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Trip to Mē-la-nō-i:

Yesterday, I made trip to Mē-la-nō-i with Jang, Sang, La, Wān (our new servant), Mark Anderson, & another relative of La's. It came in ^a the Phanavit truck with a large number of other people.

Mē-la-nō-i is ~~at~~ 32 km. from M.S. It is the headquarters for a new Sub-Amphoe ~~but~~ ^{this is of another} formerly it was ~~another~~ tambon of M.S. At present the population of the community has been at least doubled through the influx of a large number of people who are working on the road to Mē-Hōi-sō-n. ~~A~~ The all-weather road does not now extend much beyond Mē-la-nō-i.

Our first stop was at ~~one~~ of two wats in Mē-la-nō-i. We first climb up to an old chedi on top of a hill above the wat. It is built in traditional Shan style & appears to be ~~quite~~ old ~~by~~ possibly, because there is an old latitude path leading up to it. On a pole which juts out at an angle from the Chedi was ~~the~~ a carving of a ~~Hansa~~ Hansa (Hōi - hōi in C.T. - the legendary bird - a swan - on which Brahma rode). The hansa motif, as I discovered in the two wats, seems to be a very common Shan decorative motif. The chedi seemed in poor repair.

Lower down on the slope was another, more recent chedi. It said that he thought it was probably the ^{below} reliquary for the ashes of some abbot of the wat who died ~~was~~ without ~~the~~ ~~to~~ ~~years~~ in the more recent past.

We then went down to the wat itself. The name of the wat, as I copied it from the gate, was Wāt Waihān khuen (ဝိဟာန်ကွေ), but I heard it referred to by another name. The wat contains 1 large structure with the large number of graduated eaves that I have come to associate with Burmese & Shan wats. This building serves both as a wihān & as the living quarters of the monks. The wat has no bōt. There were several other smaller structures around the wat which apparently are used by laity for preparing food for monks. Each of the buildings had signs, in Thai script, noting that the building had been built by so-and-so. Leading down from the main structure towards the gate of the wat, & passed the smaller buildings, was a new cement walk. ~~On~~ On either side of the walk at some distance ~~apart~~ ^{apart} were two ~~to~~ tall poles from which were hung long narrow, highly decorative banners & , at the bottom of each, a collection of the decorations I have before heard called "spiders' webs". I asked the head monk what these were for. He said they had been put up at the dedication of the new walk. Obviously, there is a more complex symbolism involved. I believe the name for these banners, ~~in~~ in Shan, is either tuy or thuy - a word which is ~~the~~ the same as the term used for the Phra' wāt & banners in the N.E.

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We went into the main structure to talk with the head monk, a youngish man of about 40. We sat down on some chairs near a table and blackboard. On the latter were written a number of sentences in English. This wat, ~~the~~ the abbot said, has a school for monks & novices in the afternoon. A young monk from M.S., who was present during the conversation, teaches English, among other things. Monks from the 2nd wat in M^é-la-n^ó-i also come to study here.

Because neither of the wats in M^é-la-n^ó-i have b^ots, monks must be ordained in M.S. However, the abbot says that permission has been requested for building a b^ot here.

The first abbot of this wat was a ~~Shan~~ local Shan who had been ordained as an older man with wife & children. I don't think that the wat is all that old.

I asked if any Karens had been ordained as monks or novices in this wat. ~~Apparently~~ The abbot answered that some Karens had been novices, but not monks. "To be a novice is easy, to be a monk hard." Also, some Karens came to make merit here. Apparently there are no hwa (or other tribal people) in this area.

In the services in this wat, the sua used to be Burmese style, but now it is Thai. The abbot said that "(we) live in Thailand so we should use the Thai form." However, many of the writings kept in the wat are written in Shan. The abbot showed me one ~~accordion~~ thick "accordion" type book, made of a paper called krad^á-t^á s^á. (ကဒတ်ဆံ), which was written in Shan. Because of this store of literature, monks are expected to be literate in Shan as well as Thai (I have noticed in my interviews that most younger monks - 45 or so and under - speak ~~and~~ fluent Central Thai). Sermons are given in Shan.

The people who are ordained in this wat usually are Shan from M^é-la-n^ó-i. People from the surrounding villages do not come to be ordained here.

I asked ~~about~~ ~~the~~ if any of the monks in this wat participated in the ~~same~~ program called Thaⁿma^á-r^ík (တမာရိက), missions to the hill tribes. The young monk/teacher from M.S. had been in this program & had lived in the village of M^é-la H^uai k^ung (မဲလဲအိုက်) - which I think may be the same thing as the tribal development center. I asked him what he taught Karens (the only hill people he has had contact with) when he first had contact with them. He answered that he would teach them to w^ái ph^á², the precepts (esp. the 5 precepts), the name..., etc. In other words, he would teach them the ~~fundamental~~ easiest

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fundamentals (ကျိပ်တိတ်). I asked him what language he used. He said that he had learned a little Korean, the next he spoke in kammyag.

The abbot used the expression Thai nōi to refer to the Thai of Thailand (in contrast to Thaigyai for Shans).

I asked about ceremonies held in this wat (a line of inquiry which has not yet been very successful whenever I have tried to use it). At the beginning it was established that the lunar calendar of the Shan is like that of the Cont. Thai - i.e. 2 months earlier than the northern calendar. There is no sākā-khāphā ceremony - it is not Shan; nor is there any Thāt mīhā-chāt. In the 12th month there is a ceremony of "presenting cloth" (in Thai it was called ผ้าทอ) in which every household participates. It sounds something like Thāt kethin although another monk said that it wasn't quite the same. The "heaving of lent" ceremony is not very big on the day, but it is followed shortly thereafter by a ceremony to decorate & cleanse (physically) the wat. The biggest ceremonies are songkran / new year's, "entering of lent" & "leaving of lent".

After we left the wat, we went into town & walked around a bit. The town is not very big, has only a few ~~shops~~ generalize merchandise shops (at least 2 of which are run by Indian Muslims), a noodle shop, another restaurant, and a few places dealing in small numbers of goods.

After lunch, we went to call on the monks in the 2nd wat which is ^{closer} ~~closer~~ to the town than the other wat. Here the abbot was a much older man with heavy tattooing. He spoke C.T. but not nearly as well or as fluently as the two younger monks who were present. There are 3 monks & 4 novices in this wat.

I asked about the people in Mē-lāngi. The old monk said that they were all Shan & they had come either from the Shan states or from Chiangmai. Monk asked where he had come from & he answered Chiangmai. However, I don't know whether he meant that he personally had come from Chiangmai or his forebears had. There are no local written histories.

He said no Koreans ~~are~~ have been ordained in this wat. However, it was interesting to note that there were a number of Koreans present in the building. Even more Koreans were around in the wat perhaps Topi.

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courtyard, but they had come primarily to fetch water from the public well in the wát. Khaus do come to make merit at this wát.

I said that I had read that traditionally it is more common for Shans to be ordained as novices than to spend a short time as a monk. He said this was true and repeated the same expression used by the abbot of the other wát: "To be a novice is easy, a monk is hard." ~~(the same)~~

He said that as Mě-la-nó-i becomes more developed, the Buddhism will be more like Thai Buddhism. He said that since ~~the~~ the Thais are helping to develop the area, ~~they~~ the people here should be willing to ~~and~~ likely to adopt Thai ways (implicitly in lieu of Shan ways). In ~~making this~~ offering these remarks, which had not been ~~then~~ stimulated by a question from me, he ~~showed~~ indicated no regret. This was simply the way things are.

In the sub-district of Mě-la-nó-i there are 4 wats. In addition to the 2 in Mě-la-nó-i proper, there is also one in Mě-la-luay ¹ and at Mě-sû' (မဲသို) [? op.]. ~~Only the~~ All except the latter, which is Ikhomyay, are Shan.

Monks in both places had mentioned a hot springs lying a few km. from Mě-la-nó-i. With a guide ~~from~~ provided by the Khaman, ~~that~~ I walked out to it. The walk proved to be ~~of~~ 5 km. ~~one way~~, including finding a river ~~on the way to~~ ~~occasional~~ a large number of times. In the end, all we saw was a small doublet of hot, sulphur water flowing into the river. A nearby cave with ~~a~~ Buddha images where villagers have an annual ceremony proved to be inaccessible to reach. In short, ~~we got~~ ~~nothing out of the trip~~ ~~other than some food~~. We did see a large rock which plays a part in the legends of the Shan.

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TRIP TO SOME NEARBY KHOMMYANG VILLAGES:

Today Ćit & a young fellow whose name I believe is Ithi. (Lungma) had upon a walking trip of some Khommyang villages in the Yuam valley. We started from pratu thae which we were waiting for the dugout boat which was on the opposite, we watched people on this side fill up a boat with another. This boat was headed for M^o Khatuen, some 1½ hr. downstream. When we got to the other side we passed first through B. Nám Díp. This village appears to be very large ~~the~~ because it is strung out along the path for some distance. However, it has no depth. Villagers said ~~that~~ this time that there is ~~something~~ about 100 houses in the village. We stopped to look at a spring from which the village takes its name. After going a short way through the woods & across ~~into~~ a stream, we were in the village of B. Hui W^o-k (U. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫) which belongs to the administrative village of U. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫 (B. Khápuang). This village has a wát, one of 2 in the mountain of B. Khápuang. Only a short bit of forest divided ~~between~~ B. Hui W^o-k from B. Khápuang itself. In the latter, there was a wát and a school. One old man whom Ćit visited to talk about tobacco growing said that the wát in Hui W^o-k was older than that in Khápuang & that the latter was at least 50 years old.

Crossing a field on a path at right angles to the one we had been travelling, we reached the suburb village of Khábuang of B. Don (U. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫). Here we stopped at the house of the parents of Mr. Ithi to have lunch. While waiting for lunch, we talked at length with Mr. Ithi's mother about a diverse no. of subjects (Ćit interpreted from Northern Thai for me).

- 1) The administrative village of B. Khápuang (which has 1 headman & 2 wats) included not only B. Khápuang, B. Hui W^o-k, & B. Don, but also two other satellite villages of B. K^o? (U. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫) & B. Phé? (U. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫). ~~These~~ All these villages, & Nám Díp, are khommyang villages. [I have been struck by the non-nucleated character of these villages]. About 2 km. away (apparently on the main path) is the village of B. Thing Phé-m (U. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫) which was formerly lue, but now is khommyang. It still retains some lue customs.
- 2) I noticed a young Karen male working around the house & asked about him. Apparently, he has come down from the mtn. village of B. Hui 2: N^oak (U. 𑜋𑜨𑜃𑜫 𑜇𑜨𑜃𑜫) - a Khommyang name meaning "Village of the small frog stream" which is about 2 hrs. from B. Don (Karen style walking). He is paid mainly in kind. He doesn't live in the household constantly, but will take off for a few days, come back for a day or so, sometimes with his wife & child. Ćit tried asking him about his economic situation in

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After finishing lunch, we walked on, through B. Don, B. K.S.¹ & othersettled areas until we reached the river (at this pt. the M.E. Saring has already flowed into the Yuam so it is a bigger river. We walked along a path bordering the river for some time & reached a very ingenious ferry. A boat was attached by wires to a pulley overhead on a wire strung across the river. Once the boat had been pulled into the current, it would be pulled across to the other side.

But on the Mae Saring side, we walked through a settlement (unidentified) & then reached a path wide enough to take ox carts. We followed this path for some kilometers. On the way we met an Indian who lives in a nearby village. He speaks Burmese & Karen as well as some Indian lang. & Thai. Apparently raises cattle & sells milk to the Pakistanis in town. He was looking for a cow in order to get meat. We also found a shrine (Sān Cáo) which apparently marks the place where Ya-ga-z-g from M.E. Whitman used to hideout in preparation for attack on M.E. Saring.

We then reached a village which has the Phansit's tobacco drying houses. There are several people from the Phansit Co. living here to mind the buildings. There was no tobacco in the buildings (I suppose because it is not the right season). In the course of discussing tobacco, Eit mentioned that a Karen village 2 km. from M.E. Le-nósi was going to plant tobacco next season. ~~There were some Karen women working at the station.~~

As we left this village, we met the Nai Amphue, the Kamnan, & a number of others in the N.A.'s entourage. They had come out looking for timber that could be requisitioned ~~as a fence~~ to make a fence.

After leaving them, we walked to the village which lies below wát cōm thōng (not), we noticed from the sign, has now changed its name to wát cōm thōng - ~~วัดหนองน้ำ~~ (Nong Nam). Here ^{Eit} talked with a carpenter ~~about~~ ^{for us} about building some things, since the Co's carpenter is very busy at the moment.

To reach town from this village, we could either take the much longer path that goes through by wát cōm cēng, or the shorter path (road) which leads into M.S. at wát sēn thōng. The latter is difficult because it is necessary to ford the M.S. river and wade through the overflow from the fields. We chose the latter route. On the way we passed a pole which had written in C.T. & N.T., "Yuam, Km. 1" - obviously the first marker on an old road.

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TALK WITH THE MGR. OF THE PHANASIT CO.:

This morning before we left for our hike, we talked with the manager of the Phanasit Co. I asked him how long the Bombay Burmah Co. had been here. He said that he thought that the building was at least 100 years old. He then showed us a notice which had been written on one of the posts (in English - directing clerks to put things away before leaving) which was dated 1901. Apparently, the co. closed down its operations before or during WWII. The bldg. passed through two other hands before it was bought by Phanasit in 1945. When Phanasit first came into M.S., they continued to skip long down through Burma because there was no road. Then when the road was built to Bò-lúay, the Co. opened its own timber road to connect with it.

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INTERVIEW WITH DISTRICT ABBOT:

This afternoon I had an interview with the District Head Abbot.

1) ORGANIZATION OF THE CLERGY UNDER THE ABBOT:

The ~~boundaries~~ geographical boundaries of the Sangha do not necessarily accord with those of the government. The "district" under the Āsokkhāna rāmaṇa included both Amphā Mē Sāriang & Kīy Amphā Mē-lā-nōi. A tambon in the clerical organization must have at least 5 wats in it. Since none of the administrative Tambon in Mē Sāriang have this many wats in it, the boundaries are drawn somewhat differently. There are four clerical tambon in Mē Sāriang - with their seats at ~~the~~ wát sī-thimokkhon (วัด สิมะอโศก), wát chāyā-lāp (วัด ชัยลาป), wát sī-buntuan (วัด สิบต่วน) [note the former misspelling of this wát], & wát ná-mā-dip (วัด นามะดีป). The first of this is as described on p. 55, ~~with the~~ The rest of the ~~wats, the~~ tambon include the following wats (with ethnic identification provided by the Āsokkhāna rāmaṇa).

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WAT & CLERICAL TAMBON	ADMIN. TAMBON IN WHICH WAT IS LOCATED	ETHNIC IDENT. OF WAT / VILLAGE
1. <u>Wát Chaiyá-lá-p</u> (วัดชัยลาภ)	B. Kút (บ. กุด) (Mê. Sáriang)	Khonmyay
2. Wát Zommá-ta-wát (วัดจอมจรัส)	" " (" ")	Burmese → Khonmyay
3. Wát Thā-khām (วัดท่าข้าม)	" " (Airport)	Khonmyay
4. Wát Sòp Hǎn (วัดสวนหาร)	" "	"
5. Wát Mê-tò-p (วัดแม่ตอ)	" "	"
6. Wát Mê-Hǎn (วัดแม่หาร)	" "	Karen
7. Wát Thā-phā-pūm (วัดท่าผาปูน)	" "	Khonmyay
8. Wát Wai-hǎn khun (วัดไผ่หวาน)	Mê-lā-Nó-i (แม่ลาหนอง)	Shan
9. Wát Mê-lā-Nó-i (วัดแม่ลาหนอง)	" "	Shan
1. <u>Wát Sǐ-bun-ryay</u> (วัดสี่บุนเรียว)	Mê. Sáriang (แม่สะเรียง)	Khonmyay
2. Wát Kitiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์)	" " "	"
3. Wát Lutháya-rom (วัดอุทธาราม)	" " "	Burmese / Shan
4. Wát Cānthāra-wát (วัดจันทรา)	" " "	Burmese
5. Wát Cōm Cē-y (วัดจอมแจ้ง)	" " "	Khonmyay
6. Wát Cōm Thōy (วัดจอมทอง)	" " "	"
7. Wát Sīthimongkhun (วัดสีหิมา)	" " "	"
[The monk wrote this but it doesn't agree with the other information that it is its own set of a cāo khān tām-bon]		
8. Wát Sē-n Thōy (วัดแสนทอง)	Mê. Sáriang (แม่สะเรียง)	Khonmyay
9. Wát Sūphān-rang-sǐ (วัดสุพรรณรังษี)	" " "	Shan
1. <u>Wát Ná-m Dīp</u> (วัดน้ำดิบ)	Mê. Yuam (แม่จาม)	Khonmyay
2. Wát Hui-wī-k (วัดห้วยหวก)	" " "	"
3. Wát Thūy Phēm (วัดทุ่งแพน)	" " "	" [Luo' form only]
4. Wát Khá-puay (วัดคะปวย)	" " "	"
5. Wát Thūy Lē-y (วัดทุ่งเลี้ยว)	Mê. Khoy (แม่คย)	"

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Tambon Mē·la·khōng, Kīng Zāmphā. Mē·la·nō·i (ก. 112171222, 112171222) is also included within the jurisdiction of the cāo khānā Zāmphā. But it has no wats.

2) ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OF WATS:

The Phūt District Abbot said that Shan wats in Mē·Hō·ng Sō·n province are changing into Thai wats because their monks are being ordained in the Thai way & they are shifting to ~~read~~ chants and even sermons in Thai (or Thai way). Part of this may be explained by the fact that the Chief Monk of the Province (เจ้าคณะจังหวัด), who resides in Mē·Hō·ng Sō·n, is a northeasterner, originally from Yaso·tho·n.*

3) BUDDHIST MISSION TO THE HILL TRIBES:

We had a long discussion about the thammā·cā·rī·k (ธรรมจักร) program which the cāo khānā Zāmphā has been a leader of in this district. The program, whose purpose is to spread Buddhism to the hill tribes, is under the auspices of the Public Welfare Dept. & the monks who participate in it are affiliated with the Tribal Development Center.

There are 13 monks involved in this year's program from the following places:

Mē·Sā·ri·ng (One each from Wāt Zom·mā·rā·wāt, wāt sī·bun·ru·ang & wāt kī·ti·wong)	3
Mē·la·nō·i (Wāt Wai·hā·n·khun)	1
Khūn Yuam	3
Chiangmai (Wāt Phrā Sī·ng)	1
Bangkok	5
Total	13

*

This is the second instance reported to me about Northeasterners in Mē·Hō·ng Sō·n province. Last weekend, according to Mark Anderson, all of the NE-ers in Mē·Sā·ri·ng had a party. There are a number of NE-ers here including the chief of police, 2 teachers, several people from the forestry dept., several others in the regular police & border police, etc.

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Of these, 2 are Karen (the one from Wát Zommara-wát who is not S'kau Karen but speaks S'kau & the one from Wát Kitiwang who is now living at Wát MÊ-HÂN*) & 1 other (from Khün Yuam). All the monks from MÊ-Sàriang, Khün Yuam, & Chiangmai speak either Northern Thai or Shano. There is another monk from Wát Kitiwang who is connected with the program, but is currently studying in Bangkok.

There are ^{new} two centers ~~where~~ (ใหม่) ~~where~~ this year where 5 monks will live:

1) B. MÊ-lá', ~~T. MÊ-Sàriang~~ (U.ใหม่ละ')

2) B. Phê-luag (U.ใหม่หลวง)

Each of these centers will have 3 Northern Thai monks & 2 Central Thai monks. In addition there are 3 villages last year: which served as centers in ~~the past~~ B. Húi Kung (U.ห้วยทุ่ง), B. MÊ-lit (U.ใหม่ลิต) & B. MÊ-Cá-y (U.ใหม่คำย). These villages will have 3 monks (2 Northern Thai and 1 Central Thai) living in them this year. All these villages are ~~in~~ ~~tambon~~ Karen villages in tambon MÊ-Sàriang.

This program began in 2508 (1965). According to a mimeographed program for a meeting on the program, the purpose ~~of it~~ (จุดประสงค์) of it is: "In order to accelerate the "To give the hill-tribes a firm grasp on Buddhism as a means for strengthening their loyalty to the nation" (เพื่อเร่งรัดให้ชนเผ่าเขาสูงยึดมั่นในพระพุทธศาสนาเป็นแนวทางที่จะเสริมสร้าง lòngรักชาติให้แน่นแฟ้นยิ่งขึ้น). More specifically, the abbot said that monks will visit every household in the area in which they are working to introduce to ^{the} inhabitants ~~the~~ what a monk is like, to tell them about Buddhism & to teach them the method of wai; to ~~introduce~~ ~~make~~ make them aware of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, of the King, and of the government; to tell them their purpose. Also, they will teach about health & cleanliness and will teach the children Thai. They will help in teaching new methods of agriculture.

* This Karen monk has been in the monkhood for 21 years; but there is apparently another Karen monk in Wát MÊ-HÂN who has been in the monkhood since the WWII.

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Each day at their residences, the monks will give the morning and evening chants. Everyday villagers bring the monks food. Some villagers invite the monks to give satman at their homes. The monks will live for 4 months this year at the centers.

There have already been some results from this program. In 2508 (1965), 1 Karen was ordained as a monk at Wát Kitiwong and 2 Karens were ordained as novices at B. Mē. hō[?] (U. 112'11172)*. In 2509 (1966), 3 Karens were ordained as monks at Wát Bencha** in Bangkok. Among these was the headman of B. Dong (U. 010). In the same year, 2 Karens were ordained as novices at B. Hūi Kūng (U. 112'011). This year, 1 Karen was ordained as a novice at ~~Wát~~ B. Hūi Kūng (U. 112'011). Of the Karens ordained as monks in Bangkok, 2 stayed in for the full kuttas season which the headman of B. Dong was in for 1 month. Most of the novices were in for only 15-30 days because their parents don't like them to be ordained for longer (they need their help). All of the Karens ordained as either monks or novices came from B. Mē. līt (U. 112'010), B. Hūi Kūng (U. 112'011), B. Mē. Cāg (U. 112'010), or B. Dong (U. 010).

I asked why the 3 monks went to Bangkok for their period in the monkhood. He said the abbot of Wát Bencha wanted them to come there with other ~~monks~~ tribal people from other parts of the North.

I asked how they got along since they didn't speak Central Thai. He answered that they had an official with them who could speak the local language.

He still doesn't think Karens understand Buddhism.

4) CLERICAL TITLES IN NORTH:

The clerical titles in the North are not the same as those in the Central Plains. The term for monk tú² (ṭṭ) while the word for ~~the~~ abbot is tú² lūng (ṭṭ 11222). The word for ex-monk is nān (11676). The word for novice is phá² (112) & ex-novice nó.i (1120). The word for temple boy

* Novices do not have to be ordained in bēt.

** According to Āt, this is one of 2 northern temples in Bangkok. The term for monk is tú² (ṭṭ) while

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is khāñō-m (သန့်ဇာနည်).

5) IMPORTANCE OF NOVICEHOOD:

Being ordained as a novice is ~~most~~ more popular in this area than being ordained as a monk. When school lets out in March or April, many boys are ordained for a period of 20-30 days. At this time, a major ceremony is held in which the candidate for novicehood is dressed in "Burmese" clothing & rides a horse in the procession to the wát. This procession is called hè.kh.kkēō (စည်ကန်စည်ကန်) - lit. 'procession of the jewel-child' in the local language and hè.sā.g.lō.g (စည်ကန်စည်ကန်) in Shan.

6) KHRU. BA.:

I brought up the question of Khru.ba.khāo (the one who lives in Ampho. li.). He says that he was a lū.k.sit of Khru.ba.sī.wichai (လူကဆိတ်စိတ်ဝိဇ္ဇာ), the famous monk from Chiangmai who was noted in the 20's or 30's (?) for his getting things built. The Khru.ba.khāo is also known as Khru.ba.phī. (လူကဆိတ်စိတ်ဝိဇ္ဇာ) : phrú²khāo.phī. (ဖုရူ²ခန့်ဝိဇ္ဇာ). As a wearer of the white robes, he follows the 8 precepts. He is also noted for his getting things built & practicing Vipassana. He is referred to as tōn.bun (တုံဗုဒ္ဓ) in Northern Thai - literally a 'meritorious person'. He is respected not only by tribal people but also by all people in Northern Thailand.

There is another man like this (noted for his getting things built) at wát.lāy.cān.tham (သန့်လှိုင်သာဓက), Tambon Mĕ.kā (မဲ.က.သာဓက), Ampho.Sampā.tōy, Chiangmai (6 km. from Sampā.tōy). Although he is only 29, he has the title of Khru.ba. because he is noted for getting things built. He was building a big tham.bun today to get money in connection with building the biggest Buddhist image in the North.

The title Khru.ba. is usually used ~~for~~ by the local people for old respected monks, but it is also used for monks who follow in the footsteps of Khru.ba.sī.wichai in getting things built. The Koreans who live west of town used to call a monk who lived at Wát.phā.phā. (now dead) Khru.ba. because he was a lū.k.sit of Khru.ba.sī.wichai. They used to invite him to their houses.

Even the abbot himself is called khru.ba. by many people even though he is still young.

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7) FESTIVAL CYCLE IN MĒ-SĀRIANG

The abbot gave me a short explanation of each of the major ceremonies held in MĒ-SĀRIANG. The dates refer to the Northern calendar which is two months ahead of the Central Thai (Siamese) calendar. The first month is known as dyan Kiang (เดือนกิ่ง) [dyan zā-j (เดือนจัน) in central Thai] → the second month as dyan nji (เดือนยี่) which the rest of months are known by the numbers.

DATE	CEREMONY
<p>วันขึ้น 14 ค่ำ, วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ, วันแรม 1 ค่ำ Wan khün 14 khām, khün 15 khām, ^{rem} 1 khām dyan Kiang nyā</p>	<p><u>End of Lent Ceremonies</u> (๑๑๓๓๓๓). On each of these days, monks are invited out to receive alms in the road - take <u>takbāt</u> (๑๑๓๓๓๓) in the local lang. The 14th day of the waning of the moon is day of preparations, the 15th wan phā, ๑. The 1st day of the waning of the moon is the day of the end of lent.</p>
<p>วันแรม 1 ค่ำ - วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ, ดยาน 1 Wan rem 1 khām - wan khün 15 khām, dyan 1</p>	<p><u>Thōt Kathin</u> (๑๑๓๓๓๓). This is a new ceremony for MĒ-SĀRIANG & only three wats regularly have the ceremony: Wāt Kitiwong, Wāt Sī-bunryag, & Wāt Ēanthara-wāt. The latter is always the recipient of a thōt kathin by the Phanasi Co. [Cit say that the Phanasi Co. sponsored the 1st thōt kathin in M.S.]. This year some people from Bangkok are sponsoring the ceremony at Wāt Kitiwong & the Ampho. is sponsoring the one at Wāt Sī-bunryag (they are to provide a new wat school).</p>
<p>วันแรม 8 ค่ำ (๑) วันแรม 15 ค่ำ Wan rem 8 khām or Wan rem 15 khām dyan Kiang</p>	<p><u>Presenting of Lenten robes</u> (๑๑๓๓๓๓). Local version of thōt kathin during which both monks & Buddha images are presented with new robes.</p>

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DATE	CEREMONY
<p>10/10/67 2 (dyan njî.)</p> <p>วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ เดือน 10</p> <p>Wan khên 15 khâm dyan njî.</p>	<p>(Pôphê:ni.) dyan njî. pēng (ป๋อเพ๋นียะ) - Usually is the</p> <p>thê-tmá-hi-chát or Thê-t thammá-sipchát (เท่-ทะมะหิ-ชะต) or</p> <p>another thê-t. Not held in Shan or Burmese lands.</p> <p>Lo-i Krathong (ลวี่คราทอง)</p>
<p>10/10/67 3 (dyan 3)</p>	<p>None</p>
<p>วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ เดือน 4</p> <p>wan khên 15 khâm dyan 4</p>	<p>Bun khao Ëi. khao lăim (บุญข้าวเฒ่า ข้าวใหม่) : offerings of new rice.</p> <p>like the Shan ceremony held in Siam.</p>
<p>10/10/67 5 (dyan 5)</p>	<p>tă-n khao yá-khū (ตะนข้าวยาข้าว). A Shan ceremony of making</p> <p>offerings of new rice. It is held in the time when food is presented to the monks.</p> <p>Now the ox carts are decorated & there is a procession.</p>
<p>วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ เดือน 5</p> <p>(wan khên 15 khâm dyan 5)</p>	<p>Má-khā-bu-chā.</p> <p>Má-khā-bu-chā. This is also a new ceremony in the area.</p>
<p>10/10/67 6 (dyan 6)</p>	<p>pō-i-khāo-sāy (ป๋ออีข้าวสาย). A ceremony for making offerings for the</p> <p>dead. Small boats (หยาบ่อ, หยาบ่อ) are made of on these things</p> <p>that can be used or eaten as placed. Monks are invited to come receive these</p> <p>offerings at home. The abbot said that people 'used to believe' that</p> <p>the offerings were for the dead (like the Chinese, the abbot said). This</p> <p>ceremony is sometimes called pō-i-nāi (ป๋ออีน้ำ) in contrast to another</p> <p>ceremony called pō-i-tuāng (ป๋ออีตวง) also held during this</p> <p>month.</p>

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Date	Ceremony
เดือน 6 (dyan 6)	ปอ: i luy (ปอ: ทอ: ทอ:). Construction of khut khut, etc. - i.e. large structures as a way of making merit.
เดือน 6 - เดือน 7 (dyan 6-7)	Ordination of Monks & Novices.
เดือน 7 (dyan 7): 13-18 April	Songkran (สงกรานต์): Also called New Year. 13: Clean house etc. 14: Prepare things to wat. In the afternoon make sand chedis in the wat. 15: Thumbun at wat. In the afternoon ritually bathe the heads of one's elders. 16: Ritually bathe the head of the abbot of the wat & the Buddha images. 17: } Ritually bathe the heads (of monks?) in different wats. 18: } Ritual Bathing of Reliquaries, etc. (สงกรานต์ ๑๔๙๙). สงกรานต์ ^{ce-di} ce-di wat cam cey (สงกรานต์ วัดจันทาราม) { สงกรานต์ phra bōrommāthāt (วัด Kitimong) { (สงกรานต์ พระบรมธาตุ [วัด Kitimong]) สงกรานต์ ^{ce-di} wat cam thong (สงกรานต์ วัดจันทาราม) สงกรานต์ ce-di phra phutthabāt at Thung Pha. ce-di (สงกรานต์ พระพุทธบาท ที่ทุ่งผา) - This is a new shrine that is not very well known. สงกรานต์ ^{ce-di} ce-di wat cam kit at B. Nām Dīp (สงกรานต์ วัดจันทาราม ที่ บ. นามดี) - This is at the ^{ce-di} on the hill & not at the old one near the school. สงกรานต์ ^{ce-di} ce-di wat Thā. Khūm (สงกรานต์ วัดท่าขาม) { สงกรานต์ phut wat sēn thong (สงกรานต์ พระวัดสวนทอง)
เดือน 8-9 (dyan 8-9):	
วัน ๑ เดือน 8 (khun 8 khām dyan 8)	
วัน 15 เดือน " " (khun 15 khām " ")	
วัน ๑ เดือน " " (khun 8 khām " ")	
วัน 15 เดือน " " (khun 15 khām " ")	
วัน ๑ เดือน " 9 (khun 8 khām dyan 9)	
วัน 15 เดือน " 15 (khun 15 khām " ")	

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Date	Ceremony
วัน 10 (dyan 10)	Ordination of Monks & Novices
วัน 15 (วัน 10) } วัน 15 (วัน 10) } วัน 15 (วัน 10) }	Beginning of Lent (วัน 10).
วัน 11 (วัน 10) } วัน 12 (วัน 10) } วัน 13 (วัน 10) }	None
วัน 12 (วัน 10) } วัน 13 (วัน 10) } วัน 14 (วัน 10) }	Sala-kkaphat (สาลักกะพัท)
วัน 15 (วัน 10) } วัน 16 (วัน 10) } วัน 17 (วัน 10) }	at Wat Sibunyang (1st wat because it used to be seat of Sao Khun Zangpho.)
วัน 18 (วัน 10) } วัน 19 (วัน 10) } วัน 20 (วัน 10) }	Wat Chom Ching
วัน 21 (วัน 10) } วัน 22 (วัน 10) } วัน 23 (วัน 10) }	Wat Chaiyalap
วัน 24 (วัน 10) } วัน 25 (วัน 10) } วัน 26 (วัน 10) }	Kitiwong
วัน 27 (วัน 10) } วัน 28 (วัน 10) } วัน 29 (วัน 10) }	Nam Dip
วัน 30 (วัน 10) } วัน 31 (วัน 10) } วัน 32 (วัน 10) }	Sop Han

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8) Sàlākaphāt:

We discussed the latter ceremony at more length since it is the one currently going on.

This year, apparently, one or more wats forgot the date. Others which are not on the list have to squeeze their ceremonies in on days other than won phrē since these are all preempted - for example wát zomnára-wát ē wát sīthimogkhen.

I asked the ~~abbot~~ abbot about ~~the~~ my observation that after the ceremony is over ^{the} donor of the gift personally presents the offering to the monk who has got his number why the monk pours water into a khān (or some other vessel). The abbot answered that this is the same thing as triat ná-m (which in the local language is yā-t ná-m [ᐃᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ]). The monk takes the direction of the donor (written on the offering) & specifically directs that the merit should be for the deceased named.

He said that an offering consists properly of three things: khai sāy (ᐅᐅᐅᐅ), tōn (ᐅᐅ), & khai sālāk (ᐅᐅ ᐅᐅᐅ)* I think these refer to the offering for the dead, the other offerings, & the ~~the~~ money tree.

At Kitiwong, the ceremony is different (see below) in that all the gifts are distributed to monks & novices (not by cāp sālāk) & none are retained for offering to the Buddha. Each offering ~~is~~ is identified by the name of the donor, the deceased person(s) for whom the merit is directed, the residence of the donor. Only when this identification has been made is the offering placed in the bō-t.

9) Old Će-di. at Ná-m Dīp.

The abbot says that this is the oldest monument in Mē. Saring.

* ~~the~~ Na'i Mō-t's dictionary gives kōi (ᐅᐅ) ^{instead} ~~as the form~~ of khai, meaning 'bamboo basket' & writes ᐅᐅᐅᐅ instead of ᐅᐅᐅᐅ.

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COMMENTS ABOUT NE-er MONKS:

I mentioned to Ćit & Sarga about the chief abbot of the Province being from the N.E. Ćit says that whereas there are only 2 Northern wats & 2 Southern wats in Bangkok, there are many, many NE-er wats. Sarga also said that many Pamous and/or important monks were NE-ers in Bangkok. Ćit added that NE-er monks study for many many years as novices & monks & are often very learned.

SĀLĀKĀPHĀT CEREMONY AT WAT KITIWONG:

The other day I received a formal invitation (micrographed) inviting me to the sālākāphāt ceremony at Wat Kitiwong. The following is a translation of the invitation.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

MERIT-MAKING CEREMONY OF SĀLĀKĀPHĀT (Kĭn Kūai sālāk [Kĭn Kūai sālāk])

Wat Kitiwong

Amphā. Mĕ. Sārtāg

— o o o o o o o o o —

merit-making

The annual ceremony of sālākāphāt (kĭn kūai sālāk), a popular ceremony since olden [times], will be held at Wat Kitiwong on 11 October, 2510, that is, wan phut khūn & khām dyan khang nĕa [Buddhist Sabbath, the 8th Day of the Waning of the moon, 11th month, northern reckoning]. At the following the exact and their time are as follow:

9:00-12:00 hrs.

The offerings from different wats will be carried in procession and collected together.

10:30 hrs.

Food will be presented to the 126 monks & novices who have been invited to the ceremony.

12:00 hrs.

Beginning of Ceremony, Receive the 5 precepts, wĕt thā thāin (1277776), ~~the~~ t ~~am~~ 7a.nĕsōg (1101077777), presentation of the sālāk offerings for the monks & novices, the clergy's formal expression of gratitude (0777777), then the calling out of offerings' identities.

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Thus, we would like to invite [Name of person to whom invitation is addressed] to join with us in making merit at the "kinkkai salak" on the date mentioned.

[signed]

Wat Kitiwong Wat Committee

P. P. P.

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KAREN DEBTEDNESS:

Tonight Bob & Pat Coster visited us because Pete & Sally were here on their way to the hills. Pete asked Bob about the "rice bank" program of the Baptist mission which makes it possible for Karens to have a reserve of rice against bad times. One of the reasons for this program is because some Karens become so indebted to lowland merchants that they have to mortgage their crop away. He gave us the specific example of the Karen village of M^ê-la-lu. (? sp.) in Tambon M^ê-la-n^ô-i. He said that a year or two ago all but two households in the village were so indebted that unless they got help they would become, in Bob's terms, no better than slaves of the M^ê-la-n^ô-i merchants. What happens, apparently, is the Karens buy things on credit & promise to pay back in rice (with exorbitant interests). After the Karens have paid back their debts, they do not have enough rice left for themselves. They then have to borrow their own rice back from the merchants, who again charge it up against the next rice crop (with at least 50% interest). Eventually, the Karens are in so deep that they are permanently in debt & getting in deeper. Bob admits that it is not entirely the merchants' fault, although he has no sympathy with their interest charges. The Karens are gullible enough to want things ~~on~~ on credit because they do not figure that what the consequences will be.

In a similar vein, Pat does not think that elephant ownership is so guilty - She says that some families, whose children have come to ~~the~~ the wild, have netted no more than 1,000 baht per year. Pat was sceptical of this figure.

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Mê-tiya Village:

This morning I saw Pete & Sally went to Mê-tiya. where they were to pick up elephants for their trek up into the hills. According to Bonny, who went along, the usual charges for an elephant for a one day trip is \$70 (actually \$35 per day, but also have to pay for their travelling down the day before). However, since these elephants had come ^{down} the day before with a load of rice, they charged Pete & Sally only \$50 for the day per elephant.

Pete says that if the elephant managers are not Christian, then will have to be a tâm húa (lit. 'head washing') ceremony for the elephant on which Sally will sit. Last night, Bob Carter had said that many elephant owners can't carry women at all.

In Mê-tiya. I let Pete & Sally off at the house of a "khru" whose house is just off the road. I am not certain whether he is a teacher or a Baptist minister. In any event, the inside of his house, with many pictures of the King & the ubiquitous family photos, the style of the house, & the clothing like of his family were would not have told me that he is Karen. However, there were a number of other people around in Karen dress.

Sâlâ-kkâphiat Ceremony at Wat Kittiwong:

Today we attended the biggest festival we have thus far seen in Mae Saiang - the sâlâ-kkâphiat ceremony held at the residence of the chief abbot of the amphoe, Wat Kittiwong. ~~When we arrived at a~~
~~However, there were not many people in the grounds. I saw Sang & I went to the~~
~~wat & were later joined by~~ Čit & his two older children. When we arrived at the wat at a little after 9:00 a.m., there were not many people in the wat grounds. However, ~~the~~ for the next two hours, the crowd ~~was~~ grew & grew. Each person, or representative of families, brought a sâlâ-k gift. ~~There were~~ For the most part, there were not the tin buckets, water basins, or water jug containers which I have described before. Most of the offerings of this ceremony were in the type of basket which in the central plains is called a châ-lô-m (๕๕๐๒๒) and in the North kūai (๕๕๐). Because of this fact, the ceremony is referred to as a kīn kūai sâlâ-k (๕๕๐๒๒ ๕๕๐๒๒) in ~~the~~ Mê-saiang. There were not the only offerings, however. ~~Each~~ Several of the wats in town & several of the schools also made tower like structures which were decorated usually with money, but also with notebooks, cigarettes, pencils, etc. - anything

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practically which could be hung. Finally, some individuals, including ourselves, brought the types of offerings I have described for other ceremonies.

As each donor entered the wat, he (or she) would usually fill in a sheet of paper on which was written the formal presentation of the ~~offer~~ ~~sent~~ sālaik including the name(s) of the donor, the donor's ~~house~~ address, & the person or spirits of deceased for whom the merit-making was to be given. ~~These slips were~~ Some of these slips, called sēn (ส่น) in the local language, were written (or typed) in Thai while others were written in Northern Thai. The paper used ~~varied~~ ~~slips~~ ranged from sheets torn from notebooks (by cut to make them look nice), ordinary paper, & slips of bamboo cut to look like leaves of a bailein book. Some of the slips had symbols on them. ~~These symbols were of the found on a~~ ^{some} number of slips. The ~~ex~~ chief abbot of the amtho. wrote the slip & for me (I will make a translation of this in a separate place). The sēn were taken by the donor to the bōt. If the donor were a man, he could enter the bōt, make his obeisances before the altar, and mix his sēn in with the others which lay in a pile before the altar. If the donor were a woman, and, thus, could not enter the ~~wat~~ bōt, she would give the sēn to one of the older laymen who stood on the steps of the bōt & he would take it in & place it in the pile for her.

Some people did not write sēn, but placed their offerings, after proper obeisances, on a platform in the courtyard of the wat. These gifts would not be included in those which were later distributed to the monks present, but ~~would be~~ were for wat kittiwong. I also observed a couple of cases where the offering was taken into the khut & presented to the abbot before the actual ceremony began.

Most did prepare sēn & after they had presented their sēn would take their offerings and sit in one of the two sā-lāi in the wat or would sit under the khut.

The large offerings from schools & wats were brought to wat in procession, & in at least 2 or 3 cases, were preceded by a group of musicians playing drums & cymbals. One such group of musicians stayed in the courtyard & played throughout the proceedings. Not all schools made presentation. For example, Mark Anderson, who was present, said that the Middle school did not make an offering. Also, most of the school children returned to their schools after having brought the offering to the wat.

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As the wāt grounds filled up, I noticed several Karen men wander in and look around, rather bewildered at the ceremony. In addition there was a group of Karen including 2 adult men, two adult women, & at least 3 teenage girls who actually made an offering. I also noticed two other Karen women sitting in the sala when Jane & Sanya were sitting. All of these Karen were noticeable because of their dress.

~~At a little~~ The music for the ceremony, or rather preceding the ceremony, ~~consisted~~ consisted primarily of taped music played over ~~the~~ a P.A. system. This music included every thing from Central Thai songs to traditional Northern music recorded in Chiangmai. There were also the percussion or chimes. Throughout the proceedings, firecrackers were continuously set off.

At a little before 11:00, all of the monks & novices went to the khut where they were given the prasada with their midday meal. Once they were through eating, they went to the bōt. By a little after ~~the~~ noon, ~~the~~ all of the people were in their place. The bōt faces East. On the North side of the bōt sat the monks & on the South side, the novices. There were almost ^{1 1/2 times} ~~more~~ as many novices as monks - about 20+ monks, & 30+ novices (not the 126 that the invitation had promised). In the central part of the bōt were a small group of laymen, mainly older men, ~~including the~~ including the main members of the wāt committee. On the porch of the bōt were a large number of children. ^{or under the khut} The rest of the ~~people~~ ^{people} ~~don't~~ ^{don't} sit in the sā-lā, where they could take up their normal positions or else they wandered around the ~~monastery~~ wāt grounds. Just outside & just inside the main wāt gates were food vendors.

The ceremony began & was divided into the following components.

- 1) The chief layman ~~was~~ ^{was} seated in front of the chief abbot of the district & made the lāy in the beginning of the morning worship (see Pali Chanting Scripture, p. 8). He then asked for the precepts (op. cit. p. 164). The chief abbot of the ampho then gave the precepts by first leading the laity in the Namo... & the Tisarana (op. cit. pp. 2 & 4).
He then led the laity in repeating the 8 precepts (op. cit. pp. 166 - 167)

- 2) Chief layman's formal presentation of offerings (using formal northern Thai).

- During this chanting, several of the chief laymen came to the front of the bōt & ~~threw~~ threw all of the sāi up in the air to thoroughly mix them up. Then they collected the

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together in piles of 10 which they tied together with bamboo strips. These bundles were again tied together in ~~two~~ groups of however many, I could not tell.

3) Chant of formal gratitude by monks (in N.T. style)

4) Formal Thanks by monks

5) Sermon. ~~Sermon~~ During the sermon, several monks came & distributed the sên into equal piles for monks & equal piles for novices (monks got more than novices). The ~~new~~ chief monk of Wat Sittimongkhon first counted the slips according to the number of bundles which the laymen made. Then, these were redistributed into bundles of 12 each for monks & 7 each for novices. These new bundles were also tied with rattan. Then, the piles were distributed to each monk & novice present.

6) The ^VCao Khóná ⁷amphā made a series of announcements: explanation of the participants in the ceremony, etc. & discussion of the "End of Lent" festivities which will take place next week. [I have recorded this talk & plan to transcribe & translate it].

7) The bundles of sên were distributed to each monk & novice

8) End of Ceremony by Abbot of Amphā. & the trinit nám

Once the formal ceremony had ended, all had been broke loose. Each monk & novice had several lay representatives who went about the milling crowd reading off the donor's name. If the donor was able to hear his name called, the representative would direct him to where he could find the monk or novice in question. The donor then would take the ~~gift~~ offering & present it to the monk or novice. If a monk, this presentation would involve the monk chanting the sending of merit to the designated recipient (usually among the dead) & pouring water simultaneously. If a novice, this did not take place.

One offering was "won" by a monk from Wat Sittimongkhon. The presentation was made inside the boat (Bo Jane could not join me). I knelt before the monk who then handed me my sên & indicated that I should treat it up, which I did. He then chanted the formal "sending of merit" & poured the water (from a glass which had been given as part of a gift of glass set among our offerings).

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We also observed ~~the Karen~~ ~~Laos~~ ~~men~~. 2 Karen men presenting an offering to a monk. There were several Karen women & girls standing behind the men, - prob. wives & children.

The crowd began to disperse as the offerings found their proper destination. We left, however, before ~~the crowd~~ ~~had~~ all the offerings had been distributed.

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Old Bureaucratic Ranks:

I asked Ćit today about the abbreviations used for ranks of the District officials in the list I collected of 11/9/67. He says that ~~Đ. Đ. Đ.~~ (Đ.Đ.) stands for ~~Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.~~ (Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.) - lit. ~~Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.~~ 'deputy - 'government official'. This part of the title appears in all titles of officials with ranks in the old bureaucratic system. It was followed by the prefix numbers ~~Đ.Đ.~~, ~~Đ.Đ.~~, & ~~Đ.Đ.~~, indicating whether the official was 3rd, 2nd, or 1st class. In the list given in the notes for 11/9/67, the last official holding such a rank was the Đ.Đ. who was in office between 1932-1939. It is probable, then, that this ranking system disappeared with the ~~old~~ absolute monarchical system. Ćit seems to think that there were bureaucratic ranks under the monarchical regime.

Local Custom:

Today Ćit said that he had received an invitation to a wedding from ~~Đ.Đ.~~ the host who came and presented him with ~~Đ.Đ.~~ & then invited him. Ćit asked ~~Đ.Đ.~~ if this was true. She said that for close friends, invitation to weddings, funerals, or ordinations were issued in this way. Today, she says that if you don't know a person very well, or if you wish to be strictly formal, one would use an invitation card.

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Ethnic Identity of Villages in A. Mê-Sưiang:

I was asking Ćit this afternoon about the ethnic identity of some villages in M.S. district. In Tambon Bân Kút, Bân Dông, Thâ-phô-pâm (also known as Ngy phô-pâm - ~~Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.~~), & Thâ-Khâm are Khmuyag villages. B. Phô? is a Lue village. B. Mê-hân & B. Mê-tô-p are both Karen villages & B. Bôp-hân is a mixed village with Karen & Khmuyag. This latter village is quite large. Another Khmuyag village, B. Hưai Hưng (U. ~~Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.~~) is ~~Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.Đ.~~ under B. Thâ-Khâm.

In Tambon M.S., the villages both to the south & on the east side of the River which we visited

11 October, 1967

~~Satath~~ Sāḷā:kkaphat at Wat Kittiwong:

The following is a translation of the ~~is~~ "message" prepared
by the CIA for me to attach to my sāḷā:k offering:

Iminā Mahā sāḷā:kkaphat ta ~~sangkhassa~~
sangkhassa āsawakkhamāwahang hō tu
nō anā kha tē [Thai Pali]

Meaning that the faithful A:ca:n Dr.
Charles F. Keyes together with [his] wife and
[son] [lit. 'all' &], but think misprinted thū:k
[or lū:k] humbly offer this donation on the
occasion of the festival of offering sāḷā:kkaphat
at Wat Kittiwong. May the results of this
[merit-making] cause ~~me and~~ my family & I
to be free of affliction to the point of reaching
the 3 kinds of happiness: human happiness,
heavenly happiness, and Nibbana happiness
[and] in all lives. ~~That~~ ... That ...
[So be it!].

(A:ca:n Dr. Keyes lives in front of
Wat Ommāra:wā:t, Mĕ Saring.)

with Cit a few days ago. are all administratively under ~~the~~ a headman of B. nai Wiag. There are ant. HK in these villages to assist in their admin. The villages include B. Nâ. Kha-o (U. N. 510), a Lua? village, B. Thung Phrao (U. N. 510) which is a mixed village with Kham, Lua?, $\frac{1}{2}$ Khammyang, $\frac{1}{2}$ even an Indian family. The head of the latter family, according to Mark Anderson, seems not to be the Muslims in town. The Khammyang in this village ~~are~~ are primarily settlers from the Yankee area which is now flooded by the reservoir. The villagers who patronize wat ~~the~~ co-m thung are divided administratively between B. Co-m Cing & B. Nai Wiag. They are all Khammyang.

In Tamboi Mê-khoy, B. Thây Lêng is a luei village which has become Khmuyang. In T. Mê-khái-tuan, B. Phă-phă, a very large village of ~450 households, is a Khmuyang village. B. Măi is a former ~~of~~ luei, now Khmuyang village.

Mark came over this evening & we talked about a number of things:

Rev. Schluter has protested the requirement of the primary schools that all students in their morals course must attend some ceremonies at a visit (class outing) as he objects in their grades. Tomorrow he is going to meet with the headmistress of the chief primary school (R.R.M.S.) to talk with her about this. Pastor Nohlgren (because of his ability in English?) has been called into mediation. Actually, according to Mark, there will be very little mediation. In a long conversation which Mark had with Pastor N., the latter said that he believed that the law should be followed to the letter. Consequently, he believes that Christian children should be made to attend the act (waik phra') or else should attend Christian schools. P. N. believes that the World Council of Churches is wealthy enough for the Christians to set up their own school here (thus, Mark noted, ignoring all of the sectarian differences between Protestant churches). Apparently there is a differential treatment of Muslims & Christians because Muslims are so strong in S. Thailand. This question is also tied up with the question of what it means to be Thai. P. N. thinks that all Thais must show proper respect to priests & monks waik phra' as well as waik khru, etc.

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Since most of the Christians in town are tribal (or ex-tribal), the question has overtones of tribal-land relations.

George Do:

Mark said that George was over at his house all morning - ostensibly because he wanted to know if the Vice-Consul of the U.S. Consulate in C.M. had said anything about George when he visited M.S. a couple of days ago. Although he apparently didn't, George thought he might because he had just written a letter to the Am. Consulate. ~~Later~~ He complained that the Baptist missionaries (i.e. the Laos) were harboring Karen refugees who were hindering George by saying that he is a double agent for the Burmese. Apparently, relations with Sonny are quite cool at the moment.

George is still actively involved in Karen affairs - he has, at least in the past, arranged for the smuggling of weapons into Thailand from Burma. The money paid for this has gone for arms, etc. for the Karen. Apparently some Thai officials have been involved in this smuggling. George also offered to mediate the conflict between border Karen & Thai & Burmese officials several years ago when Karens were making raids into Thailand. Apparently, he thought he had then mediated all arranged after having talked with Thai ~~rather~~ officials & the Burmese Consulate in Chiangmai. But things fell through, as George believes, because the Thai did not wish to meet in M.S. Nonetheless, his action may have been ~~very~~ useful because George was not put into jail when Sonny was.

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"END OF LENT" CELEBRATIONS:

Yesterday, today, & tomorrow (14th day of the waxing of the moon, & ~~the~~ full moon day, 12 month lunar reckoning, & the 1st day of the waning of the moon, 1st month northern reckoning) are the days in which the end of Buddhist Lent is held. Part of the ceremony is held in the town, which other parts are restricted to the wats.

a) Feeding Monks in the Road Before Dawn:

On all three days, monks from all of the wats in town & some from nearby villages form the town along ~~with~~ specific routes to collect their alms. The abbot of the District says that the monks must make their rounds ~~before~~ ^{starts} return to their temple before dawn. ~~Along~~ The route, ~~which started~~, I think of

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at the hăy wiag gate, moves down Mă Săriag road, past the district office, to the corner of Sărit Phom Road, turns left, down Sărit Phom Rd to the corner of Lə̄ng Pha-nít Rd., turns right, & follows Lə̄ng Pha-nít road to the Christian Hospital. All along the route (in some places off the route) people had placed ^{in place of them} decorative gates made of bamboo fencing, banana stalks, & crape paper decorations. Also, each house along the route which was participating (& some off the route) had ~~candles~~ lighted candles in tin lanterns & some had torches made of bamboo soaked in the resin of a type of pine tree called mǎi kǎi? (ไม้ไผ่). Finally, each household ~~that~~ participating had a table, usually with some pretty cloth, on which was placed the rice & other foods to be presented by the monks.

We didn't observe the ceremony yesterday morning because we were in Chiang Mai, but we did observe the one this morning. La. got took us, with our offerings, to a house near the corner of Lə̄ng Pha-nít Rd. & the small Rd. that comes out in front of Wát Pā-Hiao. Although the people at this house are somehow 'relatives' of La., I didn't gather the exact relationship. The owner of the house, a native of Chiang Mai, works for the Thai Airways Corporation. When we reached the place, a little before 5:00 p.m., we were told that 2 wats had already gone by. As each new group of monks would come by, the donors would step forward. If they had rice (either khāo niao or khāo chāo), they would place a little in each of the begging bowls of the monks or novices (I saw this). If one had other food, one would place one of each kind in the baskets carried by ~~the~~ dēkhuat or adults who accompanied the monks.

La. called the ceremony tāk bāt zō̄k phensā, but in a previous interview (6/10/67) the district abbot had called it ~~tāk bāt~~ tāk bāt kō̄ng (တက်ပတ်ကွေ) where ~~the~~ kō̄ng lit. means 'road, street'. She said that the man who works for TAC said that this ceremony ~~is tied up with the belief that~~ stems from the belief that people should welcome the Buddha as he goes out after Lent (cf. Wells, *Thai Buddhism*, p. 104). He also said that this form of the ceremony is to be found, in Thailand, only in Mĕ. Hō̄ng Sō̄n province. Later in the day the District Abbot said that this custom was of Burmese/Shan origin. He also made reference to the story of people welcoming Buddha.

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La. said that yesterday monks from 16 wats ^{novices} participated ^{practically} of the inhabitants of each of the wats went out. This morning there were not 16 wats, but there were monks from out-of-town wats. In specific, there were monks from wat ná-m-dip, wat thây léng, ^{novices} wat khá-phay. Many fewer monks ^{novices} than yesterday, so La. said, participated in today's ceremony.

During the wats between the arrival of clergy, some people (mainly children) would set off fire crackers (called bò-k thop - ບໍ່ຄຳທອບ in Northern Thai) ^{novices}; a fire work that looks like a 'flower' (in N.T. bò-k fai dō-k - ບໍ່ຄຳໄຟດອກ). La. says that fire crackers ^{novices}; fireworks are associated with the "End of Lent" ceremonies.

We noticed that 2 Karen men were carrying, hà-p styk, the extra food that monks from wat khá-phay were receiving. La. said that there were hill Karens.

b) Misc.

At the breakfast, I took Sange to wat Kittiwong. She said that the morning services would be fairly 'ordinary'; that it was better for us to come at about 12:00 for the sermon. I checked with the Dist. Abbot ^{novices}; he said the sermon ^{novices}; a ceremony of nothing of ~~the~~ a relic would begin about noon.

In the meantime, we noticed many more people than usual pouring into wat khá-phay. Despite the fact that the monks had already been given food in their morning meals, people brought even more food. I asked La. about this, ^{novices}; she said that "it is the custom to give the monks much food on this day".

At mid-morning, Wān called us at to look at a 'floating lantern' (ໂຕລ່າລ່າ - lho-m-lo-i). These are associated with the "End of Lent", but we did not see any being made or sent off.

c) EVENTS at WAT KITTIWONG

A little before noon, June ^{novices}; I went to Wat Kittiwong. When we arrived, there were a number of laymen (mainly older people with more women) in the main rooms of the ~~temple~~ temple. However, the only monk present on the raised platform was the District Abbot. He was playing a tape recorded version of the thô-t má-hā chât given by a monk from CM who has visited here. It was obviously very well done (dramatically) ^{the abbot}; the congregation laughed considerably.

I asked ~~him~~ a bit more about the events of the morning. He says in older times, people used to get up much earlier to make the presentations. ~~which the "evening star" (dhammakong - dhammakong)~~

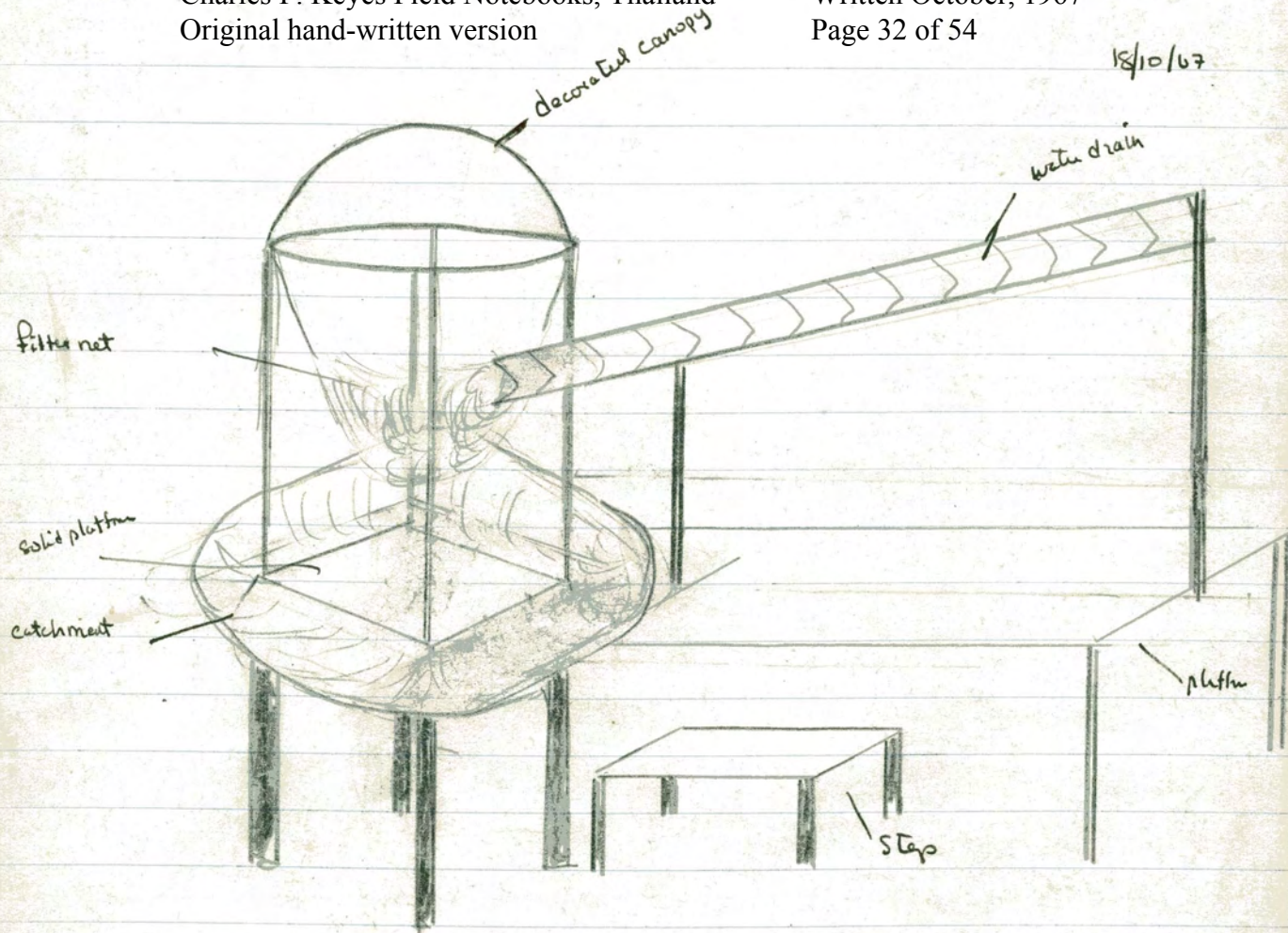
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~~in the local language language language~~ For the Shans & the Burmese, the sign of ~~the~~ when to get up was the appearance of the morning star (called - in Shan? - da-o hūg, ဝၢ်ၣ်ဟူၣ်) but in M.S., the sign was the "evening star" (called in the local language, da-o mū.kōng, ဝၢ်ၣ်မူၣ်ကွၢ်). [I was a little confused in this discussion because I also thought he said that da-o hūg & da-o mū.kōng are ~~the~~ words for the same thing]. He said that the decorations placed in front of houses, called cōng sōng (ဝၢ်ၣ်ဆွၢ်), used to be much more elaborate. Many were large structures (like, he said, ~~the~~ the 'towers' made to hold sālak gifts brought to wā Kittiwong last week) & contained a variety of foods, etc. He said that the decorations were made along the route "to receive the Buddha." In Chiang Mai, he said, the ceremony of receiving alms before dawn is ~~not~~ held only on Wān Phua².

In the front of the platform, near the preaching platform, there was a table. On this table was what looked like a monk's alms bowl, painted in gold, on a pedestal. ~~It~~ ^{carved} It had a highly decorated lid with carved glass (or jewels) & ~~carved~~ gold paint. The whole thing was wooden. Next to it, also on the table, was an ~~enamel~~ ^{enamel} work pan in which was placed a ~~bronze~~ ^{brass} pha-n. On the pha-n was a silver & glass vessel with a silver lid. The lid ~~came to a point~~ ^{came to a point} on top. Finally, there was on the table near the pha-n basin, an or-nā (jeweled & carved) ~~hand~~ khūn or water scoop. ~~On the table, but not on the platform, was a bucket~~ ^{near the table} filled with a liquid in which was placed a hybrid fruit known as sōm pō-i (ဆွၢ်ပိဝ်)*. These things, together with ~~an apparatus outside~~ & a highly ornate ~~apparatus~~ ^{more} These things were connected with an apparatus in the wick courtyard which we had seen on arrival. The latter ~~consisted of a~~ ^{consisted of a} could be diagrammed something as follows (see photograph for ~~more~~ exact features).

* Na-i Mē-t's dictionary gives two entries under ဆွၢ်ပိဝ် (sōm pō-i): sōm pō-i thēi (ဆွၢ်ပိဝ်တီ) or ba'sak (ပုဆိန်) and ဆွၢ်ပိဝ်ကွၢ် (sōm pō-i wū'n). The former he translates as Sapindus rarak (soap-berry, soap-nut) & the latter as albizia myriophylla.

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These things, together with a highly ornate umbrella, were the essential ~~for~~ for the ceremony of "Bathing the Buddha relic" (sòng nām phá thāt or hót nām phá thāt - ສົງ ນຳມ ປາ ທາດ or ຮົດ ນຳມ ປາ ທາດ).

The district abbot explained that this ceremony is held 3 times a year - 'the Entering of Buddhist Lent', 'the End of Lent' = $\text{ວັນ ສັກຄາ ບຸ ຕຸ ລາ}$.

The service began the chief layman leading the laity in the beginning of the morning worship (Pali Chanting Scripture p.8), the khō-sīn. The chief abbot then led the congregation in the Namo... and the Tisarana. This was followed by his giving the 5 precepts. The chief layman then read, in Pali, a long statement. This was followed by the chief ~~monk~~ layman making the request, in Pali, for the sòng nām phá thāt.

Prior to the beginning of the service, the chief abbot had opened the golden ດຳ ທຳ taken from it a small bamboo container ~~which~~ held the relic. This he opened $\frac{1}{2}$ with a very small wooden spoon, about the size of a spoon used in a salt cellar, he removed the relic. The relic, golden

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in color, was then placed in a small bronze container which had ~~upside down~~ ^{smooth} a small hole in its lid. The bronze container containing the relic was then placed in the silver & glass vessel which in turn rested on the phan in the water basin.

When the layman had made the formal request that the relic be bathed, each monk, in order of rank, moved from the platform to ⁱⁿ the front of the table. They then picked up the ornate water scoop & filled it from the bucket. The ~~holder~~ they would hold the scoop in a wai gesture & then pour the water over the top of the silver & glass vessel. This vessel had holes in its ^{lid} ~~top~~ bottom, as some water did pour through it (& theoretically, through the bronze container & over the relic). When the monks had finished, the novices followed suit. Then several of the leading laymen did the same (I was invited to do so at this time). However, only a few laymen (& no laywomen) did so. Then one of the laymen picked up the water basin, with its phan & the vessel containing the relic (& now filled with water) & carried it outside. Another layman followed with the large umbrella. The sacred cargo was placed under the canopy & under the net in the apparatus outside. The laymen who ~~had~~ had the umbrella held it at an angle over the vessel. Laymen & women who had ^{yet} ~~not~~ poured the water over the relic came outside & climbed up on the platform & poured water down the trough. The water they had was not taken from the bucket, but was brought (?) to the net by each individual in their own containers. This water also contained sôm pò:i. The net caught the sôm pò:i so that only the water poured over the vessel. After pouring the water, the lady would scoop up a little of the water caught in the catchment. This water was now holy. In fact, Sanga, who came after the ceremony was over, drank the water which Jane had in her container.

During this ceremony, the monks & novices stayed in the ~~the~~ khut - in other words, the ceremony in the courtyard was exclusively a lay affair. After everyone had finished their water pouring, they returned to the Wat. The relic, on the phan in the water container, was carried back into the Wat by an older layman & placed on the table. Another layman carried the umbrella over the relic or it was carried back in.

When the congregation had again come back into the khut, the chief layman made the formal request for a sermon. The chief abbot then gave one part of the Wat sâm story. He was followed by the 2nd monk of the Wat who gave a 2nd part of the same story. Some laymen had also brought gifts in in order to make merit.

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for the dead. Each of them gifts necessitated the giving of another sermon, followed by the sending of the merit made through the offering of the sponsoring of the sermon to the dead in question (monks poured the water to accomplish this sending). There were 3 such offerings. ~~At the end, the~~ These sermons ~~are~~ were what the abbot called thai chao ban (๓๑๑/๑๒๕๗). All in all, we spent over 3½ hrs. in the wāt. The abbot said that the laypeople ~~also~~ go in this area especially thai to hear the thai mchā-chā at the "End of Lent" ceremonies.

The ceremony was ended with the chanting of the trāṭṭaṇa.

At the end of the ceremony, I noticed that 3 Khaus had entered the khūt. One woman I had noticed hanging around the wāt during the entire service. I asked the abbot about them. He said that they had probably come to request food. He said that this morning, more than 20 ~~people~~ Khaus had come to request food. Apparently this is quite a common occurrence on the wānphe of the end of lent because the wāt receive so much food from the city. He said that the Khaus come and wai him & then request food.

I had also noticed ~~that~~ during the services that monks from other wāt were gathering in the bō. The abbot said that each full moon wān phā, monks from about 10 wāt come together to chant the pitimā. However, on this day, the monks only engage in confessions to one another. I had also noticed that many of the monks were newly shaven.

d) Candle Lighting at the wāt

In the evening, people go to the wāt to light candles. I observed some of this ceremony part of the ceremony at Wāt Pā-thao. Along the path, someone had placed torches of the resin soaked bamboo. Candles were being lit inside the khūt/sā-tha and in front of the soi cē-di in the wāt. Also at the cē-di, there is a statue of an elephant which had candles placed on it. I noticed one woman kneeling before the cē-di and chanting in something that sounded neither like Northern Thai or Thai (or sā in the form used by speakers of ~~the~~ these languages). ~~She sang that she~~ I thought it might be Burmese, but she says she thinks it is Shan. We didn't see the most spectacular part of this ceremony, which must have taken place sometime between 8-10 p.m., because we had room to watch NAK.

According to Sungā & Cit, this same candle lighting takes place at other wāt in town. The whole

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night was alive with the candle-lighting, the crowds of milling people, firecrackers, the like. ~~the~~ (from Sukhothai) being held in the wat grounds. The town had a true festive character.

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Talk with Pat Coates:

This morning

to Pat C

A I delivered a note which Pat & Sally had sent to the Coates via us (by courier from B. Pà. Pè.).

In talking with Pat I learned something about the outcome of the confrontation between the missionaries & the schools over the question of school children being required to attend wat ceremonies as part of their moral/ethics courses. Apparently Bob ran into Pànt Nakhon in town & the latter asked him to attend the meeting. Bob explained that Schlater was not alone as regards the complaint but that in the past both he & Schlater had made joint representations. Nakhon told Bob much the same thing as he had told Mark (in fact, Pat said that Bob was extremely offended by Nakhon). In the final analysis, Nakhon is supposed to have said that a person cannot be a Thai unless he is a Buddhist.

Actually Schlater is up in the mts. at the moment & apparently was not aware of the meeting. A meeting was held in which, Pat guesses, the children were told much the same thing as the missionaries had been told.

I expressed surprise that this issue should be arising at this point & hadn't been settled long ago.

Pat said that they had thought it had been. Apparently it arose anew in September after the Coates returned. At that time a Thai Christian convert reported to the Coates that he was shocked that Christian students had been required to participate in some wat ceremony. He had explained the meaning of this ceremony to the Coates & they had made a protest.

Nakhon reportedly asked Coates why he hadn't talked with the educational officials rather than with the head masters. Pat said that they had talked with the District educational officer who had said that there were different practices in different schools and they must talk with the different head masters. In response to Coates' question of why Muslims were not required to attend services, Nakhon had responded that they attended schools other than the one affected. Apparently, he thinks that only the M.S. school (which is a reignian rathabon) is affected.

Pat says that Koreans are very strict (I think she means in their adherence to Christianity) &

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That if the school requires Christian children to participate in Buddhist ceremonies, they will pull their children out of school.

As another example of discrimination against Karens, Pat told me that she recently tried to open bank accounts in the new bank for 2 Karens. She asked how much they would have to deposit in their accounts to open them. The man in charge asked if the depositors were Karen. When she answered yes, the man said in that case they would have to deposit \$500.

End of Lent Ceremonies:

This morning was the last of the ~~fasting~~ offering of alms before dawn. Sanya, who was staying at her brother's in the Phansit compound, offered alms. She said that there weren't as many monks as the first day, when she also presented alms, but still about 10 who were represented. She said, however, that there were many fewer people offering alms.

This afternoon I asked La several questions about the ceremonies. She said that the local name for presenting alms is sai bāt kōng (สับบาตัง). She said that the local word for the torches is tam kīa' (ตะเกียง) & the local name for the custom of decorating the house is khāt lā-tchawāt (ขัณฑ์ลาตชาวัต).

La also gave me the names of the two khñōm which are made specially for this event: khñōm cōh (ขันหมากซ้อน) & khñōm tian (ขันหมากเทียน). Both are made with flowers made from glutinous rice & sugar.

Gates of the Old City:

Cit came over this evening. He said he finally discovered the name for the Western gate of the old city - pūtā sēn thōng (ประตูเสนทอง).

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End of Lent Ceremonies:

I forgot to note that when we returned from paying the monks on 18/10/67, we noticed that ~~at~~ at the house of our landlady, small banana leaf containers of food had been placed on the fence in 2 places. There was also a candle next to it. La said that these were offerings for spirit.

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Hè Thian Hèg Ceremony:

Last evening there was a major procession of lights through the town which ended at wat pà-hiao where there was a ceremony. La. ~~cotte~~ said that the name of this ceremony is Hè Thian Hèg (CT transliteration) or Hè tien Hèg (N.T. Transliteration) [HÈ TIEN HÈG]. La. says that this ceremony is usually held twice during this season - once at wat pà-hiao & once at wat Sī-bun-gay. However, this year it is only held at wat pà-hiao. She also says that the ceremony has a single sponsor - in this case by a patman (L. S. O. O. O.).

I have not been able to find references to this ceremony in any of the books I have on the North. However, Peter Hinton (who arrived last evening with his wife, Lily, & his parents who are visiting from Australia) says that he ~~has~~ saw the same ceremony, on a smaller scale, in Bān Kāt, A. Sān pā-tay, C. Chiang Mai where Paul Cohen is working. Peter says that in that village it lasts for 3 days.

The procession reminded me vividly of pictures I have seen of ceremonies ~~dedicated~~ dedicated to spirits in Luang Prabang. In specific, the procession follows a large beast-like figure called a to. (in B. Kāt it apparently is called sing to). ~~It is~~ This is the word for lion, the creature certainly does not look like a lion, ~~the creature was~~ in fact the body reminds me of a llama, while the head, with horns & a ~~plattened~~ flattened appearance reminded me of no creature I have ever seen. The creature was made of ~~paper~~ paper & ~~plattened~~ plattened some sort of frame. The head, ~~was~~ perched on a high neck, was made, it looked like, of papier mâché. The creature was flanked by at least 2 masked attendants. In both cases, the main body was decorated with white ripe paper, out to look like feathers.

The procession also included 2 long strings of lanterns, carried primarily by young men, which flanked a procession of girls carrying candles placed in the middle of white circles of paper. I believe La. had said that only young unmarried girls can carry the candles. At the end of the procession was a large tower of lanterns which was also carried by men. ~~Large~~ Large ~~near the to was an orchestra of~~ Near the to was an orchestra of percussion instruments (drums, gongs, cymbals) which in front of the lantern procession was an orchestra of Burmese instruments.

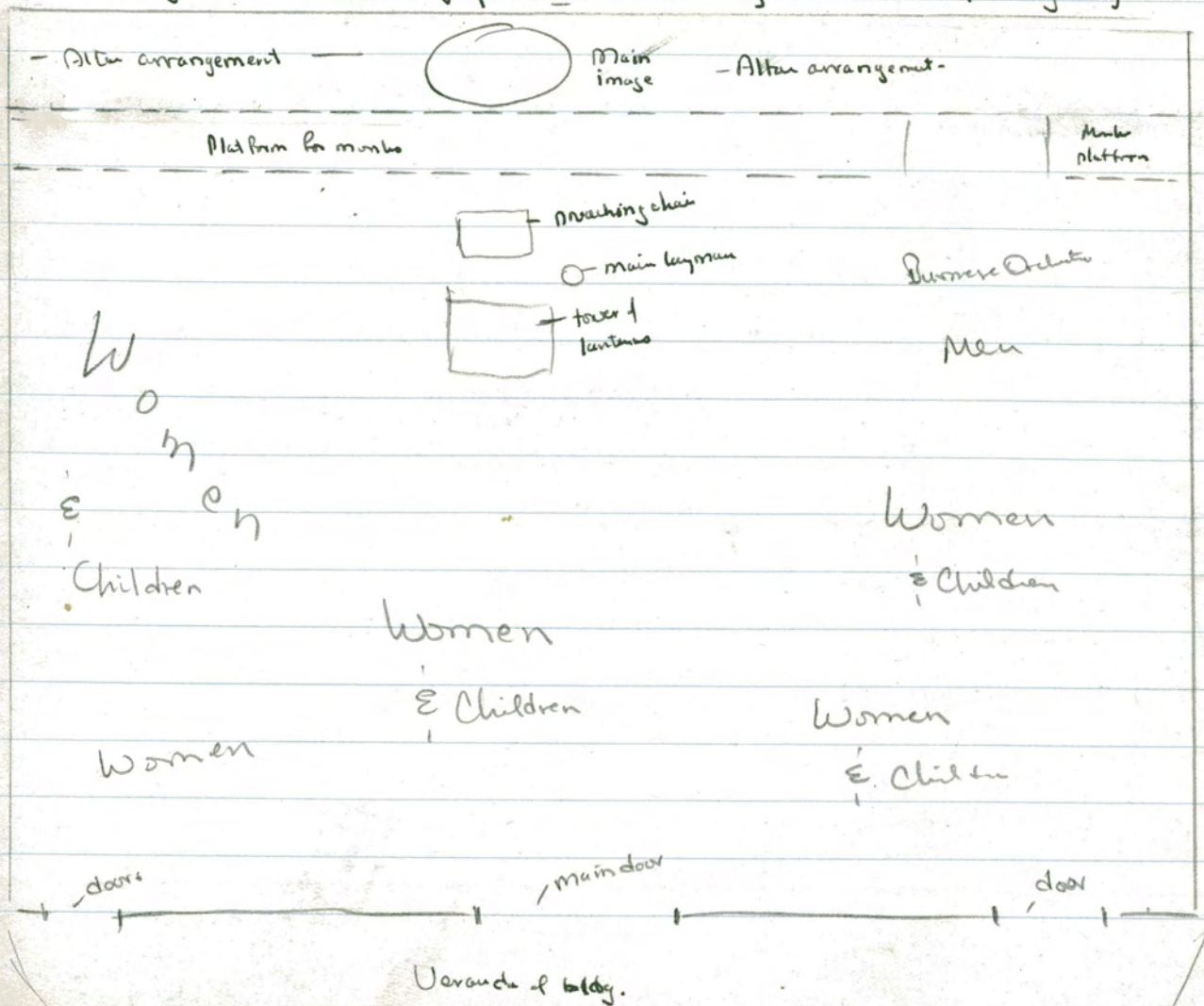
The procession began sometime after 7 p.m. at wat Kittimong & then wound its way through town ~~from to~~ passing by several ~~with~~ with members of the procession. First moved it collected large numbers of people who weren't carrying candles. The to would stop every so often & wheel around, making as though

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It was about to attack people with its horns. ~~At the end~~ I wasn't sure whether the to was manned by two or three people, but they certainly were coordinated. The two masked figures danced around the to. There were also other men, who like so many in the procession, seemed very drunk who danced around the to or in front of the orchiestras. The north was lined with the resin torches.

At about 9:30, the procession reached Wai pi kiao. Prior to this time, monks from several wats had already arrived in the temple. When the procession reached the wai grounds, the two lanterns on either strings of lanterns were placed on either side of the walk leading up to the main bldg. The tower of lanterns was carried into the ~~main~~ bldg. & placed in the center of the large room. Most of the people, including the orchiestras, entered the bldg. & took up the wai phra positions; however, a number of people, primarily ~~young~~ men, stayed outside where the to continued to cavort throughout the ceremony.

The arrangement in the main bldg. of the wai was something ^{like is} shown in the following diagram:



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The monks consisted of about half from Burmese 'wats' & about half ^{from} Thai (khommyang) wats. The 'Burmese' monks sat to the left as one faces the altar with the 'Thai' (excepting the abbot of Wát pà hiao) sitting on the right. I recognized the 2 monks from Wát Cāntheru-wāt, 2 from Wát pà-hiao, the abbot from Wát Cō-mā-g, the abbot from Wát Chaiyā-lāp, & a monk from Wát Kittiwong. There were several others.

As people congregated in the wāt, the Burmese orchestra played & a couple of apparently drunken men danced. The music (recorded) was quite diff. from Thai music - seeming almost like Greek music. The instruments included several mandolin types, 2 strange violin types (played with a bow but with an attachment that looked like the bell of trumpet), a wooden block, ~~etc~~ small cymbals, a drum, & perhaps others which I didn't see.

At the beginning of the ceremony, the monk from Wát Chaiyā-lāp took the sermon seat. A middle-aged man (the sponsor?) took the position of ^{chief} layman. The beginning of the service included the layman's leading the laity in a chant, followed by the abbot from Chaiyā-lāp leading in the Dhamo... & the Pissam. Then the chief layman requested the ~~the~~ precept, which the abbot gave (in response form) the 5 precepts. Then followed a very interesting, long chant, with the Burmese monks using the Burmese form & the Thai monks the northern Thai form. The abbot from Chaiyā-lāp then gave a long sermon - in Central Thai! This was followed by ~~the~~ a closing chant, Thai style, given only by the Thai monks. (The Burmese monks did not even sit in the wai position during this chant. This was followed by the presentation of gifts (boxes of candles & a money tree stuck in with vases) for each monk.

After the presentation, a huge gong hanging in the bldg. was struck & then the Burmese orchestra ~~started~~ began again. People (including the monks) began to depart. However, a number of people (mainly middle-aged) stayed & began dancing. First men danced & then they ~~at~~ pulled several women up & they began (reluctantly as it appeared) to dance as well. Outside the to. was still acting up. However, by 11 p.m. nearly everyone had disappeared home.

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FRESH MARKET:

This morning Jane & I made a visit to the fresh market. I again returned a lot of flowers in the mkt.

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CHRISTIAN HOSPITAL:

Yesterday we ~~to~~ met the new Dr., a woman, at the Baptist hospital. She had been a ~~to~~ Missionary in Madras for 9½ yrs. We learned a few things about the hospital. 2 of the nurses are Karen refugees from Burma. Most of the other employees are also Karen Christians. This morning we took Lurga up to the hospital to have her leg X-rayed. However, although she waited for 2 hours, she didn't get in. The system at the hospital is to give each person a number as they come & then they are taken in turn. There were a large number of Karens ~~waiting~~ waiting as well as Thai & Burmese people.

VISIT TO THE HOUSE OF A LOCAL LAWYER:

There is a shop on Mae Saurang Rd. between the road that comes out at the District Office and Sarit Thum Rd. which has long intrigued us since it has on display a number of the large traditional bells (which can be found in the antique shops in Chiangmai), some silverware, opium weights, etc. This morning, after buying some plums at Zimmari's shop (and looking at some jewelry there), we decided to stop at the shop which interested us. As we did, we realized that George R. was inside talking to a man in a bathrobe. ~~But~~ Since George had seen us we entered, & were introduced to the man. He is a local lawyer who was born in M.S., studied in Chiang Mai (partially at Prince Royal's) in secondary school, & went on to Bangkok to study for his law degree. He returned here about the time of WWII. His wife is not a Burmese but is from Bangkok. George had been consulting the lawyer on some business which was never specified.

Since we had expressed an interest in the old things which were for sale in the shop, the lawyer called his wife out. We looked at the bells which George explained to us were used in pairs in Buffalo caravans. The lawyer said that the style of these bells dated back to Sukhothai (the woman wanted \$500 for a pair). The opium weight also ran expensive (400-500 \$ for the largest one). The wife also traded in jewelry & brought out her collection of sapphires, rubies, opals, & artificial stones, set & unset, for

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which played at the ceremony was Thổng sũ. ^{the monk agreed.}

Hệ Thiên Hỷ Ceremony:

I have learned some more about the Hệ Thiên Hỷ ceremony from La. ^{from the people at the wát.}
I asked La. if the To represented a phý. She said no. I then asked what did this ~~be~~ creature signify?
She said "Nothing", it is just the custom (pháp-hi). However, the middle-aged layman ^{young man}
at the wát gave me a slightly fuller story. The middle-aged layman referred to the creature as oigto. The young
monk told me a story that it had to do with Buddha coming down from heaven ^{the} candles were lit
for this purpose (thus relating this ~~story~~ ceremony to the feeding of monks in the early morning in Thiền-phân.)

The middle-aged layman said that the to was manned by two children ^{one adult}.

Both La. and the informants in the wát called the two ~~attended~~ ^{middle-aged} ~~attended~~ ^{attended} attendants
on the large creature, phý.khun (พระคู่). The ~~other~~ ^{middle-aged} layman elaborated, referring to them as
spirits & men (phý.ménút - พระคู่). Both were performed by children. The middle-aged layman also
referred to them as cáo sũ to (เจ้าสũ).

La. gave me the order of the procession. It began at wát công kham (วัดสุพรรณราช), goes to
wát kitti wong, to wát khápuag (วัดสีหิมงคล), wát ĕanthra-wát (วัดมณฑล), wát
sĩ.bunruag ^{wát} acg.sũg (วัดธาตุยาสม). The procession was then supposed to go to wát pà.nát
(วัดไชยวัฒน) but people use "lajj". It turned if the lower road ^{to} came directly to wát pà.khau
(วัดจอมมาระวัด).

The middle-aged layman ^{the} young layman gave me the list of wats who send monks to
represent them at the ceremony (one each except from wát zommára-wát which had two monks):

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1) wát <u>chaiyá lúp</u> (T) | 7) wát <u>Sĩng thũg</u> (T) |
| 2) wát <u>zommára-wát</u> (B) | 8) " <u>kitti wong</u> (T) |
| 3) " <u>zuthaya.som</u> (B) | 9) " <u>Sũphān rangsĩ</u> (B) |
| 4) " <u>sĩ.bunruag</u> (T) | 10) " <u>cĩm cĩng</u> (T) |
| 5) " <u>ĕanthra-wát</u> (B) | 11) " <u>thũng lĩng</u> (T) |
| 6) " <u>sĩthĩ mongkhon</u> (T) | |

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La. ~~not~~ said that the lanterns carried in the string are called Ichom fai (阿2 1/1). She also said that the year's ceremony was not very good - not as good as last year. But then, she is a very opinionated girl.

The layman at the west wall commenting about the drunkenness of a number of the people who were dancing.

The young monk showed me the preaching chair which had been given by the sponsors of the ceremony.
It had written on it the names of the donors: - il. nai tan nang phic'it čatān yot ^{phōm}~~phōm~~ [dāni] bāt
~~et al.~~ (ကလေးတို့ ကလေးတို့ ဝါဒီ ခုတ် ~~သော~~ မိဘ (ဇာတိ) ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်). He is, as he said, in the
post office.

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THÔI T KỲ THẪN AT WÁT SỸ DƯƠNG:

On the twenty-first a man came to the house with an envelope which contained an invitation to the Ths-t Kethin at Wat Si-burruay which is being sponsored by the the District. The envelope itself provide information pertaining to the gift which the invitee ~~shall~~ will give. Translated, the outside of the envelope reads as follows:

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MERIT-MARQUE OF THÔT KATHIN SĀ. MAKKHĪ.

Thị trấn ở Wat S.Y. bunryang ? Ampho. Mue. Saen Phan Chingwat Mue. Hong Son

Name of Donor _____

House No. _____ Street _____ Tambon _____

District _____ Province _____

[illegible]

With the strength of this faith may you have success in all things which are desirable.

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Inside the envelope was the mimeographed invitation which, in translation, reads as follows:

Notice of the Spreading of Merit

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ANNUAL THŌ-T KĀTHĪN SĀ-MĀKKHI. FOR AMPHO. MĒ MĒ-SĀRIANG

2510

~~With~~ Together with the officials in all departments ~~of the~~ in the District of MĒ-SĀRIANG, the teachers, Kamnan, Headmen, Merchants and the people will join together in the annual merit-making [ceremony of] thŏ-t kĀthĪn sĀ-mĀKKHI. For 2510 at Wat Sī-bunrang, Tambon MĒ-SĀRIANG on Saturday [sic]*, 1 November, 2510. The result ~~of the~~ which will come from this merit-making will be the endowing of the Pŏ-sī-yāt-tham Foundation of the MĒ-SĀRIANG Sangha in order to further the improvement of the Pŏ-sī-yāt-tham education of Monks & novices in this district.

The order of events is as follows:

Friday [sic] 31 October 2510 or the 13th day of the waning of the moon in the 1st month

Northern reckoning:

9:00 hours Decorating of the KāthĪn offering at the District Office
to the District Office

17:00 hours 9 monks will be invited to chant at the KāthĪn Banquet and there will be one sermon. When the ceremony is over, there will be entertainment and a banquet.

Saturday [sic] 1 November 2510 or the 14th day of waning of the moon in the 1st month

Northern reckoning:

15:00 hours The government officials, teachers, Kamnan, headmen, merchants, and people will form a procession to the KāthĪn processions which will move from the District Office, go along several streets & then present [the KāthĪn] at Wat Sī-Bunrang.

* The dates given are correct, but the days should be Tuesday for 31 Oct. & Wed. for 1 November respectively.

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Therefore, the District thus wishes to spread the merit to ~~all~~ ^{by} ~~Buddhists~~ ^{is} ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ solicited contributions from all Buddhists [who] will participate in this large merit-making [ceremony] on the days which have been mentioned. In order to make it convenient for the District to collect the ~~offerings~~ merit-making offerings this time from this moment on, you do have further here to offer ~~any kind~~ money or gifts of any kind please take them ~~to~~ ^{and} present them to the District educational officer, the committee, or the clerks at the district office. As for those who live in distant tambon, please place the offerings [lit. 'the requisite thing'] in an envelope and give ~~you~~ ^{you} it, [along with] your name and address to your Kamnan or headman.

The ~~Pro~~ District expresses its general gratitude to all who will participate in this merit-making.

[Signed]. Capt. Khācīt Sākānān

District Office of Mō. Sāriy

Chairman of the Committee arranging the Thā-t Kāthīn Sā-mākhi.

THĀ-T KĀTHĪN AT WAT KITTIWONG:

On the 15th & 16th of November, a large group of people from Bangkok are coming to M.S. to present a Kāthīn offering at Wat Kittiwong. This has grown to be a very big affair with people from all over the district being invited. Yesterday I received a letter from Pēt Kienstadān, currently in the U.S. village of B. Pā. Pā. (U.S. ~~U.S.~~) in which he mentioned about the news of this ceremony reaching the village of their reaction to it. I quote the relevant passages:

"There is supposed to be a Kāthīn [sic], sponsored by some people in Bangkok, at Wat Kittiwong [sic], Mae Sāriy, on November 15, to which representatives from Pa Pae and other upland villages, Shan, etc. are being invited (so we hear - who knows what the real story is... [dots in original]) and we will definitely be going to that... There will also be a similar, but less elaborate ceremony at one of

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the other wats (Sali bun hyang ??? [Si. bunruag]) in about a week or ten days, but people from this village probably will not go because of the harvest. The BPP [Bun Patet Potee] teacher is pushing very hard for them to ~~go~~ attend the one on the 15th. We do not expect to be able to go down for the earlier one.

"This is apparently the first time people from here have been formally invited to participate in person (with sword dancing, singing, etc.). Though they have been invited to ~~sing~~ contribute cash or rice in the past, especially ~~at~~ to Wat Chorn ~~Chang~~ Chaeng [sic]. This ~~is~~ begins to look like a Thai version of the Gallup Ceremonial, and our performers want to get paid for doing the sword dance - otherwise, they say, they probably won't go..."

The following is a translation of the official announcement of the events & ceremony put out by the people in Bangkok with the seal of (literally) Wat Kittiwong.

SCHEDULE FOR EVENTS FOR THOT KATHIN AND PHA PA. SAK SAKMAKHI.

BANGKOK — CHIANG MAI

~~ME~~ MÊ SARIANG

14 November - 19 November 2510

Thot at Wat Kittiwong, A. MÊ SARIANG C. MÊ HONG SŌN
and Wat Chetumnon, A. Mueg, C. Chiang Mai

Doing to Wat Kittiwong being located in a barren district far from progress.

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KOREANS AT WAT PA-HIAO:

I forgot to note that yesterday at Wat Pa-Hiao the young monk said that Koreans do come to make merit here. In answer to my question, both he & the middle-aged layman said that many Koreans (hill) come to "request food" from the wat.

VISIT FROM BOB COATS:

Bob dropped into today to leave a package for us to take to his daughter in Bkk. In the course of the conversation, he again mentioned the trouble over the requirement of Christian children to attend the wat. ~~child~~ He said that this problem had arisen on several occasions over the years, but usually because of a zealous teacher, not because of official policy. He really thinks that Pitit Nakhon is ~~opposing this~~ very overbearing & thinks that he, Don Schuster, & the priest should make joint representations to the District office. When I mentioned the two forthcoming ~~that~~ ^{within} ceremonies, he suggested that there might be further attempts on the part of the govt. to force Buddhism on the hill tribes. ~~He~~ says he has no argument with the govt. trying to convert the hill tribes, but he believes it ought to live up to its proclaimed freedom of religion.

VISIT FROM DON SCHLATTER:

About noon Don Schlatter, the New Tribes Mission missionary, paid us a visit. Although we had met his family before, we had not yet met him. He talked a bit about Luc (which he calls lawe) dialects. He says that practically every village has a different dialect. In specific, the northern dialects around Lu-up where he does most of his work are different from those of Ko-y (or Bo-luay (the 2 ~~big~~ big villages on the road to M.S.)). ~~From his conversation & what I have heard (or read) from Pat, I would gather that there are 3 types of Luc villages: (1) "Pure" Luc following. He said that Luc from 2 quite different dialect areas may speak Korean to one another. In response to my question he said that ~~most~~ Luc men are usually quite fluent in Northern Thai. ~~He~~ I mentioned that he sometimes had Thai names & he said that the ~~also~~ ^{also} ~~tribes~~ ^{tribes} have Korean names.~~

From his conversation & what I have heard (or read) from D. U., I would hypothesize a basic typology of Luc ~~along a~~ into 3 groups along a continuum from Luc to Chumruang.

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Even "pure" Lua? (type 1) have some Thai overtones because they have lived in association with the Thai for so long. They also have some ~~concept~~ idea of connection with Buddhism. In this type I would think B. Ph. D. would fall. Type 2 would be those villages which still retain much of Lua? culture (including - perhaps especially - language) but are overtly Buddhist with wats. K. J. L. i. & B. Luang are of this type. Type 3 are Khommyang villages which have a Lua? ancestry & perhaps retain a few Lua? customs, but ~~are~~ no longer speak Lua? & are ~~completely~~ completely Buddhist. Examples of this type would be Hui Sai & Hui Siy. Divergent types would ~~be~~ be those Lua? who are Christian & those which are assimilating to Karen. It is likely that of this type there are no examples of villages, only households.

In the region of Mae Saming ~~the~~ town Schlatter says that there are something on the order of 120-150 households of Lua?. The largest majority of these, 90-100, are in B. Phé? & the others are located in a village to the south below wát ~~Chang~~ Kham, Com Thong (the B. Thuy Phroo area). There are a few households beyond the border of B. Phé? (wherever that is) towards town (maybe 6-8) - but none in the town itself. B. Phé? is not totally Lua? for there are some Khommyang families living there as well as a few Khmu? families. He says that about 25 households in B. Phé? are Christian. His own house & the New Tribes Christian Church is located in B. Phé?.

I asked him about the difficulties of the people living in B. Phé?. He says that the people fall into 3 categories - (1) long term residents (as much as 80 years) who have titles to this land, (2) residents of 10 or more years who have no official titles but who believe they fulfilled the law in developing the land & thus being eligible for titles, & (3) recent immigrants who realize that they are "squattling" on land belonging to the police. The only category that feels they have a grievance in the resettlement plans are those in category 2. The govt. recognizes the rights of those who have titles (group 1) & those who realize they are squatters ~~claim~~ (category 3) claim no rights. The 2nd group is trying to get some help from the govt. in resettling. Only house land (no paddy land) is involved.

He has been in Thailand 14 yrs., 10 of which have been in M.S. First he was in Kanchanaburi working with Thai. When he came here, he first lived in K. J. L. i. of the 2nd New Tribes Missionaries in Thailand, 4 are now in the North - all working with Lua?. In addition to himself,

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There are 2 single men from New Zealand (one Chuck Weeks & one a new chap who has just come) living in K. J. L. i. There is also an Australian nurse (presently on home leave) who works at M. S.

CONVERSATIONS WITH GEORGE DO & MARK ANDERSON:

This evening Mark Anderson came by, followed shortly by George Do & both stayed for dinner. George had come around with silver birds & more information in connection with our desire to get the special band we had seen ~~mentioned~~ yesterday. He & Mark stayed until about 8:30.

George talked a bit about his problems as a political refugee. He is only one of two Karens here with "political refugee" (ကုသိုလ်ကုသိုလ်ကုသိုလ်) as contrasted with "wartime refugees" (မိမိတို့ကုသိုလ်ကုသိုလ်) which Benny & some of the others are. Apparently he ~~has~~ claims to ~~be~~ have been threatened with death by some other Karens (connected with the mission) & to have been threatened with expulsion by certain Thai officials. He has been fighting back with complaints to the police dept. & letters to high govt. officials and the American Consulate. Apparently his talking with the lawyer (whose name is Nai Puay) yesterday was in connection with this. The lawyer has promised to see the D.O. on George's behalf.

We also talked a bit about M. S. George says that there are M. S. here (in contrast to An Schbatten who said there are none), as well as Pwo Karens & other groups. The area George lives in are primarily Shans. Mark chimed in to say that the Asst. H.M. of M. S. school is Shan, although I knew that he was born in M. S. There is another family of ~~Shan~~ teachers who are Shans. The slaughter house is government owned & the butchers are Shans (pigs) & Indian Muslims (cattle & buffalo).

George also talked at length about his favorite topic - Karen nationalism. He says that he has been out of Burma - meaning out of Burmese territory - since ~~1946~~ 1946. When Burma got its independence he was in the ~~the~~ Karen Independence Movement in Karen. During the negotiations prior to independence a Karen made representations on behalf of the Karens in England. I am now dead & the other is a refugee in Kanchanaburi. George was treasurer in the Free Karen movement (or, at least, a treasury officer). He says that the movement suffered because of the conflict between old & young & the young felt that if one couldn't carry arms, you were of no use to the movement. They had no use for "utronics". Finally, George felt that he could do no more (or was no longer wanted) & left the movement in

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1954. He came to M.S. in 1956.

He feels that the only hope for the Karens is complete independence. Once they have got independence, along with the Shans, Kachins, etc. being independent, then all groups can negotiate with the Burmese on a footing of equality. However, he feels, ~~that~~ as long as the Burmese dominate, ~~they~~ the Karens will be down-trodden. He mentioned several Karen leaders who tried to work with the Burmese only to be betrayed.

He is not without certain reservations about the Karens. He feels that they have no artistic tradition like the Burmese & Shans & that they are somewhat rougher types. He also feels that the Burmese have been very successful in getting their way through cunning & ingenuity since they first defeated the Mons.

On another topic, I asked George if he knew about Singto. He said he did & that it was kept by a police officer in a house near his home. He said that it is sometimes referred to in Burmese, byatseim meaning body of a lion & head with horns. Alternatively, it is called, in Burmese, "the five animal creature" since it is supposed to have ~~parts~~ the tail of a fish, the body of a lion, the wings of a bird, the head of a deer, & the trunk (corner) of an elephant. He said that this creature is popular in M.S. but not necessarily ~~in~~ many other places in Thailand. Mark said that the M.S. Singto was set on the nights of the 13th & 14th for the candle lighting in connection with the end of Lent ceremonies.

From Oct 26 - Nov. 19 made a trip to Chiang Mai, Bangkok, Mahasarakham (Ban Nong Tien). The following are notes from that trip.

27 Oct. 1967

Chiang Mai

VISIT TO SPIRIT MEDIUM

This afternoon Ratana (the Kunstadter's servant) took us to visit a medium who lives on the edge of town on the road to Fang near Sanga's brother's hie. The compound of the house was quite large with one building that looked like a ná-lá. We entered the house, and walked around a large veranda to a room luxuriously decorated in flowers & other decoration including a peacock's tail. The medium was sitting in front of the room & was wearing a sarong, a man's shirt, & a ~~the~~ head-cloth wrapped in the Burmese style. According to Ratana she was already possessed by a spirit - in this case a male spirit (hence the clothes), but she is possessed by different types of spirits on different occasions. (Next to her she had a cupboard filled with different types of clothing.)

There were only a few people in the room (I think 5 besides ourselves) - all women. As our group entered the room, we took up the ~~sitting position~~ sitting position. Then people in the room would request some ~~for~~ specific fortune-telling from the medium. Sanga asked about his leg. The medium, speaking in a deep, offuscated voice, would pick up some joss sticks, play with them in front of her (transferring several from one hand to the other and then back again), ask the supplicant a few questions (year of birth in animal cycle, day of birth, etc.). In front of her she had a phien with flowers on it & next to it was a bronze container of (icky?) water. Finally, she would answer the question. In Sanga's case, she said it was the muscho (Sên) not the bones. She took a bottle, filled it with the water in front of her, mixed it with a packet of medicine, blew through the opening a few times, said some words over it & then gave it to Sanga ~~for~~ to drink to help her leg. (This blowing on something to be taken as medicine or over a person himself is quite common among people who are somehow supernaturally endowed.)

The medium asked Sana, Sanga, Nicholas, Ratana, & myself to move closer. Sana asked if she would have any more children - the answer: yes, two - a boy and a girl.

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Ratana asked if her phī (i.e. lover, quasi-husband) would return soon. Answer: yes, today or tomorrow (he actually did return the same evening). I'm asked also, if all 3 of us would have long lives, but the medium said that she couldn't answer that question. She did volunteer in my case that I would obtain my highest status in 4 yrs. time. Each request for an answer was preceded by presenting the medium with 5-10 \$.

After we returned home, Ratana talked a bit about the medium. She used the terms, cáo (áo) & gog (gog) in referring to the medium. Apparently, she ~~goes into~~ is possessed everyday around noontime & is available for consultation all afternoon.

5/11/67

Thôt Kathin in Nakhon Pathom Province:

Today Janga invited us to go to a thôt kathin at a famous wát in N.P. province. To reach the wát we had to travel by boat from a landing ~~an~~ an hour's drive from Bangkok. The route wound through the canals of the central Plains. It took us over an hour to reach Wát We-lá-wá-na-rá-m, A. Bang-le-n, C. Nakhon Pathom. (วัดเวฬุวนาราม อ. บางเลน จ. นakhon pathom). This wát has a high reputation because its former abbot, Phra' Khru. Wimon khú-na-ka'n (Luáng Phō. Sūk Pachcho-to.) [พระครูวิมลคุณากร (หลวงปู่ศุข)] was known for his healing powers as well as his ability to get things built. The present abbot, Phra' Khru. Sāthā-phon Phutthā-mun (Luáng Phō. Samniāng Yū. Sāthā-phon) [พระครูสาธาphon พุทธามุน (หลวงปู่สามแยง ยู. สาธาphon)] has carried on in this tradition.

We arrived as the ceremony was in progress, but were in time to help present the robes & offerings. The wát is very large with a number of buildings & the Kathin was being used ^{to raise money} to complete yet another building - a large school which apparently is for orphans.

The ceremony was held in a building which had a statue of the old abbot (covered with gold leaf) in the back of a thiāt containing ~~the statue of~~ a statue of the Buddha in the middle. The abbot sat on a dais in front of the thiāt.

After the ceremony was over, people ~~waited~~ queued up to be blessed by the abbot. He took a pen-like object and scratched around in the head of palms of males (for females, an assistant - non-monk, held the pen which the abbot moved). He also placed gold leaf on the forehead of palms of people.