked him about the deaths of the two people for whom the *pôi khao sang* was held on the 10th. He said that the husband had died of a disease while the young boy had fallen into a well and drowned. He said that it isn't necessary for a person to have died an unnatural death for such a ceremony to be held.

On the way out of town, I noticed another one of these ceremonies being held in a house near Wat Čôm Čāēng.

Karen Suicide

In looking through my pictures taken on the trip to the hills, some Bān Dong villagers pointed out that one of the three young Karen maidens who had posed for me had committed suicide in with her lover. (According to Pete such suicides of lovers are quite common among Karens).

Mae Sariang

March 16, 1968

'Confirmation' as Buddhists for Tribal Children

In reading through Wells' *Thai Buddhism* I discovered a description of the ceremony called *phutthamāma* (พุทธามามกะ) which was held for students in B. Pā Pāē and B. Dong.

According to Wells (1960: 254-5) this ceremony is a 'confirmation' ceremony in which young people declare themselves to be avowed Buddhists: "The Confirmation Ceremony is for young students who are prepared to declare themselves *Buddhamamaka* or avowed Buddhists. The ceremony dates from the 1920's and had its origin in an earlier rite in which students vowed adherence to Buddhism before going abroad to study." (1960: 245)

Ceremony of Raising a *Chēdī* in a Lowland Karen Village

Today I received an invitation from a *lūksit* of Wat Kittiwong inviting me to a ceremony connected with raising a *chēdī* in the lowland Karen villages of Māē Tōp Nūa and Māē Tōp Klāng (two villages, one *chēdī*). The following is a translation and a copy of the invitation.

Translation of Invitation to Ceremony of Raising a *Chēdī*

SCHEDULE OF THE MERIT-MAKING
[OF] RAISING THE CROWN OF A *CHĒDĪ* AND ORDINATION
OF HILL TRIBE CHILDREN [IN THE] KAREN VILLAGES OF MĀĒ TÔP NŪA
AND MĀĒ TÔP KLĀNG
TAMBON BĀN KĀT, AMPHOE MAE SARIANG,
CANGWAT MAE HONG SON

Because we in Māē Tōp Nūa and Māē Tōp Klāng villages in Tambon Bān Kāt have a deep faith in Buddhism and [because in] these villages there is no village wat, [we] have pooled our strength and wills to build a village *chēdī* as a place in which to worship. [This has been done] with the permission of the Cao Khana Amphoe Mae Sariang. Now that the building is completed, we are prepared to raise the crown of the *chēdī* and to have the customary festivities according to the following schedule:

18 March 1968 (5th day of the waxing of the moon, 4th lunar month, southern reckoning)

9:00 A.M. Procession bringing the crown of the *chēdī* from Bān Pā Māk to Wat

Kittiwong.

3:00 P.M. Procession of the crown of the *chēdī* and four *lūk kāēo* (*sāng lóng*) along the various streets in the sanitary district [i.e. Mae Sariang town and environs] followed by the arranging of a festival at Wat Kittiwong. In the evening there will be a movie and *sōyāng* (ซอยาง) [Karen singing].

19 March 1968

9:00 A.M. Procession of the top of the *chēdī* to Māē Tōp Nūa village.

7:30 P.M. Movie showing

20 March 1968

9:00 A.M. Ceremony of raising the crown of the *chēdī*: Nine monks will chant the ‘Auspicious Victory’ (ชัยมงคล) Gatha.

7:00 P.M. There will be a Northern Thai sermon concerning the *Thammacakra-kappawatraton* (ธรรมจักรกัปปวัตตต) Sutra and the *Thammaphutthā phiesēk* (ธรรมพุทธาภิเษก) There will also be the customary chanting at the opening of festivities and a movie.

21 March 1968 (9th day of the waning of the moon, 4th month southern reckoning)

8:00 A.M. There will be the ordination of the four Karen children and then presentation of alms at the *chēdī*. A sermon will end the ceremony

Therefore, we should like to invite all Buddhists to join in the joyful merit-making with we faithful at the times and places mentioned.

Signed:

Nāi Krīchoe นายกรีเฒอ

Nāi Suai Tāē นายส่วยเตะ

Nāi Pha Kāē นายพะแก่

Nāi Phūkāē นายฟือกะแฮ

Nāi Mōdī นายมอดิ

Nāi Loehāē นายเนล่อแฮ

In the name of the faithful of Māē Tōp Nūa and Māē Tōp Tai villages, sponsors

Document: Invitation to Ceremony of Raising a *Chēdī*

กำหนดการทำบุญ

ยกยอกเจดีย์ และ บรรพชาเด็กชาวเขา
หมู่บ้านกระเหรี่ยงแม่ตอบเหนือ แม่ตอบกลาง ตำบลบ้านกาต
อำเภอแม่สะเรียง จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

.....

ควยซาฟเจาทั้งหลายในหมู่บ้านแม่ตอบเหนือและบ้านแม่ตอบกลาง ตำบลบ้านกาต
ที่มีศรัทธาเลื่อมใสในพระพุทธศาสนาและหมู่บ้านนี้ไม่มีวัดประจำหมู่บ้าน จึงใคร่รวมแรงรวมใจกัน
ก่อสร้างพระเจดีย์ประจำหมู่บ้านขึ้นองค์หนึ่ง เพื่อเป็นที่สักการะกราบไหว้บูชา ด้วยความอุปถัมภ์
ของเจ้าคณะอำเภอแม่สะเรียง บัดนี้การก่อสร้างได้เสร็จเรียบร้อยแล้ว จึงได้พร้อมกันยกยอก
เจดีย์และทำบุญฉลองอบรมสมโภชตามประเพณี มีกำหนดการดังนี้.

วันที่ ๑๔ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับวันแรม ๕ ค่ำ เดือน ๔ ใต้

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. แห่ยกยอกเจดีย์จากหมู่บ้านป่าหมากมาพร้อมกันที่วัดกิตติวงศ์

เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. แห่ยกยอกเจดีย์ และลูกแก้ว(ช่างลอง) ๔ คน ไปตามถนน
สายต่างๆ ในเขตสุขาภิบาล แลวนำยกยอกเจดีย์และลูกแก้ว
มาตั้งฉลองที่วัดกิตติวงศ์ กลางคืนมีฉายภาพยนตร์และชอxygen

วันที่ ๑๕ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. แห่ยกยอกเจดีย์จากวัดกิตติวงศ์ ไปยังหมู่บ้านแม่ตอบเหนือ

เวลา ๑๘.๓๐ น. ฉายภาพยนตร์

วันที่ ๒๐ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑
 เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ทำพิธียกยอกเจดีย์ พระสงฆ์ ๘ รูป สวดชัยมงคลคาถา
 เวลา ๑๘.๐๐ น. มีการแสดงพระธรรมเทศนาพื้นเมือง เรื่อง ชรามจักรกัปปวัตถ์-
 คณสูตร และ ชรามพุทธาภิเษก สวดเบิกสมโภชตามระเพณี
 และมีการฉายภาพยนตร์

วันที่ ๒๑ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับวันแรม ๘ ค่ำ เดือน ๔ ใต้
 เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีบรรพชากุลบุตรกระเหรี่ยง ๔ คน แล้วทำบุญถวายพระเจดีย์
 เครื่องไทยทาน มีการแสดงพระธรรมเทศนา ๑ กัณฑ์
 เป็นเสร็จพิธี

จึงขออนุญาตเชิญพุทธศาสนิกชนทั้งหลาย ไปร่วมทำบุญอุทิศกับศรัทธาข้าพเจ้า
 ทั้งหลาย ตาม วัน เวลา สถานที่ดังกล่าวโดยทั่วกัน.

Mae Sariang

March 18, 1968

Pôi Khao Sang at Bân Phae

Yesterday a young boy came to invite us to a *pôi khao sang* to be held at a house in the village of B. Phae – the suburb village of Mae Sariang whose population is mainly of Lua background. The boy presented us with an unlit candle in tendering an invitation. This is the customary way of extending invitations to privately-sponsored ceremonies in this area.

The ceremony was being held for the father of one Nāng Bin (นางบิ้น) at whose house the ceremony was being held, her mother, and her sister. The father died about a year ago, the mother nearly 10 years ago, and the sister some time in between. Nāng Bin and her husband, Nāi Thao (นายเทา) were not the only sponsors. Also included were Nāng Bin’s siblings, among whom according to La-ô who knows the family, are Nāi Tim (นายติม) Nāng Pā (นางปา), and Nāi Čan (นายจันท์). At the house opposite, food was being prepared and so I assume this household was also included. It is the household of the older brother of the deceased man.

According to this elder brother, he and/or his brother moved down from Bân Pā Pāē over 20 years ago. However, they still have kin connections with Bân Pā Pāē. One of the elder brother’s daughters has married back into Bân Pā Pāē. It was quite striking to see her in Lua costume and her sister, who has married down in the valley, in Khonmüang dress. There were

also some young Lua girls present who the elder brother said were his *lān* (either granddaughters or nieces).

There was another man present whom I took to be the sponsor. His name, however, Čamrat Na Lamphūn, suggested that he is not of Lua origin. I asked La'ô about this and she thinks that he may be a respected person who was asked to be the main sponsor because he is respected by the principals.

The other main participants in the ceremony were an *ācān* and five monks. The chief monk was the abbot of Wat Čôm Čāēng and it was to this wat that the 'little house' would be presented.

Finally, in attendance were the large number of guests and a few *lūksitwat* who would carry the presents given to the monks back to their respective wats.

Yesterday, there was some sort of festivities, *liang khāēk* and *sô* music. La'ô said the mother of Mr. Wichian attended yesterday because people from this family at one time worked for the Ômārī shop (thus confirming an earlier story that Lua used to work at this shop).

When we arrived at the house, we noticed a large number of sand *chēdī*, with paper 'flags' (white crepe paper) planted in them at the entrance to the gate of the house grounds. As we entered we (Jane and I) were given a local 'cigarette' and a chew of betel each.

We arrived in the midst of the request for and receiving the precepts (including the *namo*) during which the *ācān* acted lay leader and the abbot of Čôm Čāēng was the giver. The chief layman/*ācān* then chanted something, repeated by the lay principals, while a man held a *khan* with *khriang būchā* in the wai position. This was the formal presentation of the 'alms' at the ceremony. This was followed by a long chant by the monks. During this time, there was scurrying about to arrange the food to be given the monks.

When the chant was done, two trays of food were taken and placed at the foot of the two mattresses in the 'little house'. Then the *ācān* led the laity in presenting the food to the monks (in Northern Thai). During the time that the monks were eating, the *ācān* chanted in Northern Thai (same as in the ceremony at the house of Nāng Kiang).

During the meal, I took note of the various artifacts involved in the ceremony. The 'small house' was located in front of the stairway and had a double roof. In the house were the following (not a complete listing): 2 mattresses (laid out), 2 pillows, 2 mosquito nets, 2 blankets, buckets, *pintō*, betel set, water vases. The 'ceremonial' objects in the house included a *bāt* and a

red lacquered *phan* on which was placed *khriang būchā* and a sermon script. However, there was no *tung*.

In the house itself, the monks were seated under the ‘house altar’ and on the raised platform of the house. Nearby, also to the side of the house near railing was a table on which was placed a Buddha image, 2 lighted candles in candle sticks, 2 vases of flowers. Between this table and the monk, leaning against the side wall of the house and on the floor, was a picture of the deceased father. A string was wound around the picture, around the Buddha image, and then passed to a ‘flag’ placed in the sand *chēdī*, and from there to the eaves of the ‘little house’. There remained a ball of string left, next to the picture, which was later used by the monks.

In the far corner of the veranda near the table were the ‘buckets’ containing the offerings for the monks present.

When the monks had finished with their meal the *ācān* stopped chanting before this point), the meal table and dishes were taken away and the offerings were placed in front of them. Also plates with tin cups of ‘water’ (or *nām sompōi* ?) on them were also placed in front of each monk. Two lay people, I believe the owner and wife of the owner of the house, also had dishes with cups of ‘water’ in front of them. The monks then chanted the *hai phon* and *truāt nām*. I noted on this occasion, as on others, that the monks do not chant these chants in unison but each proceeds at his own speed, some finishing before the others. The abbot of Čôm Čāēng and the second monk were the last to finish in this case.

Then the ball of string was unraveled further and passed along to each monk. The monks chanted, followed by a short chant by the *ācān*, and then another short chant by monks during which string was rewound. Then the second monk (whom. I believe to be from Wat Sībunrüang) said that the formal invitation for a sermon should be made and the *ācān* did so. This completed, the abbot went into the ‘little house’ to deliver a sermon, three monks began delivering sermons in the main house, and the fifth monk departed. When the abbot of Čôm Čāēng finished below, he came back upstairs and delivered another sermon there. Again, the sermonizing was not in unison, but each monk was reading from separate texts. At the ends of all these sermons there was again the *truāt nām* to send the merit made to the deceased. Again each monk performed this part separately. This brought the ceremony to an official end. It was followed by feeding of the guests and there would perhaps be *sô* music during the rest of the day and the evening.

During the meal, which again had the four ‘types’ of dishes – *čūt (kāēng čūt)*, *phet*

(*phrikdāēng*), *man* (*kāēng hanglē*), and *priao* (*yām maprang*) – as well as green vegetables (cabbage, cucumbers, etc.). I asked about the cost of the ceremony. Mr. Čamrat Na Lamphūn said that it cost Baht 3,700 and that the ‘little house’ alone cost about Baht 200 (materials). Seven relatives joined in sponsoring the ceremony. Another man said that these ceremonies can sometimes cost as much as Baht 20,000.

The Role of Bān Phae in Lua-Thai Relations

I reflected today while at the ceremony described above on the role of B. Phae (and the same could be said for B. Thung Phrāo) in Lua-Thai, relations. There are apparently many households which have connections into Lua villages in the hills and Khonmüang or Lua-Khonmüang villages in the lowlands. These connections, plus connection provided by contacts with one’s village, make possible learning about Khonmüang culture in the lowlands by upland Lua. Lua relatives who attend such ceremonies as we witnessed today now are more families with Khonmüang customs. Oftentimes, many Lua must learn (but rarely practice) the role of a Khonmüang. If they decide to move into the lowlands, the transition from Lua to Khonmüang is not great. No such channel into Khonmüang society and culture exists for the Karen, although B. Dong does have some characteristics for the Karen that B. Phae has for the Lua.

NB: Interview with Čao Khana Amphoe⁵

[Although not mentioned in these fieldnotes, on March 18, 1968, Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of an interview he conducted with the Čao Khana Amphoe about various topics, including customs and traditions. It is possible that this interview was conducted on a different day – March 14? – and mis-labeled.]

⁵ Charles F. Keyes’s tape recording of the interview is located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.29 EC. The original tape is titled, “Tape Number 17, Side 1.” The recording has also been digitized. An index [and possibly, a Thai transcription of part of the recording] is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

Mae Sariang

March 22, 1968

Buddhist Ceremonies in Karen Villages⁶

Beginning on the 18th and continuing to yesterday, I have been involved in the ceremonies of raising the crown of a *chēdī* and the ordination of novices sponsored by villagers in the Karen communities of Bān Māē Tōp Nūa and Bān Māē Tōp Klāng.

On the 18th, villagers proceeded to Mae Sariang, bringing with them the ‘crown’ and the boys who were to be ordained. Originally the idea was that four boys and an older man would all be ordained, but only the boys came to town for the procession (and in the end the older man didn’t get ordained). The procession included not only people from Māē Tōp but also a number, including the headman and his wife, from the Karen Bān Phae (Phāēkhō).

The procession arrived in Mae Sariang about 12:00. At about 3:00 P.M. they were served a meal by some people in the congregation of Wat Kittiwong. Before the meal the CKA had got some of them to record *sō yāng* (စဝ်ယာၣ်) – i.e. Karen singing.

After the meal the four boys (novices-to-be) were dressed in the Burmese costume typical here. The costume was provided by Wat Kittiwong. Then about 4:00 P.M., the Karens with the *chēdī* crown and the *lūkkāēo* on the backs of four Karen men, began the procession around town. It wasn’t a very big procession and was looked down on by some of the Thai onlookers. The procession went first to the shrine of the *cao müang*, (tutelary spirit of the town). They were told that it was the custom in N. Thai/Shan traditions to inform the *cao müang* of the forthcoming ordination of novices. (The shrine incidentally, was locked and a neighbor woman who looks after the shrine came to unlock it. I was told that the shrine is kept locked because of the various costumes that are kept inside of it.)

In the evening of the 18th there was a celebration at Wat Kittiwong which consisted primarily of movies plus some more Karen singing.

⁶ Charles F. Keyes’s tape recordings of the ordination ceremony at Bān Māē Tōp Nūa on March 21, 1968 are located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.30 EC, 2001-2.31 EC, and 2001-2.32 EC. The original tapes, which were recorded using the Čao Khana Amphoe’s recorder, are titled, “Tape Number 18, Side 1 and 2” and “Tape Number 19, Side 1.” The recordings have also been digitized. An index and Thai transcription of part of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

On the 19th, the procession returned to Māē Tōp Nūa. In the afternoon I drove out some of the monks and equipment in Pete's land rover. This was quite a drive over almost roads – taking about two hours to go 14 kilometers (but only an hour and a half back). The route passed through B. Thā Khām, B. Sophān (both N. Thai villages), B. Phae, B. Māē Hān (both Karen villages), and B. Māē Tōp (N. Thai village) before reaching B. Māē Tōp Klāng and B. Māē Tōp Nūa. There are shorter routes, but not ones traversable by a car. It is interesting to note how lowland Karen villages are interspersed with Khonmüang villages.

I returned to town on the evening of the 19th and then drove another group of monks and novices out early on the morning of the 20th. We arrived a little after 3:00 P.M. because it was planned that the procession up to the *chēdī* would take place at 9:00 P.M. However, all morning was taken up by a procession from house to house where the inhabitants of each household would tie the wrists of the novices-to-be (This custom, which the CKA says is Shan, was introduced by the CKA to the Karen). In addition to tying wrists, the various householders also presented the novices-to-be with small bits of money in order to help in the merit-making.

Two villages are involved in the sponsoring of the ceremony – Māē Tōp Nūa and Māē Tōp Klāng. The hill on which the *chēdī* has been built is between the two villages, although slightly closer to Māē Tōp Klāng. At the foot of the hill, in a clearing, had been erected a temporary shelter where food was made and guests were served. The monks however were not served here but in the teacher's house in Māē Tōp Nūa where they were staying (this being vacation, the two female teachers at the school had returned to Mae Sariang). Lunch was served in these two places and then many Karen men retired to Māē Tōp Klāng, where they drank large quantities of liquor.

By mid-afternoon, the CKA finally led the monks and some of his entourage to Māē Tōp Klāng to spur on events a bit. The procession with the *lūkkāēo* was finally got underway and we (the monks and myself) proceeded it up the hill.

On top of the hill, an area had been cleared. The *chēdī* was in the middle, completed except for the 'crown'. A scaffolding was on the *chēdī* so that people could climb up to place the 'crown'. A fence surrounded the *chēdī* (temporary) and the *chēdī* rested on a brick foundation. To the north of the *chēdī* was a raised covered platform made of bamboo and thatch which served as a *sālā* during the ceremony. In front of the *chēdī* and this pavilion was a covered area where

people would sit during the event (it wasn't high enough to stand up under even for people shorter than myself).

(The whole afternoon was spoiled by the fact that the hillside was on fire – a consequence of swiddening fires in the area – and we all breathed smoke for the time we were on the hill. I am sure that this was reason I came down with in acute bronchitis attack on return to Mae Sariang).

When the procession reached the top of the mountain, all of the Karens (but not, so far as I could see, any of the visiting Khonmüang) – including the *lūkkāēo* on the shoulders of several men – circled the *chēdī* - not once, or even thrice, but many times. While doing so, they sang a special *sō* which the CKA says is used especially for occasions involving a *chēdī* for *thāt*). During the procession and after it (and in fact all during the proceedings) people would go up and *wai thāt* – with candles, incense, flowers – or would throw *nām njā* (*sompōi* water) or popped rice on the *chēdī* while walking around it inside the fence.

When the procession was over, the monk who lives normally (at least for the last year) at the *chēdī* in the Karen village of B. Pā Māk Māē Hān went up on the platform with two laymen to help place the 'crown'. (This monk, whom I haven't mentioned before is a very interesting person. He was born in Kengtung State, is a Shan who speaks fluent Chinese, and served in the Chinese army in Southern China during World War I. He was living in Chiang Rai before he came here.) In raising the crown, it was taken apart into four parts (Three layers plus the 'tube' that passes through the middle of the crown and sits in the top of the *chēdī*. To the bottom portion was attached a long white rope which was massed over the platform, to the other side. Many people ceremonially pulled on the rope to 'lift' the crown to the top, though actually it was carried up the stairway. When the lower part of the crown was placed, the monks below chanted. Then the monk and the two laymen fixed in place the remaining parts of the 'crown'. This was done with wires. When this was finished, the monk descended and the laymen dismantled the scaffolding (I believe that both of these laymen were Khonmüang).

When the crown stood on top of the naked *chēdī*, the CKA gave a short sermon. In essence he said that the *chēdī* was just a symbol and that people don't worship bricks. Rather they worship the Buddha the Dhamma, and the Sangha and the *chēdīs* are just symbols for helping them remember these things. The CKA spoke in N. Thai and his remarks were translated into Karen by the headman of B. Phae. Then the CKA led the people in 'dedicating' the *chēdī* during which the people knelt and repeated the words of dedication which the CKA gave. Then the

people, led by the monks, circled the *chēdī* three times. This time everyone, Karen and Khonmüang, joined in the circumambulation.

After this most people left the mountain top and went down below to eat, drink, watch movies, etc. A few people, in the main female Khonmüang and older male Khonmüang, stayed up on the mountain where there was an evening sermon in Kammüang). These people, and the monks who gave the sermon (as well as some novices) spent the night on the mountain, Just before we descended, an old Karen man from B. Pā Māk (Māē Hān) came and requested to take the 8 precepts from the CKA which he gave him.

On the morning of the 21st, the monks arose before 5:00 A.M. and went up the mountain where I followed them. They knelt in front of the *chēdī* and chanted for a long time – this was almost a private, clerical, ceremony with only a few lay onlookers. This was followed by the presentation of food to the *chēdī* (given to the CKA by some lay Khonmüang) during which the CKA ‘chanted’ in Northern Thai. He was followed by some Karen women who came to present special deserts to the *chēdī*.

Although all the monks but the one from the *chēdī* at B. Pā Māk went back down the hill after the chanting to eat breakfast (I also stayed on the mount), many people started arriving. The novices-to-be were carried up and deposited in the pavilion (they, like the remaining monk, were served their morning meal here). A large number of Khonmüang (and/or Shans) had also-joined the group who had spent the night on the mountain. Many of these were vendors of small foodstuffs, some were pilgrims, and some both.

One other thing had happened before the monks went downhill for breakfast they placed a yellow robe on the *chēdī* in the middle part.

During the time that I was waiting for the morning ceremonies to begin again, I took note of the inscription on the *chēdī* “18 မာ. ၂. 2510”, that is, 18 March, 1967 (I am not certain whether this was a mistake or whether the *chēdī* has been complete for a year and only this year was the crown placed).

People kept arriving in great numbers, but by now they were mainly Karen. In fact every lowland Karen village in the area and several upland villages had representation. Some brought decorated ‘presents’ the most conspicuous of which were those from B. Māē Tia and B. Māē Hān. Each new group of people would make offerings of *khriang būchā* and/or deserts to the *chēdī* and would circle it in procession.

About 9:00 or 9:30, the monks having returned, the ordination ceremony got underway. The older man who had planned to enter had spent the previous evening in a drunken orgy and declined to follow through with his plans to be ordained. One of the new novices is the son of the headman of B. Phae (the one, I believe, who lives at the Christian hostel while studying in Mae Sariang). None of them plan to remain in longer than a few days – probably three days. They will spend this time on the mountain. (I have wondered how they will really learn anything about being a novice since there will be no monk staying with them to teach them. The CKA invited them to come and spend several weeks at a wat in town or in Māē Tōp, but there was no enthusiasm for this idea.)

[I have recordings of the whole ordination ceremony.⁷]

After the ordination ceremony, the monks were given their midday meal and then led the people in touring around the *chēdī* for a final three times.

During this time, a group of Karens planted a pole on which there was a ‘flag’ at the S.W. corner of the *chēdī*. The pole was highly decorated. The CKA calls this pole a *saotung* (เสาธง) – literally ‘pole-flag’. There was already a pole, with minimal carving, at the S.E. corner of the *chēdī*. This he also called a *saotung*. He says that they are associated with *chēdīs*, but I didn’t get much more explanation.

After this the people left the mountain (all except the novices and the one monk from B. Pā Māk who volunteered to spend the first night with them) and were served a noon meal in the pavilion at the foot of the mountain. Thus ended the events and we left for home shortly thereafter.

During the course of my stay in Māē Tōp Nūa I was able to ask, with the help of the CKA, some questions about the village, about lowland Karens, etc. The following is what I learned.

Karen Novice

There is a permanent novice from Wat Kittiwong who is a Karen (or, as he says, *lūk kariang*). He was born in Māē Hān, finished P4 there, and has now been a novice for several years. He acted as the CKA’s interpreter during these events.

⁷ See previous footnote.

Local History

We started asking Môđī and one of the other local sponsors of the ceremony about local history. They said that Māē Hān was the oldest lowland Karen village and that the wat there had been built over 30 years ago. When we started asking more questions, they had called over 2 old women who were reputedly the oldest people in the village. They both claimed to be 80, having been born in the same year, but they didn't look that old. One of them had a son present who said he was 44. Thus, I doubt if the women were over 70. Both women said they were born in the village and that their parents had lived here. Where their parents had been born, they didn't know. When they could first remember there were 30 households in a single village of Māē Tôp Nüa. Later it split into two villages – Māē Tôp Klāng and Māē Tôp Nüa. They said that B. Māē Hān, B. Pā Māk, and Bān Phae (Phāēkhō) existed when they were young. Originally, the Karens lived in the hills, but no one knows how long they have lived on the plains or where they came from.

Current Demography of Bān Māē Tôp Nüa and Māē Tôp Klāng

According to the CKA, when he inquired a year ago there were 17 households in Māē Tôp Klāng and 35 in Māē Tôp Nüa. Now, according to Môđī, there are 17 in Māē Tôp Klāng and 33 in Māē Tôp Nüa. Two households have moved away from the latter, one to Khun Yuam and one to B. Pōng. No new households have been created by marriages or family fission. Last year there were 15 households in Māē Tôp Nüa which were Christian (Baptist). This year there are 14 since one Christian household moved to B. Pōng. There is one Christian household in Māē Tôp Klāng, the same as last year. There is a Christian church in Māē Tôp Nüa. (Thus, 30 percent of the two villages together is Christian while 42 percent of Māē Tôp Nüa is Christian.) The Karen name for Māē Tôp Nüa is something like Māētôklô, where *klô* means the same as Nüa – i.e. 'north'. (The Christian component reminds me that a week ago the Baptists held an annual conference of Karen Christians in Māē Tôp Nüa.)

Relations Between Khonmüang and Karen

One informant said that there were Karens who had moved into Māē Tôp, the (Khonmüang) village. One Karen girl in Māē Tôp Klāng married a Khonmüang boy. They still live in Māē Tôp Klāng and the girl wears Karen dress. In response to a question by the CKA,

Môdī said that it was not ‘against the *phī*’ for Khonmüang and Karen to marry. He then went on to say that the ‘spirits are under Buddha ‘.

Buddhism and Karen

Villagers said that this is the fourth time that attempts have been made to erect the *chēdī*. Always before there were only 3-4 people who wanted to build the *chēdī*, but never could enough money be raised. Now enough money has been raised. The six people listed on the official announcement (Mssrs. Krīchoe, Snaitāē, Phakāē, Phykahāē, Môdī, and Loehāē) were the largest donors and the main sponsors (one of their number has since died), for example, Phakāē (who is only 30 years old) gave ฿660, Môdī gave ฿440, etc. The total original donations (i.e. given prior to the beginning of the ceremony) was ฿2,350. The total needed for the cost of the *chēdī* was ฿2,000+ and, in addition, there was the cost of the celebration and the ordination. Each of these six (or, rather, now 5) men will receive a title (from Burmese or Shan) indicating their sponsorship of the erecting of the *chēdī*. The title, as written in Thai, is *khōtaka* (โ้ชตะกะ).⁸

In this village, the title notwithstanding, the Karens follow the Khonmüang form of Buddhism because the nearest temple and monks are in Māē Tōp, a Khonmüang village. In Bān Phae, B. Māē Hān, and B. Pā Māk, however, they follow the Shan way because the wat at Māē Hān, which these people attend, used to have a Shan resident monk who had come from Wat Uthayārom in Mae Sariang.

I asked where villagers here learned about the customs associated with the ordination of novices. The answer was that the sponsors had gone to an *ācān* in Māē Tōp (i.e. a Khonmüang) to find out about the customs connected with ordination since they never had an ordination before. The CKA introduced the custom of processing to each household when householders tied the wrists of the novices-to-be. This custom, in turn, was borrowed from the Shan/Burmese tradition.

⁸ This is probably a version of the Burmese *payataga*.

Biography of One Karen Villager

Môdī one of the Karen sponsors of the ceremony, was so obviously fluent in Kammüang (and even in Thai), without the usual Karen accent, that the CKA asked him about his background. He was born in B. Pā Māk (Māē Hān). He then studied in Māē Hān, where he lived at Wat Māē Hān for three years. He then lived at Wat Sop Hān for two years while he continued his studies and at Wat Čôngkham in Mae Sariang for less than a year. Although he has never been ordained, he is very familiar with the basic religious chants. He studied through to *Mathayom 5*, but failed in the exam, ran away and never returned to school. He married a girl in this village and settled down here.

Economics in Māē Tốp Nüa and Māē Tốp Klāng

I asked if anyone in these villages works for the Phanasit Company. The answer was yes. There are ten elephants in the village, some of which are hired out to the Phanasit Company. Elephants are owned by both Christian; and Buddhists. One man, Pha Kāē (the young sponsor of the ceremony) bought a male elephant on his own (with his own capital) for ฿22,000 from Riangsôn the owner of the Mae Sariang market. Most elephants, however, are owned by several people or are inherited from people's parents.

Karen Villages in Tambon Bān Kāt

I asked for all the names of Karen villages in Tambon Bān Kāt:

- 1) Pha Mólô (บ. พระมอลอ), under B. Sophān
- 2) Bān Phae (บ้านแพะ), separate administrative entity
- 3) Bān Māē Hān (บ้านแม่หาร), separate administrative entity
- 4) Bān Pākmā Māē Hān (บ้านปากหมาแม่หาร), under B. Sophān
- 5) Bān Māē Tốp Nüa (บ้านแม่ตอบนื้อ), under Bān Māē Tốp
- 6) Bān Māē Tốp Klāng (บ้านแม่ตอกลาง), under Bān Māē Tốp
- 7) Bān Khun Māē Tốp (บ้านขุนแม่ตอ), under Bān Māē Tốp

- 8) Bān Māē Tia (บ้านแม่เตี้ย)
- 9) Bān Māē Kông (บ้านแม่ก้อง)
- 10) B. Māē Čôn (บ้านแม่จอน)
- 11) Bān Māē Kô (บ้านแม่เกาะ), under Bān Māē Tôp

Village Tutelary Spirit

One informant said that the name of the village tutelary spirit was something like *sipada*. There is an annual ceremony for this spirit in the 9th lunar month (northern reckoning) and it is worshipped with flowers, candles, incense and sometimes chicken meat.

Karen Village of Khun Māē Tôp

We interviewed an informant who came from the village of Khun Māē Tôp (บ้านขุนแม่ต๋อบ). *Khun* in N. Thai means ‘source’ and is not the title of a person as it is in Central or N.E. Thai. So the meaning of the name of this village is ‘the village that is situated at the source of the Māē Tôp stream’. This is an upland village with no paddy fields (entirely dependent on swiddening). There is no school in the village and the informant, a man in his late 20’s or early 30’s, spoke no N. Thai at all. It is located about 5 kilometers north of Māē Tôp Nüa. There are 24 households in the village, none of which are Christian. The Phanasit Road masses near the village.

Northern Thai Customs

The CKA said that in the *songkhô* ceremony, the *satuang* is taken and left at a ‘crossroads’ when the ceremony is over. This crossroads, he said, is called *tāng khôi* (ตางค้อย)

Lua and Local Wats and Other Information on Local History

The CKA said that the wat in B. Thung Lāēng, which is called Wat Khun Kông (วัดขุนคง), used to be Lua. He said that the images in this wat are of Chiang Saen or Chiang Mai style. In Kōng Kôi there is the remnants (large bricks) of what was probably an old wat. Villagers call this

a ‘Lua’ wat – rather amusingly since the village is still Lua. In B. Nām Dip, the old *chēdī* there is thought to be on the site of an old wat which is called wat Thāt Kham (วัดธาตุคำ). It may also have been Lua.

In Bān Thung Phrāo there are the remnants of an unfinished wat, which, was supposedly under construction at a time, when there was a idea of moving Müang Yuam to that area. This move never took place and the wat was never finished.

In the present-day Karen village of Māē Ngae (บ. แม่เงาะ) which is located on the Salween, a receptacle for Buddha scriptures was found and several books in N. Thai were also found. This leads the CKA. to think that this village might formerly have been a Khonmüang village. I suggested that the Khonmüang may have fled from the Red Karen or Shan invasions in the last century.

Someone remembered that the date on the wat at Bān Māē Hān was *cunla -sakkharat* 1097 which is equivalent to BE 2473 and AD 1935.

Talk with Mr. Insuan Duangphông

Today Mr. Insuan Duangphông came to visit me and to volunteer to be my ‘assistant’ (he had heard Saman was quitting). He has helped me considerably in explaining ceremonies and would make an ideal assistant if I didn’t feel somewhat worried about the fact that he is so much older and of such status to make being my ‘assistant’ ludicrous. He was formerly employed by the court and is now assistant manager of the Thai Samut Life Insurance Company. He was elected to the Provincial assembly in the recent election. In the end I said that I would certainly like him to be my ‘teacher’ but not my assistant.

We talked a little about local history and ethnic settlements. He said that Bān Khapuang was settled by people moving out from Mae Sariang. It and B. Sop Hān, and B. Thā Khām are all Khonmüang villages. The original name of B. Čôm Čāēng was Mae Sariang, but the name was changed after the change of the name of Müang Yuam. Khonmüang moved into this area from Chiang Mai and from Phrae. He thinks the word – *Hān* in Sop Hān and Māē Hān may come from the word *Thahān*, ‘soldier’, and may suggest settlement by ex-soldiers. He says that people in B. Huai Sing, although now Khonmüang, still speak with a Lua accent.

Mae Sariang

March 24, 1968

Visit from Professor John Cady

Last evening we were surprised when Professor and Mrs. John Cady arrived on a short visit. Professor Cady is currently visiting Professor at Thammasat and was making a trip up here. He visited George Po in Chiang Mai and Lahsay, Ben's wife; here because both were students of his at Judson college where he taught before the war. He told us that Lahsay has been married three times (her Christian name is Monita and her maiden name was Zan). Her second husband was the head of the Karen liberation movement and was assassinated.

Professor Cady wrote the section in the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) handbook on the Karens. He says that he believes that the P'wo Karens were called 'Mon' Karens in Burma and that the S'kaw Karen were called 'Burmese' Karen because of their associations, but that the S'kaw Karen were really very much a people unto themselves.

Mae Sariang

March 26, 1968

Ordination of Novices at Wat Ommarāwāt⁹

On the 22nd and especially on the 23rd, ceremonies were held at Wat Ommarāwāt in conjunction with the ordination of new novices into the order. I did not attend because I was too ill. But I did gather a few bites of information about what occurred.

On the 22nd, there was a procession to the wat in the morning. The novices-to-be were then dressed and 'decorated'. During the day, the novices were taken to houses of elders for 'wrist-tying'. In the evening there was a procession around the wat. The novices-to-be rode on horses and the Burmese orchestra played.

On the 23rd, the actual ordination took place. In the morning there was the feeding of the monks and preparation and the ordination took place in the afternoon. I do know that Thai forms, rather than Burmese forms, were used for part of the ordination service.

⁹ Tape recordings of an ordination ceremony and an 'ōn Pōi ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt on March 22-23, 1968 are located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.33 EC and 2001-2.34 EC. The original tapes, which were recorded using the Čao Khana Amphoe's recorder, are titled, "Tape Number 20, Side 1 and 2." The recordings have also been digitized. An index and Thai transcription of part of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

Today, there was a final formal end to the ordination celebrations (three days after the ordination). This service I attended. The main purpose was merit-making with the new novices involved. For this a monk from Wat Čông Sũng was invited to give a sermon in Shan and the entire service was in the Burmese style even though there were two ‘Thai’ monks present. I recorded the entire service except for initial request by layman at beginning of ceremony. I noticed that the new novices were wearing black ‘prayer’ beads around their necks. The congregation held small pendants or flags when holding their hands in the *wai* position.

"Trouble" in the Area

For some time now, we have been getting the feeling of fear among people here which springs partially from the Vietnamese conflict and partially from the trouble with the Meo in other parts of the North. In the past few days, there have been even some rumors and actual incidents in the area.

On the 23rd, Jane saw large numbers of police down town in the morning. We heard that they were on their way to investigate the presence of a roving band of “100 Communists” who were somewhere between Müang Phõn and Māē Lā Luang. On the 24th, Rachel Schlatter reported that she had heard that these reports were unfounded and that in fact there were only “10 hunters”. Then today I heard that there were 100 men and they were Haw Chinese in an opium caravan. What the truth is, we don’t yet know.

The CKA had told us that the BPP was very unhappy about Meo moving into the area of Mae Sariang to plant opium and had warned them if they plants again, they would come up and cut down the crop. Apparently, someone posing as officials had told the Meo they had permission and had collected taxes from them. On the 23rd, we saw a group of Meo in the hotel cafe with some police and later heard that they had been arrested for something to do with opium and were taken to Chiang Mai. Whether they were the same Meo, I don’t know.

I have also learned that the annual “Summer Festival” which was scheduled for the end of the month has been cancelled by the P.O. who is afraid of ‘trouble’ (shooting, robbery, maybe Communists) if it were to be held. Such is the temper of the times.