

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

September 1 through September 30, 1967.

Field notes in this document were primarily written in Amphoe Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son Province (Changwat Mae Hong Son), Thailand. This document is preceded by field notes written in Mae Sariang in August 1967 and is followed by notes written in Mae Sariang in October 1967.

Mae Sariang

September 7, 1967

Meeting with the Coates's

Today we paid a call on the Coates (Don and Pat) who are the resident Baptist missionaries working with the Karens. They strike us as unusual in relation to our usual stereotypes about missionaries. They were extremely informed and not at all overly absorbed with religious matters. She in particular seems like a popular Mid-western co-ed of ten years before.

He is rather cynical about the Thai and obviously feels that Thai officials are unhelpful in his work with the Karens. In particular he believes the district education officer thwarts much of the work the Coates do with the education of the Karen children living in the hostel. This official, in contrast to many in the district, has been here for a long time (over 20 years) and is entrenched in the system. The Coates believe the only way the Karens could get the favors usually accorded the Thai (job offers, opportunities to take exams, etc.) is through bribes. They also believe that since the educational officer is such a good Buddhist, he is not willing to go out of his way to help Christian Karens. For example, one of the schoolmasters required all school children to attend a merit-making ceremony at the time of *khao phansā*. The Coates and the local Thai Christian leader went to see the educational supervisor. The latter said that he could not interfere.

I asked what happens to Karens who finish *mathayom* 6. The answer is they don't know yet as the first graduates are just coming up. They said that hoped the Karen would return to their villages as schoolteachers or join the Public Welfare Department tribal development program. But both types of jobs are handed out by Thai officials. Moreover, the Coates are afraid that once Karen have been educated, they will leave Karen life altogether and enter Thai life. One example

is a young man who dropped out of the school here after about *mathayom* 4 and is now working as a mechanic under a Thai in Chiang Mai.

Mae Sariang

September 9, 1967

Likē Performance

There has been a *likē* performance in the neighborhood ever since we returned from Chiang Mai. Last night was the last performance and we decided to go. We noticed that the audience was made up primarily of married women, old women, and children, with another large group of teenage girls and a lesser number of teenage boys. There were very few adult men. The setting was obviously an opportunity of courting and we noticed a number of couples sitting together, however they didn't arrive together.

The *likē* troupe was from Chiang Mai. They started out their performance with a fantastic parody of vaudeville and chorus girl acts. All of them were amateurish and totally out of place in the presence of such an audience. The actual performance itself, which is about twins who were kidnapped from a queen and raised by fishermen, made use of both simple Thai and kammüang.

Although the performance was nothing spectacular, it nevertheless represents one dimension of lowland Thai civilization. The story itself, the travelling troupe, the language used, all brings the audience into contact with the larger world. If any hill tribes (or lowland living Karen or Lua) came to the performance, they must be fairly well acculturated.

Mark Anderson, Peace Corps Volunteer

At the *likē* performance we met Mark Anderson, the Peace Corps volunteer teaching at the high school here. We discussed several topics about the school. It seems that his roommate, a Central Thai from Ayutthaya, not only was the first Central Thai at this school, but also the first teacher of physical education. There are now several Central Thais teaching at the school, all of whom have come in the last year or so. Students at the school come from all over the tambon, one even the amphoe, and include Karen (mainly from the hostel), but very few Lua.

Mark himself has been here about a year and a half, long enough to be here during the last rainy season, when the road between Kilometer 60 and Mae Sariang was not good enough to be kept opened for the entire rainy season. He knows a number of the shopkeepers and businessmen in town. One of the biggest Chinese merchants is Nāi Thān who owns a general

merchandise shop and the ice factory, among others. An even bigger merchant, although not so well known to Mark, is the owner of the hotel (which bears his name, Sombat) a wolfram processing plant, a shop, and other enterprises.

Mark came to lunch today. After lunch the three of us went downtown. Among the miscellaneous information we observed or learned were the following: the woman-owner-manager of Ômārī (อ้อมอารี) the new concrete general store, her large collection of Burmese jewelry and jewels, most of the "Indian" merchants are Moslems from the Chittagong area of Burma and East Pakistan. They have their own Mosque near the market and have all their shops together. These shops deal in almost the same merchandise, i.e., cloth (including some things from Burma), a few tools, etc. As milk drinkers they apparently have got some arrangement to obtain fresh milk. The slaughterhouse near the river is the residence of relatively outcaste people. Nāi Thān handles all the periodical distribution from Mae Sariang. The shop where I bought the Burmese cheroots is owned by a Burmese (he speaks Northern Thai all right which makes me wonder if he really isn't Shan). This shop attracts a large number of Karens who come to buy things from it. It carries such goods as Karen betel boxes, cloth, pipes, elephant "shackles", etc.

Mae Sariang

September 11, 1967

Trip to Bān Nām Dip (บ้านน้ำดิบ)

This morning I went to the amphoe office to obtain various statistics. After working on these for a couple of hours, Palat Nakhôn invited me to go with him on a visit to a village across the Nām Yuam where he has some business. We went to the shore near the Burmese wat and took the "ferry" across. The ferry was a large dugout canoe (carved from a single teak tree) manned by two men with poles. The river is not very deep even at the height of the rainy season. The boat carried people and bicycle and goods. The fare per person one way was 25 *satang*.

From the landing on the opposite side we walked about 2 or 3 kilometers to the village of Bān Nām Dip which is tambon center for Tambon Māē Yuam (ตำบลแม่ขาม). The path there was very muddy and we had to ford a little stream on the way. We passed several people planting peanuts which I later discovered is one of the biggest crops of the village and the area.

On arriving in the village we first stopped at a house where two Customs officials from

Mae Sariang were enjoying themselves. I never did understand why they were in this particular house or who paid for the beer and nuts and fruit we ate. We spent about 2½ hours in this house drinking beer. Partially the reason we spent so long was that it was raining so hard that Palat didn't want to leave. A daughter of the household, who I would guess was about 17, stayed with the group. There was much repartee and teasing of her by Palat and the young unmarried customs official.

Finally the rains let up and we went across the road to another house where we drank Mekong and had lunch. As the Palat and the young customs official monopolized most of the conversation, I did not get a chance to learn much about the village. However, I did get a few questions in. The village has over 100 (probably near 200) households. It is a Khonmüang village (although there seem to be some Shan overtones). The older customs official, who has been in Chiang Rai, and who is, I believe, Northern Thai himself, told me a little bit about northern marriage customs. The couple lives initially with the parents of the bride however, there is no bride price, they have a form of the *bāisī sūkhwan* ceremony.

I was struck greatly by the physical characteristics of the people in Nām Dip. They are much taller and fair-skinned than other Thai and have quite different physiques. The man in whose house we ate lunch (which included an omelet, a *kāēng čūt*, *nāēm* and *khāo čao*) speaks northern Thai, Central Thai, Shan and Karen. He apparently has worked near the Salwin.

After lunch we wandered on toward the Kamnan's house (which was our destination). A path led us by a beautiful wat which showed Burmese features (the lion statues on the wall), Shan features (the *bōt*), and Thai features (the *kuti*). We passed over a covered bridge and passed the school. This is really one of the most beautiful villages I have seen, the mountains in the background, the streams running through the village.

The essential purpose of our visit was for the Palat to talk with the *Kamnan* about improving (making query) the road to the village. I didn't grasp the whole story, but apparently the Nāi amphoe has not authorized as much money as had been hoped for and now the villagers would have to contribute as well.

The Kamnan was a very friendly man who took us to the school where the *likē* troupe, which I had seen before a few nights ago, setting up for a performance here (in order to raise money for the school). He also took us to look at an old *čēdī* near the school grounds which is interesting in that it attests to a longer history in Mae Sariang than exists in the written records

and in that it does not appear (to my untrained eye) to be Burmese in style. The Kamnan also pointed out another on the hill above the village which is definitely of Burmese style.

On the return back we wandered through the wat where we saw a large group of older men and women who were spending *wan phra* in meditation.

By the time we reached the amphoe office it was nearly 5:00 pm. In other words it had taken the Palat approximately six hours to transact a relatively simple bit of business. He justified his actions by saying that it is only proper to accept the hospitality of the villagers.

The District Officers of Mae Sariang

At the district office I made a copy of the district officers of Mae Sariang since the beginning of the district. In a table I have summarized the information on each of these officers.

No.	Rank of District Officer	Years of Service	Time of Service
1.	Khun (ขุน)	2448 - 2453 (1905 - 1910)	5 years
2.	Rông ammāt thō (ร.อ.ท.)	2453 - 2455 (1910 - 1912)	2 years
3.	Rông ammāt Ēk (ร.อ.อ.)	2455 - 2462 (1912 - 1919)	7 years
4.	Rông ammāt Ēk (ร.อ.อ.)	2462 - 2467 (1919 - 1924)	5 years
5.	Rông ammāt Ēk (ร.อ.อ.)	2467 - 2467 (1924)	Less than a year
6.	Rông ammāt Ēk (ร.อ.อ.)	2467 - 2472 (1924-1929)	5 years
7.	(Rông) ammāt trī (อ.ต.)	2472 - 2475 (1929 - 1932)	3 years
8.	Rông ammāt Ēk (ร.อ.อ.)	2475 - 2482 (1932 - 1939)	7 years
9.	Khun (ขุน)	22/6/2482 - 1/3/2483 22/6/1939 - 1/3/1940	9 mos.
10.	Luang (หลวง)	1/4/2483 - ?/4/2486 1/4/1940 - ?/4/1943	3 yrs. 0 mos.

11.	Nāi (นาย)	?/?/2486 - ?/1/2488 ?/?/1943 - ?/1/1945	Less than 1 yr. 9 mos.
12.	Khun (ขุน)	?/12/2488 - ?/?/2490 ?/12/1943 - ?/?/1947	Less than 2 yrs. 0 mos.
13.	Nāi (นาย)	3/11/2490 - 3/2/2492 3/11/1947 - 3/2/1950	2 yrs. 3 mos.
14.	Nāi (นาย)	3/2/2496 - 7/4/2496 3/2/1950 - 7/4/1953	3 yrs. 2 mos.
15.	Nāi (นาย)	7/4/2496 - 9/8/2497 7/4/1953 - 9/8/1954	1 yr. 4 mos.
16.	Nāi (นาย)	9/9/2497 - 21/1/2501 9/9/1954 - 21/1/1958	3 yrs. 5 mos.
17.	Nāi (นาย)	3/2/2501 - 16/5/2502 3/2/1958 - 16/5/1959	1 yr. 3½ mos.
18.	Nāi (นาย)	5/6/2502 - 30/4/2506 5/6/1959 - 30/4/1963	3 yrs. 11 mos.
19.	Nāi (นาย)	1/10/2506 - 1/12/2506 1/10/1963 - 1/12/1963	0 yrs. 2 mos.
20.	Nāi (นาย)	1/1/2507 - 31/2/2508 1/1/1964 - 31/2/1965	1 yr. 3 mos.
21.	Police 2 nd Lt. (ร.ต.ต)	1/4/2508 - 30/9/2508 1/4/1965 - 30/9/1965	0 yrs. 6 mos.
22.	Nāi (นาย)	30/9/2508 - 6/2/2510 30/9/1965 - 6/2/1967	1 yr. 4 mos.
23.	Captain (ร.อ.)	6/2/2510 - 6/2/1967-	
* <i>Rōng ammāt trī, thō, ēk</i> (รองอำมาตย์ตรี, โท, เอก) were the old bureaucratic ranks.			

Summary

Average duration of service for first 8 district officers = 4.375 yrs

Average duration of service for second 14 district officers = 1 yr. 10.4 mos.

Average duration of service for 22 district officers = 2 years 4 months

Of the first 12 district officers, 0 had military ranks, 4 had 'royal' ranks, 7 had old bureaucratic ranks, and 1 had no rank.

Of the second 13 district officers, 2 had military ranks, none had 'royal' or old bureaucratic ranks and 11 had no ranks.

Of the total (22), nine had military ranks, 4 had civilian ranks, and 12 had no ranks.

Miscellaneous Information on Mae Sariang

N.B.: The following information was obtained from records kept at the amphoe office. The statistics need some explanation as there was a change in the boundaries of the district this year. Early in 1967 one tambon, Tambon Māē Lā Nôi (ตำบลแม่ลาน้อย), including 16 villages was taken from Mae Sariang and joined with another tambon from Amphoe Khun Yuam to make the King Amphoe [sub-district] of Māē Lā Nôi. Most statistics apply unless otherwise noted to the amphoe as it was before Tambon Māē Lā Nôi was removed from the district. The amphoe includes 8 tambon, with 85 mūbān or villages. Total land area of the amphoe is 5,278.601 square kilometers. The total land area planted in paddy was 9,941 rai, with a harvest of 3,987 *kwian*. [This contrasted another figure that the Nāi Amphoe read me, that is, there were 15,430 rai planted as paddy.] The total land area planted in shifting cultivation was 933 rai, with a harvest of 157,500 kilograms.

Population

According to the records at the amphoe office the amphoe has a total population of 39,614 people. This is divided into 19,387 males and 19,227 females. Ethnically the population of the amphoe includes 19,860 Karen and 2,464 Lua. [These are the same figures given to me by the chief abbot of the amphoe.]

Climate and Natural Resources

The amphoe has two rivers – the Māē Nām Mae Sariang (แม่น้ำแม่สะเรียง), and the Māē Nām Yuam (แม่น้ำยม). The average rainfall per year is 1,213.6 millimeters. The main natural resources of the amphoe include teak, *mai takhian* (ไม้ตะเคียน), *mai pradū* (ไม้ประดู่), shorea obtusa or *mai teng* (ไม้เต็ง), shorea siamensis or *mai rang* (ไม้รัง), *mai yom hōm* (ไม้ยมหอม) and wolfram.

Animals

The animal population of Mae Sariang includes 436 elephants, 197 horses, 1,977 cattle, and 3,314 buffalo.

Occupations and Industry

Eighty-four percent of the population is engaged in paddy farming or gardening. The annual agricultural income of the population is something between 1000 and 1500 baht. The amphoe includes 24 small rice mills, 2 saw mills, 1 liquor factory, 1 ice factory, and 1 electricity generating plant.

Community Development

In 1957 a development village was set up at Bān Thung Lāēng (บ้านทุ่งเลี้ยง) village No. 1, Tambon Māē Khōng (ตำบลแม่โขง) as an improvement district and is still being carried out according to the orders of the Ministry of the Interior. The amphoe has one sanitation district with an income of 1592,385.51 and expenditures of 2581,074.49.

Fire Arms

In the amphoe there are 360 rifles (literally, back-end loading guns), 749 muzzle loaders (literally, mouth-loading guns), 185 revolvers, 68 *lūk krot* (ลูกกระด) and 10 air rifles.

Distances

The distance between Mae Sariang and Mae Hong Son is 178 kilometers. The distance between Mae Sariang and Chiang Mai is 191 kilometers.

Schools

There are 32 local or village elementary schools (*rōngrian prachābān* [โรงเรียนประชาบาล]). These schools have a total of 2,723 students. In addition there are 2 government schools (*rōngrian rathabān* [โรงเรียนรัฐบาล]) with a total of 585 students.

Religion

There are a total of 7 wats which have 61 monks and 117 novices. In addition there are 22 clerical residences (*samnaksong* สำนักสงฆ์) with 51 monks and 117 novices.¹

List of Villages and Names of Kamnan and/or Headman in Amphoe Mae Sariang

N.B.: This list was made from one kept in the amphoe office. The Palat Nakhôn, who provided me with this list said, 1. Not all the names are correct and 2. Not all the villages are included. In addition 16 villages of what was formerly Tambon Māē Lā Nôi now part of sub-district Māē Lā Nôi are not here listed.

¹ Many of the *samnagsong* are locally known as wats.

Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Bān Kāt</u> (ตำบลบ้านกาศ)		
Bān Pōng (บ้านโป่ง)	Nāi Lūam Suwanna ^l lop (นายเลื่อม สุวรรณลพ)	Kamnan
Bān Pōng (บ้านโป่ง)	Nāi Kham Khamphilai (นายคำ คำภีไหล)	Asst. Kamnan (สารวัตรกำนัน)
Bān Pōng (บ้านโป่ง)	Nāi Tū Wongphūthôn (นายตือ วงศ์ภูธร)	Asst. Kamnan (สารวัตรกำนัน)
Bān Sophān (บ้านสบหาร)	Nāi Kham Kham ^s utcai (นายคำ คำสุตใจ)	Headman
Bān Phae (บ้านแพะ)	Nāi Som Wuttha ^c aroen (นายสม วุฒเจริญ)	Headman
Bān Māē Hān (บ้านแม่หาร)	Nāi Wong Sī ^w ichai (นายวงศ์ ศรีวิชัย)	Headman
Bān Māē Tōp (บ้านแม่ตอป)	Nāi In Kham ^c ai (นายอิน คำใจ)	Headman
Bān Thā Phā Pum (บ้านท่าผาปุม)	Nāi Ong'in Kā ^w i (นายองอิน กาวี)	Headman
Bān Thā Khām (บ้านท่าข้าม)	Nāi Bunyā Suphārāt (นายบุญญา สุภาราษฎร์)	Tambon Dr. (แพทย์ประจำตำบล)

Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Mae Sariang (ตำบลแม่สะเรียง)</u>		
Bān Côm Cāēng (บ้านจอมแจ้ง)	Nāi Khammūn Khamsāēn (นายคำมูล คำแสน)	Headman
Bān Nai Wiang (บ้านในเวียง)	Nāi Suthat Suksomčit (นายสุทัศน์ สุขสมจิต)	Kamnan
Bān Nai Wiang (บ้านในเวียง)	Nāi Fōng Āyut (นายฟอง อายุท)	Tambon Dr.
Bān Nai Wiang (บ้านในเวียง)	Nāi Yūn Sutinnā (นายยืน สุทินนา)	Asst. Kamnan
Bān Nai Wiang (บ้านในเวียง)	Nāi Suk Kayankit (นายสุข ขยันกิจ)	Asst. Kamnan
Bān Māē Umlōngluang (บ้านแม่อุ้มลองหลวง)	Nāi Tabūkrū Loedu (นายตะบือกรือ เลอดุ)	Headman
Bān Māē Umlōngnōi (บ้านแม่อุ้มลองน้อย)	Nāi Pha Nūchoe (นายพะ นูเชอ)	Headman
Bān Pā Pāē (บ้านป่าเป๋)	Nāi Tākham Muangngām (นายตากำ เมืองงาม)	Headman
Bān Sōng Mō Luang (บ้านซอหม้อหลวง)	Nāi Pan Dāēng Tō (นายปัน แดงโต)	Headman
Bān Huai Dūa (บ้านห้วยเดื่อ)	Nāi Cōtu Khūakhāng (นายจอตู้ เคือคาง)	Headman
Bān Māē Čit (บ้านแม่จิต)	Nāi Wiri Būtū (นายวิริ บือทุ)	Headman
Bān Māē La (บ้านแม่ละ)	Nāi Khammā Phanāsin (นายคำมา พนาสินธุ์)	Headman
Bān Māē Lid Luang (บ้านแม่ลิดหลวง)	Nāi Bāēbū Dīčē (นายแบบือ ดีเจ)	Headman
Bān Huai Hāg Mai (บ้านห้วยฮากไม้)	Nāi Kihāē (นายกิแฮ)	Headman

Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Mae Sariang (ตำบลแม่สะเรียง) - continued</u>		
Bān Hô Nua (บ้านหะเหนือ)	Nāi Koe NGoe (นายก่อ เหง่อ)	Headman
Bān Māē Čāng (บ้านแม่ช้าง)	Nāi Nō Dāēngsai (นายโน แดงใส)	Headman
Bān Ruang Kū (บ้านรู้งกู๋)	Nāi Phiu Pāēndong (นายฟิว แปงดง)	Headman
Bān Dong Luang (บ้านดงหลวง)	Nāi Dilōi Thongchai (นายดีลอย ทองไชย)	Headman
Bān Huai Plākang (บ้านห้วยปลากั้ง)	Nāi Khōčē NGoendī (นายโคเจ เงินดี)	Headman
Bān Huai Pū (บ้านห้วยปู)	Nāi Hū Hāē (นายหู แฮ)	Headman
Bān Māē Hô Tai (บ้านแม่หะไต้)	Nāi Mông Sāē (นายหม่อง แส)	Headman
Bān Huai Plā Pān (บ้านห้วยปลาพาน)	Nāi Pamī Tamūhāē (นายพะมี ตะมูแฮ)	Headman

Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Māē Khong (ตำบลแม่คง)</u>		
Bān Thung Lāēng (บ้านทุ่งเลี้ยง)	Nāi Khampan Puangkham-khong (นายคำปัน ปวงคำคง)	Kamnan
Bān Thung Lāēng (บ้านทุ่งเลี้ยง)	Nāi Fū Khongkaeo (นายฟู คงแก้ว)	Tambon Dr.
Bān Thung Lāēng (บ้านทุ่งเลี้ยง)	Nāi Tip Koetmongkon (นายทิพย์ เกิดมงคล)	Asst. Kamnan
Bān Thung Lāēng (บ้านทุ่งเลี้ยง)	Nāi Pī Khongdāēng (นายปี คงแดง)	Asst. Kamnan
Bān Nokkabā (บ้านนกกะป้า)	Nāi Samūhāē (นายสมิแอ)	Headman
Bān Māē Sa Kep (บ้านแม่สะเก็บ)	Nāi Mōhāē Khuankhan (นายหม่อแฮ เขื่อนขัน)	Headman
Bān Māē Taeng Luang (บ้านแม่แตงหลวง)	Nāi Pasutāē (นายพะสุต)	Headman
Bān Māē Kōn (บ้านแม่ก้อน)	Nāi Cō Mi (นายจ่อมิ)	Headman
Bān Tha Lū (บ้านทะลู่)	Nāi Payō Hū (นายพะยอฮือ)	Headman
Bān Māē NGae (บ้านแม่แงะ)	Nāi Pōsō Bōyā (นายโปซอ โบยา)	Headman
Bān Sao Tin (บ้านเสาหิน)	Nāi Pasū (นายพะซู)	Headman
Bān Khun Māē Loe (บ้านขุนแม่เหลอ)	Nāi Nutaplae (นายนุตะแปละ)	Headman
Bān Māē Sōng (บ้านแม่สอง)	Nāi Pawikō (นายพะวิโค)	Headman
Bān Kong Sum (บ้านกองสุม)	Nāi Sāngē (นายสาเง)	Headman
Bān Ūlū (บ้านอุลู่)	Nāi Pawakēloeli (นายพะวากะเหล่อลิ)	Headman

Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Māē Yuam (ตำบลแม่ยาม)</u>		
Bān Nām Dip (บ้านน้ำดิบ)	Nāi Kōngkham Chaiyachana (นายกองค์ำ ไชยชนะ)	Kamnan
Bān Khapuang (บ้านกะปวง)	Nāi Thip Bunlū (นายทิพ บุญลือ)	Headman
Bān Thung Phāēm (บ้านทุ่งแพม)	Nāi Cān Nō Kāēo (นายจันทร์ น่อแก้ว)	Headman
Bān Huai Sing (บ้านห้วยสิงห์)	Nāi Tā Intāwong (นายตา อินตาวงศ์)	Headman
Bān Lē Kho (บ้านเลโค๊ะ)	Nāi Chuai bōi Kōphō (นายฉวยบอย โก๋พอ)	Headman
Bān Māē Tatuan (บ้านแม่ตะตวน)	Nāi Āi Suksawat (นายอ้าย สุขสวัสดิ์)	Headman
Bān Huai Hāēng (บ้านห้วยแห้ง)	Nāi Kham Thinō (นายคำ ชีโน)	Headman
Bān Sommoēi (บ้านสมเมย)	Nāi Pha Nāēmui (นายพะแนมุย)	Headman
Bān Bunloe (บ้านบุญเลอ)	Nāi Plā Čē (นายปล่าเจ)	Headman
Bān Kō Thīlō (บ้านเกาะชีโล)	Nāi Āi Mūn Tan (นายอ้ายหมื่นตัน)	Headman
Bān Khloe Bō (บ้านเกลอะบอ)	Nāi Pha Kō Čō (นายพะโกโจ)	Headman
Bān Nām ôk hū (บ้านน้ำออกฮู)	Nāi Pe Pae (นายเปะเปะ)	Headman
Bān Māē Tōla (บ้านแม่ตอละ)	Nāi Khulōi Tīrū (นายค้อลอย ตีรู)	Headman
Bān Māē Lamā Luang (บ้านแม่ละมาหลวง)	Nāi Wong Bunman (นายวงศ์ บุญมัน)	Headman
Bān Wang Hua Khwāi (บ้านวังหัวควาย)	Nāi Yuak Mahāsing (นายหยวก มหาสิงห์)	Tambon Dr.
Bān Wang Hua Khwāi (บ้านวังหัวควาย)	Nāi Khampan Thananchai (นายคำป็น ทะนันชัย)	Asst. Kamnan
Bān Wang Hua Khwāi (บ้านวังหัวควาย)	Nāi Lā Mahāchai (นายหล้า มหาชัย)	Asst. Kamnan

Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Māē Khatuan</u> (ตำบลแม่คะตวน)		
Bān Nām Dip (บ้านผาผ่า)	Nāi Peng Kāēokhammā (นายเป็ง แก้วคำมา)	Kamnan
Bān Nām Dip (บ้านผาผ่า)	Nāi Pā WongSī (นายป่า วงศ์ศรี)	Tambon Dr.
Bān Nām Dip (บ้านผาผ่า)	Nāi Khampan Phutthā (นายคำปัน พุทธา)	Asst. Kamnan
Bān Nām Dip (บ้านผาผ่า)	Nāi Rôt Čandāēng (นายรอด จันทร์แดง)	Asst. Kamnan
Bān Mai (บ้านใหม่)	Nāi Wai Phenčit (นายไหว เพ็ญจิตต์)	Headman
Bān Māē Kô (บ้านแม่เกาะ)	Nāi Mī Čanāi (นายมี จันทร์อ้าย)	Headman
Bān Māē ôk (บ้านแม่ออก)	Nāi Mahoe NGoenwī (นายมะเหอะ เงินหิว)	Headman
Bān Huai Muang (บ้านห้วยม่วง)	Nāi Nae Čāē Tapô (นายเนาะแจ ตะพอ)	Headman
Bān Māē Lui (บ้านแม่หลุย)	Nāi Môngthunla Lôithū (นายหม่องทูลละ ลอยทุ)	Headman
Bān Huai Ma Nām (บ้านห้วยมะน้ำ)	Nāi Thae Choer (นายทะเซอว์)	Headman

Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Kông Kôi</u> (ตำบลกองก่อย)		
Băn Kông Kôi (บ้านกองก่อย)	Năi Că Pinyăt (นายจา ปินญาติ)	Kamnan
Băn Kông Kôi (บ้านกองก่อย)	Năi Pan uwan (นายปิ่น อุวรรณ)	Tambon Dr.
Băn Kông Kôi (บ้านกองก่อย)	Năi Thawī Sônkham (นายทวี ซอนคำ)	Asst. Kamnan
Băn Kông Kôi (บ้านกองก่อย)	Năi Kham Hômnăm (นายคำ หอมนาม)	Asst. Kamnan
Băn Phayoe Nũa (บ้านพะเยอเหนือ)	Năi Păng (นายปาง)	Headman
Băn Ton Ngiu (บ้านตันจิว)	Năi Sae Ngăē (นายแซะแง)	Headman
Băn Huai Mũ (บ้านห้วยหมู)	Năi Manglăē Dôkngoen (นายหมั่งเหล่ คอกเงิน)	Headman
Băn Măē Phăē Nôi (บ้านแม่แพน้อย)	Năi Khôsô Sathitkhong (นายคอซอ สติตย์คง)	Headman
Băn Măē Lăi (บ้านแม่ลาย)	Năi Cồlă Bithũ (นายจอลา บิฑู)	Headman
Băn Măē Phăē Luang (บ้านแม่แพหลวง)	Năi Phe (นายพะ)	Headman
Băn Pha yoe tai (บ้านพะเยอใต้)	Năi Mô'ũ Withũ (นายหม่ออื้อ วิฑู)	Headman
Băn Pă Pong (บ้านป่าปง)	Năi Pô'nī Kôthũ (นายเปะนี โกที)	Headman
Băn Kông Păē (บ้านก้องแป)	Năi Pae Tăng Luangkăēo (นายเป๊ะต้าง หลวงแก้ว)	Headman
Băn Huai Wôk (บ้านห้วยวอก)	Năi Nũcē Dīkhũ (นายหนูเจ ดิคือ)	Headman

Mae Sariang**September 12, 1967****Tribal Goods in the Market**

Today Jane and I visited town and stopped at the Ômārī store, that is the big new store. The store carries a number of pieces of Karen cloth and Burmese cloth. I asked the manageress (the middle-aged woman, not the old woman) whether Karens bring their goods to sell to her or she goes out to buy Karen cloth from Karens. She answered that Karen bring things to her to sell. I noted that she had no Lua things. She said, “the Lua live too far away,” a rather strange response considering the Lua live in town. One does see a few Lua bags. We bought one at the Burmese shop and saw others at a shop at the entrance to the market, but they are much rougher than Karen work.

Thai Status of Tribal People

Khrū Sant, the brother of the Karen pastor of the Baptist church in Mae Sariang is a manager of the Siam Commercial Bank in Chiang Mai. He has the highest status defined in Thai terms, Karen or other tribal I have heard about.

Mae Sariang**September 14, 1967****Pat Coates**

Pat Coates, the wife of the Baptist missionary to the Karen, stopped by for tea this afternoon. We discussed, among other things, the commercial cloth weaving of the Karen. She noted that Lua’ do not seem to weave for commercial purposes. In their own sphere of influence the Coates have encouraged several Karen (Christian) women. One, Mali, from whom we have bought things, started weaving table mats at the suggestion of the Coates when they first came here. She has sent a number of things to Bangkok to be sold commercially, but no success has come as yet. Another woman, whose daughter has brought us things which we have bought, is the wife of a Karen pastor.

Nāi Thān and George Po

The visit of newspaper delivery boy from Nāi Thān’s shop reminded me that Nāi Thān has the periodicals concession for almost all newspapers, magazines, etc., sold in the amphoe. Also seeing George Po at the Post Office yester day reminded me that Mark had said that Nāi

Thān sends his children to George for additional study of English.

Mae Sariang

September 18, 1967

Merit-Making at Wat Kittiwong

This morning Jane, Nicholas, Sanga and myself went to Wat Kittiwong to make merit (it being *wan phra*). To feed the monks we took three containers: a silver *phān* (พาน) [i.e. a tray with a pedestal] containing the traditional *khruang būchā* (เครื่องบูชา), that is flowers, candles, and incense; a Burmese-made silver khan or bowl filled with raw rice (*khāo sān* ข้าวสาร), a tin of sardines, a sack of sugar, a vegetable marrow, and a package of candles; and a basket containing two tins from a pinto, one filled with a *phat* and the other with cooked white rice, spoons for dishing out the food, and a bottle of water for the *truatnām* part of the ceremony.

We arrived at the wat between 7:30 and 8:00 and returned before 10:00. This wat was selected by Sanga because it is the only one in town where sermons are given in Thai. The services were held in the *kuthi*, not in the *bōt*. The majority of the congregation was old people (with a few grandchildren) and then mainly women. To present food one did not go up to the front where the monks were seated, but to the side where two tables were arranged, one with the *bāt* of the priests and the novices and the other the place where one put the *kap khāo* and other gifts. As one entered one made the proper three times bow and then took the *khruang būchā* and presented them in front of the altar and priests and then stuck them in a receptacle in front of the altar. This receptacle was situated in the midst of the congregation however. The service was the usual “morning worship” followed by *saibāt*. In this case the donors went up to the table with the *bāt* and placed some rice in each. Following this came a sermon by an older priest, not the chief abbot of the amphoe. After his sermon, which we couldn't follow even though it was in Central Thai, he used too many big words, the chief abbot of the amphoe made a series of announcements and led a discussion about two forthcoming events: one known as *salāk*, literally, lottery and the other *thôt kathin* (which will be sponsored by some relatives of Sanga from Bangkok). After the announcements came the *truat nām* and the service was over. The chief monk of the amphoe was very friendly and insisted that I sit towards the front. He passed a few words during the service. Afterwards we had a short talk about studying Buddhism and northern

writing. He gave me a book concerning Nirvana written by a Westerner in the World Fellowship of Buddhists series.

Wat Sāēn Thông²

After taking the women home Čit and I went to Wat Sāēn Thông. This wat is the oldest one in Mae Sariang, but the abbot, a rather young man, did not know much about it. All he could say was that it originally embraced a larger area (including land now on the opposite side of the road) and was originally outside the city walls. The *bōt*, he claims is the original, although wood or earthen roof has been replaced by corrugated iron in the last few years. It has a very old image in the Chiangsāēn style.

The wat, like the neighborhood in which it is located, is exclusively Khonmüang. There have never, to the knowledge of the abbot, been Lua or Karen novices or monks in this wat. At the present time there are but one novice and two monks.

At noon the monks from this wat were going to Wat Čôm Thông where there was to be a *salāk* ceremony today. That wat has one Lua novice at the present time and a good part of the congregation is Lua (although Khonmüang and Karen also attend this wat).

After talking with the monk we went to what I think is the *bōt* for the morning services. Here all of the congregation was elderly people, no more than 20, with a preponderance of women. The service (without the feeding of the monks) was much the same as the one previous, although chanting style was slightly different and the sermons considerably so since they were in kammüang] rather than in Thai. [I have recorded the service almost in its entirety.] There were two sermons, one by a priest who was only to give a sermon and then promptly retire, and the other by the abbot of the wat.

Some differences from the first service, as I noticed, included the fact that women all wore white blouses with *sabāi* (mainly white) over their shoulder. All people lighted candles in

² Charles F. Keyes's recording of the *wan phra* ceremony held at Wat Sāēn Thông on September 18, 1967 is located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, numbers 2001-2.2 EC, sides A and B. The original tapes are titled "Tape Number 2, Side 1" and "Tape Number 2, Side 2." The recording has also been digitized. Indices of the tape in Thai and English are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

front of them. Some of these were collected and placed on the altar. All of the offering trays were of the red lacquer variety.

Interview with Nāi Nū Mālai (นายหนูมาลัย), an Old Policeman

This afternoon Mō Thawan took me to talk with Nāi Nū Mālai, a man of 86 who has been a policeman in Mae Sariang. He lives in a house on a little side road just before we reach the landing where one takes boats across the river.

Mr. Nū was born in Ubon but has lived here for 57 years, i.e., since 1910. I asked him mainly of his remembrances of the government of Mae Sariang.

He said that prior to its incorporation into the Bangkok administrative system Mae Sariang was a *müang* under Chiang Mai and had a ruler known as *phô luang* (พ่อหลวง) equivalent to the *čao müang* of the northeast. This *phô luang* was a Khonmüang and not a Shan. The name of the last *phô luang* was Phayā (Phyā) Sālī Sôn müang (พญาสาหลีสอนเมือง). There are apparently descendants of this person still living here. In R.S. 119 (A.D. 1900) Mae Sariang was divided from Chiang Mai. The rulers were referred to as Nāi Khwāēng (นายแขวง) which was equivalent to Nāi Amphoe and Khāluang bôriwēn (ข้าหลวงบริเวณ) who was equivalent to governor. The ruler of Mae Hong Son at the time was a Shan prince known as *čaofā* Mae Hong Son (เจ้าฟ้าเมืองฮกซอน). In R.S. 121 (A.D. 1902) Mae Hong Son was made into West Chiang Mai Province with a Dane, Thoransen, as the *Khāluang bôriwēn*. This Thoransen was in the police force and later moved to Chiang Rai.³

In B.E. 2453 (A.D. 1910) Mae Hong Son stopped being a *bôriwēn* and became a province.

The name of Mae Sariang was changed from *Müang Yuam* about this time. Because of the confusion between it and *Khun Yuam* the name Mae Sariang comes from the smaller river, that is smaller than the *Yuam River*, which also flows through here.

³ He must have been my Cornell Thai teacher, Dana Thorangkul's father or grandfather.

I asked what the attitude of the government (in particular district officers) in the earlier days toward tribal people was. He said that the district officer wanted the Karens to become Thai. He helped to implement this policy by moving (or encouraging the moving of) Karen down to live in the Plain rather than have them remain swidden agriculturalists. Also, schools were opened to bring Karens into the Thai way.

He has known Karens who have become policemen, teachers, clerks, etc. and have fully assimilated to Thai ways.

He says that there were more Burmese living here when he first arrived than there are now.

He says there used to be a *lakmüang* but there is not now. However, Mô Thawan says that there still is a müang shrine known as the *hō čaomüang* (หอเจ้าเมือง). This is not a very important place and it is run down. There is no one to look after it. However, before ordination, the person to be ordained is supposed to go wai at the shrine.

Visit to Town Shrine

After leaving Nāi Nū Mô Thawan took me to see the *hō čaomüang*. It is in a small alleyway, fairly close to the Phanasit company and off Mae Sariang road. Indeed, it is run down and the grounds are ill kept. He said that the district officer plans to build a better shrine.

The Phanasit Company

Afterwards I spent an hour or so sitting on the front porch of the Phanasit Company talking with Čit and several others. The Phanasit Company employs about 300 Karens who work primarily as tree cutters and caretakers for the elephants. The Company has 30 to 40 elephants. Karen also work in the mines in the area. Apparently no Lua are employed in these things.

While we were sitting there a group of Karen came up to get rice from the Company. I asked if the Company paid its workers in rice rather than money. The answer was no, but since rice was so expensive in Mae Sariang, the Company buys rice from Chiang Mai and provides it for its employees. In buying it in Chiang Mai it is stored in empty trucks which take lumber to Chiang Mai and have nothing otherwise to bring back.

Interview with Benny

This evening Benny, the Karen man in charge of the Christian hostel, came over. His ostensible reason was to discover what Pete's plans are. It seems that Pete has suggested that Benny might work as his assistant for a while. Although Benny would like this, he is at present committed to a program of translating the Bible into S'kaw Karen (he has already translated the *Book of Mark*) and fears he may run into a conflict of interest. He is not all that keen on the translation job. We talked at length about a variety of subjects.

The Christian Hostel

He says that the hostel charges the students 10 *thang* of rice per year for their rent. Some can't afford this and provide only 4 *thang* and others none at all (for this latter type special arrangements have to be made). Some students bring such other foodstuffs as peppers and garlic to the hostel.

At least 6 different Karen villages from throughout the district are represented at the hostel.

Thus far there have been three students from the hostel who have graduated from M.S. 3 (*mathayom* 6): one girl and two boys. One boy finished M.S. 5 (M. 8) at Prince Royal College in Chiang Mai and is now studying at Chiang Mai Teachers' Training College. The girl, graduated from M.S. 3, first went to Dara Academy and then couldn't pass the entrance examinations to study for M. 7-8 at Prince Royal. Then she went to another school in Chiang Mai and lived at the Baptist hostel there while attending school. She didn't like school and returned to Mae Sariang. She doesn't know what she wants to do. The last boy who graduated from M.S. 3 did not continue his education. He would have liked to become a teacher in one of the tribal schools (under the auspices of the Border Police) but didn't pass the examinations. He worked for a while at the hospital and is now working for his brother in a lumber firm at Takāēo (ตักแก๋ว) on the other side of the airstrip. Benny went on to say that Karens are given Thai names when they go to school. This causes problems because they originally were registered (census, registration card, etc.) with Karen names. There are always difficulties when they change schools. There are lots of Karen in Chiang Mai who are not easily identifiable as Karens. The children at the hostel like to rush back home if they have a few days holiday. The aim of most of the students is simply to earn a salary. Consequently, it is very disappointing I suppose on the part of Benny and the

people in the mission when a student fails examinations. One boy who was studying M. 2 left school and is now working at a Honda workshop in Chiang Mai. Another boy who left while studying M. 5 is now working at the Baptist Agricultural Experimental Farm in Chiang Mai. Generally speaking, Karen have lots of problems in finding jobs.

Karen Shopkeepers and Wealthy People

[As a general answer to the question if there were any Karen shopkeepers in Mae Sariang Benny answered the following:] Karen shopkeepers who exist in Mae Sariang have usually married into Thai families. The biggest landholder (according to Benny) in Mae Sariang is a Karen who married a Thai wife. The daughter of this man married Wichian who owns the big modern shop, the one that we know as Ômārī. Benny thinks that Wichian himself is Lua or maybe his father was half Chinese, but his mother was Lua. The shop employs only Lua Benny says. Benny thinks that Wichian's father was involved in selling "country liquor." He said a story was told of Wichian, although he doesn't know if it is true. There used to be a famous *khrū bā* (ကျွဲပာ), in other words, a Buddhist monk living in the temple across from the hotel; that is Wat Sībunrūang. This monk accumulated a large amount of wealth, how Benny doesn't know. Wichian's father repeatedly borrowed 400,000 baht [probably an inflated figure] from this monk. Shortly thereafter the monk died and the papers regarding the loan were very unclear. Consequently, the loan was never repaid and, it is said, that the capital for building the store, that is the big new store, was obtained in this way. Interestingly, Lā, our second servant, had originally told Jane that Wichian and his wife were "Chinese" and was decrying the deceitful ways of the Chinese. In any event, the store or rather its owners has a reputation for being cheaters. Lā says that they charge exorbitant interest on the credit they extend to people. It is also apparent to us the shop deals in Karen and Burmese cloth, but Lā says they also deal in opium. Benny thinks that the Karen man who owns all the land got his start with elephants. The Karen man who is running the lumber business (mentioned about his brother earlier) was originally an elephant owner. He now also owns a truck. I remarked that elephants obviously represent some source of capital for Karens. Benny doesn't think that there are any wild elephants in this area. The Karens breed elephants. Jane asked about Karen cloth in the market. Benny said that there are number of weavers who cater to Thai taste and color, i.e. they change the basic S'kaw colors which are white, black, red with an occasional touch of green in order to please the Thai taste.

Jane asked if the Karen are sharp business men like the Chinese. Benny says no, that the hill Karen are very tight fisted.

Karen Nationalism

Benny talked at length about his experiences in Burma. He said that today there are very few Karen who wish to secede from Burma but they feel a common cause with all other Burmese of any group who wish to change the military government. He feels that the military in Burma is exploitative and arbitrary.

To write his wife's sister in Rangoon he must use a roundabout method by writing to some missionary in the U.S. who somehow forwards the letter. In turn she will send out messages via some missionary who passes through Burma.

Wat Pāhiao – Benny mentioned that a monk who used to be at Wat Pāhiao was a P'wo Karen. His brother is the present Karen incumbent there. Benny said that the former monk was very popular and it was such a shock to his admirers that he left to get married. He married a Taungthu girl. This ex-monk could be Burmese but not Karen. The same is true of his brother, the present monk in the wat. The reason for this is because they have been trained in a Burmese wat.

Mae Sariang

September 19, 1967

Assistant Headmaster of the Mae Sariang School

This morning I called on the assistant headmaster of the Mae Sariang Middle School (M.S. 1-M.S.3) to try to arrange about giving a questionnaire in the school. He was receptive to the idea, although my explanations about why I wished to give the questionnaire elicited the response that all the Karens in the school are now Thai. He will also help me look for an assistant. He said there are 305 students in the school.

George Po

Jane and I had a long visit with George Po over coffee in the restaurant next to the hotel this morning. We heard mainly about his trials and tribulations in Burma. He has 8 children; the first a boy, is now living in Rangoon working as a writer and cartoonist; the second, a girl age 25, is now studying at the agricultural school in Chiang Mai (one of 15 girls). She has had a hard

time because she began her education three different times—in Burmese, in English, and in Thai, but she was persistent. She likes farming and tractor driving. The third, a girl, is living in Kelao in the Shan states with George's wife's mother (now 86) and takes care of her. The fourth, fifth and sixth children were born in Burma and are all living in Mae Sariang. The seventh and eighth children were born in Thailand and are living in Mae Sariang. His wife's father, although a Baptist (he sent his daughter to Catholic schools) was the head of a Wesleyan school. His wife's mother was a nurse who worked for long periods of time in England. His cousin was the first president of Burma and was one of those who went with the 30 Thakins (Burmese who had been working for the Japanese and later head of the new Burmese government) to India to help the allies. They parachuted back into Burma. Another distant relative of the head of the Karen independence movement, George is obviously very interested in religion in general, mainly in the occult (despite or maybe because of his protestations about being a free thinker). He commented that Thai Buddhism is not like Burmese Buddhism in that there is no emphasis on meditation (Vipassana). He said that the monks at the Tribal Development Center did practice meditation. They apparently attracted a group of lay followers, both men and women including the son of the woman who runs the *khāo sōi* shop on Mae Sariang road. This chap apparently made some sort of breakthrough in his meditation.

Analytical Observation

Karens in this area have at least two possible elite models which they can employ. The one Thai, and the second Karen (nationalist ?, Christian ?,) represented in part by people like Benny and George Po. In the latter the literary tradition is primarily Christian with some sprinkling of nationalism. However, in many ways George and Benny are marginal people, although it is somewhat doubtful the model which they offer (if conscious at all) is very potent. The model is supported in part by the missionaries.

Mae Sariang

September 20, 1967

Wats in Mae Sariang

Every wat in Mae Sariang has two names, one the 'official' (government, or Thai, or formal) name and one the name which the people know the wat by. This latter name is often the name of the village or neighborhood in which the wat is located. This information comes from

Čit. He says that this practice is also widespread throughout the country and even found in Bangkok.

Not every wat is a true wat. Only those which have *bōt* marked with *sēmā* (เสมา) within which ordinations can take place. The other places which appear to be wat (and are so-called in common parlance) are formally known as *samnaksong* (สำนักสงฆ์) and the buildings in them that look like *bōt* are really *wihān*. The following is a list of wat and *samnaksong* (revised and repeating information which has previously appeared). The first name given is the official name and the second, the local name. An asterisk indicates that the place is a wat. No markers are given for *samnaksong*. The following is the list:

1. Wat Sithimongkhon (วัดสีทิมงคล) – Wat Khapuang (กะปวง)

The latter name is the name of the village in which the wat is located.

2. * Wat Sībunrüang (วัดศรีบุญเรือง) – There is no other name that Čit can think of.
3. * Wat 'Uthayārom (วัดอุทัยารม) – Wat Čông Sūng (วัดจองสูง)
4. * Wat Čantharāwāt (วัดจันทราวาท) – Wat Mantālē (วัดมันตาเล)
5. * Wat Kittiwong (วัดกิตติวงศ์) – Wat Sophān (วัดสหหาร) or Wat Sophannaiwiang (วัดสหหารในเวียง)

The wat in Bān Māē Hān is known either as Wat Māē Hān (วัดแม่หาร) or Wat

Sophannok(wian) (วัดสหหารนอก(เวียง)) . This is the wat in the Karen village.

6. Wat Sāēng thông (วัดแสงทอง) – Wat Lum (วัดลุ่ม)
7. Wat SuphanrangSī (วัดสุพรรณรังษี) – Wat Čôngkham (วัดจองคำ)
8. Wat Chaiyalāp (วัดไชยลาภ) – Wat Pānāt (วัดป่าหนาด)
9. Wat Čômthông (วัดจอมทอง) – Čit could think of no other name.

10. Wat Ommarāwāt (วัดอมราวาส) – Wat Pā Hiao (วัดป่าเหี่ยว)

11. Wat Chom Chāēng (วัดชมเชย) – Čit could think of no other name but in local writing this is called Wat Čôm Cāēng (วัดจอมแจ้ง) and this is the name I will use for it.

In addition to the four wats where ordinations can take place (listed above and noted by asterisk) there is one more such wat outside the town – Wat Phā Phā (วัดผาผา). In addition Wat Chaiyalāp is in the process of building a new *bōt* (see below).

Other Notes on Religion

Čit also talked about other aspects of Buddhist practices. In the ordination ceremony a person who offers himself for ordination is *nāk* (นาค). He is first ordained as a novice and then as a monk (all in the same ceremony).

Priests are supposed to spend Wan Phra' Yai (the 15th day of the waxing moon each month and the 14th or the 15th day of the waning of the moon in each month) in a *bot*. If they live in a *samnaksong*, they will travel to the wat residence of the tambon or district abbot on these days.

There is no formal prohibition against women entering a *bōt*. Whether or not they do, depends on the local custom they follow. Consequently, some women will and some women will not. The presence of the woman at the services at Wat Sāēn Thōng is explained by the fact that there was no proper *bōt* at that wat, just a *wihān*.

Town Gates

I asked Čit about the gates of the old city. He doesn't know all of them but this is what he knew. The gate on the Yuam river i.e., to the east, is known as *pratū thā* (ประตูท่า). The gate to the south is known as *pratū hāng wiang* (ประตูทางเวียง) and the gate to the north is known as *pratū chai* (ประตูชัย). The gate to the west he didn't know.

Visit to Wat Chaiyalāp (Wat Pānāt)

This afternoon Čit took Jane and me to Wat Chaiyalāp (known locally as Wat Pānāt). This wat is located on the road to the airport across the road from the border patrol police station. It is quite different from other wats. There are two walled areas. The larger one contains the *bōt* (in process of construction), a *kuthi* and a *sālā kuthi*. The smaller area includes a "Dharmic" School which is also a *kuthi*. In the collection of reliquaries of quite different shapes (and more plentiful) than are found in other wats.

We first went to the *sālā kuthi* in the larger compound and there met an old priest. He was born in Nakhōn Pathom and has lived most of his clerical life in Māē Sôt and has just come to this wat this lent.

Since this monk didn't know much we then went to the school where we found the abbot. Again, he was a relatively young man. We stayed about an hour and a half talking with him. Some of the information which he told us is as follows.

There are currently 5 priests and 9 novices in the wat.

This wat has a school for Dhammic studies called *rōngrian phra poriyattham* (โรงเรียนพระปริยัติธรรม). The school was founded in B.E. 2503 (1950). It is not operating this year because the wat is too involved in the construction of the new *bōt*. This year the students go to Wat Sībunruang. When the school is operating it is mainly for monks and novices although laymen can attend.

At the moment the wat has one Karen novice who was ordained here, but is currently away studying Pali in Mae Hong Son.

This wat was founded 70 years ago. Its original name is Wat Pānāt.⁴

The abbot says that the Thai believe that this *nāt* tree is good protection against the phī (ผี).

The wat attracts people from villages as far away as 16 kilometers to become monks and novices. This includes Karen villages. This led the monk to talk about Mēṭiyā which I had heard

⁴ According to Met's Thai-English dictionary, *nāt luang* (หนาดหลวง) in northern Thai and *nāt* (หนาด) in central Thai, is a shrub or shrubby tree technically known as *Blumea Balsamitera* and colloquially as Ngai Camphor Plant.

about before as being a Christian village. The abbot said of the 60 households in this village 10 are Buddhist, 4 Catholic, and the rest are Protestant (Baptist). If the Buddhists want to follow their religion they either have to invite monks (there is no wat in the village) or go to a neighboring Khonmüang village.

Most Karen Buddhists in the district, the abbot answered in response to my question, use Kammüang form of sermons and chants although a few still use Burmese or Shan forms, but the latter seem to be disappearing.

We had a long discussion about ceremonies held in local wats. People in Mae Sariang called "the leaving of lent" (Wan Ôk Phansā – วันออกพรรษา) as the most important festival and has distinctive customs associated with it. It lasts for three days and in the Northeast includes a *kōm fai*.

One ceremony which is restricted in practice is the "washing of the Buddha's relics", *phithī songnām phra boromma thāt* (พิธีสงฆ์น้ำพระบรมธาตุ) which is held only at Wat Kittiwonog and Wat Thā Kham (วัดท่าข้าม). Wat Thā kham is outside the city.

Each year some wats, but not all, will have the *Thēt Mahā Chāt* (เทศน์มหาชาติ) which is similar to the *Bun phra' wēt* of the Northeast.

The *Bun Bông Fai* (บุญบั้งไฟ) is held in this area as in the northeast.⁵ The *Bun Bông Fai* is held in the 8th lunar month, northern reckoning (6th lunar month, Central Thai reckoning), that is May.

This date leads to a comment that northern lunar months are 2 months ahead of the Central Thai calendar.

I then asked the abbot to give the ceremonies held at each lunar month. He didn't get very far but he gave me the following attenuated list. In the first month there is *thētsakān ôk phansā* (เทศกาลออกพรรษา) that is "end of Buddhist lent." And also is the ceremony called *salāk kaphat* (สลากภัต) in Central Thai. There was considerable discussion between the abbot and Čit about

⁵ According to *Phra thamrāt chānawat*'s dictionary this is called in the local language *bōk fai* (บอกไฟ).

whether this ceremony can precede the end of lent ceremony or follow it. Obviously, as it is now happening, it can precede and can also thus be in the 12th lunar month. Following in the first lunar month there is also the ceremony known as *thēt mahāchāt* (เทศน์มหาชาติ). During the first and second lunar months the ceremony of *thôt kathin* (ทอดกฐิน) may take place. In the second lunar month there is a ceremony known as *thawāi khāo ma thupa yāt* (ถวายข้าวมยุปายาส) in Central Thai and *tān khaopkra 'cāo luang* (ทานข้าวพระเจ้าหลวง) in northern Thai and *thawāi khāo sômtô* (ถวายข้าวส้อมต้อ) in Shan. Also in the second lunar month there is a ceremony known as *lôi krathong* (ลอยกระทง) which happens or occurs on the 16th of November.

The conversation then turned to the "Dhammic" Ambassador (*thammathūt* / ธรรมทูต) or Buddhist missionary program. The abbots said that it was not restricted only to monks from Bangkok and that in the dry season 4 monks from Mae Sariang (2 from Wat Kittiwong, 1 each from Wat Sithimongkhon and Wat Sībunūrang) participate in the program. The groups of people who go out from the tribal development centers to Karen village include besides a health officer, an agricultural officer, a "meditating" monk (one skilled in Vipassana) and a "preaching" monk. Although two to three of these monks are from Bangkok, the others are from Chiang Mai and Kammūang is the medium of communication. The abbot also referred to what he called *Thammacārik* (ธรรมจาริก), literally wandering Dharma, which is apparently applied to monks who wander around the countryside in March, April or May. He says this program has had some success (in propagandizing?).⁶

The conversation next turned to the reliquaries in the courtyard. These were, as I had surmised, primarily for laymen. In the north reliquaries for the ashes of laymen and ordinary monks are called *kôkū* (ก่อกู๋) or simply *kū* (กู๋), while those for the Buddha and his disciples or important monks are called *thāt* (ธาตุ).

⁶ I was confused here. The *Thammacārik* program is actually the local name for the *Thammathūt* program.

The abbot said that there is an Indian monk now at Wat Kittiwong (a brother of a cloth merchant in town) and there have also been Chinese monks in that temple.

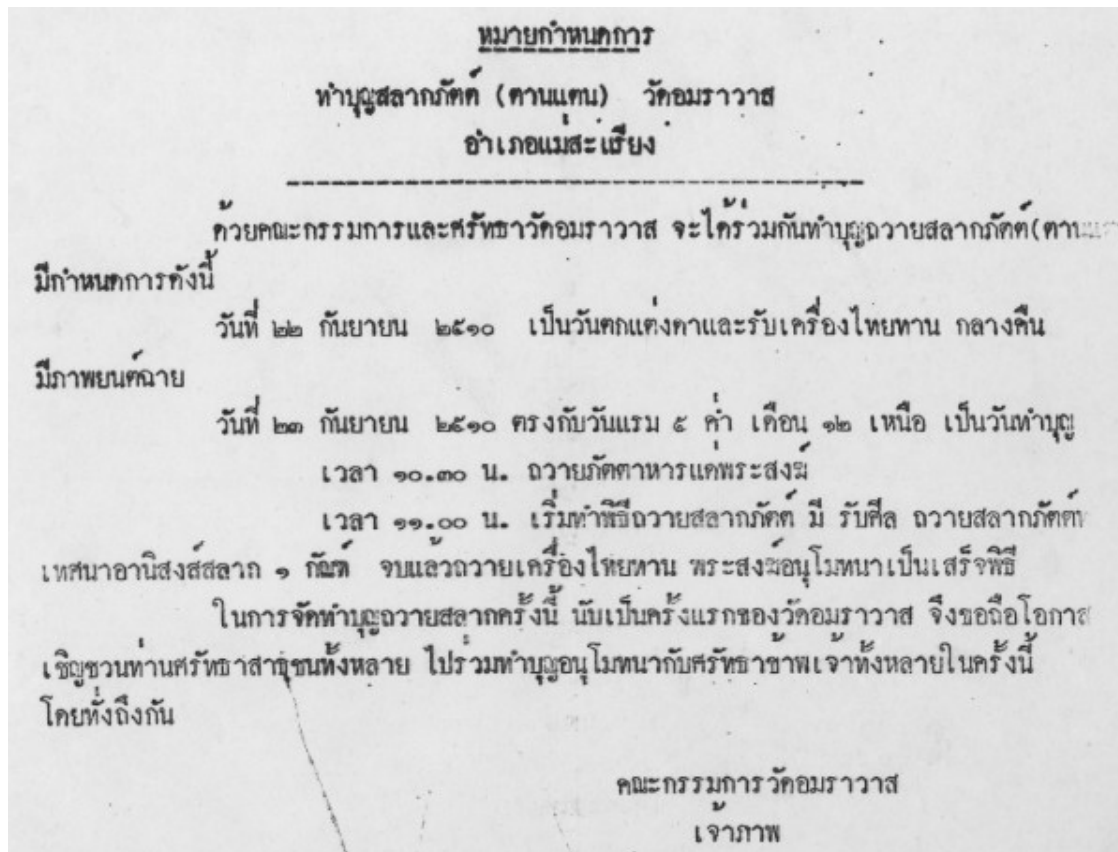
Last year 3 to 4 Karens were recruited to the tribal Development Center and were sent to Bangkok to be ordained as monks. One of them was a village headman. They will return at the end of Lent.

The man in charge of building the *bōt* comes from Lamphun. Already 70,000 baht has been spent on the *bōt* and it is not yet finished. Money comes primarily from the people, but also in part from the government. It has already been more than two years in the building and will be at least 3 years before it is finished.

In February there will be a special ceremony at the wat known in Kammüang as *thān thō* (ทานโถ) to help raise money for the wat.

Invitation to Attend *Salākkaphat* Ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt

Today a man representing the wat committee of Wat Ommarāwāt (Wat Pā Hiao) brought us an invitation to attend festivities connected with a *salākkaphat* ceremony. The invitation and its translation follow:



(Translation)

Schedule of events

*Thambun salākkaphat (tān tāēn)** (ทำบุญสลากภัตต์ [ตานแด่น])

Wat Ommarāwāt Amphoe Mae Sariang

Together with the wat committee and the congregation of Wat Ommarāwāt has arranged the merit making of presenting *salākkaphat (tān tāēn)* according to the following schedule.

- 22 September 1969 is a day to decorate, prepare, and receive the things which Thai offer. In the evening there will be a movie show.
- 23 September 1969 (5th day of waning of the moon, 12th lunar month northern reckoning) is the day of merit-making.
 - 10:30 presentation of food to monks
 - 11:00 begin ceremony of presenting *salākkaphat* including receiving of the precepts, one section of the *anisonsalsāk* (อนิสสงสสลาก) sermon. When finished there will be a presentation of a *khruang thaiya thān* (เครื่องไทยทาน) then followed by the clergy's formal expression of gratitude which ends the ceremony.

In arranging the *salākkaphat* merit-making this time it is calculated to be the first time for Wat Ommarāwāt. Thus we respectfully take this opportunity to invite all the ‘congregation’ (public?) to join together in making merit and showing formal gratitude with all the other congregations on this occasion.

Signed – Ommarāwāt Wat committee, sponsor."

*Notes on terms in invitation: *Salāk* (สลาก) literally means ticket or label and *phat* (ภัตต์) is a bound from meaning food. The term *salāk khapat* is the Thai name for the ceremony. *Tān tāēn* (ตานแต่น) is a local word for ceremony, although Nāi Mēts dictionary gives the name as either *kin kōi salāk* (กินไก่อีสลาก) or *tān kōi salāk* (ตานไก่อีสลาก). In Phra Tham Ratchanuwat’s dictionary it gives the following entry under *salāk khapat*: *khāo salāk* (ข้าวสลาก), *thān khāo salāk* (ทานข้าวสลาก), *kin salāk* (กินสลาก), *tham bun salāk khapat* (ทำบุญสลากภัตต์) [*īsān wā khāo salāk* (สลาก)]. Kingshill (p.204 – 207) says the name in Ku Dāēng was *kin salāk* (กินสลาก). True Marlowe says that in the village she is working in near Chiang Mai the name is *kin kōi salāk* (กินไก่อีสลาก).

Tān (ตาน) cognate with Central Thai *than* (ทาน), ‘alms or gift.’ I cannot find an entry for *tāēn* (แต่น) although it probably means “to substitute for or to replace” which is the word given under *tāēn* in Purnell’s dictionary and would thus be cognate with Central Thai *thāēn* (แทน).

Mae Sariang

September 23, 1967

Salākkaphat at Wat Ommarāwāt

Because I had to take Sanga to Chiang Mai on Thursday and Friday and just returned this afternoon, I was unable to return to the ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt. However, Jane, Nicholas, Lā and Lā's sister (our landlady) attended the ceremony. The offering that our family made consisted of an earthenware water vase filled with uncooked rice (*khāosān*) into which was stuck

a 'money tree.' This latter is a bamboo tree decorated with artificial flowers and pieces of money. On ours was placed 15 baht from us and 10 baht from Sanga. Jane also took our silver khan filled with the traditional offerings of worship, flowers, candles, and incense.

Jane said that other people's offerings at the wat consisted in part of ones like ours and in part pails filled with dry food (or foods that could be kept for several days) and other things (money tree, *khāosān*, etc.).

Jane said that the things in the khan were presented in the usual way at the beginning of the ceremony. The *salākkaphat* offering was first taken away by a member of the organizing committee, and then when her turn came, she was taken to a monk and a member of the organizing committee said to the monk that this person came to make an offering. Jane said that she wasn't aware of numbers being stuck into the offerings or of the gifts being presented by 'lottery' – although she may not have been attuned to this facet of the ceremony.

A Burmese orchestra played outside the *wihān* where the ceremony was held.

Karen Businessmen in Mae Sariang

George Po came over this afternoon to talk about a letter he had received from Professor Cady. He was so obviously looking for a job that it was almost painful.

While talking with him, we asked about Karen businessmen or shopkeepers in Mae Sariang. He gave us a similar story to the one which Benny had given us. There was a Karen landowner (married to a Shan) who also owned a small shop in the market. His daughter was married to Wichian who in turn is half Chinese. The only variation on the story is the ownership of the small shop. The wife of the Karen, being Shan, not Khonmüang, and not knowing whether Wichian was half Lua or not.

I wonder if Karens make any distinction between Shans and Khonmüang.

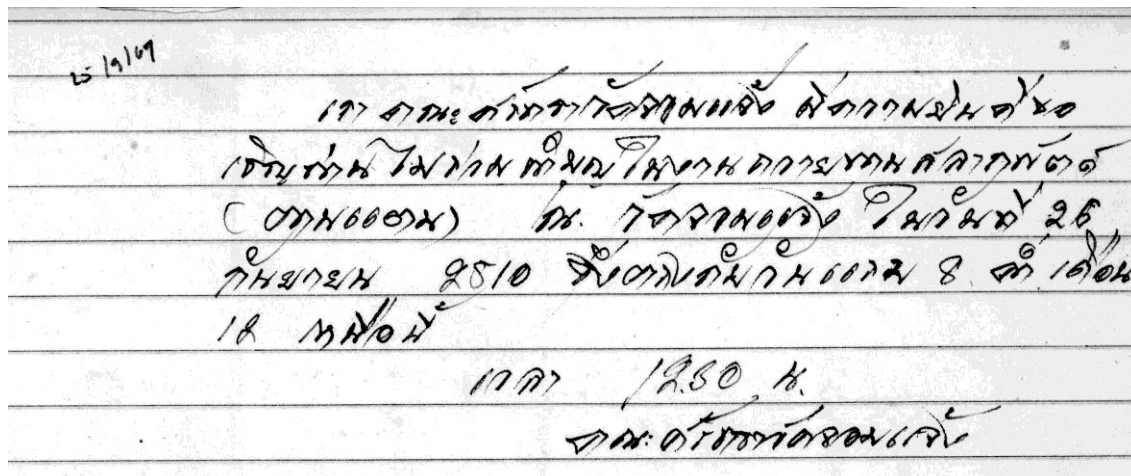
He also said that when he first came here (13 years ago) there were only three Chinese merchants each of whose name he prefaced by the title *čik*, that is *ček*. Nāi Thān's father, Nāi Wichian's father and Sombat, the owner of the hotel were the three Chinese in question. However, he said that there were now a large number of mixed bloods.

Mae Sariang

September 25, 1967

Invitation to the *salākkaphat* ceremony of Wat Čôm Čāēng

Today I received a hand-written invitation to attend a *salākkaphat* ceremony at Wat Čôm Čāēng. What follows is a copy of the note and its translation:



“We the congregational group of Wat Čôm Čāēng are pleased to invite you to come together with us to make merit in the festival of presenting *salākkaphat* (*tāntāēn*) at Wat Čôm Čāēng on the 26th of September 1967 (8th day of the waning of the moon, 12th lunar month, northern reckoning).

Time: 12:30

Congregational Group of Wat Čôm Čāēng”

Mae Sariang

September 26, 1967

Salākkaphat Ceremony at Wat Čôm Čāēng⁷

A little after 12:30 today I arrived at Wat Čôm Čāēng to witness and participate in the *salākkaphat* ceremony. I was accompanied by Čit, Čit's son Khāēk, and Sanga. I couldn't go earlier or stay too long because Peter and Sally were visiting at midday and Jane and Nicholas were not well.

⁷ Charles F. Keyes's recording of this ceremony is held by the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, numbers 2001-2.3 EC, 2001 2.4 EC, 2001-2.5 EC. The original tape is titled “Tape Number 3, Side 1.” The recording has also been digitized. A Thai transcript of the tape and a partial English translation are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

When we arrived, the majority of the people were in the *wihān* or just outside on the porch and entering the neighboring *sāla*, although some people were milling around. A Khonmüang orchestra, consisting primarily of a long drum and gongs, was playing on the veranda of the *kuthi*. The inside of the wat was arranged something as follows in these two illustrations:

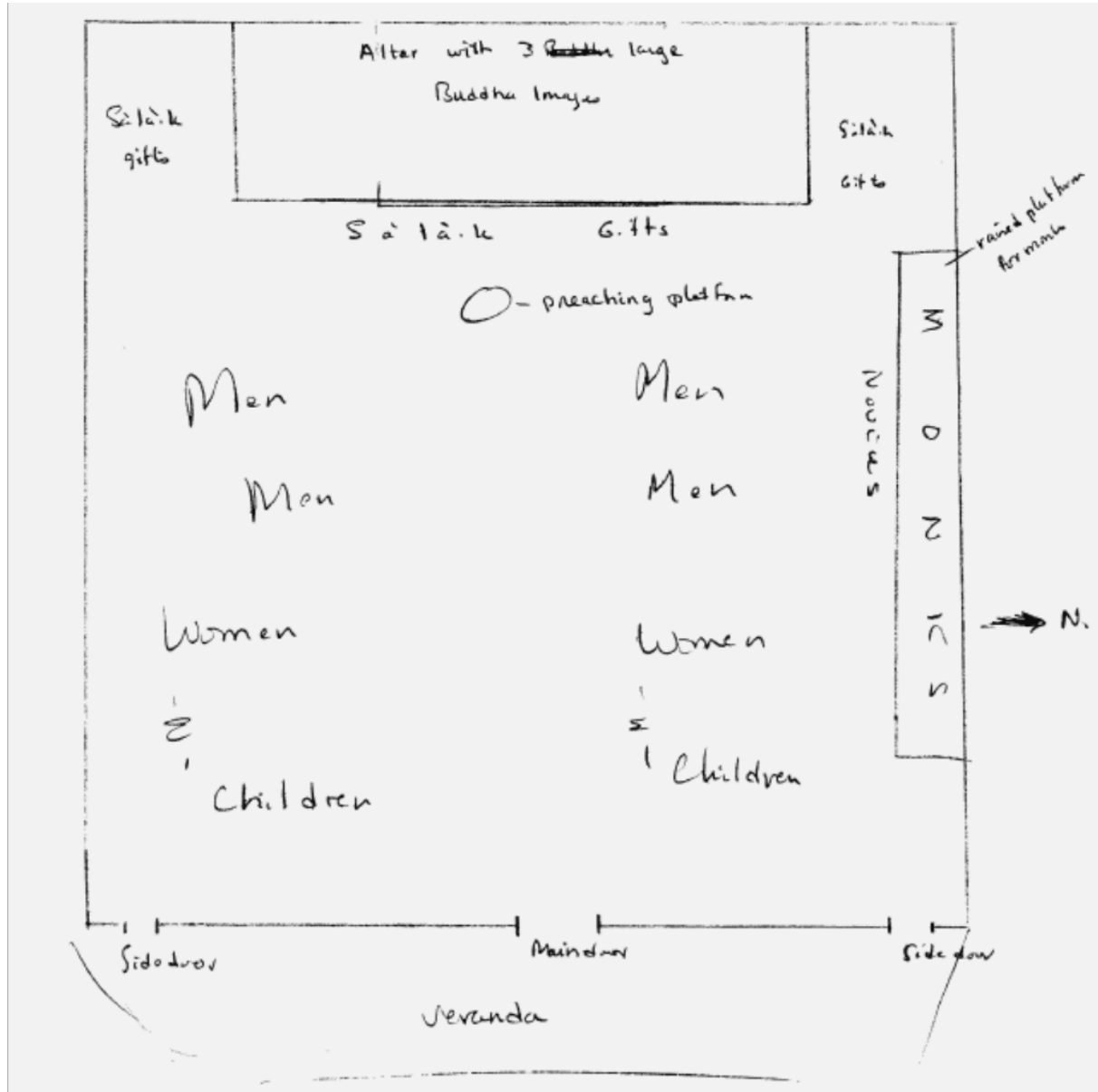


Illustration 1 of the arrangement of the *Salākkaphat* Ceremony at Wat Čôm Čāēng

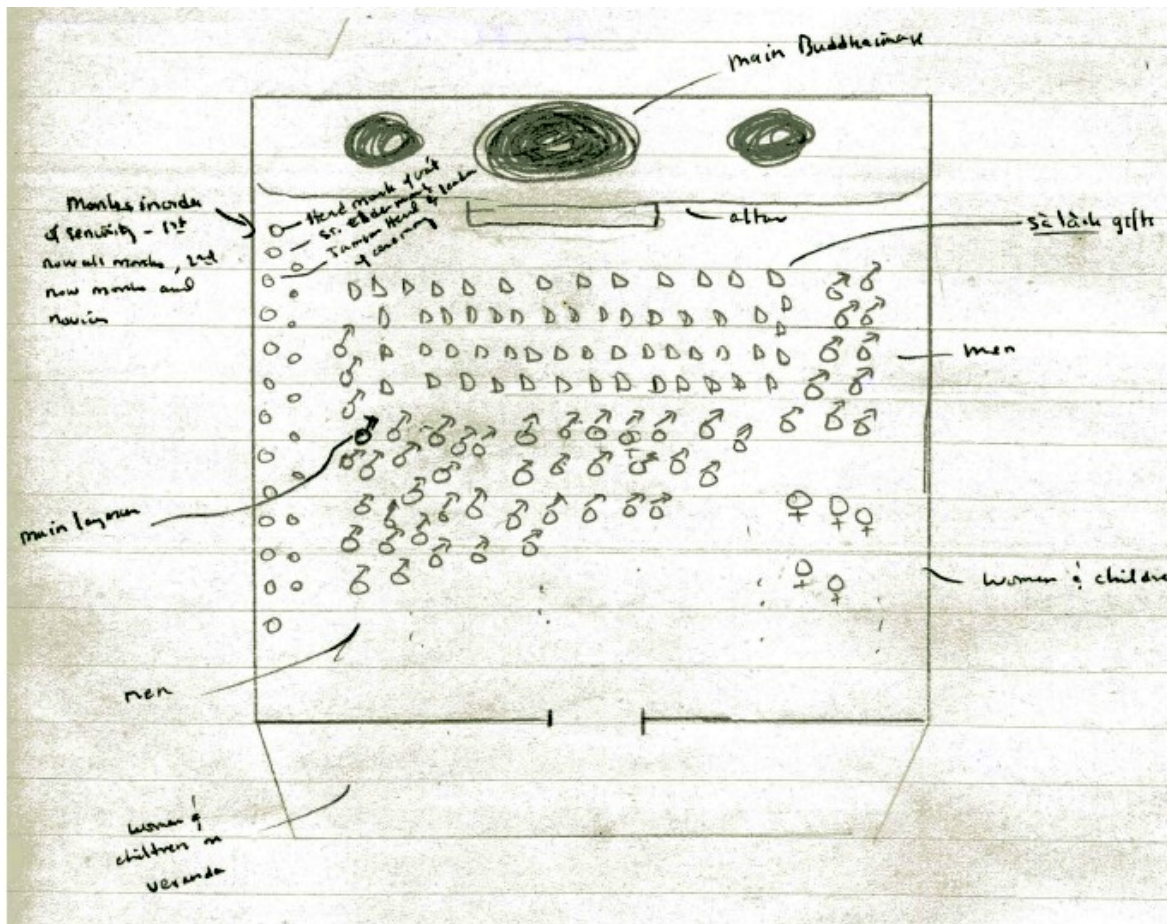


Illustration 2 of the arrangement of the *Salākkaphat* Ceremony at Wat Čôm Čāēng

I did not take a *salāk* gift; rather I took the silver *khan*, filled with flowers, candles, incense and an envelope containing 25 baht. I made the presentation of these in front of the main monks shortly after I arrived. There were containers for flowers and incense in front of these monks. With each bunch of flowers I made a separate *wai*. I did the same with the incense. I didn't see any candles in the offering for the monks so I kept these back. I also presented the envelope with the money to the monks. I then retired to a sitting position in the central part of the *wihān*.

Some chanting had been going on when we arrived but I was too disoriented to get it recorded. However, once back in the center, I started recording in the midst of a layman's chant of presentation of the gifts. This was done in formalized northern Thai. This was followed by another person (monk?) whom I could not see because he was sitting behind a post. He was also chanting in formal northern Thai. During this chant a layman took a *bāt* or monk's alms bowl and

filled it with slips on which numbers were written. These numbers corresponded to the numbers attached to each offering. The *bāt* was passed to each monk and novice who selected a slip (*ĉap salāk* (จับสลาก)). One monk then followed around with a notebook and wrote the name of the monk, his wat, and the number he selected. After all the monks and novices had selected their numbers several lay leaders also took numbers.

During the course of the ceremony firecrackers were set off.

When the chanting ended, chimes were struck.

Then the monks chanted their official acceptance of the offering. This chant was in the northern Thai form (*suat kammuang*).

This was followed by a chant by the chief layman in formalized northern Thai.

Then there was a short introductory *suat* by the chief monk and then the *truat nām* in Thai style chanting by all the monks.

Then the gifts were distributed. This was done by a layman reading off the lists made by the one monk. When the gift was announced, it was taken outside to the pavilion surrounding the wat. Here the donor and the monk would have a private presentation and thank you. As there were more gifts than monks, the remaining ones were given to Wat Čôm Čāēng. Those given to particular monks and novices were taken home to the monk's or novice's home wat.

After the distribution was through there was another short chant by the laymen (unrecorded) and then the ceremony was over.

The gifts in this case consisted primarily of buckets filled with *khāosān*, vegetables, fruits, canned foods, fresh fruits that can be kept (Čit emphasized that the gifts of food must be of the type that can be kept for a long time). There were also earthenware vases, utensils of various sorts (particularly brooms), etc. Each offering had a piece of paper attached telling who its donor was.

The people who attended the ceremony came primarily from the neighborhood and included some Lua from Bān Phae.

I noticed that this ceremony, as in all other *thambun* I have seen in Mae Sariang, the people often hold flowers, and popped corn and sometimes incense in between their hands when sitting in the *wai* position.

Interview with the Abbot of Wat Čantharāwāt

This afternoon Čit took me to Wat Čantharāwāt (Wat Mantālē, that is, Wat Mandalay) where we talked to Phra Yānikā (พระญาณิกา), the abbot.

When we entered the wat, we were confronted primarily by the large new *sālā* which is under construction. We met the abbot near the new building and spent most of the initial conversation in (and on) the *sālā*. The abbot said that the Phanasit Company had donated 57,500 baht towards the construction of the *sālā*. This represents the vast majority of 60,000 baht the abbot estimates the *sālā* will cost. The old *sālā* (*wihān*?) of which the abbot later showed me a picture was built in traditional Burmese style. But, unfortunately, it was beginning to fall down and had to be replaced. Since no workmen know how to construct in the old Burmese style, this new building will not be in the same style, although it does have the several layers of roofs characteristic of Burmese wats.

Čit said later that the donation from the Phanasit Co. came in part from the Company and in part from the family who owns the company (this corroborates Mark Anderson's story). The fact that the family which owns the Phanasit Co. is originally Mon explains why this wat was chosen.

The abbot says that this wat is 60 years old and has the local name at Wat Mantālē because the first abbot was from Mandalay.

The *bōt* at the wat is a small building made of concrete. It has a dedication in Thai on the mantel before the entrance. The *sēmā* which surround the *bōt* are not like Thai *sēmā* but are sides of uncarved stone. On one of the pillars of the new *sālā*, there was some writing in Burmese. In front of the new *sālā* is an unusual bell. There is also a smaller *sālā* built in the same style as the *bōt*. Finally, there is a *kuthi* which is also used as a place where services are held.

I asked the abbot about any special ceremonies which are held at this wat. He says that in the 12th month, northern reckoning, or about November, there is a ceremony called *thān khāo phra' čao luang* (ทานข้าวพระเจ้าหลวง). Although this ceremony is held in every wat, it has a special form here. Also at the Wisakhabūchā ceremony people come especially to worship at the sacred Bō tree (*ton phō* – ต้นโพธิ์). This tree came originally from Ceylon via Burma.

We then talked about Burmese wats in Thailand. The abbot took us to the *kuthi* where he brought out a list of Burmese wats whose monks are included in a Burmese clerical organization called *khana song phamā* (คณะสงฆ์พม่า). The headquarters of this organization is in Lampang and the chief monk or *athibodīsong* (อธิบดีสงฆ์) lives in the Lampang wat of Wat Thāma'ō (วัดท่ามะโอ). This wat also teaches in Burmese as well as in Thai, Apparently the only wat to teach in Burmese. A number of Burmese wats included in this association by province are as follows:

Bangkok	3
Lampang	11
Chiang Mai	10
Chiang Rai	3
Mae Hong Son	6
Tāk (Mae Sot)	2
Phrae	1
TOTAL	36 (33 in the north)

In Mae Hong Son province the breakdown is as follows:

Amphoe Pāi	1
Mae Sariang	4
Khun Yuam	1

In his own statement, as distinct from the official listing, the abbot said the Burmese wat in Khun Yuam had been transformed into a mixed Burmese-Shan wat. There is apparently another Burmese wat at Māē Lā Luang (located about 50 kilometers from Mae Sariang). In Mae Sariang, the wats listed in the official listing as Burmese are Wat Chông Sūng (วัดช่องสูง), Wat Čantharāwāt (วัดจันทราวาส), Wat Susān (วัดสุสาน), another name for Wat ‘Ommarāwāt (วัดอมมราวัด) and Wat Čông Kham (วัดจองคำ), the wat near the landing on the river.

I inquired a bit more about each of these wats.

- Wat Chông Sūng. This wat has 4 monks and 2 novices. All the clergy are from here, although they are descendants of Shan. It is known as a Shan wat.
- Wat Chông Kham. It has 1 monk and no novices. The monk is from here and is a descendant of Shan (according to Čit he doesn't speak any central Thai). It is also a Shan wat.
- Wat Pā Hiao or Wat Susān or Wat ‘Ommarāwāt. It has 2 monks and no novices. Both monks were ordained in the Thai rather than the Burmese way (apparently in contrast to the other monks in the Burmese wats). The older monk is a descendant of Burmese and has traveled to Burma. The younger monk, the abbot, is a Karen. It is known as a Taungsu or Taungthu wat.
- Wat Čantharāwāt. It has 2 monks and no novices. The abbot, the man who I am interviewing, is from Burma and the second monk is from Mae Sot (a descendant of Burmese). It is known as the Mandalay wat because the original abbot came from Mandalay.

According to the abbot the qualifications in a Burmese wat for being an abbot of a wat includes the following:

- a. 10 lents in the monkhood
- b. ability to chant the Patimoka
- c. knowledge of the Sangha
- d. understanding of the teaching of the *phra misūt* (?)
- e. being able to give sermons so that other monks can understand them

I asked about the ‘congregation’ of the wat. They are mainly Burmese with some local people who live in this area (even though the sermons are given in Burmese). The Burmese of Mae Sariang come from many places in Burma, not just from one specific area. There is no wat committee. There is just a wat council or *saphā* (สภา).

There is always a *thôt kathin* in this wat although no sponsor has come forth as yet. It may end up being a *kathin samakhī*, that is a *kathin* in which a large number of people join

together in sponsoring the ceremony. [Actually the *thôt kathin* of this wat is sponsored every year by the Bhanasit Co.]

There is no *salākkaphat* ceremony at this wat and it is not usual for Burmese wats to have it. Note: it was the first time the ceremony was ever held at Wat Pā Hiao. However, we did discuss the meaning of the ceremony. I asked what *tāēn* (แทน) meant. He said that it is cognate with *thāēn* (แทน), the central Thai word, meaning to substitute for. I asked if this meant the offerings were given in memory of the dead. However, both Čit and the abbots said this wasn't the case, but I didn't quite understand what was meant.

Returning to the question of Burmese wats, I asked if any of the Karen wats were included in the Burmese organization or followed the Burmese way. He said that Wat Māē Hān used to be Burmese, but now it has changed to be Shan. [Sometimes the abbot makes a distinction between the Shan and Burmese, while other times he says they are the same.] He said the Shan wats in Mae Hong Son are not included in the Burmese organization, but that they can give sermons in Burmese. The Burmese organization of Thailand has been in existence only ten years.

I asked about divisions of the order in Burma comparable to the Thammayutnikāi and Mahānikāi in Thailand. He answered that the equivalent of the Thammayutnikāi is called Shwegyin and the equivalent of the Mahānikāi is what he called Thudhamma. Both types are represented in Thailand or rather the Burmese organization here follows the middle way between the two.

He then brought out the monks registration book which is known as the *nangsūsuthi* (หนังสือสุทธิ). And with this in hand I gathered a few things about his life. He was born in 1923 in the town of Sakāi, transliterated from the Thai spelling). He was ordained as a novice at the age of 10 in 1933 and ordained as a monk at the age of 20 in 1943. He came to Thailand in 1957 and lived for two years in Bangkok and then moved to Mae Sariang in 1959. He made his first and only return trip or visit back to Burma in 1963 and spent 3 months there.

I noticed that he had a Burmese calendar and Čit asked him if he got it and books and things from Burma. He said that the Burmese consul in Chiang Mai got things for the Burmese wat.

We looked at the Buddha images on the shrine. He said that most of them came from Mandalay at a time when traffic between Burma and Thailand was easy.

Mae Sariang

September 28, 1967

Interview with the Abbot of Wat Sithimongkhon and the *Kamnan* of Tambon Mae Sariang

Today Jane, Čit and I went to Wat Sithimongkhon to interview the abbot who is also the *Čao khana tambon* (เจ้าคณะตำบล). Also present at the interview was the *Kamnan*, I believe of Tambon Mae Sariang. This man is very interesting in that he is a central Thai who came here 30 years ago as a policeman and settled down here.

We first discussed the *salākkaphat* ceremony. Wat Sithimongkhon is holding this ceremony on Saturday. I inquired if the ceremony could be to make merit for people who had died. Although Čit had said that it couldn't be a *sankhathān* (offering for the dead) offering, both the abbot and *Kamnan* said that it could be. The *Kamnan* said that in olden times the monks didn't draw the *salāk* slips, but the laymen drew them for the monks. However, now monks draw their own slips. At Wat Čôm Čāēng when I saw laymen drawing slips, they were drawing for monks who had been invited to the ceremony but they lived so far away they couldn't come. I asked the abbot if there were a certain number of monks who were invited. He said no and the *Kamnan* said it depended how many the people wanted to invite. The abbot said, I believe, that sometimes as many monks are invited as there are Buddha images in the wat. In Wat Sithimongkhon there are 18 images.

I then described the *khāosāk* ceremony in the Northeast. This and the *bun pradapdin* do not exist in the north. *Bun khaāocī* does however (also called *bun khāokī*). It occurs in the 5th lunar month, northern reckoning. The *Kamnan* said that he didn't think *khāosāk* was related to *wansāt*, a Brahmanistic ceremony in the central Plains.

Since the abbot is the *Čao Khana Tambon*, I asked the abbot about organization of the Sangha at this level and about the wats under him. There are 4 *Čao khana tambon* in Amphoe Mae Sariang. The abbot said that the boundaries of these administrative districts sometimes include two tambons. In actual fact as I discovered in planning out the wats under the abbot, the tambon in the church structure may be quite different from the tambon in the administrative structure (this may be a function of the fewer number of wats in Mae Sariang as compared with other areas of the country). The following is the list of seats of *Čao khana tambon*, the number of

wats, and the nominal administrative Tambon in which these wats are located.

SANGHA ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF WATS IN MAE SARIANG DISTRICT		
Seat of the <i>Čao Khana Tambon</i>	No. of wats under him	Administrative Tambon in which these wats are located
Wat Chaiyalāp (วัดชัยลาก)	8	Tambon Bān Kāt(บ้านกาต) Tambon Māē Lā Nōi (ตำบลแม่ลาน้อย)
Wat Sībunrūang(วัดศรีบุญเรือง)	8	Tambon Mae Sariang (ตำบลแม่สะเรียง)
Wat Nām Dip(วัดน้ำดิบ)	5	Tambon Māē Yuam(ตำบลแม่ขาม) Tambon Māē Khong(ตำบลแม่คง)
Wat Sithimongkhon(วัดสิทธิมงคล)	6 (or 7)	Tambon Māē Khatuan (ตำบลแม่คะตวน) Tambon Kōng Kōi (ตำบลกองก่อ)
TOTAL	25 (or 26)	

Information according to the abbot of Wat Sithimongkhon. Note the figure for the total number of wats does not agree with the *Čao khana amphoe*'s figure of 29 (see notes for 8/24/67) or the district office's figure of 7 wats and 22 clerical residences (see notes for 9/11/67).

The following is a list of wats, their location, the number of their inhabitants, and the ethnic identification of the village in which they are located, which are under the *Čao khana tambon* living in Wat Sithimongkhon.

WATS UNDER THE ČAO KHANA TAMBON WHO LIVES IN WAT SITHIMONGKHON				
Wat	Location	No. Monks	No. Novices	Ethnic Classification
Sithimongkhon (วัดสีทิมงคล)	City / Tambon Mae Sariang	2	5	Khonmüang
Phā Phā (วัดผาฟ้า)	Tambon Māē Khatuan (ตำบลแม่คะตวน)	4	8	Khonmüang
Mai (วัดไม้)	Tambon Māē Khatuan (ตำบลแม่คะตวน)	1	1	Lua → Khonmüang
Māē Khatuan (วัดแม่คะตวน) ¹	Tambon Māē Khatuan (ตำบลแม่คะตวน)	4	7	Khonmüang
Kông Kôî (วัดกองก่อ) ²	Tambon Kông Kôî (ตำบลกองก่อ)	1	5	Lua
Huai Sing (วัดห้วยสิงห์) ³	Tambon Māē Yuam (ตำบลแม่ขาม)	1	6	Lua
Huai Sāi (วัดห้วยทราย) ⁴	Tambon Māē Yuam (ตำบลแม่ขาม)	0	0	Lua
		13	32	

Information according to the abbot of Wat Sithimongkhon.

¹There apparently used to be a Shan element in this village, but no more.

²The monk, in this village, however, is Khonmüang and comes from Chiang Mai.

³Although the monk in this wat is Lua, he can speak only Kammüang.

⁴There was a monk in this wat but he is currently away studying.

We discussed the participation of Lua and Karen in Buddhism. The abbot of Sithimongkhon said that the only Karen wat in the district was Bān Māē Hān in Tambon Bān

Kāt. There has also been Karen from Bān Māē Lāmā (บ้านแม่ลามา) and Bān Khun Wong (บ้านขุนวง) who have been ordained as novices. A Karen from Bān Māē Woei (บ้านแม่เวย), Tambon Thā Sōng Yāng (ตำบลท่าสองยาง) offered to give money in the ordination ceremony of someone who will be ordained in Bān Phā Phā (บ้านผาฟ้า). However, the abbot said that Karens usually do not know enough Thai (Kammüang) to be able to be ordained. However, the abbot thinks that it will be good if there were more who were ordained because they would learn more Thai and more about Buddhism at the same time.

As to Lua, they are rarely ordained as monks, although a number are ordained as novices. In addition to those from villages given in the also above table Lua have also been ordained as novices in wat Kittiwong, Wat Čôm Chāēng, and Wat Čôm Thōng. Lua were present in fairly large numbers at the *salākkaphat* ceremony at Wat Čôm Chāēng. They came from Bān Phae (บ้านแพะ). Sometimes Karen and Lua make merit at Wat Sithimongkhon.

I mentioned that it was strange that Karen Buddhists do not affiliate with Burmese wats. This did not elicit any response, but it did lead to a comment by the *kamnan* and seconded by the abbot that those who attend Burmese wats are too attached to their own nationality (*chāt niyom*).

I asked if the Karen followed Buddhism in a different way from Thai Buddhists. After considerable efforts to explain what I meant (with Čit's help) and describing Ted Stern's findings in Kanchanaburi the abbot did say that there was a Karen at Mae Sot who was a famous teacher.

This led me into a series of questions about the Khrū bā khāo (ครูบาขาว) who lives in Amphoe Li and is famous among the Karen and Lua. I was told by both the abbot and the *kamnan*, much the same story as Donna Markham had gotten in Chiang Mai. This man is defrocked monk, forced to leave the monkhood because he cut timber without official permission. Currently he lives in a wat in which there are no monks. He has a large following because of his good works and encouraging development in helping people.

He is one of a number of people who wear white robes and are known as "white robes" (ผ้าขาว, *phā khāo*). The most common of the "white robes" are nuns, but men can wear them as well. The *kamnan* says that the people who wear the white cloth have clean or pure minds or

souls (จิตใจสะอาด, *čitčai sa 'āt*). They often live in wats but is not necessary that they do so. Also many practice Vipassanā.

We also talked about local history, much of which I lost, because the *kamnan* spoke very rapidly and didn't give me time to take notes. However, among the things I did gather were the following. Neither the *kamnan* nor the abbot know of any books on local history. The district officer tried to find one a few years ago but was unsuccessful. The *kamnan* says that when he first came, he saw an old book at the police station, but it disappeared.

When the word *khun* (ขุน) appears in the title of a village, it indicates the title was given to the headman (usually Lua) and later incorporated into the name of the village. The village of Khun Yuam used to be a Lua village, but now it is entirely a Karen village.

The tribute which Mae Sariang used to send to Chiang Mai was a type of orchid known as *üangsoe* (เอื้องแซะ).

The *kamnan* believes that all of the original inhabitants of Mae Sariang were Lua and that the Khonmüang came from Chiang Mai.

As I already knew, there used to be a moat around the city. In the local language this was called *khū wiang* (คูเวียง) and in Thai *khū müang* (คูเมือง). The old town was a square and I received some additional information about the old city (see above 1967/09/20).

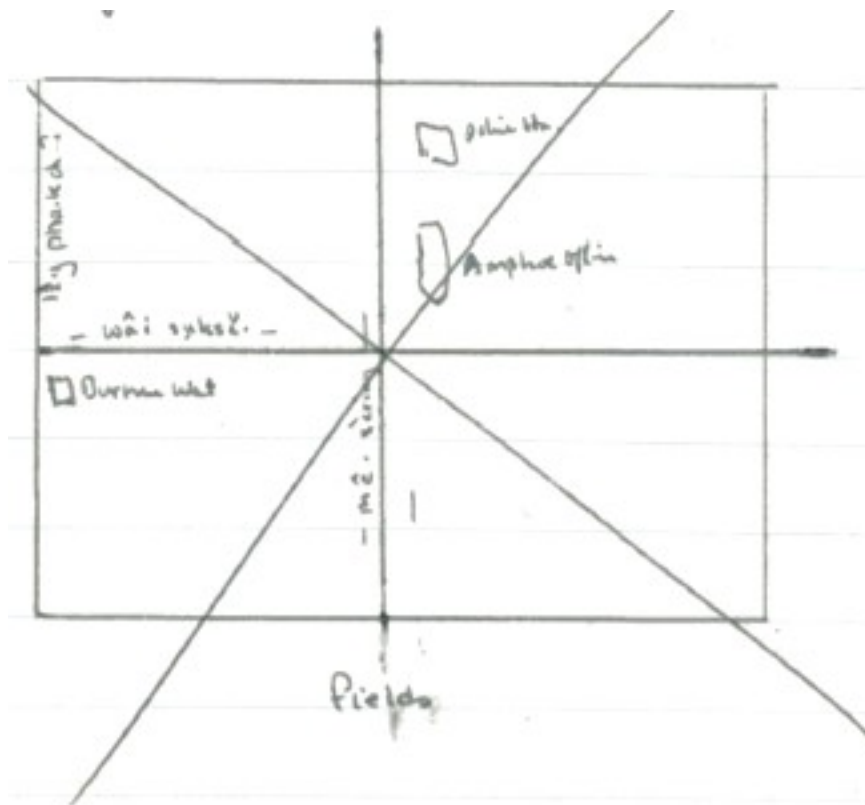


Illustration of center of Mae Sariang city

Two villages in this area used to be filled with bandits – Bān Māē Khatuan (บ้านแม่กะตวน) and Bān Mai (บ้านไม). They had a mixed population. In addition Mae Sariang was also subject to the tax by Red Karen (*yāng dāēng*, ขางแดง). For this reason the ruler of Chiang Mai had to send very tough people to govern here. These comments were all made by the *kamnan*.

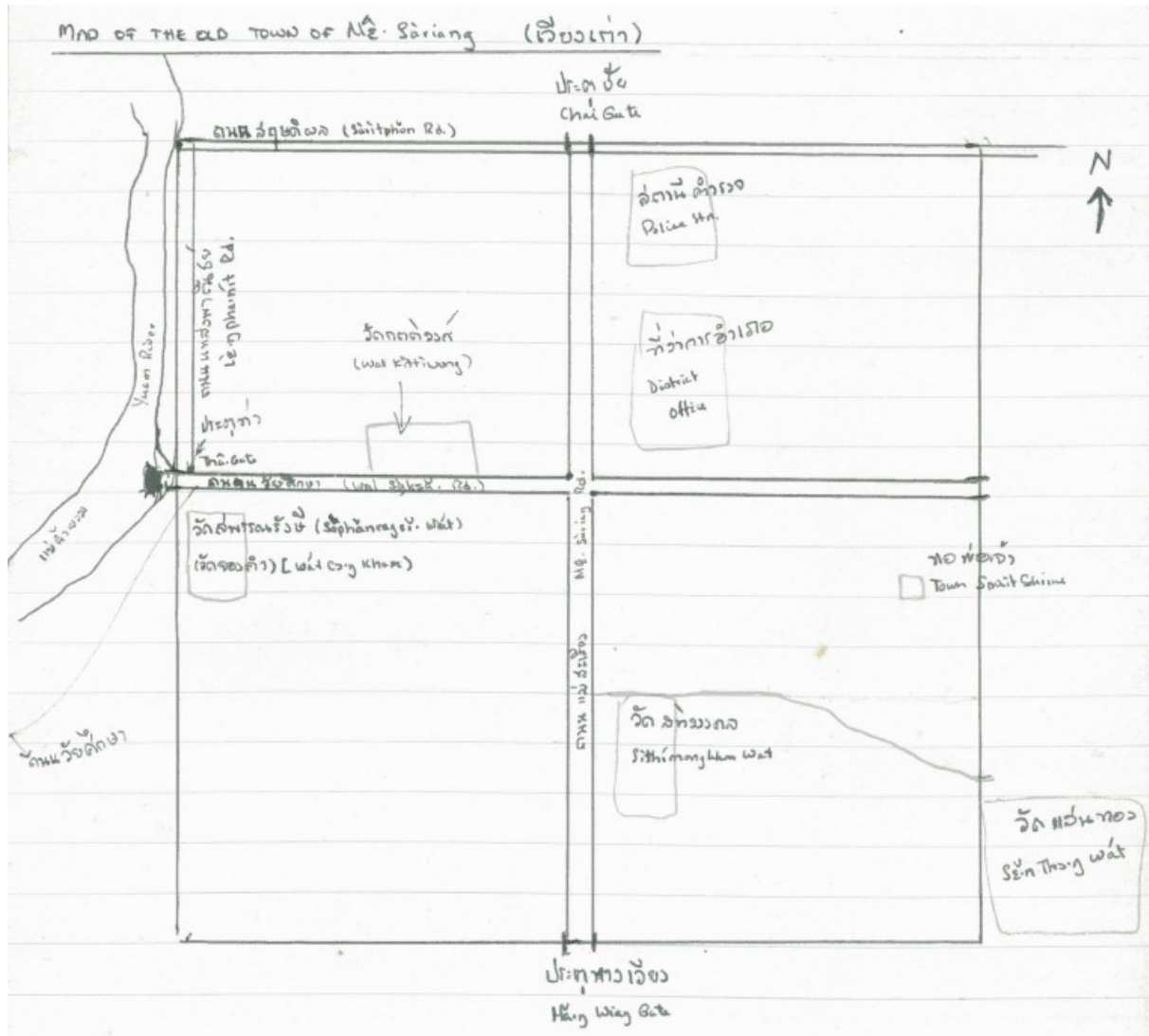
The abbot said that this temple is about 150 to 160 years old.

Miscellaneous Notes

The name of the big shop in town which is supposed to be owned by half Chinese, half Lua, married to a half Karen, half Shan has the official name of Ômārī, อ้อมอารี). This apparently is the surname of the owner.

Maps

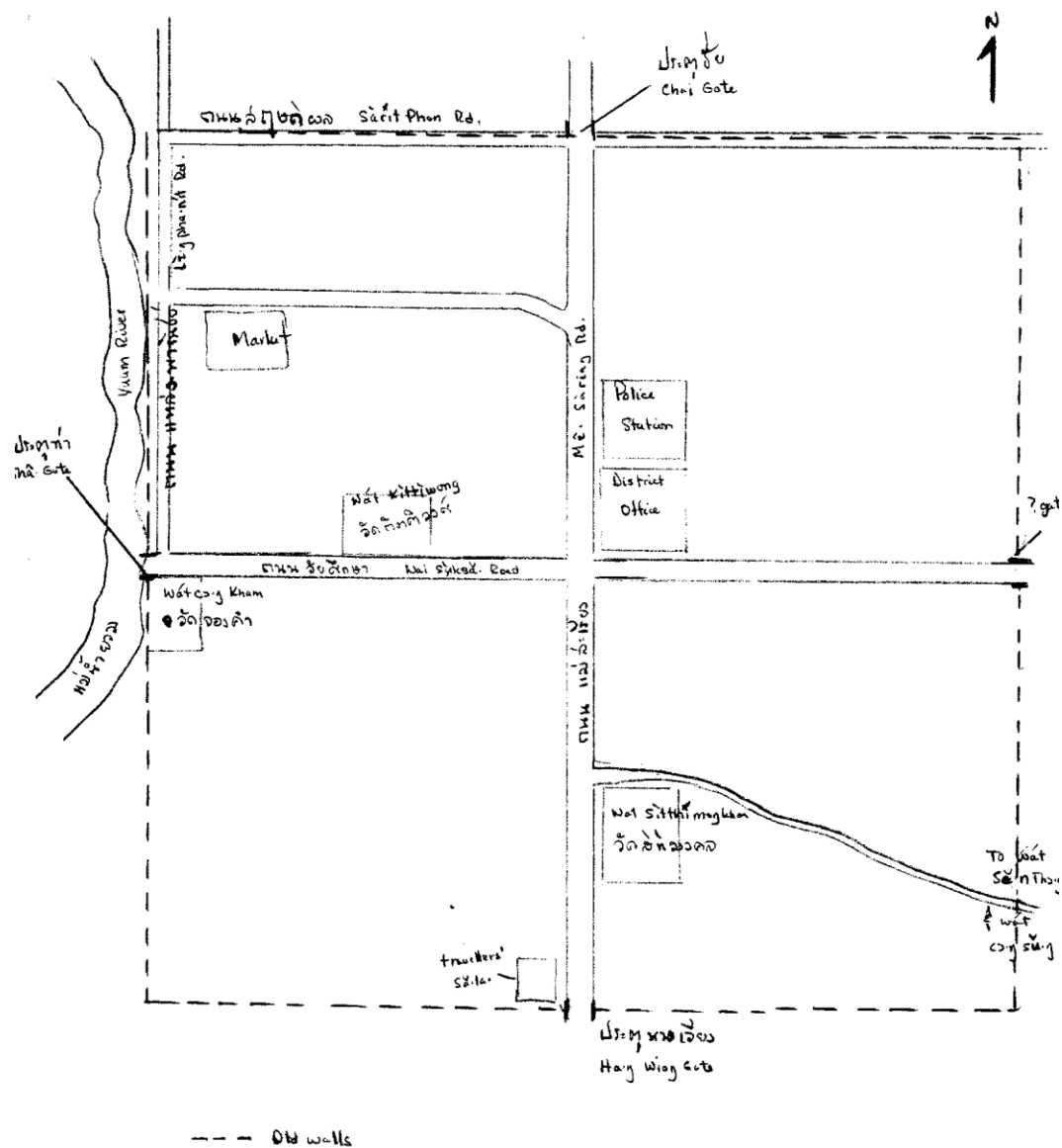
What follows are two hand-sketched maps of the old town of Mae Sariang (Müang Yuam).



Sketch map of the old town of Mae Sariang (map number 1)

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Sketch Map of Old City of MĒ SĀRIANG (Mueang Yuan) 10.9



Sketch map of the old town of Mae Sariang (map number 2)

Salākkaphat Ceremony at Wat Sithimongkhon⁸

This morning about 9:35 Jane and I went to Wat Sithimongkhon to observe another *Salākkaphat* ceremony. When we arrived, people were bringing the *salāk* gifts into the *wihān* (this wait has no *bōt*). Monks were still gathering in the *kuthi* and children were playing around the wat grounds. In the *kuthi* a police Capt. Soem Waidī (นายร้อยตำรวจเอกเสริมไหวดี) was playing central Thai music on an instrument something like a sitar called a *khīm* (ขิม). Mr. Soem said that the instrument was of Chinese origin and that the wood of the instrument also came from China. Below the *kuthi* children were playing with long drums and gongs [recorded both music, especially that of the *khīm*].

In the *kuthi* priests and novices continued to filter in until about 11:00. At the same time women and a few men brought food into the *kuthi*. This was dished out and placed on low tables. About 11:15 the monks and novices sat down around these tables and began eating without any ceremony. At this point we left the *kuthi* and went to the *wihān*. Čit, who had joined us, said that the monks would chant a *suat phon* after eating and then move into the *wihān*.

While waiting for the monks, I had an opportunity to observe in more detail the arrangements in the *wihān*. There were not nearly as many people as at Wat Čôm Čāēng. The abbot said that only about 30 households (หลังคาเรือน) normally provide food for wat Sithimongkhon as compared to over 100 at Wat Čôm Čāēng. Among people carrying things into the *wihān* was one woman wearing a Karen blouse. Most of the women, however, were dressed in Burmese silk *phāsin* and plain blouses – the dress of the Khonmüang women on festive occasions. There were more men present than I might have expected, including several bachelors and a number of employees from the Phanasit Co. However, today being a Saturday means that many men who work 9 to 5 jobs could come. [Seeing men from the Phanasit Co. present, I asked Čit if this was the wat he regularly made merit at. He said he didn't go to any particular wat. If he

⁸ Charles F. Keyes's recording of this ceremony is held by the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, numbers 2001-2.3 EC, 2001 2.4 EC, 2001-2.5 EC. The original tape is titled "Tape Number 3, Side 1." The recording has also been digitized. A Thai transcript of the tape and a partial English translation are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

were a native of Mae Sariang, he said probably make merit at his neighborhood wat. But since he is an outsider, he goes to different wats on different occasions.] The setting of the *wihān* was something as follows:

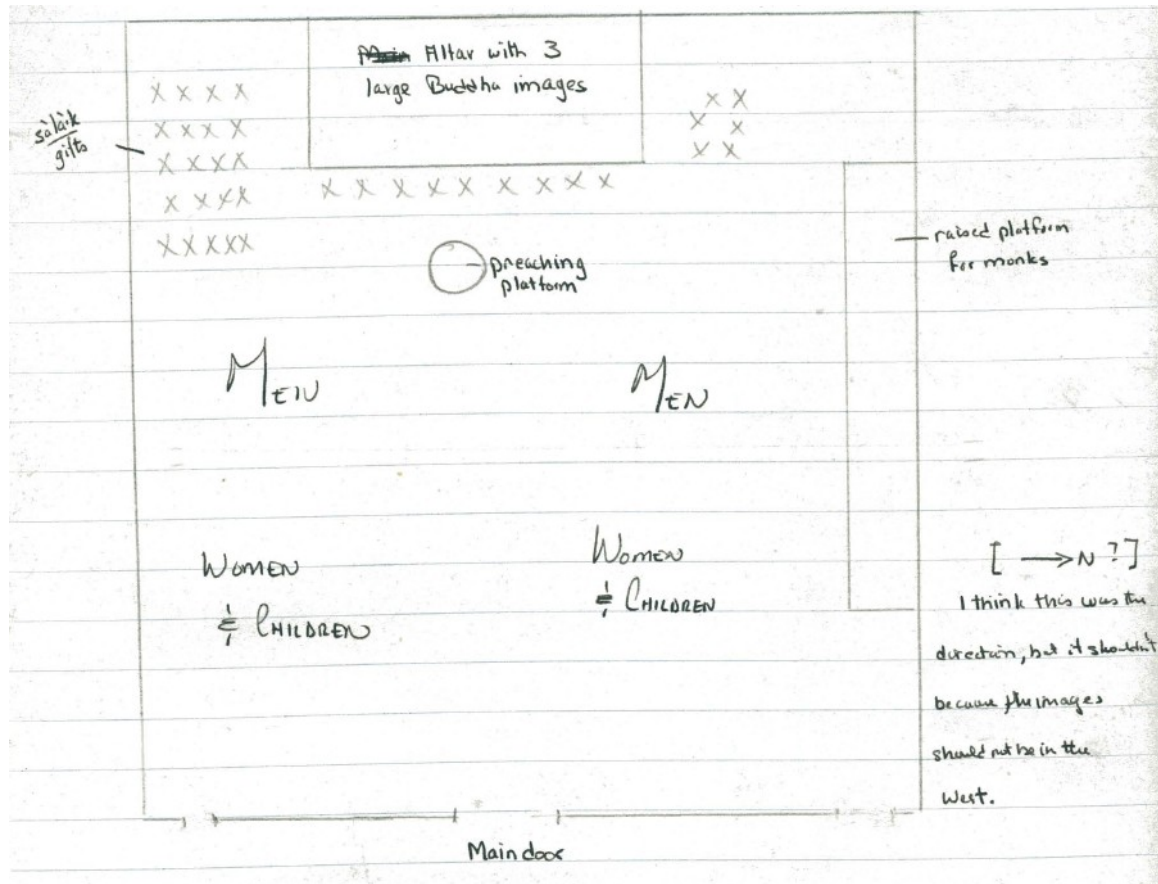


Illustration of the setting of the *Salākkaphat* Ceremony in the *wihān* of Wat Sithimongkhon

Distributed around the *wihān* were dishes containing hand-rolled cigarettes and *miang*, spittoons and water jugs. These were for the use of the people attending the ceremony.

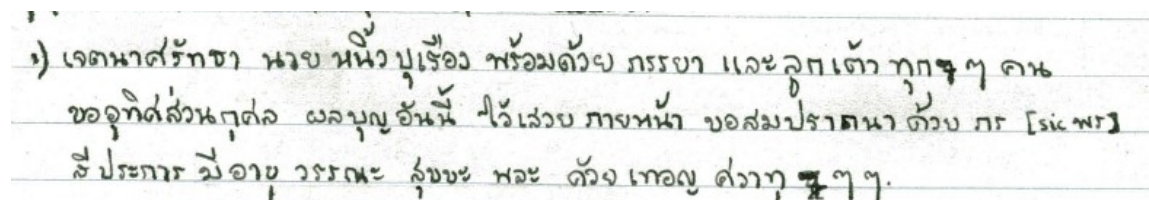
I noted that the 3 Buddha images all had decorated cloths around their tops called *phāhom* (ผ้าห่ม), literally 'blankets' or 'shawls'. I asked if these shawls were changed every season as is the case for the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok. The old man who was sitting near me said no they changed every year on the first *wan phra* after *ōk phansā*, that is, eight days after the end of Lent (วัน 8 ค่ำ). They are replaced by similar cloths of the same color. The old cloths are kept and used for other purposes around the wat. Actually on the same day as when the cloths are

changed a ceremony is held during which the whole wat is set in order (*tang wat*; ตั้งวัด).

I then turned my attention to the *salāk* offerings. As I have noted before they are goods and food which does not need to be consumed immediately. Among the things I saw in the various offerings were money (usually in 'trees'), sugar cane, bananas, coconuts, other types of fruit, cooked corn, *takrai*, canned fish, plates, bread (really sweet rolls) rulers, notebooks, soap, *khāosān*, matches, brooms, candles, flowers, incense, *khriiang būchā*, in a single collection, water jugs, glasses, etc., etc. Most of the offerings were placed in tin buckets, but some were in water basins add others in baskets.

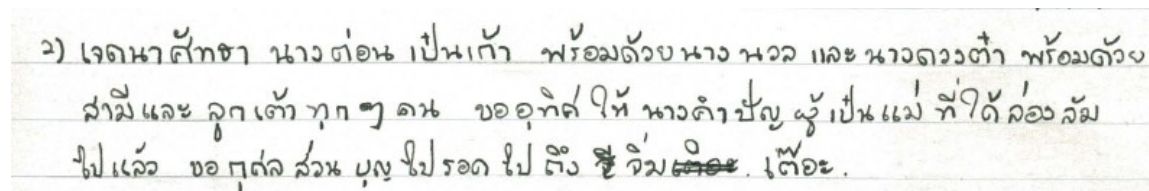
Each offering was marked with a 'flag' on which was 'written the number to be used in the ceremony. In addition to each was attached a piece of paper on which was written either in Thai script or in northern Thai script the names of the donor and the person to 'whom the merit made in this ceremony was to be given. When the merit is "given away", it is directed to someone dead (thus corroborating the other information, including the abbot's explanation of the ceremony during the day, that the *salāk* offerings are usually for the dead).

I made copies of two of the "dedications".



๑) เจตนาศรัทธา หอบ นื้อ บูเรื้ออ พร้อมด้วย ภรรยา และลูกเต้า ทุกๆ คน
ขออุทิศส่วนกุศล ผลบุญอันนี้ ไว้เสวย ทางหน้า ขอสมปราถนาด้วย ภร [sic พร]
สี่ประการ มีอายุ วรรณะ สุขะ พละ ด้วย เทอญ ด้วยๆๆ

Translation: "It is the faithful intention of Mr. Nio Bunüang, together with [his] wife and all his children to make an offering for merit. The merit accrued is to be kept to be used [literally, 'to eat'] in the future. It is in accordance with [the donors] wishes that the blessings be fourfold: age, complexion (or caste), happiness and physical strength with *thoen sawāthu*, etc."



๒) เจตนาศรัทธา นางต๋อน เป้นเต้า พร้อมด้วยนาง หวล และนางถวต๋า พร้อมด้วย
สามีและลูกเต้า ทุกๆ คน ขออุทิศให้ นางคำป๋ญ อยู่ เป้นแม่ ที่ได้ส่วนลัม
ไปแล้ว ขออุทิศส่วน บุญ ไปรอด ไป ถึง สี่ จั้ม ~~คือ~~ เต๊อะ

Translation: "It is the faithful intention of Mrs. Tōn as [the main donor] together with Mrs. Nuan and Mrs. Duaingtā, and also with her husband and all her children to dedicate an offering to Mrs.

Khampan, her mother, who has already been carried away [i.e., died]. Let this merit be sent [to her].”

The dedications are written in Thai script and a northern Thai script and even written in Central Thai script. Sometimes the dedication is still in northern Thai (but not always).

At almost 12:00 noon exactly the priests and novices filed in. When they had seated themselves, there were 12 monks on the platform, 8 monks seated on the floor in front of them and 5 novices in the same row as the monks on the ground (the abbot had said that more than 20 monks would attend). The first four monks on the dais were the abbot from Wat Čôm Čăēng (apparently being given priority in exchange for the abbot of Wat Sithimongkhon having been given priority at the *salāk* ceremony of Wat Čôm Čăēng, the abbot of Wat Sithimongkhon and 2 monks from Wat Čôm Thōng. Also among the monks were the abbot of Wat Čantharāwāt and the old monk from Wat Pā Hiao.

During the preparations in the beginning part of the services a layman passed through the congregation making notes on who came to make merit and what the gifts were. The ceremony proper was as follows.

1. The abbot from Wat Čôm Čăēng led the congregation in a responsive chant.
2. The chief layman chanted the formal opening.
3. The abbot of Wat Čôm Čăēng led the congregation in the Namo, etc.
4. The layman then made the formal presentation of the offerings. Where as before he had been seated facing the monks, he now faced the Buddha images. He read first from a *khô*i manuscript and then from a sheet of paper. His presentation was done in formal northern Thai used in religious services.
5. A young monk took the sermon chair and the lay reader moved to sit in front of him. The lay reader requested a sermon. The monk gave a sermon in Central Thai. Although he held a palm-leaf manuscript, he did not read from it, but recited instead from memory. As he said during the sermon this was his first sermon. His nervousness certainly showed it.
6. The abbot of Wat Sithimongkhon took the sermon chair, but did not give a sermon (nor did he sit in the preaching position, rather he sat as a Westerner might with his feet on the ground). He gave a brief description of the ceremony and thanked people, including ourselves, for attending.

7. The monks chanted the formal gratitude.
8. The monks chanted the *truatnām*.
9. The layman began to call out the numbers of the gifts and the monks and wats to whom they should be given (the monks had chosen their *salāk* in the *kuthi*). As each offering was called out it was set in front of the monk – recipient and the donor sat in front of him to receive the blessing. As the monk gave the blessing he would pour water into a container similar in manner to the pouring of water in the *truatnām*. Once all the offerings had been distributed the ceremony was over.

[I recorded all of the ceremony except parts 7 and 8 which I was unable to record because the batteries had given out and had to be changed.]