

January 1, 1968

New Year Festivities:

Last night there was a liang, sponsored by the local government officials, for those who visited today at the Amphə: assembly hall followed by a ṛa:n open to the general public held on the grounds in front of the District Office. The ṛa:n consisted of ramwong, dance music, a movie, etc. We didn't go although Sanga and Phan did. This morning I met Rudisə:n, Mark's roommate, who pronounced the affair māi sà̀nùk. Last year it was much more enjoyable he said. Mark had told us that last year the district officer had taken a very active interest. There had been a costume party (Mark won second prize with a Karen outfit - the District Officer had won first also with a Karen outfit) which was generally attended, and enjoyed by all the government officials and local elite. This year all of the senior officials are different persons (with the exception of the educational officer) and several (especially the district officer) had gone to Mae Hong Son to prepare for the King's visit on the 5th of January.

This morning there was a ceremony of offering alms to the clergy from almost all wáts in Mae Sariang (with the exception, at least, of the 2 monks at Wát Ommára:wá:t, and the Burmese monk from Wát Canthára:wá:t). The monks foregathered in the Amphə: assembly hall, while those who were intending to present alms lined up along the roadway which runs in front of the Amphə:, Immigration, and Provincial police offices. Again there was only a rump group of officials present, with the district education officer acting as the 'chairman'.

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For New Year's the market is not held in the usual venue but, rather, along Mae Sariang street in front of the government offices. There were many people milling around the sellers while the tàkhà:t ceremony was going on. The ceremony seems to be the prerogative of the local 'elite' and ordinary people do not take part in it.

At the ceremony, women predominated, but there were some men (mainly women) present. The ceremony was very brief with the abbot of Wát Sítthimongghan (the District Abbot being in Mae Hong Son) giving the precepts or stage and then the monks passing along the roadway to receive alms. Actually, rice was the main food placed in the alms bowls as the kàpkhá:o had been placed in containers provided by temple boys prior to the presentation for the clergy. The ceremony began at about 8:00 and was over by 8:30.

January 2, 1968

Interview with Mr. Tan Bamrunkit:

Today I had an interview with Mr. Tan Bamrunkit, son of one of the first Chinese merchants in Mae Sariang and currently one of the leading businessmen in town. According to his card, he has a B.A. from Thammasat University, and is the manager both of the Sâhâmítbamrunkit (สามมิตรบำรุงราษฎร์ ) store on Lè:ŋ Pha:nít Road and of an ice factory on Wiaŋmài Road. He is also the local agent for most of the periodical literature to which people in town subscribe.

My ostensible purpose in visiting him was to test out my economic survey. (I discovered that I could ask more questions and decided to revise it). In addition to the questions on the questionnaire, I asked him about a number of other things.

I asked if there were any Karen or Lua<sup>°</sup> merchants in town. First he answered that there were none, but then I mentioned Wichian's wife. He said, yes, she was Karen but now she is Thai. He said that her brother runs the shop that is across from the liquor factory and that he is a Thai with only a Thai name (this is the store I had been formerly told by others is run by Nai Wichian's wife's father). He said that there were other people like this (i.e. formerly Karen but now Thai) but he didn't give any more names. He said that there were no Lua<sup>°</sup> in the market area but there might be some who run small shops on the outskirts of town.

In comparing the Karen and Lua<sup>°</sup>, he said that the Karen were 'honest' but that the Lua<sup>°</sup> were sharp (châlâ:t). He gave as an example the fact that Lua<sup>°</sup> would come to the market and visit many shops to find the best price for the item they wished to buy. Then, when they had found it, they would pick the best of the selection. (A merchant's view of 'sharpness'?)

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I asked about Karen buying rice on credit. He answered that they didn't do it from the shops in the market area, but would do it from small shops on the edge of town where they had good relations. However, he then went on to say that Karen lumbermen, mahouts, etc. did get rice on credit in the market area.

He said that few owners of shops in Mae Sariang took goods to sell in the hills. However, he said that he had witnessed in other shops (but not in his own) Karens buying large supplies of things which he said they took to resell in their villages. He also said that Thai who live in villages nearer the mountain villages than Mae Sariang come and buy things in the market and take them to trade with Karens for things they produce. He said that there Thai made very large profits on this barter trade, but then they must walk long distances to realize it.

Kamnan of Kɔ:ŋ Kɔ:i:

While in Mr. Tan's shop, the kamnan of Kɔ:ŋ Kɔ:i came in (to discuss politics with Tan, I believe). In response to my questions, he said that Kɔ:ŋ Kɔ:i was Thai, not Lua' (contrary to what I had been told before). There are some small shops in the village. A Phanasit lumber road almost reaches the village.

January 3, 1968

Wedding of La:

Today, our former servant, La:, got married. Yesterday she came to formally invite us to the wedding by bringing each of us (Jane, myself, Sanga) an unlit candle. She is marrying a central Thai who works in the Amphø: treasury office.

The wedding was held in La's sister's house (which is right next to ours). La's sister and brother acted as hosts and sponsors of the wedding since La's parents were both dead. The treasury officer acted as 'chairman' of the event.

Guests were invited for 6:00 P.M. and by 6:00 a large number of people had arrived. La: and the groom were in an room which had been stripped of its normal items and decorated especially for the wedding. They were kneeling on cushions placed at the back of the room, with La: on my right as I faced them, and the groom on my left. To La's left, were two young girl attendants (one of whom was said to be Miss Mae Sariang) and on the groom's right were two other women who provided cotton thread to the guests (these women changed, I believe, during the course of the ceremony). A skein of cotton was strung between the heads of the couple. In front of them was placed a cushion on which they rested their outstretched hands in wai position. In front of this was placed a phan.

The only ceremony we observed was the 'tying of the wrists' by the guests. Some guests tied a right wrist of each separately while others tied their two wrists together. All guests would wâi the groom or bride after tying the wrists and the bride/groom would wâi back. Many guests placed money in the phan after tying the wrists, although others brought

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gifts or money and left it at the door of the house where a table had been placed. When all the guests had 'tied the wrists', the formal ceremony was over. However, this was followed by a speech by the 'chairman' followed by a response from the groom and from a male spokesman (a relative) of the bride.

The male guests were served either Mê:khoŋ or beer and hors d'oeuvres while the females were served tea (sweet) and khanōms (some women drank beer, however). Figs and mian were placed on plates around the room. Several dishes of savory foods were also brought out during the course of the evening.

There was considerable ribald humor from the male guests. Also, many of the male guests left very drunk - as is so often the case with parties in Thailand.

The couple moved into a separate house, not far from La's sister.

January 4, 1968

Trip to Mae Hong Son:

Today, having been convinced by Mark Anderson, we drove to Mae Hong Son to observe the visit of the King and Queen which is to take place tomorrow. On the way up we stopped at MÊ:la:lúan to look at some ruins of an old Shan temple. At Khũn Yuam we stopped to get a monk and while there I noticed some campaign posters for the forthcoming provincial elections - they were written in both Thai and Shan.

Sõmphét Na:wikàwa:nít, Headmaster of Mae Hong Son Secondary School:

Due to the fact that we brought along Mr. Rỳ:di:sg:n, a teacher at the Bòríphát Sũksǎ: school and Mark's roommate, we ended up staying at the home of Mr. Sõmphét Na:wikàwa:nít ( ສົມເພັດ ນາວິກາວານິດ ) headmaster of the Hô:η Sǎ:n Sũksǎ: school ( ໄກວິໄສ ນ້ອນສ່ວນ ທີ່ເດຊາ [ໂປ.ທ້ວ] ), the only secondary school in Mae Hong Son. Although there are only a handful (8, I believe) students in the top two grades (MS4 and MS5) in this school, and although it has a smaller enrollment than the Bòríphát Sũksǎ: school in Mae Sariang, this school is still the prestige school in the province because it is located in the provincial capital and because it has 5 secondary (instead of 3) grades. Sõmphét was transferred to the <sup>master</sup> head~~man~~ship of this school from Bòríphát Sũksǎ: in Mae Sariang a year ago and this was a definite promotion for him.

Sõmphét is a native of Mae Hong Son and both of his parents, so he says, are Shan. It is interesting that he says that his parents are Shan, but doesn't immediately identify as Shan himself. There are several reasons for this. His secondary education was partially in Chiang Mai and then he

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went to a Teacher's Training School in Bangkok. He lived in Bangkok for 10 years, studying at a Teacher's Training College and later taking a B.A. at Prasamit~~e~~. He also taught some in Bangkok in between his two periods of study. (He 'majored' in English and Math.) He is married to a Chiang Mai girl and the language that he uses with her and his four children is kammyang, not shan. His style of living (household belongings, newspaper reading, etc.) is that of most other middle-class Thai whom I have met.

Still, his Shan origin is important. He prefers living in Mae Hong Son. He taught here first after graduating from Prasamit~~e~~. He was then transferred to Mae Sariang as headmaster of the Bõríp~~h~~át Sỳks~~ã~~ school and then transferred back here as headmaster. (There does not seem to be the same pattern of appointing teachers in other than <sup>home</sup>~~town~~ areas as is the case for many other types of government officials. Many of the teachers in Mae Sariang and even at the Mahararakham Teachers' College were local people. This is worth noting because they are in a position to become local power figures.)

Sõmphét is a fairly youngish man, probably in his late 30's or early 40's - quite young to be headmaster of an important school.

(Mark Anderson says that Sõmphét once told him about making a trip with his father to the Shan states when he was a young boy. Sõmphét himself said that he made a short excursion into Burma on the New Year's holiday this year.)

January 6, 1968

Mae Hong Son and the Royal Visit:

Mae Hong Son has long been known as the "Siberia" of Thailand because of its inaccessibility ('Siberia' is the word the Thai use). According to Ćit, until recently only ineffectual or dishonest government officials were posted here - as a sort of punishment. It is still difficult to reach by any other means than planes. Above Mē:la: Nō:i (30 some kilometers north of Mae Sariang), the road is little better than a glorified cart track which is open to motorized traffic only during the dry season. (It took us better than 6 1/2 hours to travel the 171 kilometers between Mae Sariang and Mae Hong Son.) Although the road is now being constructed to be serviceable all year long, it will still be some years before it is completed. Thus, the town still depends upon the thrice-weekly plane service from Chiang Mai (which on Saturdays passes through Mae Sariang before reaching Mae Hong Son). In consequence prices are high for any sort of imported good ('imported' from outside Mae Hong Son). For example, gasoline costs ~~฿~~3/litre in Mae Hong Son as compared with ฿2/litre in Chiang Mai or ~~฿~~2.25/litre in Mae Sariang.

Nonetheless, the town has begun to show signs of 'improvement' (ĉăre:n) in the past few years. Because of its border sensitivity, the government no longer sees fit to appoint only undesirable government officials in the province. The present governor, Eam Kriengsiri (Īam Kriangsiri - <sup>เอี่ยม เกิ่งศิริ</sup> ) a Bangkok Thai, has been very jealous in bringing progress to the province. He has been responsible for the reduction of air fares, for stimulating the building of the Mae Sariang - Mae Hong Son 'highway', etc. He has also seen in the Shan character of the town, a possible <sup>u</sup>tourist attraction. Last year, for example, he sponsored a contest of Shan dancing. Thus, in contrast

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to the late Provincial Abbot who sought to stamp out Shan practices in the local wats (told me by both the Burmese abbot of Wát Ānthara: wā:t and Kris Lehman), he has actually stimulated the perpetration of Shan traditions. A new hospital, with very modern equipment provided by the Australians, has recently been built and taken under the patronage of the Princess Mother. New provincial and municipal offices give the town a much more 'progressive' appearance than Mae Sariang despite the fact that it has a smaller population (Sōmphét says about 3,000 people live in the town) and is more inaccessible. In point of fact, the 'official' population of Mae Hq̄ng Sqn due to the presence of both provincial and municipal governments forms a much higher percentage of the population of Mae Hq̄ng Sqn than it does of Mae Sariang which is the seat only of a district.

The indigenous lowland population in and around Mae Hq̄ng Sqn town (and, in fact, as far south as Mē:la:Nó:i) is Shan. One finds in the market a plentitude of Shan garments for both men and women (in contrast to only those for women in Mae Sariang) and all of the wats are in Shan style. Like Khūn Yuam, one sees signs written in both Thai and Shan. The market area of the town seems more prosperous than that of Mae Sariang with more 2-storey teak buildings and more garden between the buildings. It may in fact be due to more wealth provided by a larger 'official' middle class. In the recent municipal elections (held 23 December 1967), according to Kris Lehman, the party which advocated "Keeping Mae Hq̄ng Sqn Shan" made a clean sweep. (In fact, however, the man who led this party was a north-easterner married to a local girl.) The major decoration for the King's visit was a large tiered gateway in Shan style, built under the auspices of the municipality.

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Yesterday morning we made a trip up the mountain that overlooks the town and on which is built the major temple of Mae Hong Son - Wát Kò:ṅṅu:<sup>m</sup>. This wát has two chedi:, in Shan style, which are the oldest structures of the town. Inside one of the buildings of this wát was a placard, in Thai, giving the history of the wát (see photograph). On the opposite wall was a similar placard, giving the same information, but in Shan.

The town was extremely festively decorated in preparation of the King and Queen's visit. This royal trip, which had been planned for last year but postponed at the last minute because of bad weather thus making landings difficult, had been arranged so that the King could present an image of the Buddha which the King himself had arranged to make. A similar image will be presented by the King in each of the 71 provinces, and they will be kept, for worship by the people, in the provincial offices. The images were known by the name Phráphútthánáwára:tchábhòphít (พระพุทธรูปถวาย ). MÊ: Hô:ṅ Sǒ:n was apparently the third province so honored. His visit also included a visit to the hospital and a meeting, along with the Queen, of the 'people'.

In preparation for the visit, 9 senior monks (including the Āo Kháná Phá:k and one other monk from Lamphan, the Āo Kháná'Āṅwát, the Āo Kháná' Amphé: of Mae Hong Son, Mae Sariang and Khǔn Yuam, but not of Pa:i, and 3 local monks) were invited to attend. According to the Āo Kháná' Amphé: of Mae Sariang, the monks so invited should have been ones who were of such a status as to have royally conferred statuses, ~~and~~ names, and fans. In fact, the 3 local monks were not of such a high status. The monks did not wear sandals in deference to the royal presence.

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Also present for the ceremonies were large numbers of police, including the police band from Lampa:η, dignitaries from all the districts of the province (all of the senior officials from Mae Sariang were present) as well as provincial officials, representatives of hill tribe groups (Meo, 'Black' Lahu, Lua', and 3 types of Karen: Ya:ηdε;η or Kayah, Ya:η Khă:o or S'kaw, and Ya:η Ka:lə: - probably P'wo), local Shan notables, etc. Also, present were the Minister of Public Welfare (because of the hospital), the Deputy Director General of the Department of Religious Affairs (because of the religious ceremony) and the Under-Secretary of State for the Ministry of Interior. The King's cream mercedes and driver were flown in the day before and with the royal party came the Princess Mother and a large group of attendants, protocol officer, ADC's, etc.

The local populace and officials were dressed in their finest: White uniforms of the senior officials, dress uniforms of some of the high ranking military and police types, ordinary police, and military, and civil uniforms, boy scout uniforms, red cross uniforms, nurses uniforms, teachers uniforms (which had caps that looked like WWI Overseas caps) and Shan, Khonm̄yaη, and tribal dress.

The events moved very much on schedule. The royal party arrived by 3 planes and 3 helicopters almost exactly at 2:00 P.M. They paraded through the streets to the provincial office, some 4 - 5 kilometers from the airport (with the exception of the Princess Mother and a small group who went to the police camp outside of town). At the provincial office, the grounds were studded with tentlike structures that almost looked medieval under which many officials sat and with other pavillions for the populace. In front of the office was a raised pavillion in which sat the monks,

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high officials, and members of the royal party. It was here that the presentation of the Buddha image was made (speech by King, speech by governor, and chanting by monks). After the ceremony, a group of Shan girls put on a Shan dance. Then the King, Queen, and royal party toured the grounds, greeting the people and receiving presents which they had brought.

It somewhat surprised us to see the queen squat down to speak to various people. She did this relatively **often**, much to the lasting pleasure of those she addressed. I overheard one policeman explaining to a group of Shan villagers that if the Queen addressed them, they should just smile. However, if she asked them a direct question (which she often did), the policeman said, don't worry about speaking râ:tche:sà:p but just be as polite as you can. One woman in this group was taking smelling salts, so excited was she at the approach of the King and Queen. Afterwards, I also saw one of the Shan dancers whom the Queen spoke to being embraced by her friend and congratulated on her good fortune (the Queen actually asked her her name and complimented her on behalf of all the dancers on the beauty of the dancing and of the costumes). The Queen was particularly interested in the hill tribes, stopping to ask a group of Laht what they used to make their cheeks so red (they had a very high color on). Most of the stops the King and Queen made involved the presentation of some gift which the people had brought. These gifts included such things as a Karen bronze drum, elephant husks, local silk, and a variety of Buddha images, antiques, Shan and tribal items, etc. One old Shan physician, whom Kris Lehman said was 86 and who was dressed in traditional Shan 'court' costume (turban, white silk jacket with Chinese frog fasteners, and white silk trousers) personally presented the King with a solid gold Buddha.

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Kris' comment was that the old man would probably talk of nothing else until his death (which Kris predicted would still be a long time away).

Another old Shan man, blind for many years, had travelled from Khūn Yuam to present the King with a pair of antique intricately carved elephant tusks. He had reportedly been offered fantastic prices for these, but was intent on offering them to the King. His intentions almost came to naught when a few weeks before the ceremony, thieves stole the tusks. However, the local police were successful in catching the thieves, and so the man was able to realize his ambition.

After 'meeting the people', the royal procession left the provincial office grounds and travelled to the hospital (where they met up with the Princess Mother). I didn't observe this part of the ceremony. By 5:00 P.M., the procession had returned to the airport and taken off for return to Chāng Mai.

In the evening there was a celebration at the provincial offices consisting of a concert by the Lampa:ŋ police band and ramwong.

I discovered later that the Lua' who attended the ceremony were reportedly from Mē:la:lūaŋ.

January 9, 1968

Chuck Weeks - New Tribes Missionary:

On the way back from Mae Hong Son, we stopped in MÊ:la: NÓ:i to get a snack. While there, Chuck Weeks arrived down from a Karen village. He is a New Tribes missionary working primarily with the Lua. Everyone, including some of the missionaries, thinks him a bit strange, because he claims God speaks to him personally. He lives at Kɔ:ŋ Lɔ:i when he isn't in the mountains.

Today, after we returned from Chiang Mai, he stopped by to thank us again for the ride. While talking with him, I learned that at least one and maybe two village Karen children had been sent from this area to Bangsaen to attend a Christian school which is run by a Chinese Baptist Church in Bangkok.

Elections:

On the 14th, elections will be held in all provinces to choose representatives to provincial assemblies (สภาจังหวัด). Seats are allocated to districts on the basis of population. People in Mae Sariang (including MÊ:la:NÓ:i) will choose 8 people from amongst 28 candidates. The official election announcement, posted at various places throughout the district, reads as follows:

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PLEASE KNOW

SUNDAY 14 JANUARY 1968

(1st day of the Waxing of the Moon, 2nd Lunar Month,  
Year of the Goat)

Is the day for Electing Representatives for the  
Provincial Assembly.

Please Take Care of Your Rights

By Going to Vote in the Election for Provincial Representatives

At your Polling Station

BETWEEN 8:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M.

Listen, Think, Consider what is Best before Voting

Then You Will Have Good Representatives.

To Vote for Provincial Representatives

Use the Symbol X or +

Write this Symbol on the Ballot.

Please examine and search for your name in the list of voters which the District Office has posted at polling places and your villages. If you do not see your name or if it is there but incorrect, please submit a petition to the Voter Examination Committee which will meet at your polling place on the 30th of December 1967 between 8:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. in order to correct the following mistakes:

-If your name is missing, please request that it be added to the list.

-If there is a name on the list of persons ineligible to vote, please request that the names be removed from the list.

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The Provincial Assembly is yours. Thus, you ought to exercise your rights by voting for persons who satisfy you and persons who will be most useful for your region.

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The following is a translation of an invitation to a dedication ceremony of a new vihara at Wat Chaiyalâ:p, held on 13-14 January while I was in the hills.

INVITATION TO JOIN IN THE MERIT MAKING

ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEDICATION OF A VIHARA (tha:n thá')

Wát Chaiyalâ:p, Mâe: Sariang

May all you faithful and chairtable [be inclined to] contribute to [the following] merit-making endeavor.

In order to erect a viahra at Wát Chaiyalâp for the use of the monks, novice and al' laity in religious ceremonies and by everyone as a rest house, you faithful have already joined together as my congregation to make sacrificies for this meriful enterprise. While the construction is now almost finished, the Vihara cannot be completed because we still lack approximately 3,000 baht. Usually the construction of a Vihara is a major undertaking requiring large expenditures of resources and time before it is finished. According to our local customs, before we hold a celebration for a new Vihara, we must dedicate the Vihara as an offering, [a custom] which since ancient times we have called tha:n thá'. This is done in order that clergy might use the place as a residence and that all of us may formally donate to the religion those construction materials for which we have already sacrificed wealth and resources.

In this ceremony in addition to the making of merit through the dedication of the Vihara, there will also be an anointment

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(phúttha:phìsè:k) of three new bronze Buddhas images which will be the chief [images] in the Vihara. Na:i Sòm and Na:ng Kham'ôei Bunryang will present one image worth 12,000 baht; Na:ng Sòm and Na:i Sòm Khunpràdít, <sup>Police</sup> another image worth 5,000 baht, and [Sgt. Major Chaiyáwong and Na:ng A:phq:n Sínwannaro:], a third image worth 5,000 baht. Altogether, the three images are worth 22,000 baht.

On this same occasion, the ~~same~~ committee has also arranged for the simultaneous holding of the ceremony of tàk bà:t khâ:o sà:n ('giving of paddy rice alms') which is customarily held on the day of the full moon in the 4th lunar month [northern reckoning] (duan sì:peng). This [ceremony is held] in order that the faithful might present the first fruits of their produce [i.e., new rice and first fruit]. However the arrangements committee will not be distributing sacks for the rice as usual for this ceremony. Those of you who desire to join in the offering of first rice, on this occasion, please bring [the rice] to join in the merit-making at Wat Chaiyá'â:p according to the following schedule:

13 January 2511 (14th day of the waxing of the moon, 4th lunar month, northern reckoning) at ~~5:30 a.m.~~ 8:30 a.m. the faithful will bring their offerings to come and decorate the temple. A sq: [player] from Chiang Mai will provide entertainment. At 7:00 p.m., nine monks will chant mantras, the Thammáçàk sermon, and the thammáphúttha:phìsè:k suat bòek ('chant of dedication of ritual objects'), and [then there will be] other entertainment.

14th January 2511 (15th day of the waxing of the moon, 4th lunar month, northern reckoning) at 5:30 a.m. the monks will perform the

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ceremony of bòek nê:t p̣rāphútharú:p (lit., 'opening the eyes of the Buddha image') and will present máthúpa:yâ:t rice (rice mixed with honey). At 11:00 a.m. ~~the~~ food will be presented to the monks for their midday meal and then everyone who has joined in the ceremony will be fed. The ceremony of dedication of the Vihara will begin at 1:00 p.m., followed by the offerings of paddy to the clergy. Then there will be a sermon, followed by the offering of alms. The ceremony will end with the chant of gratitude by the monks.

Therefore, we invite all Buddhists to join in the joy of making merit together at this time. All the proceeds from the festival will be combined with existing funds to be used to finish the building of the vihara.

[stamp indicating  
approval by the  
Cáo Kháná' Amphoe:]

[signed] Phrá' Máhá: Kâe:o Paññāwarō, Chairman  
of festival committee  
Nai Šom Khunprādīt, Deputy Chairman  
Nai Tho: Bunsí:, Comm. member  
Nai Kâe:o Khīaomyang, Comm.  
Member,  
Nai Udom Thamākhan, Comm. member  
and all members of Wat Chaiyalá:p's  
Wat Committee

เมืองในงานท่านพระวิหาร ( กานเทาะ )

วัดชัยลาภ แม่สะเรียง

ขอบอกบุญมายังท่านศรัทธาผู้ใจบุญทั้งหลาย

ตามที่ท่านทั้งหลาย ได้มีจิตศรัทธาร่วมแรงร่วมใจกันเสียสละทรัพย์สมบัติของตนสร้างสารณะกุศล โดยร่วมกันกับคนศรัทธาข้าพเจ้าทั้งหลายก่อสร้างวิหารของวัดชัยลาภขึ้น เพื่อเป็นประโยชน์แก่พระภิกษุสามเณรและศรัทธาทั้งหลายจะได้ใช้ประกอบพิธีทำบุญทางศาสนา และเป็นที่พำนักพักพาท้ายของคนทั่วไปมาแต่บัดนั้น บัดนี้การก่อสร้างวิหารดังกล่าวเสร็จไปมากแล้ว แต่ยังไม่เรียบร้อยดี เพราะยังขาดทุนทรัพย์สำหรับใช้ในการก่อสร้างอยู่ประมาณ ๓๐๐๐๐ บาท ( สามหมื่นบาท ) ปกติการก่อสร้างวิหารเป็นงานใหญ่ต้องใช้ทุนทรัพย์มาก และต้องใช้เวลาอันจึงจะสำเร็จเรียบร้อยดี ตามประเพณีท้องถิ่นบ้านเรานั้น ก่อนที่เราจะฉลองวิหารใหม่จำเป็นต้องมีการถวายพระวิหารเป็นสังฆทานไปก่อน ตามโบราณประเพณีที่เรียกว่า ( กานเทาะ ) นั้นเอง ทั้งนี้เพื่อพระภิกษุสามเณรจะได้ใช้เป็นที่พักพาท้าย และเป็นปัจจัยให้เราทั้งหลาย ได้ทานไม้ทานหินทรายตลอดถึงอุปกรณ์การก่อสร้างวิหารทั้งหมดที่เราได้สละทรัพย์ไว้เป็นทุนเดิมมาแต่บัดนั้นแก่พระศาสนาอีกด้วย

ในงานนั้นนอกจากจะมีการทำบุญทานวิหารแล้ว ยังมีการพุทธาภิเษกพระพุทธรูปทองเหลืองที่เป็นพระประธานในวิหารใหม่อีก ๓ องค์ด้วย โดยมีนายสม นางคำเอ๋ย บุญเรือง ถวายไว้หนึ่งองค์ ราคาพระ ๑๒๐๐๐ บาท นายสม นายสม คุณประดิษฐ์ หนึ่งองค์ ราคาพระ ๕๐๐๐ บาท จ.ส.ท. ไชยวงษ์ นางอรุณศิริวรรณโร หนึ่งองค์ ราคา ๕๐๐๐ บาท รวมทั้งสามองค์เป็นเงิน ๒๒๐๐๐ บาท ( สองหมื่นสองพันบาท )

เนื่องในวาระเดียวกันนี้ ทางคณะกรรมการจัดงานยังมีการทำบุญตักบาตรข้าวสารพร้อมกันตามประเพณีเดือน ๔ เบ็ญอีกด้วย ทั้งนี้เพื่อจะได้ให้พุทธบริษัทหรือศรัทธาทั้งหลายได้ถวายทานข้าวใหม่ ผลไม้แรกมีอีกด้วย แต่การทำบุญตักบาตรข้าวสารนี้ ทางคณะกรรมการจัดงานไม่ได้แจกถุงข้าวสารให้ตั้งที่กระทำให้มา ถ้าหากศรัทธาท่านใดประสงค์จะร่วมทำบุญทานข้าวใหม่ครั้งนั้นแล้ว กรุณานำไปร่วมทำบุญได้ที่วัดชัยลาภ ตามหมายกำหนดการจัดงานดังนี้

วันที่ ๑๓ เดือนมกราคม ๒๕๑๑ ซึ่งตรงกับวันเดือน ๔ เหนือขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เวลา ๘.๓๐ น คณะศรัทธานำเครื่องไทยทานไปรวมกันที่วัดพร้อมกันทุกแห่งตาม มีชอมาจากเชียงใหม่ขอให้ฟัง เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๔ รูป เจริญพระพุทธมนต์ เทศน์ธรรมจักร ฯ ธรรมพุทธาภิเษกสวดเบิก และมหรสพการเล่นต่างๆ อบรมสมโภช

วันที่ ๑๔ เดือนมกราคม ๒๕๑๑ ซึ่งตรงกับเดือน ๔ เหนือขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เวลา ๕.๓๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ทำพิธีเบิกเนตรพระพุทธรูป และถวายข้าวมธุปายาส เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น ถวายภัตตาหารเพลแก่พระสงฆ์เสร็จแล้ว เลี้ยงอาหารแก่ท่านที่ไปร่วมในงาน เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีถวายวิหาร ถวายข้าวสารแก่พระสงฆ์เสร็จแล้วมีเทศน์ ๑ กัณฑ์ จบแล้ว ถวายเครื่องไทยทาน พระสงฆ์อนุโมทนาเป็นเสร็จพิธี

ฉนั้น จึงขอเชิญชวนท่านพุทธศาสนิกชนทั้งหลายไปร่วมอนุโมทนาทำบุญร่วมกันในครั้งนี้โดยทั่วกันด้วย ปัจจัยรายได้จากงานนี้ทั้งหมดจะได้รวบรวมสมทบทุนในการสร้างพระวิหารที่ยังไม่เสร็จให้สำเร็จลุล่วงต่อไป

อนุมิตตามัน  
พระศรีอนสรณศาสนเกียรติ  
เจ้าคณะอำเภอแม่สะเรียง  
ประทับตราตำแหน่งเป็นสำคัญ

พระมหาแก้ว ปญญาวิโร ประธานจัดงาน  
นายสม คุณประดิษฐ์ รองประธาน  
นายโท บุญศรี กรรมการ  
นายแก้ว เขียวเมือง กรรมการ  
นายอุดม ธรรมจันทร์ กรรมการ  
และคณะศรัทธาวัดชัยลาภทุกคน

# โปรดทราบ

## วันอาทิตย์ที่ ๑๔ มกราคม ๒๕๑๑

(วันขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เดือนยี่ ปีมะแม)

### เป็นวันเลือกตั้งสมาชิกสภาจังหวัด

โปรดรักษาสติของท่าน

ด้วยการไปลงคะแนนเลือกตั้งสมาชิกสภาจังหวัด

ณ หน่วยลงคะแนนของท่าน

### ระหว่างเวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ถึง ๑๖.๐๐ น.

พึง คิด ไตร่ตรองเสียให้ดีก่อนลงคะแนน

แล้วท่านจะได้ผู้แทนที่ดี

### การเลือกตั้งสมาชิกสภาจังหวัด

ใช้วิธีการเครื่องหมาย X หรือ +

ลงในช่องกาเครื่องหมายในบัตรเลือกตั้ง

โปรดตรวจสอบชื่อของท่าน ในบัญชีผู้มีสิทธิเลือกตั้ง ซึ่งนายอำเภอได้ประกาศไว้  
ณ ที่ลงคะแนน และหมู่บ้านของท่าน หากเห็นว่าไม่มีชื่อของท่าน หรือมีแต่ยังไม่ถูกต้อง  
โปรดยื่นคำร้องต่อกรรมการตรวจคะแนน ซึ่งจะประชุมกัน ณ ที่ลงคะแนนในหน่วยลงคะแนน  
ของท่าน ในวันที่ ๓๐ ธันวาคม ๒๕๑๐ ระหว่างเวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ถึง ๑๖.๐๐ น. เพื่อขอให้  
แก้ไขให้ถูกต้องดังนี้ :-

- ถ้าไม่มีชื่อท่านอยู่ โปรดร้องขอให้ เพิ่ม ชื่อของท่านในบัญชี

- ถ้ามีชื่อผู้อื่นที่ไม่มีสิทธิเลือกตั้ง โปรดร้องขอให้ ถอน ชื่อออกเสียจากบัญชี

สภาจังหวัดเป็นของท่าน ฉะนั้นท่านควรใช้สิทธิของท่าน โดยการออกเสียงลงคะแนน  
ให้แก่ผู้ที่ท่านพอใจ และเป็นผู้ที่จะทำประโยชน์ให้แก่ท้องถิ่นของท่านได้มากที่สุด



**นายอุดม มหาวนา**  
เจ้าของ

โรงเลื่อยจักรนครใหม่แม่สะเรียง  
สาขา 44/1 ข้างสถานีรถไฟ เชียงใหม่

โทร. 5961

พิมพ์ที่บริษัทไซนการพิมพ์ จำกัด ๒๓-๒๕ ถนนนายพล (หน้าวัดสันป่าข่อย) เชียงใหม่ โทร. ๕๔๐๐

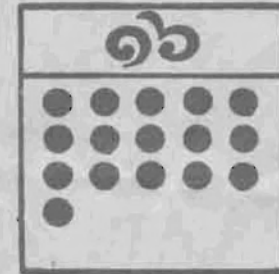
# พี่น้องชาวแม่สะเรียง

## โปรดพิจารณา

ตั้งแต่ผมมาตั้งโรงเลื่อยขึ้น ณ. แม่สะเรียง พี่น้องทั้งหลายย่อมเห็นประจักษ์  
แล้วว่า บ้านเมืองเจริญตามไปด้วย ช่วยเหลือให้คนมีงานทำ — มีรายได้เพิ่มขึ้น ในปี  
หนึ่งๆ ทำให้เงินหมุนเวียนในบ้านเมืองเรานับเป็นล้าน ๆ

ถ้าเห็นว่า ผมจะเป็นปากเสียง แทนท่านในสภาจังหวัดได้

อย่าลืมเลือก เบอร์



**ขอเสนอตัว สมัครรับเลือกตั้ง  
สมาชิกสภาจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน**

**อำเภอแม่สะเรียง**

**ในวันที่ 14 มกราคม พ.ศ. 2511**

# เลือกตั้ง วันที่ ๑๔ มกราคม ๒๕๑๑ โปรตเลือก “กลุ่มพัฒนาแม่สระเรียง”

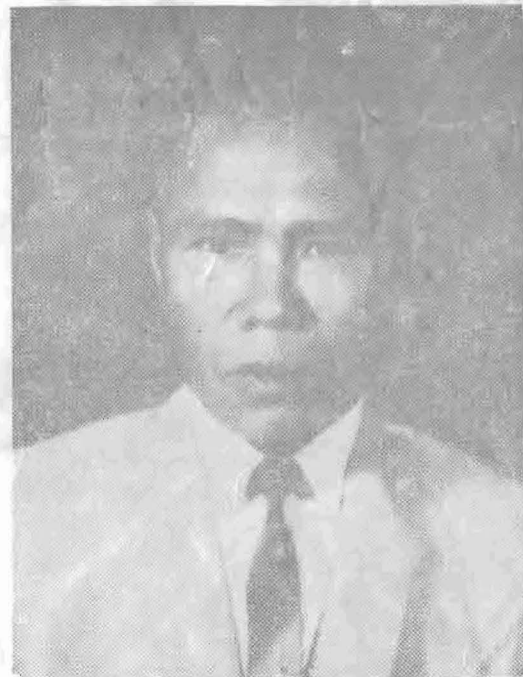
(คนแม่สระเรียง ๑๐๐%) ไปเป็นสมาชิกสภาจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

เบอร์ ๘



ตัน บำรุงกิจ ศ.บ.  
เจ้าของผู้จัดการโรงน้ำแข็งแม่สระเรียง

เบอร์ ๙



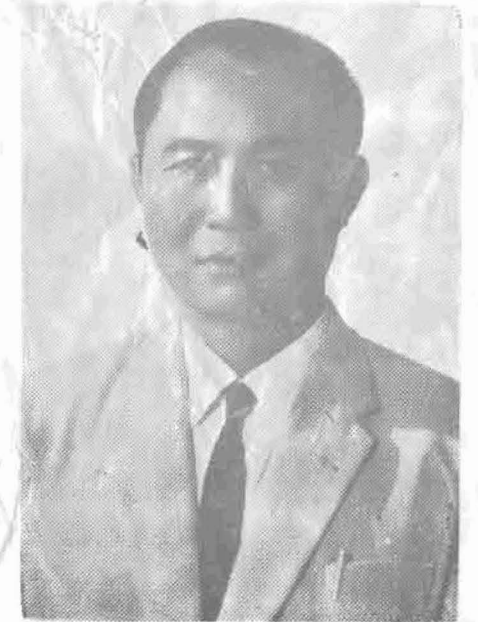
ส.ต.ท.สงัด บัวเย็น  
เจ้าของผู้จัดการร้านสังคพณิชย์  
และข้าราชการบ้านาญกรมตำรวจ  
กระทรวงมหาดไทย

เบอร์ ๑๐



ล้วน สุวรรณลพ  
ข้าราชการบ้านาญกรมการปกครอง  
กระทรวงมหาดไทย

เบอร์ ๑๑



อินทวร ดวงม่อง  
ผู้ช่วยผู้จัดการบริษัทไทยสมุทรฯ  
สาขาแม่สระเรียง

เบอร์ ๒๐



เบอร์ ๑๕

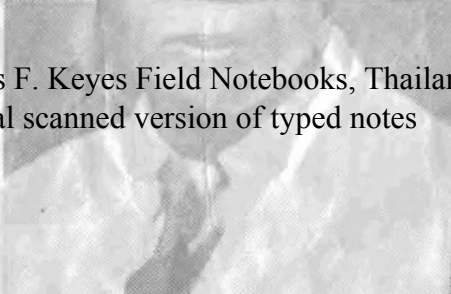


เบอร์ ๒๕



เบอร์ ๒๖





**ถวิล สายคำ**

อดีตสมาชิกสภาจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

“กลุ่มพัฒนาแม่สะเรียง”



**จิรศักดิ์ (ครูคำ) ศรีวิชัย**

เจ้าของผู้จัดการโรงเลื่อยศรีวิชัยการไม้

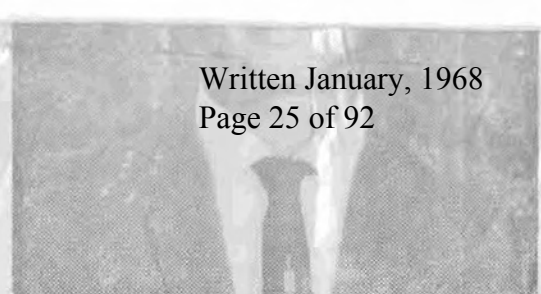
ขอเสนอตัวรับใช้ท่านพี่น้องชาวแม่สะเรียง



**วิชัย มยุรศรี**

ผู้ควบคุมการไฟฟ้าแม่สะเรียง

เพื่อพัฒนาบ้านเมืองของเราให้เจริญ



**เรียงสอน ทองสวัสดิ์**

เจ้าของผู้จัดการตลาดสด-โรงเลื่อยพัฒนาทอง แม่สะเรียง

เป็นปากเสียงแทนท่านทั้งหลาย

**ศ. ค. ส. 2511**

**1 JANUARY มกราคม**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

**2 FEBRUARY กุมภาพันธ์**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29		

**3 MARCH มีนาคม**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

**4 APRIL เมษายน**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

**5 MAY พฤษภาคม**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
		1	2	3	4	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
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19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

**6 JUNE มิถุนายน**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

**7 JULY กรกฎาคม**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

**8 AUGUST สิงหาคม**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

**9 SEPTEMBER กันยายน**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

**10 OCTOBER ตุลาคม**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

**11 NOVEMBER พฤศจิกายน**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

**12 DECEMBER ธันวาคม**

วันอาทิตย์	จันทร์	อังคาร	พุธ	พฤหัสบดี	ศุกร์	เสาร์
SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

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Trip to Lua' Villages:

For the past week I have been in the mountains, especially in the Lua' village of Bâ:n Dong where I went with a group of teachers, monks, and hangers-on to attend the celebration in honor of the opening of the Bâ:n Dong school for this year. We started the trip by travelling by car to Mê:la:Nó:i on the 9th. We spent the 9th in Mê:la:Nó:i and on the 10th we walked to Bâ:n Dong, taking about 8 1/2 hours for the trek. The 11th - 15th were spent in Bâ:n Dong. On the 15th, we walked the short distance (2 hours) between Bâ:n Dong and Bâ:n Pà:Pě:(Pete's Lua' village). We spent the night of the 15th and all day of the 16th in Bâ:n Pà:Pě: On the 17th, yesterday, I left before the group (who left about 10:10) and returned to Mae Sariang - about 6 hours of walking. During the course of this trip, I made a number of observations and interviews.

Mê:La:Nó:i

I noticed that the 'southern' wát in Mê:La:Nó:i where we stayed was being set-up as a polling station for the election on the 14th. Lists of eligible voters appeared on mimeographed sheets on a bulletin board in the wát courtyard. On these lists were a large number of Karen and Lua' from villages in T. Mê:la: Nó:i. On the sides of the main wát building were sheets announcing the candidacy of each of the 28 candidates. (These sheets were 'official' announcements of candidacy, signed by the District Officer.) According to one man (himself a candidate) who visited the Āo Kháná' Amphə: at the wát, there are 2 candidates from Mê:la:Nó:i. One person thought that Bâ:n Pà:Pě: would be a polling station


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since it was in the last general elections, but I found out later that there were no polling stations in the mountains.

In the evening, the <sup>Border Patrol Police</sup> ~~Bà:n Đông~~ Pô: group showed films that were being taken to Bà:n Đông for the celebration. The first films shown were the <sup>15</sup> ~~US~~ Hill Tribes films of Lisô:, Karen, and Meo. The watchers laughed at the antics displayed in the films. Also shown was a film of SEATO air exercises and slides brought by the Āo Kháná' Amphə:.

I toured the 'town' with the Āo Kháná' Amphə:. He said that this was his first visit to Mē:la: Nô:i since 1957. He said also that the Shan are better Buddhists than the <sup>Khon</sup> ~~Khon~~.

In the evening I met a teacher who teaches English in Mē:la:Nô:i school by the name of Pho: (  ). He said that he had studied English with a missionary in Mae Sariang - Hunt, now gone. In his conversation in English, this teacher made occasional references to looking for the true God - an obvious indication of his training. The teacher is a relative of the Āo Kháná' Amphə:.

On the morning of the 10th, I went to the market in Mē:la: Nô:i with some of my fellow travellers. The market is very minimal with a limited variety of vegetables and only chicken as meat.

At the wát in the morning, many, many people brought food to present to the monks. In presenting food, they would first go to a table where there were empty dishes and a lacquered phan. They would place a little of each dish prepared, including rice, on the phan (for the Buddha, it was explained), then place food in the dishes, and the rice in a large basin next to the table.

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Elephant Blessing Ceremony, Bâ:n Dong:

On the 11th, the Čáo Kháná' Amphə: and I made a tour of the village. At one household, they were getting ready to perform the ceremony known as mát mư: ( มัดมือ ) (lit. 'tying of the hands') in N. Thai for an elephant. We were invited up into the house and the Čáo Kháná' Amphə: was invited to make the sōmpò:i 'holy' water. The elephant was tethered next to the porch of the house, and the people involved sat on the porch. The items involved in the ceremony included a satuan ( สะตวน ) - a square shallow tray made with banana stalks with 4 'flags' stuck in at the corners and containing pieces of chicken and pork (cooked), 2 small images made of rice flowers (Buffalo or elephants ?), rice, etc. - a dish of water with sōmpò:i pods in it, some cotton thread and a plate containing a cooked chicken and cooked pork. The participants included the Headman of Bâ:n Dong, as sort of chief officiant, the owner of the elephants, a group of elders, and, unexpectedly, the Čáo Kháná' Amphə:.

First, the Čáo Kháná' Amphə: made 'holy water' by holding a lit candle over the water containing the sōmpò:i pods while chanting. When finished, he sprinkled some water on the elephant. Then, the remaining water, in its container, was placed in the satuan and taken by the Headman and one other man down from the porch near the elephant. The remaining water was thrown on the elephant. Then the satuan was placed inside a tied circle of stripped branches (rattan? reeds?) and taken by the 2nd man to the woods, and, I believe outside the village.

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The Headman returned upstairs and he and some other elders squatted on the porch around the head of the elephant. They 'chanted' something together in unison. When finished, some flowers and leaves were placed on the elephant's head. Then liquor was passed to the men present (each ~~twirled~~ his forefinger in the liquor and said something before drinking. Pete says that this is a request to the house spirit to drink first).

Then a man (owner? Mahout?) climbed atop the elephant and, assisted by the Headman, tied strings around the elephants ears. A string was also tied by the Headman around the mahout's stick. Then the chicken was ~~taken~~ and two bones stripped of all their meat. Bamboo slivers were stuck into the holes of each bone (2 in each bone), and the ~~omen~~<sup>omens</sup> read. They were favorable as the slivers each pointed away from the other.



#### Elephant Ownership in Bâ:n Dong:

The elephant in question in the ceremony was a male and was owned by 6 people on a cooperative basis. It is never, according to one man present, taken into the valley for work. I believe I was told that there are 4 elephants in the village.

#### Characteristics of Bâ:n Dong:

According to the Headman of Bâ:n Dong, the village has 96-7 households with 589 people. Only one household is Christian (Protestant).

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Major Village Shrine:

On the tour of the village with the Cáo Kháná' Amphã:, we visited the main village spirit shrine. On a slight rise there is a tall, (perhaps 20-30 feet) carved pole to which a buffalo is tied for the buffalo sacrifice. This sacrifice has not been held for more than 20 years. It is held regularly when a new headman takes office (headmanship is hereditary) or when a major catastrophe hits the village.

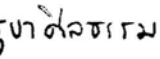
Next to ~~the~~ pole there is a building, like the Lua' houses, on stilts, which houses the wooden drums used for the buffalo sacrifice. These drums are very large, being at least 2 feet in diameter and 10 or more feet long. They were placed on a raised platform in the building, under which was a place for making a fire. On top of the drums were at least three pairs of buffalo horns from previous sacrifices and in the drum farthest to the left of the entrance were bones of a buffalo (this drum was broken).

The man who accompanied us into the building said that if an unauthorized person beat these drums, he would have to sponsor the buffalo sacrifice. (I suppose to appease the spirits.)

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Headman of Bâ:n Dong:

The headman who accompanied us on much of our tour of the village and who spent considerable time in talking with the Ćào Kháná' Amphə: mentioned several things during the course of the day which I noted. He was wearing a collection of Buddhist amulets around his neck, a fact which caught the Ćào Kháná' Amphə:'s attention. One of the amulets was an image of Khru:ba; Sĭ:wíchai, the famous Chiang Mai monk, and the others were all various images of the Buddha. The headman said that villagers greatly revered Khru:ba: Sĭ:wíchai whom they call Khru:ba: Sĭntham (  ) and today reverence his disciple, Khru:ba: Phi: (the Khru:ba: Khă:ə). Despite these manifestation of interest in Buddhism, the headman said that no household had a Buddhist altar. The headman also told a story about the spirit of Wát Chădi: Lũaŋ in Chiang Mai being a Lua' spirit.

Other Buddhist Manifestations:

One man said that his son had been to Mĕ:la: Nŏ:i to make merit at a wát there.

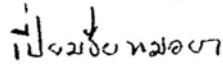
Bâ:n La:'Up:

Another important Lua' village, Bâ:n La:'Up, is located about 2 hours walk from Bâ:n Dong (We had passed this village on the way to Bâ:n Dong). (This is the village, incidently, in which Don Schlater, the New Tribes Missionary who works with the Lua', has had the most success. He recently held a 'conference' of Lua' Christians in B.La:'Up:.) A student from that village in B. Dong said that 6 students came from there to study in the B. Dong school. He also said that there were 95 households in the village.

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The School-Based Ceremony:

The whole purpose of our coming to Bâ:n Dong was for the opening of the BPP school in B. Dong this year. According to Pete, each year one of the upland schools is chosen for the opening ceremony and representatives and teachers from other schools attend. This year's celebration was larger than usual, partially because of the presence of so many monks. In addition to the Cáo Kháná' Amphə:, another monk from Wát Kittiwong, a monk from Wát Sǐ:Bun Ryang, and a monk from the 'southern' wát of Mē:la:Nó:i accompanied us on the trek from Mē:la:Nó:i to B. Dong. On the twelfth, the abbot from Co:m Cē:ŋ and a novice from the same wát came with a group from B. Pà:Pě: (they had spent 3 nights in B. Pà:Pě:). All except the abbot of Co:m Cē:ŋ were young men. There were two older men, acting as lû:ksit wát, from Wát Kittiwong and Wát Co:m Cē:ŋ (the former was something of a wastrel, while the latter was a man learned in local religion) and one young lû:ksit from Co:m Cē:ŋ. In addition to the three teachers from B. Dong (2 BPP teachers and one government teacher), there was also a Thai government teacher from a lowland Karen village (Piamchai Mǒ:ya: - ) who had once been a BPP teacher in B. Pà:Pě: and had got permission from the district officer to attend.

In the evening of the 11th a group of students and a male teacher from B. Châ:ŋ Mō: (a Lúa'village) arrived in the village. Later another teacher (female) from HŪai Hǒ:m also joined the throng. On the 12th the BPP teacher and his wife from B. Pà:Pě: accompanied some students and other people from B. Pà:Pě: to B. Dong. There was also a BPP 'engineer' who looked after the movie equipment.

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In addition to these more-or-less 'official' representatives of religious and educational groups, there were 7 young men who had joined for the fun of it, although some, like Sãmă:n, my assistant, also seemed to have some function as a lû:ksítwát. (There were two men from the const. camp in Mê:la:Nó:i, one who was the nephew of a mine owner in Mae Sariang, Sãmă:n, and 2 unknown quantities.) Moreover, there were 8-10 women and adolescent children who had come up to make Khànǎm and to sell small items during the event. Thus, altogether (and counting myself), there were 34-36 "lowlanders" present in the village. Moreover, a large number of 'guests' from surrounding villages and visiting students had to be fed during the event.

To bring up the travel supplies of this group, plus generator, projectors, gasoline, books, films, etc. which were to be used for the event, the school teachers from B. Dong had arranged for 50 carriers from B. Dong, of which 49 showed up in Mê:la:Nó:i. These carriers came down on the 8th, spent the 9th in Mê:la:Nǎ:i or Mae Sariang, and carried things up on the 10th. They received no pay, according to Khru: Prasà:t, but were recruited from each household. In addition, carriers were used to carry supplies and messages down and to carry peoples' goods who left the village for the valley or for Bâ:n Pà: Pě:.

To feed this crew of people, a number of pigs (5-6 at least), chickens, and 1 cow was slaughtered during the time we were in the village. Rice and liquor was also obtained from the villagers (the headman of Châ:ŋ Mō: brought 2 bi:p of local liquor, all of which (and more) was drunk. Records were kept by one of the B. Dong teachers on all these expenditures, but I wasn't quite certain where, if anywhere, the money was obtained to pay for everything.

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Village labor had also been conscripted to make a ramwong stage, a long platform on which the food was prepared, etc. During our stay in the village, the students were used as a reservoir of help for everything from carrying water, washing dishes, to sweeping the school.

The actual 'formal' ceremonies were minimal. On the 12th the students from Châ:ŋ Mŏ: and Hûai Phûŋ put on a demonstration of acrobatics and on the 14th, there was a religious ceremony dedicating the school (see below). Beyond these, the 'purpose' seemed to make as much sanùk as possible. However, sanùk was defined very much in lowland terms. The evenings of the 12th, 13th, and 14th were filled with ramwong, the chance game of sŏ:i da:o (literally 'picking stars'), and films - the sorts of things that one finds at typical wát fairs. For ramwong partners, the teachers had 'imported' 6 belles from B. Pà: Pŏ: who were dressed in Western clothes provided by the B. Pà Pŏ: school teacher's wife (bras courtesy of the BPP). There was certainly far more shyness amongst these girls than among ordinary ramwong partners, but they played their role fairly well. To dance with them, one had to purchase a ticket which sold first for B 1. When it was realized that as one would pay that much very often, the price was quickly reduced to 50 st. On the 3rd night the price was even further reduced to 3 times for B 1. The ramwong seemed to be very popular, with a large number of unmarried boys (again, down to about 10-11) taking their turn on stage and many village girls and adults watching the proceedings. The dancing went on until the wee hours, or later, every night.

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The sǒ:ida:o game was set up near the ramwong stage. It consisted of a tree with folded paper numbers attached. One paid  $\text{฿}1$  and selected a number. If one was lucky, one would win a phâ:khǎomá: or bottle of whiskey. Most, however, came away with a piece of candy or a balloon. Both ramwong and the sǒ:ida:o were run by lowlanders.

The movies consisted of the same batch as were shown in Mê:la:Nó:i (tribal groups, SEATO documentaries). Again, the everyday activities (rice milling, for example) of the tribal pictures brought laughter from the audience.

The ramwong and sǒ:ida:o were run to make money "for the school." In fact, I think any money raised was used to help defray expenses incurred during the ceremony. The workers complained of how little they raised compared with what would have been raised at the same activities in the lowlands.

There was also the 'unofficial activities' - drinking, smoking marijuana, gambling (whoring I didn't hear about, and I doubt that it occurred). In general the lowlanders - particularly the teachers and the male entourage treated the whole affair as an opportunity for a wild binge during which little consideration or empathy was shown for the Lua<sup>7</sup> villagers. The exceptions to this generalization were provided by the activities of the Čão Kháná<sup>7</sup>Ampħə: and the monks. The CKA made an effort to learn Lua<sup>7</sup> (or, at least, made a beginning to learn Lua<sup>7</sup>), was interested in the customs and people, and in fact would make an excellent anthropologist. The other monks were not so interested in the people, but their vows, at least, kept them from participating in and contributing to the spree of the others. In general, however, the overall impression of the event that I obtained (although what the overall impression gained by the

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Bâ:n Dong villagers would be, I was unable to judge) was one of wild partying by the lowlanders at the expense of the upland villagers. Whether any Lua' customs were badly trampled on, I do not know, but certainly the non-clerical lowlanders showed a disregard for the dignity of the Lua' villagers. An incident will illustrate this: In the late afternoon of the 13th, several of the teachers and others (all drunk) paraded out onto the ramwong stage 3 old villagers, including the headman. These 3 were also drunk. The lowlanders pasted, with flour paste, on the face of men strips of crêpe paper. They prodded them to ramwong and to show off on stage (one old man kept lifting his trouser legs as high as he could). The incident was climaxed for me by the 'sword' dancer, which upland villagers are known for, which one old man began to do, but which in his present attire and context was but a mockery of traditional Lua' dignity. I am certain that these impressions are somewhat harsher than those of the B. Dong villagers themselves, but I cannot think that the affair helped greatly to improve relations between hill people and lowlanders.

Buddhist Monks in a Lua" Village:

If the activities of the teachers and hangers-on provided the downbeat side of the affair, the activities of the monks certainly provided, at least, a few upbeats. The main objective of the Āo Kháná Amphə: in making this trip (and in bringing other monks with him) was to stimulate the spread or reinforcement of Buddhism among the hill tribes. He had brought with him large numbers of pamphlets put out by the Department of Religious Affairs as part of the missionizing endeavor. During the course of our stay in both B. Dong and B. Pà: Pě:, he distributed a large number of a

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booklet entitled Rabīap Náp̄thū: Phrá Phútthásā:tsāna: (ร. ป. น. พ. น. พ. น. พ. น. พ. น. พ. ) - "Methods for Respecting Buddhism" and a much fewer number of a booklet entitled Avīyāmā:k Tha:η Phān Thúk (อ. วิ. ย. อ. ม. อ. ก. ท. พ. น. พ. ) - "The Four-fold Path to the Escape from Suffering". He distributed these booklets primarily to school children from B. Dong, ~~Chiang Mai~~ <sup>Chiang Mai</sup>, B. Húi Phūn and B. Pà: Pě: and to the teachers to distribute them to their students. He also employed the first of these booklets in trying to teach villagers, young and old alike, the basic texts of Buddhism. My impression was that these booklets had little utility because (1) they employ the system for writing Pali <sup>in</sup> Thai rather than transcribing the Pali fully into Thai (eg. อ. วิ. instead of อ. วิ. ) and (2) they employ much technical religious vocabulary which is <sup>likely</sup> to be incomprehensible to people who have only a minimal command of Thai - and that primarily Northern Thai. The Čáo Kháná' Amphə: himself agrees explicitly with point (1) and implicitly with point (2) since in his talks he tried to speak colloquially as possible.

In the afternoon of the 11th a number of school children from B. Dong were hanging around the doorway of the school (where the monks - and I - were staying). The CKA invited them in in order to teach them the rudiments of wāiphrá: and some of the basic chants. In reward for the efforts he gave <sup>[candy?]</sup> each of the children.

In the afternoon of the 12th, a woman and her son from B. La: \*'úp came to make merit for their dead husband/father, the late headman of La: \*'úp who was killed by a bear a few months ago. Before performing the ceremony, the CKA asked the couple some questions. In Lua' custom if one wishes to make merit for the dead, (līaŋthàwǎ:i - <sup>ล. อ. น. พ. น. พ.</sup>  ), two or three days after

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the death of a person invite the spirit of the dead to come and partake of food. The couple, knowing the monks were here, had gone down to MÊ:la:NÓ:i to buy the offerings (bucket with canned food, etc. inside). They had also made merit for their dead husband/father at a wát in MÊ:la:NÓ:i. But they did not know how to "receive the precepts". The late headman had died at age 52 leaving 8 children.

When the couple had left, the CKA said that people in B. Pa: Pě: sometimes invite monks from Wát Co:m Cê:ŋ to come to ceremonies for the dead in the village. (This statement turned out to be incorrect - the abbot from Co:m Cê:ŋ has been to B. Pà: Pě: only to participate in the opening of the school, but many Lua' from B. Phé' and B. Thuŋ Phrá:o do go to make merit for the dead at Wát Co:m Cê:ŋ.)

Late in the afternoon of the 12th, the CKA asked that all the students from Châ:ŋ Mô: and HŪai Phŭŋ (27 students in all) to come to the school. They were accompanied by the teacher from HŪai Phŭŋ, but not by the teacher from Châ:ŋ Mô: who is Islamic (the latter teacher helped round-up the students however). He taught them the basic things about wâiphrá' (which they already knew better than the students from B. Dong) and the basic chants for worshipping the 3-Gems, requesting the precepts, and the precepts themselves. He also gave them a long extemporaneous sermon on the meaning of Buddhism (including an abbreviated Lite of the Buddha). I felt the sermon was too long and too complicated to hold the interest of the students. After the sermon, he presented each student with a student's copybook, a large, hollow plastic cylinder in the shape of a pencil, and the pamphlet on the "Methods for Respecting Buddhism."

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The Cào Kháná 'Amphə: and all the other monks conducted several Thambun bâ:n in peoples' homes on the afternoon of the 13th and morning of the 15th before we left for B. Pà:Pě: On the 13th the CKA and the monk from MÊ:la:Nó:i conducted the ceremony in the house of the headman, Mr. Buntha: KÈ:nwian (ບຸນທາ ກະໂນວິນ). On the morning of the 15th, the monks split up into pairs (with the novice going with the abbot of Cə:m CÊ:ŋ) and went to at least 7 different households. They could have gone to more if there had been time. I witnessed the ceremony in the house of the headman on the 13th and in the house of a man who had particularly bad luck in the recent past on the morning of the 15th. This latter man said that he had lost 6 buffalo and 10 cattle and calculated his loss at 10,000 baht at least. I took more extensive notes on the latter and will describe it.

The man at whose home the ceremony took place has 3 children, one of whom is married and lives elsewhere (thus, not a girl) and the other two are boys. In addition to himself, his wife, and 2 boys, there were also 2 lă:n ( ຊາວໂລ ), both girls, present. During the course of the ceremony, many other people, adults and adolescents, wandered in. Some stayed and some left before the ceremony was over. The 'utensils' of the ceremony included (1) a basin containing water, sōmpò:i pods, and some bound branches for sprinkling water; (2) a sātuang (so-called in both kammyan and lua') with 4 flags which contained a chip off each house pole, cooked rice, uncooked milled rice, some khanom, a candle and some string; and (3) a small basin containing khâ:osă;n, flowers, and money (฿12 ?). The latter was an offering for the monks. The ceremony proceeded as follows:

- (1) wâiphra' ( araham sammā samphutthō... ),
- (2) khōsīn, namō precepts,
- (3) chanting by monks during which string ( fā:i magkhen ) held by both monks,

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(4) sermon, (5) making of 'holy water' - i.e. monks chanting while the CKA held a candle over the sōmpò:i water. When completed, the candle was discarded in the sātuang, (6) candles lit on sātuang. When all was completed the CKA told the head of the household to go throw away the sātuang outside the village (as is usual practice). Then he sprinkled 'holy' water on the inhabitants of the household while the 2nd monk chanted. Then ceremony was done.

Every morning during our stay in the village, villagers brought food to the monks although they did not know how to present it (they would give it to one of the non-clerical lowlanders - usually Sāmă:n or a lu:ksítwát - who would place the food in containers brought with us and hand the dishes of the villagers back to them - all this without ceremony.)

The main event involving the monks was a Thambun BĀ:n type ceremony held on the afternoon of the 14th at the school to dedicate the school. People began gathering in the school shortly after lunch, bringing with them dishes filled with water and sōmpò:i pods and string, candles, money, and popped rice. Many people (representatives of each household ?) brought sōmpò:i water, a little of which was taken from each and placed in a monks' alms bowl in front of the CKA. The ceremony followed much the same form as the thambun bâ:n described above except the chanting was longer and the sermon lasted for over an hour (on the meaning of Buddhism). During the sermon, people did not pay attention (even supposing they could understand). Not all of the non-clerical lowlanders attended. Conspicuously absent, since he teaches in this school, was Châ:t dè:t, the Christian Karen. Also not present was the Islamic teacher from Châ:ŋ Mò:. Sometime after the ceremony was over, a string was tied around the school. Villagers took sōmpò:i water, now blessed, home with

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them and may have taken cotton thread for tying their wrists and around their houses, but I didn't observe what happened.

Karens:

During the course of the trip, we had some contact with Karens even though our main contact was with Lua\*. On the way up we passed through one lowland Karen village where the CKA noticed one household had a Buddhist house shrine. We stopped in another Karen village, in the mountains, ~~at~~ <sup>with</sup> only 6 households. Here we talked with a man who spoke excellent N. Thai. It turned out that he had worked for the Phanasit Co. for several years in Lampa:n. During the festival in B. Dong, a number of Karens from surrounding villages came to attend and observe. A number of them were young girls.

Bâ:n Dong Miscellaneous:

Bâ:n Dong has a large amount of terraced paddy land - a startling amount given my preconception of what an upland village is like. Pete says that B. Dong does have an exceptional amount. The village is located in a long narrow upland 'valley' - <sup>La:nup</sup> unlike ~~La:nup~~ which is perched right on top of the mountain. B. Dong is traversed by a number of small streams (which must be spring fed since they never dry up). Villagers use the streams to bathe in and from certain parts they carry water for drinking and cooking. Villagers carry water in bamboo tubes slung over the back rather than by bucket or lacquered basket hâ:p-style as is done in the

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plains. Lua<sup>2</sup> houses have ๐๐๐๐๓ that come down to within a few feet of the ground (the houses are built on stilts). There are no windows in the interior of the houses, and smoke from the interior fireplaces escapes through the leaf roofing.

Village Statistics:

During our course of stay in B. Dong, the CKA asked visitors to the village about their own villages in order to get some 'statistics' as he put it. The following is my record of this information by village.

1) Bâ:n Hûai Phûn ( U. ห้วยผึ้ง )

- Karen village; informant Thoy Lin, government school teacher in village.

95 households

15 Protestant Christian households

80 'Buddhist'

Has government school with 35 students (29 boys and 6 girls) in 3 grades. One school teacher. The school has been established for 3 years.

Nobody in village has been ordained as novice or priest, and if people want to make merit they must go to MÊ:la:Nó:i or Mae Sariang.

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2) Bâ:n Châ:η Mō: ( บ.บ้านหม้อ )

- Lua' village; informant, government school teacher.

140 households, but divided into a number of subvillages

- Châ:η Mō:luan ( บ้านหม้อหลวง )

- Châ:η Mō:nó:i ( บ้านหม้อห้วย )

- (Mā') nó' (แม่) เนาะ )

- Kho:m Khai ( โคกขี้เฒ่า )

- Yê:k ( แยก )

- Dít ( ดัด )

None are Christian

Government school with 51 students (all boys) in one grade.

One school teacher. The school was opened new this year.

3) BĀ:n Húai Hó:m ( บ.ห้วยห้อม )

- Karen; informant, government school teacher

41 households

31 Protestant Christian; 10 lfan phí:

Government school with 45 students (35 boys and 10 girls)

in 2 grades. One school teacher (female). The present

building was built last year.

4) Bâ:n Húai Hâ: ( บ.ห้วยท่า - 3.๗๑. )

- Karen; informant villager

47 households

8 Protestants, 8 Catholics, 31 animist.

No school (attend Húai Hó:m school).

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5) Bâ:n lá'á:η ( บ. ละอ้ง )

- Lua'- informant: drunken villager who says he is a native of  
B. Dong and who married into B.Lá'á:η

9 households in B. Lá'á:η tâj ( บ. ละอ้ง ตี้ ) - there

is also a B. Lá'á:η nũa ( บ. ละอ้ง นื้อ )

Claims has own headman - Kê:liánη ( แก้ว ลีน )

6) Bâ:n La'u:p ( บ. ละอุป )

- Lua'; informant: 16 year old son of late headman

80 households

15 Protestant; 65 animist/Buddhist

7) Bâ:n Húi hák mái ( บ. ห้วย หัก ม้า )

- Karen

1st informant - villager by name of Cha:pho: or Cha:phu:

(met in B. Dong)

35 households

11 Catholic, 1 Protestant, 23 animist

2nd informant - son of headman (met in B. Pà: Pě:)

- name Pa Pu Ke ( ? sp. )

50 households

13 Catholic, 1 Protestant, 36 Animist

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People:

During the course of my stay in B. Dong I gathered information on several people or used certain individuals as special informants:

- 1) School Teacher in Bâ:n Châ:ŋ Mō: - Islamic, native of Mae Sariang.  
In B. Dong, he talked with the CKA on request, and when he received some student notebooks from him, he wâi-ed the CKA. In B. Pâ: Pě: he helped teach B. Pâ: Pě: students how to wâi phrá'.
- 2) Tho:ŋ' in Manajit (Thai sp.?) - Teacher in B. Húi Phũŋ. He was born in Burma of a Burmese father and Khonmyan mother (Benny said he knew his father in Burma). Parents now live in Mae Sariang. Himself has lived in Thailand most of his life (20 years). Can speak Karen.
- 3) Mi: - Third grade school boy in B. Dong. Speaks fairly good Central Thai (CKA says must speak Central Thai with students because they know it better than kammyan, having been taught it in school). I asked him if he wanted to continue his studies after finishing P3. He said he didn't know. I then asked if he had the opportunity to continue his studies if he would like to; he answered yes. He has visited Mae Sariang several times where he stayed with relatives in B. Phě'.
- 4) Cha:pho: or Cha:phu: - Karen villager from B. Húi Hák Mái. He came to see the CKA to see if he was able to tâtpхі: (literally 'to cut off spirits') because he has used up all of his money in feeding the spirits. The CKA said he could, but since he wasn't going to the

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village, this proposal didn't get carried any further. This chap can write, with effort, his name in Karen. He is part owner of an elephant which is hired out for dragging firewood at 4-5 baht per log. This elephant is not hired out in the lowland to the Phanasit Co. or to a compradore, but another elephant is 'leased' to a Karen in Mae Sariang - Na:i Candā<sup>7</sup> Da:wa:ku:n - formerly Khūn Čandā<sup>7</sup> (ကုလ်ဇံနာဝ် = ဘာဘာတုဂ် / ကုလ်ဇံနာဝ် ) who in turn hires the elephant out. His fellow villagers and himself only take khâ:osōn and bamboo matting. He says that his village produced enough rice this year on both rai and na:.

I asked him about the words for Buddhist things in Karen. The following are his answers in the closest approximation I could get (I have not indicated tone):

- so:kha<sup>7</sup> - the usual Karen word for 'Buddhist monk'
- pha<sup>7</sup> - 'novice'
- so:kha<sup>7</sup>pa:do:k - "Phrá<sup>7</sup> Khru:<sup>ñ</sup>
- cho: - wát (CKA says comes from the Burmese word cho:ŋ)

He didn't know the word for che:di:, despite the fact, as the CKA pointed out there are che:di: in several lowland Karen villages in Mae Sariang.

He also mentioned the Khru:ba:khă:o.

#### Government Hill Village Schools:

According to one of the government school teachers at the festival, the following are government hill village schools in Mae Sariang: - Bâ:n Hûai Phûŋ, Bâ:n Hûai Hó:m, and Bâ:n Châ:ŋ Mô:. These schools have no connection with the Bâ:n Pâ: Pě: schools.

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Provincial Council Elections and Hill Tribes:

On the 14th elections were held in all districts in the country for representatives to provincial councils. In Mae Sariang, all of the voting stations were in the lowlands so that eligible voters in hill villages had to go down to vote. In Bâ:n Dong the teachers had brought up announcements of the election (see above) and advertisements for one group of eight candidates who ran as the "Developing Mae Sariang Group" (กลุ่มพัฒนาแม่สะเรียง), (this was the only 'group' in the election) and for one other candidate - Mr. Udom Máhá:wána: (นายอุดม มหาวัน). Pete said that he had heard that the teachers were campaigning for specific candidates, but the distribution of this campaign literature may have been what was meant. I saw an advertisement for the 'group' up in the house of the headman, and Pete said Bâ:n Pà: Pě: villagers had received campaign literature also.

This morning I overheard the headman talking with Khru: Sà'nàn about going to vote. At first I thought he was going to go but, I believe, that Khru: Sà'nàn persuaded him to stay because of the ceremony in the afternoon. I asked Khru: Sà'nàn if anyone went. He said that about 36 - 7 (including the assistant headman) went. He also said that if there hadn't been a ceremony, "everyone" would have gone. No women went, however.

Karens in Politics:

On the 15th, after travelling from Bâ:n Dong to Bâ:n Pà: Pě:, I stayed at Pete's house in B. Pà: Pě:. In the evening, Benny came up to help Pete. I asked Pete whether any Karens were candidates for provincial representatives. He answered that there were two.

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- 1) 'Á:i Pho: (อ่าวโพ) in Thai and Po:u in Karen: A Christian who runs a lumber mill in B. Thá: Khá:m. Apparently all Karen Christians had been ~~teed~~ up to vote for him. Many who were illiterate were told to count twelve steps as they walked into the voting booth to remember that he was number 12 on the ballot.
- 2) Khru: Kham (ขลุค) - (also known as <sup>ခန္တီ</sup> <sup>သက်တော်</sup> <sup>အောင်</sup> <sup>ကျော်</sup> <sup>စွယ်</sup> - Či:rásàk Sǐ:wíčhai): Buddhist son of Headman of B. Mē: Hǎ:n. Also in lumber business (Owner and manager of the Sǐ:wíčhai lumber mill) According to Benny he was married to a Thai Wife. He divorced her and married his first cousin (<sup>ဖာ</sup> ~~Br~~Da) who is the younger sister of Wichian's wife. Benny says all the Karens were very shocked at this marriage.

People:

Benny also gave me some more information of some people I had met on this trip.

- 1) Chá:tdè:t Wána:sàthít - Christian Karen who teaches in B. Dong (government teacher). He is the son of Khru: Sanǎ: (အောင်?) who teaches in B. Phámw:lo: and is well-known in the Christian Karen community.
- 2) Tho:ŋ'in Manajit - Teacher in B. Húai Phūŋ. Benny thinks his father is Shan not Burmese. Benny says he knew his father when Benny was customs officer in PaPun, Burma. He was then ~~really~~ relatively wealthy with a jeep and lots of trade between Mae Sariang and Burma. He now seems to be in more straightened circumstances.



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The CKA then gave the students a short talk, based on the theme that students should now be able to answer the question "What religion do you respect?" with the reply "Buddhism." He then asked each of the students in turn (although he didn't finish with the girls) to answer the question (one boy floundered and may have been Christian). He explained that there are several religions - Christianity, Islam, Sikh, etc., but "Buddhism is the religion of Thailand and of the king." He then asked the students what he was. The proper answer was phrá'phíksù'. He then asked "phrá'phíksù'penlú:ksít khǒ:ŋ khrai?" Answer: Phrá'phútthá' cǎo. He taught them what a 'monk' is, what the 'Sangha' is, what a 'novice' is and that monks and novices live in a 'wát'. He then distributed to each student copies of the two pamphlets, "Methods of Respecting Buddhism" and "The Four-Fold Path to the Escape from Suffering".

Bâ:n Pà: Pě: School:

While attending this ceremony, I noted down several things in the school room which reflected the attempts to teach Lua<sup>v</sup> that they are Thai citizens: picture of Thunom, poster denouncing Communism, 2 pictures of the King (one with the label พระเจ้าอยู่หัว), 2 pictures of the queen, picture of flag, real flag, central 'shrine' in middle of room with picture of Emerald Buddha (labelled พระ) and flowers, 2 maps of Thailand, posters advertising 'development', and pictures of animals with their Thai names, posters showing the Thai alphabet.

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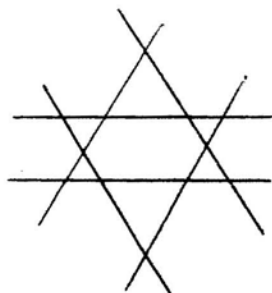
Tham Bun Bâ:n for Bâ:n Pà: Pě: Village:

In the afternoon of the 16th, the monks held a tham bun bâ:n ceremony for the whole village of B. Pà: Pě:. Originally, there had been an attempt to get people together in the early afternoon, but in fact the ceremony was not held until late afternoon and early evening. Pete explained this is because the spirit world is the reverse of this world and thus the spirits come out at night. In both Lua' and Northern Thai this ceremony is called sòṅ khó' (ส่งเคราะห์) - Thai ส่งเคราะห์ - which can be translated as dispelling the influence of bad omens or 'sending away' bad fate. (Pete says that the Lua' may believe that the khó' are some kind of beings, although he is not certain.)

Two types of 'offerings' were brought to the ceremony: (1) a collection of items to be used for dispelling the Khó' in each household and (2) sàtuang used in the sòṅ khó' for the school.

The first consisted of the following things:

- a) a talě:o (ตาลโตนด) [Thai ตาลโตนด] bound with a 'rope' made of Khà: leaves (หญ้า). [The talě:o or chàlěo is a very widespread symbol throughout SEA, made of bamboo strips so interwoven as to make a <sup>six</sup> ~~six~~-pointed star. It is used as a symbol to ward off evil or spirits who might bring misfortune to a person or household.] To be placed over doorway of house.



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- b) string: used for tying wrists and tying around house.
- c) bai nát (ใบนัต ) and bai ma'khan (ใบมะขาน ):  
used for sprinkling 'holy' water (sōmpò:i water)
- d) dish with sand and 4 stones: sand to sprinkle around house;  
stones placed inside house in 4 corners.
- e) candles for making 'holy' water and (in N. Thai custom  
at least) bu:cha: phrá'thí: bâ:n.
- f) clothing which will be blessed and the "khó" will <sup>?</sup>departing  
when the clothing is worn".
- g) dish with sōmpò:i pods for making holy water to be sprinkled  
on house and members of household.

Every household that wishes to will send this first collection of things to the ceremony. [The CKA explained that in the plains, this type of sòṅ khó' ceremony is held, without benefit of Buddha clergy on 'ò:k phansă: and songkra:n. People do worship the monks in the morning on the days they hold this ceremony.] Some people put <sup>tumeric</sup> tuméné into the sōmpò:i water.

Sātuang (4 of them; 2 made on one side of village and 2 on the other)

- banana stalk 'boxes', square in shape and about 2" high;  
'flags' at 4 corners; contain rice paste figures of elephants, dogs, pigs, cattle, buffalo, chickens, ducks, etc., khànǒm, cooked rice, mián, tobacco, flowers, peppers, dried fish, candles, chews of betel.
- Represent 4 corners of school

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In addition to these preparations, some people also brought popped rice for worshipping the monks. Also, representatives of every (?) household donated a small amount of money which was to be divided amongst the monks.

The ceremony had three parts:

- 1) propitiation of spirits (?) at 4 corners of sch<sup>o</sup>l done by an old man (luŋ tŭi ?) ~~from~~ B. Cɔ:m Cê:ŋ who had accompanied the monk from Cɔ:m Cê:ŋ and assisted by villagers from B. Pà: Pě:.
- 2) thambun ceremony performed by monks.
- 3) placing of the 'blessed' objects in houses by householders.

The first two overlapped somewhat in time, but they were not inter-related.

In propitiating the spirits of the 4 corners, the old Cɔ:m Cê:ŋ man began first with S.E. corner, then the N.E., the N.W., and the S.W. The old man had a N. Thai mss. (a sə̀m̀t khò:i - <sup>1</sup> สํมตฺ ๑๒๔) which he read from in making the offerings. During the offering a candle was lit on the side of one of the sàtuəŋ. At a point indicated by the old man, the local assistant would raise the sàtuəŋ in a wài position (although both the old man and the assistant sat on their heels). When the old man finished the formal presentation, the sàtuəŋ was taken and thrown away in the woods. This was repeated for each of the four corners.

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At the thambun ceremony, Khru: Prasà:t, the BPP teacher from B. Dong, acted as lay leader (the BPP teacher from B. Pà: Pě: also was present, but none of the other 'lowland' group were there). A portable altar with 2 small Buddha images had been set up next to the CKA. On it were placed flowers and lighted candles and incense.

The ceremony began with Khru: Sà:t leading the villagers in wâiphrá' and Khǒ:sǐn. Then the CKA led the villagers in the namō... and the 5 precepts. Then Khru: Sà:t chanted something and a string was passed along the offerings in front of the monks and attached to one of the Buddha images. The monk from Wát Si: Bun Ryan chanted something while Khru: Sà:t attached an unlit candle to a prústly alms bowl in front of the CKA. This bowl contained water and sǒmpò:i pods. Then all of the monks chanted. During this time some of the villagers made a short "broom" which would be used for sprinkling 'holy' water. It was placed on top of the 'offerings'. The string was wound up while the monks were still chanting and the end of the chanting came shortly thereafter.

The CKA then explained that the next part of the ceremony would be the making of the 'holy water' ( ສົງຄາມ ທຸກໆພາຍ ). But before this was done, the CKA gave those present a long talk about Buddhism. The following are some excerpts from that talk.

He said that this was his first visit to B. Pà: Pě:

Explained that people must respect the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

He said that the monks had been requested that they perform the sòṅkhó' bâ:n ceremony. But, he said, monks are unable to do this; they are able only to sùat phrá phútthámon. He said that the sàráwát ( ໂສງ ທັດ ) who came with them was able to sòṅkhó'.

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He listed all of the 'offerings' the villagers had brought, explaining each. He said that the belief in Khó' was a belief of olden times. It is also found, as is the use sōmpō:i and matmy: ('tying of wrists'), among people in the valley.

In Thailand we believe in Buddhism, but also have Brahmanism (sàtsàna: phrō:m). Can't divide Buddhism from Brahmanism. In B. Pà: Pě:, people believe in phĩ:. It is also hard to *separate* phĩ: worship from Buddhism. [These beliefs persist because of the desire to find khwa:m sàh sùk <sup>wa:</sup> Khwa:m sàbã:i. Brahmanism was formerly the religion of Buddha. This ceremony was formerly a Brahmanical ceremony. It is a ceremony for finding happiness, etc. for those who also believe in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha.

Buddha is the čào Khǒ:ŋ Sà:tsàna ( เจ้าขอจกเจ้าพระยา ). [Here I lost the train of argument but it concerned the teachings of Buddha]...

Don't break laws of country and try to make merit. Do good according to the regular attitudes of one's heart. [Social merits of Buddhism]...

Buddha spoke about death. He had learned about death and had the great compassion to teach us. [Short life of Buddha]...

The Sangha here carries on the teachings of the Buddha.

- 1) Don't do evil (chúa, rá:i, bà:p, evil speaking, etc.)
- 2) Do good (compassion for other things, respect for parents, elders, monks, government, king, for example) and receive bun.

If one respects the Buddha, one must also respect his teaching and the Sangha.

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Buddha died long ago but Buddhism still lives in the world today.

These 3 (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha) are the things which should be respected by the people of B. Pà: Pě: if they are to find happiness

(ความดี). Old belief is that when one dies, one goes to myan phi, or that when one dies, there is nothing that remains (การไม่มีอะไรเหลือ).

There also exists the belief that we will be born again but that everything will be born in the same state: woman born again as a woman, man as man, elephant as elephant, etc.

But Buddha taught that those who have done good will go through several states, and in this world will have ความดี ความเลว

or will be born a Theiwada. . But if they have done

bà:p [ ความเลว ], they will suffer the consequences in the next life.

If they are born in this world, they will suffer, or will go through several lower levels of birth.

All people will die; whether they change states [in their next life]

depends on Karma (การกระทำ). [He then explained this] [Essentially he taught: "Do good, receive good; Do evil, receive evil"]

As children must first learn the alphabet [using an example from the school room] before they can read and write, so the Buddha taught not to do evil and to do good as the first step.

He reiterated:

- Belief in Karma
- Belief in 3 Gems
- Try to take care of ourselves by doing good and avoiding evil
- Thus: ความดี ความเลว

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In closing he said that he would like to come to visit B. Pà: Pě: again. And, he said, if villagers come to Mae Sariang, they are invited to come visit him at Wát Kittiwong (Wát Sòphā:n nai) and to come and participate in Thô:t Kàthĩn again [for the big Bangkok-sponsored Kathĩn this year, a group from B. Pà: Pě: participated].

Then the monks chanted the  $\text{Q}_{\text{u}}^{\text{v}} \text{nr}$  (hâi phon) and the CKA sprinkled those present with 'holy water'. When this was done, he told the people to come and take their things away.

I observed the third part of the ceremony at a house next to Pete's. First, the head of household bound the wrists of the members of the household. Then the talǎ:o was placed above the door. He sprinkled sand around the house and then he tied the remaining string around the house. He also sprinkled the house (roof) with sõmpò:i water. Then he dug a hole at each corner of the house and buried a stone in each of the 4 holes.

I forgot to note that at the ceremony, the participants were divided according to sex.

#### Northern Thai Customs:

Today I visited the CKA at Wát Kittiwong since I had come down earlier than the rest of the group yesterday. As one consequence of our trip, the CKA learned that I was interested in local customs. Khru: Sànan was also present. The CKA mentioned a local ceremony called

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kă:n khǎn tǎo ta'si: (การขึ้นเต้าต๋อ) which is performed on such occasions as 'entering' a new house, damhǔa, rótkhrǎi (?), wat festivals, wa:ra:ra:m (วาจาธรรม), ordinations, etc. It is also performed at Sōngkra:n on the 16th of April. Mention of this ceremony can be found in a book, showed to me by the CKA, entitled ปกิเพณีย์ เดิม สหัชช ไชยวัฒน์ by ทวีการคำ (?).

Activities in Mae Sariang While I was Away:

Jane made the following notes on some activities in Mae Sariang which occurred while I was in the hills:

"14 January 1968: Preliminary visit to Wát Chaiyàlâ:p. 3-day na:n gung on (+ li:ke:) for opening of new building at wát [new bò:t]. Ceremony called 'chàlǎ:ŋ'. Outside girls were selling tiles for the roof at 25 satang each. The tiles had pictures of the 12-year cycle animals on them, so that you could buy tiles of your own year. Bought 25 baht's worth. No service on that day, but went with Sanga for long chat with the abbot .

"15 January 1968: Returned for actual ceremony. Outside there were many Karens, Chaiyàlâ:p being in "Karensville" [ie., the part of Mae Sariang where many Karens live]. Also election booths had been set up outside and people were busy voting. Tiles also being sold.

"Met Mqli on way home. Very embarrassed at being seen coming out of the wát but hastened to explain she had only been helping wash dishes, and seemed reassured by the fact that I had been at the wát 'a long time'.

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16 January 1968: Wan Khru: [and 'Children's Day']. Tàkbà:t at Rongrian Tho:ngsawàt at 8:00 A.M. 10 wáts represented and masses of teachers there, including Mærk. Gave rice, and ks:ŋ and oranges.

Khun Čít wanted to go to Mê:la: Nô:i, so I drove him and Phan up. While he was visiting a tobacco station there, Phan and I toured a few of the shops and then went to chat with a local shopgirl. Learned that there are 2 Indians in Mê:la:Nô:i [Islamic], both merchants, but no Chinese. Population mainly Shan. Lots of Karen shops in Mê:la:Nô:i. Market very scanty and meat only every 3 or 4 days. Transportation a major difficulty as nobody in Mê:la:Nô:i has a truck or car, so the only way of getting into Mae Sariang is by company vehicles. [There is a road construction company based in Mê:la:Nô:i.] Also, this usually means staying in Mae Sariang overnight and those without relatives in Mae Sariang have to put up at the să:la. Traditional connections with Khŭn Yuam and Mae Hqng Sqn rather than with Mae Sariang. Nobody in Mê:la:Nô:i can make the embroidery on the Burmese blouses worn by the girls in Mê:la:Nô:i, and traditionally these came from Khŭn Yuam, and the jewelry from Mae Hqng Sqn. However, people from Mê:la:Nô:i use the hospital facilities at Mae Sariang quite a lot. Company school has nearly 500 students. Mê:la:Nô:i school has 3 teachers (later learned that one of these is the elder sister of La'ò: [my assistant]). Being Wan Khru: all three were dressed up and wearing high heels which the shop assistant pointed out were very ill-suited to Mê:La:Nô:i roads.

Later joined by young man who was helping the owner of the shop, an old lady, fill out a form concerning the shop for income tax purposes. Old lady was illiterate, so fellow was pressing her thumb in the ink pad so she could "stamp" the forms.

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The following is a translation of an invitation to a dedication ceremony of a new vihara at Wat Chaiyalâ:p, held on 13-14 January while I was in the hills.

INVITATION TO JOIN IN THE MERIT MAKING

ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEDICATION OF A VIHARA (tha:n thá')

Wát Chaiyalâ:p, Mâe: Sariang

May all you faithful and chairtable [be inclined to] contribute to [the following] merit-making endeavor.

In order to erect a viahra at Wát Chaiyalâp for the use of the monks, novice and al' laity in religious ceremonies and by everyone as a rest house, you faithful have already joined together as my congregation to make sacrificies for this meriful enterprise. While the construction is now almost finished, the Vihara cannot be completed because we still lack approximately 3,000 baht. Usually the construction of a Vihara is a major undertaking requiring large expenditures of resources and time before it is finished. According to our local customs, before we hold a celebration for a new Vihara, we must dedicate the Vihara as an offering, [a custom] which since ancient times we have called tha:n thá'. This is done in order that clergy might use the place as a residence and that all of us may formally donate to the religion those construction materials for which we have already sacrificed wealth and resources.

In this ceremony in addition to the making of merit through the dedication of the Vihara, there will also be an anointment

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(phúttha:phìsè:k) of three new bronze Buddhas images which will be the chief [images] in the Vihara. Na:i Sòm and Na:ng Kham'ôei Bunryang will present one image worth 12,000 baht; Na:ng Sòm and Na:i Sòm Khunpràdít, <sup>Police</sup> another image worth 5,000 baht, and [Sgt. Major Chaiyáwong and Na:ng A:phq:n Sínwannaro:], a third image worth 5,000 baht. Altogether, the three images are worth 22,000 baht.

On this same occasion, the ~~same~~ committee has also arranged for the simultaneous holding of the ceremony of tàk bà:t khâ:o sà:n ('giving of paddy rice alms') which is customarily held on the day of the full moon in the 4th lunar month [northern reckoning] (duan sì:peng). This [ceremony is held] in order that the faithful might present the first fruits of their produce [i.e., new rice and first fruit]. However the arrangements committee will not be distributing sacks for the rice as usual for this ceremony. Those of you who desire to join in the offering of first rice, on this occasion, please bring [the rice] to join in the merit-making at Wat Chaiyá'â:p according to the following schedule:

13 January 2511 (14th day of the waxing of the moon, 4th lunar month, northern reckoning) at ~~5:30 a.m.~~ 8:30 a.m. the faithful will bring their offerings to come and decorate the temple. A sq: [player] from Chiang Mai will provide entertainment. At 7:00 p.m., nine monks will chant mantras, the Thammáçàk sermon, and the thammáphúttha:phìsè:k suat bòek ('chant of dedication of ritual objects'), and [then there will be] other entertainment.

14th January 2511 (15th day of the waxing of the moon, 4th lunar month, northern reconking) at 5:30 a.m. the monks will perform the

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ceremony of bòek nê:t p̣rāphútharú:p (lit., 'opening the eyes of the Buddha image') and will present máthúpa:yâ:t rice (rice mixed with honey). At 11:00 a.m. ~~the~~ food will be presented to the monks for their midday meal and then everyone who has joined in the ceremony will be fed. The ceremony of dedication of the Vihara will begin at 1:00 p.m., followed by the offerings of paddy to the clergy. Then there will be a sermon, followed by the offering of alms. The ceremony will end with the chant of gratitude by the monks.

Therefore, we invite all Buddhists to join in the joy of making merit together at this time. All the proceeds from the festival will be combined with existing funds to be used to finish the building of the vihara.

[stamp indicating  
approval by the  
Cáo Kháná' Amphoe:]

[signed] Phrá' Máhá: Kâe:o Paññāwarō, Chairman  
of festival committee  
Nai Šom Khunprādīt, Deputy Chairman  
Nai Tho: Bunsí:, Comm. member  
Nai Kâe:o Khīaomyang, Comm.  
Member,  
Nai Udom Thamākhan, Comm. member  
and all members of Wat Chaiyalá:p's  
Wat Committee

เมืองในงานท่านพระวิหาร ( กานเทาะ )

วัดชัยลาภ แม่สะเรียง

ขอบอกบุญมายังท่านศรัทธาผู้ใจบุญทั้งหลาย

ตามที่ท่านทั้งหลาย ได้มีจิตศรัทธาร่วมแรงร่วมใจกันเสียสละทรัพย์สมบัติของตนสร้างสารณะกุศล โดยร่วมกันกับคนศรัทธาข้าพเจ้าทั้งหลายก่อสร้างวิหารของวัดชัยลาภขึ้น เพื่อเป็นประโยชน์แก่พระภิกษุสามเณรและศรัทธาทั้งหลายจะได้ใช้ประกอบพิธีทำบุญทางศาสนา และเป็นที่พำนักพักพอาอาศัยของคนทั่วไปมาแต่บัดนั้น บัดนี้การก่อสร้างวิหารดังกล่าวเสร็จไปมากแล้ว แต่ยังไม่เรียบร้อยดี เพราะยังขาดทุนทรัพย์สำหรับใช้ในการก่อสร้างอยู่ประมาณ ๓๐๐๐๐ บาท ( สามหมื่นบาท ) ปกติการก่อสร้างวิหารเป็นงานใหญ่ต้องใช้ทุนทรัพย์มาก และต้องใช้เวลาอันจึงจะสำเร็จเรียบร้อยดี ตามประเพณีท้องถิ่นบ้านเรานั้น ก่อนที่เราจะฉลองวิหารใหม่จำเป็นต้องมีการถวายพระวิหารเป็นสังฆทานไปก่อน ตามโบราณประเพณีที่เรียกว่า ( กานเทาะ ) นั้นเอง ทั้งนี้เพื่อพระภิกษุสามเณรจะได้ใช้เป็นที่พักพอาอาศัย และเป็นปัจจัยให้เราทั้งหลาย ได้ทานไม้ทานหินทรายตลอดถึงอุปกรณ์การก่อสร้างวิหารทั้งหมดที่เราได้สละทรัพย์ไว้เป็นทุนเดิมมาแต่บัดนั้นแก่พระศาสนาอีกด้วย

ในงานนั้นนอกจากจะมีการทำบุญทานวิหารแล้ว ยังมีการพุทธาภิเษกพระพุทธรูปทองเหลืองที่เป็นพระประธานในวิหารใหม่อีก ๓ องค์ด้วย โดยมีนายสม นางคำเอ๋ย บุญเรือง ถวายไว้หนึ่งองค์ ราคาพระ ๑๒๐๐๐ บาท นายสม นายสม คุณประดิษฐ์ หนึ่งองค์ ราคาพระ ๕๐๐๐ บาท จ.ส.ท. ไชยวงษ์ นางอรุณศิริวรรณโร หนึ่งองค์ ราคา ๕๐๐๐ บาท รวมทั้งสามองค์เป็นเงิน ๒๒๐๐๐ บาท ( สองหมื่นสองพันบาท )

เนื่องในวาระเดียวกันนี้ ทางคณะกรรมการจัดงานยังมีการทำบุญตักบาตรข้าวสารพร้อมกันตามประเพณีเดือน ๔ เบื้องอีกด้วย ทั้งนี้เพื่อจะได้ให้พุทธบริษัทหรือศรัทธาทั้งหลายได้ถวายทานข้าวใหม่ ผลไม้แรกมีอีกด้วย แต่การทำบุญตักบาตรข้าวสารนี้ ทางคณะกรรมการจัดงานไม่ได้แจกถุงข้าวสารให้ตั้งที่กระทำให้มา ถ้าหากศรัทธาท่านใดประสงค์จะร่วมทำบุญทานข้าวใหม่ครั้งนั้นแล้ว กรุณานำไปร่วมทำบุญได้ที่วัดชัยลาภ ตามหมายกำหนดการจัดงานดังนี้

วันที่ ๑๓ เดือนมกราคม ๒๕๑๑ ซึ่งตรงกับวันเดือน ๔ เหนือขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เวลา ๘.๓๐ น คณะศรัทธานำเครื่องไทยทานไปร่วมกันที่วัดพร้อมกันทุกแห่งตาม มีชื้อมาจากเชียงใหม่ขอให้ฟัง เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๔ รูป เจริญพระพุทธมนต์ เทศน์ธรรมจักร ฯ ธรรมพุทธาภิเษกสวดเบิก และมหรสพการเล่นต่างๆ อบรมสมโภช

วันที่ ๑๔ เดือนมกราคม ๒๕๑๑ ซึ่งตรงกับเดือน ๔ เหนือขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เวลา ๕.๓๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ทำพิธีเบิกเนตรพระพุทธรูป และถวายข้าวมธุปายาส เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น ถวายภัตตาหารเพลแก่พระสงฆ์เสร็จแล้ว เลี้ยงอาหารแก่ท่านที่ไปร่วมในงาน เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีถวายวิหาร ถวายข้าวสารแก่พระสงฆ์เสร็จแล้วมีเทศน์ ๑ กัณฑ์ จบแล้ว ถวายเครื่องไทยทาน พระสงฆ์อนุโมทนาเป็นเสร็จพิธี

ฉนั้น จึงขอเชิญชวนท่านพุทธศาสนิกชนทั้งหลายไปร่วมอนุโมทนาทำบุญร่วมกันในครั้งนี้โดยทั่วกันด้วย ปัจจัยรายได้จากงานนี้ทั้งหมดจะได้รวบรวมสมทบทุนในการสร้างพระวิหารที่ยังไม่เสร็จให้สำเร็จลุล่วงต่อไป

อนมิตฺตมานัน  
พระศรีอนสรณศาสนเกียรติ  
เจ้าคณะอำเภอแม่สะเรียง  
ประทับตราตำแหน่งเป็นสำคัญ

พระมหาแก้ว ปญญาวโร ประธานจัดงาน  
นายสม คุณประดิษฐ์ รองประธาน  
นายโท บุญศรี กรรมการ  
นายแก้ว เขียวเมือง กรรมการ  
นายอุดม ธรรมขันธุ์ กรรมการ  
และคณะศรัทธาวัดชัยลาภทุกคน

January 19, 1968

[206] Visit from 'Cao Kháná' Amphø: and Driver from Tribal Development Center:

Today the CKA and a driver from the tribal development Center at MÊ:HÓ' paid me a visit at home - ostensibly to arrange a trip to Chiang Mai. We discussed the following:

1) Type of Thambun for the dead:

The CKA wrote a description of the ceremony as follows:

ปอบเข้าสังฆ์ คือการทำบุญอุทิศให้คนตาย ด้วยการทำเรือนห้อง ในเรือนห้องนั้น มีของใช้สำหรับครัวเรือนครบครันตามที่กำหนด นมอห ยี่ง เสื่อ คุ้หม่า นมอขาว ครกพิ่น กะล ของใช้อื่น ๆ  
งานนี้จัดทำที่บ้าน นมอห ๗ วัน ๗ คืน ที่บ้านที่ตาย เรือนห้องนั้น ชาวบ้านจะ ไปดูกัน  
กัณฑ์นวดเพื่อ ทางวัด ๑-๒ ๑๕ ต่อ ๗  
งานนี้ ส่วนใหญ่ ทำได้ ๒-๓ วัน ถ้าหากว่า เป็นการทำบุญอุทิศให้  
คนตาย ด้วย ๑ คืน ที่สุด.

Tr: : "'Po:i khão sǎn' (Ceremony of rice for the Sangha) is a merit-making for a person who has died during which a small house is made. In this small house there is a complete set of household items such as mattresses, pillows, mosquito nets, mats, water jars, rice pots, mortar & (pounding) pestles, and other things."

"This ceremony is arranged in the house to which priests are invited to receive alms. The 'little house' is presented to the priests and then taken to the wát where the things are kept for later use."

"The majority of these ceremonies last 2 to 3 days. It is believed to be the biggest merit-making for someone who has died." [206]

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I asked if this was like the Chinese ceremony in which a number of paper objects are made for a funeral and then burnt. He said no, the things were real in this case and were actually used by the priests after being presented to them.

2) Che:di: and Wát in Lowland Karen Villages:

The CKA said that there are che:di: in the following lowland Karen villages (all in T. Bâ:n Kâ:t):

- 1) B. Phá'Mo: Lo: ( บ.พ.มอจล )
- 2) B. Mê: Hă:n ( บ.เม่นา )
- 3) B. Phě' ( บ.เพ ) [not the one at Mae Sariang, but the Karen one]
- 4) B. Mê: Sâlâ:p ( บ.เม่นา : ลาบ )
- 5) B. Mê: Tô:p Nŭa ( บ.เม่นา : โป้ นุ ) - this one was built last year.
- 6) B. Pà: Mă:k ( บ.ปานาก )

He also said that B. Mê: Wə:i ( บ.เม่นาเว ) will erect one this year. At the moment they have tônbun ( โถน บุน ) but not che:di:. He was unclear about where the 'relics' came from for these che:di:, but in pressing him, he supposed they probably contained Buddha images. He said that there used to be a che:di: at B. Mê: Tĭa ( บ.เม่นา : เต ) but it wasn't kept up and has now disappeared.

Of these villages, only B. Mê: Hă:n has a wát. It is also attended by people from B. Phě' and B. Pà: Mă:k. People from B. Phá'Mo: Lă: make merit at the Thai wát of Wát Thâ: Khâ:m and people from B. Mê: Sâlâ:p make merit at the Thai Wát at B. Thŭn lě:ŋ in T. Mê: Khong. [This latter village, incidently, the CKA says has only recently changed from being a Lua' village.]

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3) Tribal Development Center:

The driver from the tribal development center at MÊ:HÓ' is a native of Tà:k and worked in Tà:k before he came here in 1964 (2507).

He says that the person who runs the 'tribal' store at MÊ:HÓ' can speak Karen, but is a Thai from HÓ:t.

Elections:

I talked with Na:i Tan today about the elections for the provincial council seats. He said that the following people were elected (in order of the most votes received):

- \* 1. Na:i Tan Bamrunkit ( นายตัน บำรุงกิจ ), Owner of ice factory and shop.
2. Na:i Udom Mahā:Wana: ( นายอุดม มหาหงษา ) Owner of the Nakho:n Mái Mae Sariang Lumber Mill.
- \* 3. Na:i Insūan Duanphō:ng ( นายอินทร์ ดวงส่อง ), Assistant Manager of the Mae Sariang branch of the Thai Sāmūt Co. ( บริษัทไทยสมุทร )
- \* 4. Na:i Sāngāt Buayen ( นายสงัด บัวเย็น ), Owner and Manager of Sāngāt Pha:nít Store and retired policeman (ex-Corporal).
- \* 5. Na:i Čírásāk Sĭ: Wĭchai ( นายจรัสศักดิ์ ศรีกิจรุ่ง ) - also known as Khru:kham ( ครูค้ำ ), Owner and Manager of Sĭ: Wĭchai Ka:n Mái Lumber Mills; Karen.
6. Na:i Wicha: Ná Chiangmai ( นายวิชา ณ เชียงใหม่ )
7. Na:i Thĭp Bunlų: ( นายทิพย์ บุญลือ ) - lives in B. Húai Wŭ:k, T. MÊ: Yuam.
8. Na:i Nít Sĕ:nsúk ( นายนิท แสนสุข )

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\* Members of the "Khùm Pháthána: Mae Sariang".

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Na:i Tan said that not more than 20 percent of the electorate ~~had~~ voted. Many Karen ballots were thrown out because they weren't marked correctly.

He said that Na:i Pho:, the Karen Christian who <sup>ran</sup> ~~was~~, received the highest number of votes of any candidate in B. Kà:t and Mê: Tĩa, but didn't receive enough (if any) votes elsewhere to get elected.

Campaign Literature:

I picked up two bits of campaign literature in the hills. The first was for the 8 members of the Khùm phátthána: Mae Sariang (Mae Sariang Development Group), the only candidates to be running as a group. The second was for Na:i Udom Máha:wána:

a) Mae Sariang Development Group:

Advertised that they were 100 percent khon Mê: Sàriang, that they would help develop Mae Sariang, and that they would represent everyone (the whole constituency). This group included the following candidates:

- 1) Tan Bamrunkit, B.A. ( ตัน บำรุงกิจ, บ.บ. ), No. 8 on the ballot.
  - Owner and Manager of the Mae Sariang Ice Factory.
- 2) Police Corporal Sàràt Bu yen ( ร.ต.ท. สวัสดิ์ บัวเย็น ), No. 9
  - - Owner and Manager of the Sàràt Pha:nít store and retired official, Police Department, Ministry of Interior.
- 3) Lúang Sùwannálop ( ล้วน สุวรรณาลัย ), No. 10
  - Retired official, Department of Local Government, Ministry of Interior.
  - [Mark Anderson says daughter teaches at Bòríphát Sùksă: school.]

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- 4) Insūan Duanphò:η (อินฮ่าง หนงฮอง ), No. 11  
- Assistant Manager of the Mae Sariang branch of the Thai Sāmùt Co.
  - 5) Thàwīn Sǎ:ikham ( ทเวิน สขขดำ ), No. 20  
- Former member of the Mae Hong Son Provincial Council.
  - 6) Čírásàk (Khru: Kham) Sǐ: Wíchai ( กิ่งศักดิ์ [คฺยดำ] ติงเวินฮอง ), No. 19  
- Owner and Manager of Sǐ: Wíchai Ka:n Mái Lumber Mill.
  - 7) Wíchai Maŷyu:rásǐ: ( เวินฮอง มยฺยรดี ), No. 25  
- Supervisor of the Mae Sariang Electrical [Plant]
  - 8) Rianṣǎ:n Tho:ηsàwát ( เรียงสง ของ สเวินดี ), No. 26  
- Owner and Manager of the Mae Sariang Market and of the Phin Tho:η Lumber Mill.
- b) Na:i Udom Mǎha:wána: ( นโถอุดม มหาวนา ), No. 16
- Manager of the Nákhò:n Mǎi Mae Sariang sawmill with a branch in Chiang Mai.
  - Campaign advertisement - "Since I established a sawmill in Mae Sariang, all (my)'relatives' ( พวกรอง ) are likely to have perceived that the villages and towns ( บ้าน เมือง ) are progressing [in that] people have been helped to find work, incomes have increased, and in one year Thai money in circulation in our villages and towns ( บ้าน เมือง ) has been several millions."

January 23, 1968

Interview with Abbot of Wát Phrá' Sǐng, Chiang Mai:

Jane and I came to Chiang Mai yesterday to see doctors, etc.

Today, we came to Wát Phrá' Sǐng to see the CKA of Mae Sariang who is in Chiang Mai to arrange funerary rites for Na:i Thian, the mine owner who died recently. At Wát Phrá' Sǐng, we first visited the clerical residence of Čáo Khun Wimán (เจ้าคุณกิมฉน) where the CKA of Mae Sariang was staying. We found the Čáo Khun a little strange. He was very interested in the work among the hill tribes and said that religion was the most important thing in developing the hill tribes, but he wasn't too good at answering my questions. After talking with the Čáo Khun for a little while, the CKA of Mae Sariang took us on a tour of the Wát. The main Wihǎ:n was constructed under the direction of Khru:Ba:Sǐ:Wichai. We also saw the bò:t for male and female monks (Phíksù and Phíksùnǐ) - very unusual and maybe the only of its kind in Thailand. It is unusual because there have not been any female monks since a few hundred years after the death of the Buddha and they have never existed in Thailand.

The highlight of the visit was an interview with the abbot of Wát Phrá' Sǐng - a very senior and elder monk who had been the Čáo Kháná Phá:k and then had retired from that position to devote his energies and influence to the various programs arrived at strengthening or spreading Buddhism among the people of Thailand. It was these programs which most interested me.

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- 1) thammáthû:t (ธรรมทัต )
  - Began in 2497 (1954) by the abbot himself. Eventually received support from Asia Foundation (Bill Klausner is a good friend of the abbots) and the Department of Religious Affairs.
  - This year there will be 220 thammáthû:t monks (ธรรมทัต ) in the North. He said in 7 changwat in the North and when I asked which one was excluded, he answered that the whole region was included.
  - The thammáthû:t program is not restricted to any group of people but is all over.
  
- 2) thammača:rik (ธรรมจาริก )
  - Aimed specifically at hill tribes
  - Under the Public Welfare Department
  
- 3) thammáphátthana: (ธรรมพัฒนา )
  - Newest program (2nd Year)
  - Based on Wát Phrá Sǐn and applied mainly to Chiang Mai Province (12 centers)
  - Involves laymen as well as monks, and aims at general improvement of villagers' lives.
  - Help from Asia Foundation (last year B6.780).

All of the program have the general purposes of helping people improve their lives and to prevent the spread of Communism. All programs are carried out in the dry season when monks are free . They begin in April.

January 24, 1968

Tha:n Th<sup>3</sup>:ŋ Bookstore, Chiang Mai:

Today Donna Markham took us to some bookstores in Chiang Mai which sell books written in Northern Thai or about Northern Thai customs. The most interesting of them was Tha:n Th<sup>3</sup>:ŋ ( <sup>3</sup> ) which specializes in sermons, printed on accordian-type books. The ones that are in N. Thai script are done by photo offset. There used to be a press in Chiang Mai with N. Thai script (original made for the Christian missionaries and later sold to a Buddhist who published Buddhist texts) but then went out of business a few years ago and, according to the owner of Tha:n Th<sup>3</sup>:ŋ, the typeset is in too bad a condition to be used again.

The owner of Tha:n Th<sup>3</sup>:ŋ is a good friend of the CKA of Mae Sariang. He himself was in the monkhood for 2 years. He originally comes from Pà:Sa:ŋ. I asked if Pà:Sa:ŋ was <sup>Mon</sup> ~~Mon~~, a characterization I have heard before. He said one village in the district, B. N<sup>3</sup>:ŋ Dù:, T. Bâ:n Ryaŋ, A. Pà:Sa:ŋ ( <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> ), was. They still speak <sup>Mon</sup> ~~Mon~~ in this village.

January 25, 1968

Trip to Mae Sariang from Chiang Mai:

Today we returned to Mae Sariang, bringing with us the CKA of Mae Sariang, the abbot of Wát Kɔ:ŋ Mù: in Mae Hong Son, and another Mae Sariang monk. On the way back we stopped at Wát Phrá' <sup>Bo</sup> ~~Ma~~ommáthâ:t in Cɔ:m Thɔ:ŋ. This wát is very famous (it has been patronized by several kings including the present one) and very old (the shrine holding the thâ:t is said to be 450+ years old). We were given a tour of the wát by a resident monk and talked with the abbot. We also were shown the thâ:t and with our monk companions were given the privilege of bathing the thâ:t and then using the water on our hands and heads.

We also stopped at plǎŋ (   ), a narrow gorge, where a park (sometimes visited by the royal family) has been made. At the gorge itself, on the Mɛ:Cɔ:m River, there is a bridge and a wire cable. These were erected, according to the CKA, by the Bombay-Burma Company to use in breaking up log jams at the gorge.

On the trip we passed through the Lua' villages of Bò:lǎŋ and Kɔ:ŋlɔ:i which the CKA referred to as Lua' phátthána: ('developed Lua') because they are Buddhist and are much more sophisticated.

I asked the CKA if he ever walked from Mae Sariang to Hò:t before the road was built. He said many times. He said that they used to spend the 1st night at Mɛ:Hó', the 2nd night at Kɔ:ŋlɔ:i, the 3rd night at Bò:lǎŋ, and the 4th at Hò:t (I am not sure about the latter).

January 28, 1968

Visit to Bâ:n Phâ: Phâ:

Today the abbot of Wát Sitthimongkhon and Āo Kháná Tambon Mē: Khatuan (whose name is Sī:thon Thă:wárákhúno: - สิริธน ธาราคุโน ) requested that I take an electrical generator to B. Phâ:Phâ: for him (I had taken one a week before, but it needed to be exchanged for another one). I agreed to do so and ended up taking with me the abbot, a monk from Phâ:phâ:, an electrician who is always helping set-up generators, projectors, p.a. systems, etc., Mark Anderson and a friend of his who was visiting here (David Hess, a Fulbright teacher in Vietnam) and three B. Phâ:Phâ: villagers.

In the village, while the electrician was setting up the generator, Mark, Dave, and I went to look at the forest bò:t and then climbed up the hill to look at a Che:di: there and a stupa erected to house the ashes of the former abbot of the village wát who was very famous. There was an inscription on this stupa which read as follows:

วัดป่าของ  
พระครู ปญฺญาวโรชาต (เจ้าอาวาสวัดป่า)  
เกิด: 14 มกราคม 2432  
มรณ: 6 กรกฎาคม 2504  
อายุ ได้ 71 ปี 74 วัน พ.ศ. 2505

Tr.

Stupa of

Phrá Khrù: Panya:wárawát (Suñ Panyawáro:)

Born	14 January 1889
Died	6 July 1961
Aged 71	Built in 1962

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I asked the Tambon abbot how many monks there are in the wát:  
2 monks and 9 novices. Another informant (a villager) said that the  
abbot of wát Cɔ:m Thɔ:ŋ who recently left the monkhood and who is a  
native of Phâ:Phà: had been a monk for more than 10 years. He has now  
returned to the village to be a farmer (ပိတောက်ပဲသီးနှံ). The headmaster  
of the local school who overheard this question and answer said it was  
too bad that the monk left the monkhood because he was a tú: lɔ:ŋ (ie. abbot).

Mark, Dave and I also talked to a female teacher in the village who  
says she has been there for 9 years. She is a native of Mae Sariang.  
She says that Karen often come to B. Phâ:Phà: to sell peppers and other  
things. A little later, I saw some Karens in a local village shop.  
There is no fresh market in the village.

Since the CK Tambon is a native of B. Phâ:Phà: (his mother is still  
living in the village, but his father is dead), I asked him if it were  
so that the village was formerly Lua'. He said yes but that it is now  
completely phɔ̃:n myaŋ. The electrician broke into the conversation to  
say that the village stil has some Lua' customs. For example, he said  
that there are phɔ̃:Lua'. The CK Tambon said that there are such Lua'  
customs as mát my.

On the way back, I noticed that certain areas of the forest had been  
fired. The CK Tambon says that B. Phâ:Phà: villagers have suiddens  
as well as paddy fields. It is too dry in these areas to plant paddy.

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Karen Christians:

A few days ago Ben mentioned that two Karen refugees were getting married in Mae Sariang to some local Baptist Karen girls. However, as the refugees were Seventh Day Adventist, they insisted on having a Seventh Day Adventist wedding and thus the Seventh Day Adventist Pastor came over from Chiang Mai. These refugees are apparently fairly recent arrivals.

Recently, Bob Coats made a trip to Mê:Sôt to see about bringing some Karen into the local Baptist Convention based in Mae Sariang. They had written requesting that this be done.

Group Who went on Trip to Mountains:

Saman helped me draw up a list of people who were present in B. Dong on the recent trip I made to the mountains.

1) BPP:

Sânân Singsuwan (สนั่น สิงสุวาน ) BPP teacher in B. Dong.

Pràsà:t Anúme:ra:ηkun (ประสาธ อานูเมระคุน ), BPP teacher in B. Dong.

Sùrát ? (สุรัตน์ ? ), Teacher in B. Dong, B.Pà:Pě:.

[also known as อรุณี ]

Sām<sup>2</sup>ri:η Pho:thísuwān (สำโรง โฟธิสุวาน ), BPP 'Electrician'.

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2) Government Teachers:

- Čhê:t Dê:t Wána:sáthít (โรงเรียนบ้านสามัคคี), Teacher from B. Dong.
- Ampho:n Tha:náwícha:lo: (อิมพร ฐาณะวิชัยโล), Teacher in B. Húai Hô:m.
- Tho:ng' in Ma:náçit (ทองอินทร์ มาณะชัย), Teacher in B. Húai Phú:ng.
- Ārà:m Chaiyawo:ng (อาราม ไชยวงศ์), Teacher in B. Châ:ng Mô:
- Piamchai Mă:ya: (เปี่ยมชัย หมอชา), Teacher in B. Phé' (lowland Karen)

3) Monks, Novices, and Lú:ksít:

- Phrá' Khru: Ānúso:n Să:tsánákíat (พระครูอุทิศธรรมดิลานหนองเตย) - CKA
- Phrá' Yu:n (พระคุณ), Abbot of Wát Co:m Cê:ng.
- Phrá' Inkuan (พระอินทวน), Monk from Wát Kittiwong.
- Phrá' Te:n (พระเตน), Monk from Wát Sî: Bunrya:ng.
- Phrá' Dăn (พระดัน), Monk from Wát Mē:la:Nô:i.
- ?, Novice from Co:m Cê:ng.
- Lug Nă:n Túi (ลูกน่านตุ้ย), Layleader from Wát Co:m Cê:ng.
- Ke:t (เกต), Dêkwát from Wát Co:M Cê:ng.
- Tu: Ná' Hô:ng Să:n (ตุ่นฮองสนั่น), Lú:ksít wát from Wát Kittiwong.

4) Workmen from Sahawit Co. (บริษัท สหวิทย์) - Came along for a

- Thi:wásak Ma:níkbút (ทีมวิทย์ บ้านกบฏ)
- "De:ng" (แดง)
- "Tô:i" (ต่อ)
- "Tí:" (ตี)

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5) Others:

Mrs. Khǎo (นาง เขี้ยว), wife of Khru: Surát.

Saṅuan Thammákhǎn (นางวัน ธรรมจักร), Works at the Immigration  
Radio Station. Came along for a thiao.

Wisít (วิสิทธ์), Brother-in-law of Mr. Wicha: Ná' Chiangmai (นายวิชา  
ชาเชียงใหม่), who owns a mine in Mae Sariang District.

Sǒmbu:n Kuntho:n (สมบุญ คุ้ม กุณธร), doesn't know what  
his connection was. Came along for a thiao.

Sámă:n Pràsò:t (สมาน ประสงค์), My assistant and Lú:ksít of  
the Phrá Khru:

Self.

Thus there was a total of 28 non-uplanders in the group.

Tho:ṅ'in Ma:náçit:

I had a visit from Tho:ṅ'in Ma:náçit today (who came to see about  
pictures). We talked a little about being Khru: Cha:o Khǎo (ครู ชำเฒ่า )  
- hill tribes teacher. One has to take a special exam for this in

Mae Hong Son. There are three hill tribes schools in the hills:

B. Húai Phųṅ (บ. ห้วยผึ้ง), B. Húai Hó:m (บ. ห้วยโฮ้ม) - both Karen -

and B. Châ:ṅ Mŏ: (บ. ชำเฒ่า) - a Lua' village. There are other schools

in Karen and Lua' villages as well. The following is a list worked out

with Tho:ṅ'in:

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Name of Villages/Tambon in which School is located	Ethnic Identity of Village	Lowland or Upland	Type of School
<u>T. Bâ:n Kà:t</u> (ต.บ้านกาต)			
B. Phá Mɔ:lɔ: (บ. พะฆอล)	Karen	Lowland	Government
B. Phé' (บ. เพ)	Karen	"	"
B. Mê: Hă:n (บ. แม่ฮ่าน)	Karen	"	"
B. Mê: Tô:p Nũa (บ. แม่ต๋อมหนุ่)	Karen	"	"
B. Mê: Tĩa (บ. แม่เตย)	Karen	"	"
<u>T. Mê: Yuam</u> (ต. แม่ยาว)			
B. Co:'u: (บ. คอจ)	Karen	Upland	BPP
B. Mê: Kɔ:η Pě: (บ. แม่กองเป)	Karen	?	Govt. (ex BPP)
B. Mê: TháLú' (บ. แม่ทะลุ)	Karen	Lowland	"
<u>T. Kɔ:η Kǎ:i</u> (ต. กองก่อ)			
B. Kɔ:η Kǎ:i (บ. กองก่อ)	Lua'/KM	?	"
<u>T. Mê: Sàrian</u> (ต. แม่สะเรียน)			
B. Pà: Pě: (บ. ป่าเป)	Lua'	Upland	BPP
B. Châ:η Mô: (บ. ช่างหม้อ)	Lua'	"	Government
<u>T. Mê: Khoη</u> (ต. แม่คง)			
B. Mê: Sàlâ:p (บ. แม่สะลาบ)	Karen		BPP
B. Săothĩn (บ. เว้าหิน)	Karen/Lua'	Lowland	Govt. (ex BPP)
<u>T. Mê:la: Nó:i</u> (ต. แม่ลาน้อย)			
B. Dong (บ. ดง)	Lua'	Upland	BPP
B. Húi Phũη (บ. ห้วยผึ้ง)	Karen	"	Government
B. Húi Hó:m (บ. ห้วยฮ่อม)	Karen	"	"

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Information from Coats:

Tonight Pete, Jane and I had dinner at Coats' (along with Binrah ).  
Bob Coats mentioned several topics of interest.

A Christian Karen village, MÊ:Kɔ:Kâ: (Thai name ?), near the BPP  
outpost of Tantrafan on the Salwin, had hired its own teacher. About two  
years ago, the BPP built a school and the Christian teacher quit to allow  
the school to get underway. But the BPP teachers <sup>rarely</sup> ~~may~~ show up.

There is a Christian student from MÊ: Tîa and another one from Cho:ti  
(B. Hûai Hô:m) who have been sent to B. Sě:n to a Chinese Baptist School  
for further education.

Bob refers to the Karen liberation movement as Gɔ:thu:li:. He mentioned  
that a Mae Sariang Karen who was buying arms for the movement was recently  
arrested. (This is the same story as the one about the "Kachin" revolutionary  
in the *Bangkok Post*, January 16, 1968.

Names of Spirits Living at the Town Shrine:

Sâmă:n got from an old man, one Pâ: Yuan Sùriyá (เจ้าพระยาสุริยง ), who  
lives in front of the police station, a list of the names of the spirits  
which inhabit the town shrine:

๑) เจ้าพ่อต่าง ๆ

1. Čáo Phô Khômu:lêk (เจ้าพ่อ ขอม เกลก)
2. Čáo Yá' (เจ้า ยะ)
3. Čáo Phô: Pê:ŋ Laôdèt (เจ้าพ่อ แปง เทลาเด็ต)
4. Čáo Plé:o Plò:ŋ Fá: (เจ้า เปลว ปล่องฟ้า)
5. Čáo Phô: Lâk Myan (เจ้าพ่อ นล็ก เมอง)

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6. Cáo Phô, Thammá' S~~ena~~: S~~o~~: nu: (เจ้าพ่อ ชยาม = เล้า) )
7. Cáo N~~o~~: Myan or N~~o~~: N~~o~~: i (เจ้าพ่อ เมือง <sup>พ</sup> หรือ ~~พ~~ พ่อ <sup>พ</sup> )
8. Cáo Lam Maná:t [Son of Cáo Phô: P~~o~~: η L~~o~~: D~~o~~: t] (เจ้าลำ = นาค  
[ลูก เจ้าพ่อ เมือง เหล้า เด็ด ] )
9. Cáo Phô: Myan Lu<sup>u</sup>an (เจ้าพ่อ เมือง หลวง )  
Y<sup>s</sup>: t
10. Cáo ~~S~~: L<sup>o</sup>: S<sup>o</sup>: B<sup>o</sup>: (เจ้า ยอด ลอ สอ บอ )

Che:di: at B. Phé':

Today Pete visited the lowland Karen village of B. Phé' (Karen, Ph~~o~~:kho:) where he interviewed an old man. He asked this old man about the che:di: in the village. He apparently answered something like the following:

- There is only one che:di: for B. Phé', B. Mê: H~~o~~:n, and B. P~~o~~: M~~o~~:k
- First built in generation of informant's father (informant about 60 - 65 years old), thus making it about 50 years old at least.
- Rebuilt by father of Headman of B. Mê: H~~o~~:n around 1940 at instigation of the Khru:ba: Kh~~o~~:o.
- This man had a Burmese title in consequence of having built it.

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Visit to Bâ:n Phê'

Yesterday Khru: Piam invited me to go with him to B. Phê' (in Karen, Phê:Kho:), a lowland Karen village where the daughter of the headman was getting married. We rode our bicycles to the village, arriving there about 9:00 A.M. We stayed until about 8:30 in the evening. At about 1:30 - 2:00 P.M., Pete and Benny showed up. They stayed until about 3:00 A.M. the following morning. I observed several other things besides the wedding.

1) School in B. Phê':

Thirty-six students, two teachers, four grades. One student from village studying at Mae Sariang (Tho:nsaowât) school - son of headman. He lives at the Baptist hostel even though he isn't a Christian. School has been in existence about 10 years, although the present building was built in 1966.

Khru: Piam says there is a high rate of truancy. At 9:20, after school was opened, there were only 18 students (50 percent) present. But today is a special day - the wedding in the village and one teacher away at a teacher's meeting. Students continued to straggle in. By 9:40 there were 8 students in P1, 5 in P2, 7 in P3, and 1 (a girl) in P4 or a total of 21.

P1 students were studying Thai. Their pronunciation of the lesson, in unison recitation, was not that of P1 students who are Thai (trouble with final consonants, certain vowels such as /y/ and tones). The P2 students were studying math and the P3 and P4 students were studying how to make an account.

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Khru Piam complained that Karen students are hard to teach because they don't speak Thai and because they are absent so much. Neither teacher lives in the village - Khru: Piam lives in B. Khapuan (at least an hour's bike trip away) and the head teacher lives in Mae Sariang.

Khru: Piam is a native of Lamphun whose father moved here when he was quite young. He graduated from <sup>๑</sup>Boriphak Siksa and has 3 years Teachers Training College in Chiang Mai).

2) Che:di: in B. Phé':

I asked the headman about the village che:di: (which he called thâ:t in Northern Thai). He said that it was built about 6 - 7 years ago, but an older one had existed which was built in the time of his <sup>Gsfa</sup>.

. This che:di: belongs to the village - there is another one in B. Mê: Hă:n. Ceremonies are held at the che:di: on <sup>songkran</sup>~~songkran~~ and the Beginning and end of Buddhist lent. Monks are invited from Wát Mê: Hă:n to participate in these ceremonies.

3) Religion Miscellaneous:

In the house of the headman and the house of the bridegroom I noticed Buddhist altar shelves (hīṅ phá' - <sup>๑</sup>หิ้งพระ - in N. Thai and perhaps in C. Thai as well). The one in the headman's house did not appear to have any image or photographs, but they may have been hidden behind the <sup>foliage</sup> . Like the N. Thai altar shelves, but unlike the C. Thai ones, the headman's has bunches of tall leaves (2 - 2 1/2 feet in height) as well as flowers.

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I didn't notice any candles or <sup>joss</sup> sticks. The one at the bridegroom's house, in addition to the flowers and leaves, had a Buddha image and the standard picture of Khru:ba: Sí:wíchai. The Buddha image was of white 'plaster' (?) and looked like it might be of Burmese style. However, Benny <sup>inquired</sup> for me from the father of the bridegroom said that the image was purchased in Mae Sariang.

I asked what the Karen word was for 'feeding the spirit' (လှူဒါန်း). One informant said something like tamy:kha:. Pete uses the term aw kre: in which the word kre: means 'ancestral spirit', for the feeding of the ancestral spirits.

Pete has been inquiring recently into what is called in Karen, cskkhasi:. He calls it in English the 'tattooing cult' because it involves tattooing by the cult leaders. The leaders according to Pete and Dave <sup>Marlowe</sup> are a Shan who lives in MÊ:la:NÓ:i and a Karen who lives in a village near MÊ:la:NÓ:i. The cult leaders have the power to absolve people from feeding the ancestral spirits (apparently he doesn't quite kill them, but takes them away). In B. Phé' there are some people who follow the cskkhasi: and some who still awkre:. However, the headman said that the whole village (save one Baptist household) is Buddhist (there is not necessarily a contradiction here).

#### 4) Miscellaneous Observations:

During my time in the village I made some miscellaneous observations. Many houses are in the Karen style (i.e. with no windows and fireplaces inside). A few are 'double' houses - i.e. a Thai style house (often made of boards rather than woven bamboo walling, having windows and no interior

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fireplaces) limited to a Karen-style house. Khru: Piam referred to the Karen-style houses as bâ:n Phĩ: - i.e. 'house [for] spirits'. Pete explained to me that there must be a Karen-style house where the ancestral spirits can be propitiated. It is often not as good as the Thai house because if the omens are such it must be torn down and erected elsewhere. If it were made of boards and better materials, like many of the Thai-style houses, then the tearing down would be an expensive proposition. The headman has one of these 'double' houses and it is perhaps significant that the hĩn phá' is in the Thai half (however, the bridegroom's house is only a Karen-style house and it has a hĩn phá').

Another thing which combines both Karen and Thai ways is water-carrying. I saw much water being carried by bucket, hâ:p style. However, according to Khru: Piam every household also has bamboo tubes for carrying water - much as in the mountains.

I saw a man with very heavy tattooing from his waist to knees. The tattoo was repetition of pictures of a type of forest cat. On his arm was some writing which he said was Shan.

5) Headman's Family:

The headman, a comparatively young man who one informant said had not yet reached 40, has 7 children. His first child, a son, is married and is living with his parents-in-law. The second child, a daughter is the one getting married today. The third child, a son, is studying in Mae Sariang. All the rest are living at home.

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6) Wedding:

My observations of the wedding customs began about 10:00 in the morning and ended at 8:20 in the evening. Other information was provided by Karen informants (usually through Benny's interpretation) and from Pete who stayed until 3:00 A.M. the next morning.

Most of the morning, and afternoon was given over to preparation of food. One buffalo and three large pigs were slaughtered (I saw one pig slaughtered. It was beaten over the head with a club. There didn't appear to be any ceremony attached with the slaughter, but I didn't ascertain if the person doing the killing was a special person or not.) Two chickens were also slaughtered. There was some ritual significance to these chickens, but I didn't see what was done with them. Food was being prepared in the house (Karen half) and the compound of the headman. Khru: Piam helped make food because a large number of their guests were coming and it was doubtful, he said, that they would like Karen food. Among the dishes I saw made included beef lâ:p (both díp and sùk), roasted beef, beef cooked in variety of spices including tumeric, pork phát, Kε:η haηε: (which Benny says is a Burmese dish). Food was served guests at noon and again at about 6:00 P.M. However, there was a ritual connection to serving food to participants (see below).

About 10:30 the groom-to-be came to the house of the headman, accompanied by a young male companion who was said to be his first cousin. HE carried with him a tray with two glasses of sōmpò:i water and a waterjug apparently filled with plain water. In the inner (but not inner inner) room of the headman's Thai-style house (the room with the hīη phá') the two young men sat

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on the door linkel with their hands in the wái position while the headman inside the room said something I didn't understand. This Khru: Píam referred to, in N. Thai, as Khǒ:sǔ:ma:, ๑๐๕๗ (Thai ๑๗๓, ๒๗๓, ๓๗๓) - literally, 'asking forgiveness'. When this was over, the three moved to the front of the porch of the Karen house of the Headman. Here the headman crouched down and the groom washed his head (N.Thai dam hǎn - ดำหัว - and something like pui:kho: in Karen) first with the sǒmpò:i water and then with a glass of plain water taken from the waterjug. The same ceremony was repeated with the wife of the headman. One informant claimed that this was the same as the ceremony in the hills.

We then went to the house of the groom. Some people on the porch were making a basket to carry gifts to the bride's house. The groom was refilling the glasses with sǒmpò:i water in order to go to houses of 'elderly people' ( ๕๗ ๑๑ ) whom he respects. I asked if he was going only to relatives of the bride. He said no, he was going to many relatives of both the bride and groom.

The groom is 18 years old and the bride is 17.

I asked at the house of the groom if the groom will feed the spirits ( ๑๑๑๑ ) before getting married. His father answered that he wouldn't.

We returned to the bride's house where Khru: Píam helped make food and I did little until after lunch. About 1:30 Pete and Benny showed up and Benny got an informant to tell us about the marriage customs.

Guests are entertained only at the bride's house, not at the groom's house. Relations of both the bride's mother and bride's father help pay for the food.

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The groom's side must bring a set of presents, called kanzi, "to make friends with the spirits of the bride." These presents should include one silver rupiah, one woman's skirt and blouse, turban for boy and for girl, one bangle made of bronze or copper, one red bead necklace, and one basket to carry things in. I asked about knives since I thought they were mentioned in the groom's house. The informant said that sometimes knives are given. Does not include rice or salt.

At first it was said that the basket was taken by the groom and left at anyone's house near that of the brides and then at midnight it would be brought to the bride's house. Then he said that the presents are not brought by the groom. They are kept in the groom's house and about 11:00 P.M. someone in the groom's party says that something was forgotten and goes and gets it. Actually, Pete who observed this said the presents were brought by ..... to a nearby house, and not by the groom.

The gifts are to be distributed, by the groom, to relatives of wife's mother. The person who brings the gifts to the house should be a married woman, non-relative whose husband is still alive and has children still living and family is free from trouble. Also must be married for first time. The bride's mother decides which among her relatives will receive which presents.

The bride's family does not give any presents to the groom's family, but they must send food before any guests eat (some of each type of dish prepared) to parents and elderly relatives of groom.

Do not have songkhó': in connection with wedding. Bing wrists - more rigid for those who practice awkre.

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The couple will sleep at the bride's house for 3 nights and then move to the groom's house for 3 nights and then return to the bride's house. Tonight is not counted because they won't sleep together. She will wear her white dress tonight and only tomorrow will she start wearing her married clothes. She will go to bed with her married clothes tomorrow night and then they can sleep together. Tonight is just the marriage night.

At about midnight tonight there will be a ceremony of sokhokhi in which a pair of chickens will be killed, boiled without spices and placed before the bride and groom. A small girl and boy will feed the bride and groom. The groom will give the bride a necklace and the bride will give the groom 25 sàtang. Do this if they still feed the ancestral spirits. Represents union of ancestral spirits. The informant said that they don't do this if they are ce:kkhəsi but another informant says that those who are cekkhəsi do it also.

No special ceremony at groom's house, but during the 3 days that the couple stay there, the bride will help in-laws. Once in every house in order to ensure peace and prosperity in the marriage. The bride receives necklaces in return for her services for these relatives. At the end of the 3 days, the uncles and aunts of the groom come and give the bride presents of clothing which she keeps for herself.

In the house of the bride, the couple must sleep in the room and all the other relatives must sleep outside.

The groom does not do any special work during the 3 days at bride's house - Only time he gets a special present is when he comes to get married (today) and then he receives a Karen jacket from parents-in-law.

The groom will come about 7:30 according to one informant. Depends on whether he is brave or not. If he is he will come before dark (about 5:00),

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if not he will come after dark. "It is just custom" to worship ancestral spirits at midnight.

After this interview, we saw that the bride and two companions (who were her mother's sisters) were carrying food to groom's parents house to feed them before the guests. One plate of food was identified as food for the spirits. The father of the groom took this tray and held it in wâi position in front of the altar (hĩn phá'). Then bride presented liquor to her parents-in-law to be. She held the bottle in her left hand and poured into a glass in her right hand. (Benny said she must do it this way.) She presented her father-in-law and mother-in-law with 2 glasses each. When she had finished with them, she started presenting liquor to other relatives of groom present in house. Mother's sisters helped pour liquor on these occasions. Women were given liquor as well as the men. Sometimes, the person doing the feeding actually fed the liquor to the recipient. Supposed to drink in one swallow although later shared with other people, but must return to first recipient.

The ceremonial drinking required to use homemade rice whiskey. Later the father of the groom brought out a bottle of salwin whiskey and another cup and started feeding the bride and her companions. Not able to drink from same cup as that used to feed groom's family. Groom's father fed the bride on several occasions. Much liquor drunk.

When finished at this house, the bride and her companions took liquor and food to houses of others of the groom's relatives.

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About 4:00 - 4:15 a group from the Phanasit Co. arrived in a Phanasit truck. They were invited because some people in B. Phé' work for the Phanasit Co. They were followed by a jeep belonging to and driven by Riānsō:n Tho:nsàwàt, the owner of the market. This car had several middle-aged women and one young woman (girl?). From this point on until about 6:00, a number of Thai guests arrived (actually the headmaster of the school didn't come until 8:30 - 9:00). Guests had been told to come at 3:00. The Thai guests included, besides the Kamnan of B. Kà:t and Khru: Piam who had been around all day and those mentioned above, the Chief Assistant Nai Amphə:, the Assistant Treasury Officer (who is the son-in-law of the direct descendent of the Cào fá: of Mae Họng Sơn), Headman of B. Sòphă:n, couple of district office employees, some teachers (including a former teacher in B. Phé' who had taught here when the groom was in school).

Also with the group from town was one Mánâ:t, son of Metta:, the Karen Baptist pastor, who is currently employed by the 'security' division of the district office as an interpreter. He stayed with the Thai during the whole visit. His father, incidently, is an interpreter in the court.

About 4:30, some of the Thai went and led the groom back to the bride's house. They gave him a pep talk in preparation for his marriage (including much ribald humor) and fed him drinks. About 4:45, the bride and groom knelt on mats in the inner part of the headman's Thai house. There the Thai tied their wrists, Thai style (with a phan in front of the couple in which money was placed when the guest had finished tying the wrists). Some people tied the wrists together. The only Karens participating in this were Benny and maybe Mánâ:t (I didn't see). This ceremony had

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obviously been stage for the Thai. After the tying was over, the headman cut the couple apart and the bride made a show of being quite cramped from having sat in the polite position for some time.

Tables had been set up and Mskong, beer and soda had been brought in for the Thai guests. After the tying ceremony, the Thai guests were fed drinks and then food. By 6:00 many had left and by 8:30 when I left almost all the Thai had left. According to Pete, the rest left shortly after an incident involving a drunken/crazy Thai who was around begging drinks. This guy had been a nuisance all evening, but the Thai had either ignored him or given him drinks (sometimes pouring a large drink down him). According to Pete, the headman finally got disgusted with this guy and threw him down the stairs and onto the road. Shortly after this, all of the Thai disappeared. Pete is sure there was a connection, but even though I didn't see the incident, I am not so sure.

About 7:00, a group of men who were said to be relatives of both bride and groom and in company with the groom came and crouched at the foot of the stairs of the Karen-style house of the headman and sang a song which Benny said was a request for liquor. The wife of the headman gave them liquor. They then entered the house where the groom's feet were washed. He was then taken into an inner inner room in the Karen-style house. Here he changed into the Karen-style jacket and some other clothes provided by his parents-in-law.

It was at this point at which I left.

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While talking with the main Assistant District Officer, he said to me that he was concerned about the Karens because of Communist influence. But he said in answer to my question that there wasn't any trouble in Mae Sariang. He did say that it was necessary to because of an "incident" (he used the English word) in Thai-Karen relations which would cause the Karen to turn to communism. He said that religion didn't matter; it didn't matter if people believed in Christianity, Buddhism, or even animism as long as people have religion.