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1/2 so the monks had to be fed first. The food was presented by women from BNT who prepared things in the kuat. When the monks were finished, all the guests from both B.O.D. & BNT ate in the kuat.

The presentation followed a different pattern in that the young girls did all the chanting. This chanting was quite unusual in its minor key (almost like Bulgarian music I have heard). When they reached the point of actually presenting the rice (also with tobacco and lighted candles attached to the baskets and some pretty-little artificial flowers made by the villagers), they chanted something like this: "We give this food to you priests and hope that it will be useful to you. We hope that when it is cooked, the food will fill you." These girls also chanted, or rather sang, after the major presentation was over.

Mr. Ngaw said that there were many River villagers from B.O.D. this year than in past years. The B.O.D. villagers all left in a group and none of them stayed to talk with BNT villagers.

#### THE DOI MAW.

There is a man who comes through selling pots quite often (he comes from "the pot village") and we have got to know him. We were talking about the making of pots <sup>today</sup> with him. He said only women make the pots - the men aren't able. A woman can make about 5-6 pots a day. It struck me that one of the reasons that only the women make the pots is because of unilocal residence. Only the women

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form the stable group through time to retain and pass on this skill.

He has also worked in Vientiane as both a construction worker & a samlor driver. He says that as a construction worker, he made 1000 kip/month. He didn't like to be a samlor worker because it is too tiring & because he couldn't make as much money. He lived in Vientiane for 12 mos.

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For the last couple of days we have had a foreign visitor in the village - Henry Bolnick. As a result my work has been rather disrupted.

#### THO:T KATHIN.

Last evening we heard the drums being sounded in the wat at about 8:30. This was to call a genl. village meeting to discuss where BNT will sponsor a Tho:t Kathin ceremony.

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#### CUSTOMS ASSOCIATED WITH WAN 23:k phansa:

"Leaving of Lent" is an occasion of for a variety of ceremonise & customs. In BNT (despite what we had been told before we went to Bangkok), very few of these were manifest. This is so prob. for a variety of reasons: (1) no aca:n jai in the wat; (2) no stimulating lay leadership - the headman had orig. been persuaded to have a large festival, partially for our sakes, but he was eventually persuaded against it; (3) the small size of the village - other, larger, villages were having much larger celebrations which draws people from this village. Another point seems to me to be relevant in this regard. If a ceremony is deemed "essential" to the well-being of a village

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or to part of the village (such as bun pradap din & bun khā:w sāk) it will be held no matter the conditions which might predispose unfavorably against it. Thus, for the "leaving of land" activities, only the presentation of food to the priests & the merit-making activities associated with liag phra<sup>2</sup> were deemed essential. Everything else was considered, at least so it seemed to me, to be superfluous busywork.

Prob. the most imp. of these "triumvirate" is the sending up of khō:m faj (โขนไฟ). Villagers made 2 which were entered in the contest at Bā:n mī: & 3 (one by Mr. Ngaw and 2 by the priests) which were entered in the contest at Bā:n Khō:k Nō:j. In addition to these two contests on wan ʔik phra: itself. The staves have been filled both day & night with others that have been set off (though none from BNT). Mr. Ngaw says that these khō:m faj are set off for the purpose of bu:cha: (๗๑๑ - "to worship").

[Notes from the 2nd of October - the day of wan ʔik phra: - now follow]

Today (3 Oct.) is wan ʔik phra:. We arrived about noon in the village. Apparently, there had been a special tham bun ceremony this morning (though the day is also wan phra:). The khō:m faj ceremony competition which had been scheduled for today in BNT had been cancelled, apparently, according to Nuau, partially because of the wishes of Mr. Buntiang, the headmaster. We attended the contest in Bā:n Mī: where there were some 40+ contestants competing at the school grounds. A comm. composed of the headmaster, the head man and several other male villagers, judged the entries on their beauty, their ability to rise at a certain speed, in a certain way, and to a certain height. Awards (monetary) were made

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by the head monk of the village to the first 3 winners.

Similar competitions were held at B. Khō:k Nō:j where many BNT'ers went, and other places. Other events which are associated with the end of land are major boat contests held on the lan chis: at Kosumphisaj, Thā: Tu:m, and other villages along the river (this event was actually to be held on Children's Day - 7<sup>th</sup> Oct.). Also, hion thion - procession of candles around a bō:t - were held at such places as wat Thanja: in SK. These events afford young girls and boys an opportunity to get together for a good time, & such bu:w sǎ:w relations on this occasion were pointed up by Mē: Ho:m. The local swains & damsels were really dressed to the T in local styles.

On the day of the end of land, villagers from a village near the "Friendship School" came to thō:t khō:w sǎ:n at BNT. However, the priests here had already gone to B. Khō:k Nō:j. This didn't deter the village visitors who presented the rice to their own priests & then went off also to B. Khō:k Nō:j.

I asked Nuau if any of the priests had left the monkhood since land was now over. She said that maybe some would when thō:t leathin was over.

In keeping with the generally festive nature of the occasion, there was a m̄:lammū: performance held in Ban Khaw on the 4<sup>th</sup>.

#### AN OLD MAN'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD:

Mr. Cok ("Father" Hō.) came over two days ago & we got to discussing Laos. He showed an amazing awareness of events & personages in Laos though he didn't recall the names & events quite

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accurately. For example he said "Souanna Phommni" for Souanna Phommua - he didn't quite recall Souanna Vong's name, though he did know that he was Souanna Phommua's brother. He also knew part of the name of the King of Laos and retold the story of Kong

Le:

I tried to ask him if people in the Northeast considered the King of Laos on a par with the King of Thailand, but the question didn't make much sense to him, though he replied that the King of Thailand had visited the Northeast. He kept reiterating that Northerners are "Lao" - share in the language & customs of the people of Laos. However, he indicated that he understood that Northerners were "Thai citizens" but seemed unsure about whether Laotians were as well. He said that living in Laos would be difficult because people were always shooting at one another.

We got discussing thôt káthin, especially the one which would be sponsored by Bunthin Attakorn, the <sup>high</sup> Dept. of Edu. official, in Bân Khwâw. He displayed a remarkable knowledge of the Attakorn family - giving the names of at least 3 hrs. - Bunthin, Bunchana, & Bunchaj - one sister - Tho-guan. He knew that the 1st two hrs. are both high gov. officials in Bangkok, but he didn't say in what capacity. He knew that these people are descendants of the old caw muay and that their father had been "governor" (khà: lüy). He says that the one sister lives in Khumkaen. He also knows that Bunchaj is Lord Mayor of Mahasarakham and was formerly an M.P.

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He is aware that the P.M. (Sevit) comes from Mukdehuan & Sakon Nakhon. He readily agreed to the idea that Northerners are smarter & cleverer than their people from other regions.

MISC (Nô:ij):

Nô:ij says that he has had his hair "permed". Apparently, he has sold his radio - for \$300 - the same price he paid for it. He convinced the buyer that he was really getting a bargain - a \$350 radio for \$300. Mr. Ngai was impressed by his business astuteness. However, with the money he got for the radio, he plans to use towards buying another radio for \$340!

THÔT KÁTHIN:

From the end of lent (15<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing of the moon in the 11<sup>th</sup> month) until the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing of the moon in the 12<sup>th</sup> month the village & religious life is dominated by the thôt káthin ceremony which occurs in the various wats in the area. We will involved in at least 3 of these ceremonies:

5 October	Bân Khwâw	thôt káthin	in BNT
19 "	BNT	"	" " " B. dôn májâ:
25 "	Bunthin Attakorn	"	" " " Bân Khwâw

1. Meaning of Thôt káthin:

In the N.E., at least in this part of the N.E., the thôt káthin would seem to be one of the most imp. religious ceremonies in the yearly calendar. In contrast to the North

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where<sup>1</sup> the ceremony seems to be held only sporadically (Kiergshild, p. 207 and de Young, p. 138) and in the central plains where the elaborateness of the ceremony makes the cost prohibitive to yearly observance (Kaufmann, p. 136), it seems that N.E. villagers hold the ceremony in nearly every wat every year.

thi:t ka:thin (ทิวทิว) can be translated as "the laying down of the robes of the monk". Wells defines give a translation-definition "to lay down on a wooden frame on which to cut cloth."<sup>1</sup> In essence, the sine qua non of the ka:thin ceremony is to present new sets of robes to one or more monks in a wat. This giving of robes always takes place after the end of Lent in the month period above defined. Wells states that "The giving of robes at this time has special significance; in effect it rewards the monks for having spent well the sober Vassa season, and it equips them for new attire just when they are free to journey on pilgrimages."<sup>2</sup> The monks having been restricted to their home wat during Lent.

Though the giving of a set of robes to at least the head monk of a wat is essential for the ceremony, other things - particularly those things which go into the "Essential Monk's kit" may also be deemed necessary. Some people from Ban Khunaw said that the giving of a monk's water

<sup>1</sup> Wells, Thai Buddhism, 1960, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit. p. 105.

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filter, a Buddha's stake, the canopy which goes over the Buddha statue (called a cat - คัท), etc. were said to be necessary. Nonetheless, the robes are the vip things and other gifts such as those described above, personal articles for the priests (which may range from rubber sandals to the toilet paper we saw last yr. at Kanchanaburi), or things to be used only in the wat are included as gilding on the cake. What makes up these offerings, however, must also be partially limited by tradition as the items included in the ceremony at BNT today differed markedly ~~from~~ from the things we saw given last yr. at Kanchanaburi.

Wells describes two types of ka:thin ceremony: the cu:ka ka:thin (จุก - from Pali - "small") and the ma:hi: ka:thin. The former is the common one; the latter is one in which the thread is spun, the cloth woven, and then made into robes and dyed all in one day." (Wells, p. 107). This latter type is not much practiced ("too time consuming") today. People in the village also recognize these two types.

## 2. Preparations:

A thi:t ka:thin ceremony can only be held at a single wat once during the season, and all observers are agreed that the ~~same~~ villagers of one village must not be the sponsor's ~~own~~ in their own wat. The reason given for this is that they would not make as much merit if they did it in their own village. Whatever the reason may be, this practice has certain implications in the social life of the villages concerned. For one it sets up a ~~problem~~ donor-recipient relationship between villages. It would seem to me that such a relationship requires a reciprocal action at some later date by the recipient village (a point that Wells makes) or else the one village will always remain in a recipient role vis-a-vis the donor village - a situation which seems ~~more~~ characteristic of the area in which I am working.

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Thus, Ban Khueaw is a donor vis-à-vis a poorer village/wat - i.e., BNT - but is a recipient vis-à-vis an outside richer donor (i.e., Banthia Attalorn). Neither BNT nor Ban Khueaw could conceivably reciprocate. Similarly, BNT is a donor vis-à-vis a poorer village/wat - B. d. n mājā: which also could not reciprocate. Thus, the thō:t káthīn and to a lesser extent the thō:t khō:wsā:n ceremonies establish a sort of social hierarchy according to the ~~position-donor~~ donor-recipient relationship. The principle would be something like this: a village always sponsors a thō:t káthīn ceremony in a village which is poorer <sup>than</sup> or equal to itself.

When the sponsors of a thō:t káthīn have chosen a wát (one that has not yet been chosen), they make their decision public. Thereafter, no other sponsor can select the same village. Sometimes, when a wát has been selected, it will hoist a special "flag" which signifies that it has been ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> sponsor for. I have seen such flags in the area, but there was none in BNT.

### 3. Preparations on the part of the Recipient Village:

I can say nothing as to the preparations in the donor village as yet, but I did observe this morning the preparations made on the part of the recipient village. During the morning, after the priests had breakfasted and after the donors had been surrounded calling people to the wát, villagers were engaged in preparing food. Most of the major food was being made in the khūtī. Here some men were making a "puk kō:ng" (this is the first time I had seen pork served as a festival dish, but Mr. Ngāw said that this was merely a reflection of the fact that pork was the cheapest meat available). Next are reportedly the best cooks when it comes to making festival food. The men were also making a "puk lō:p". The pig used ~~by~~ in making these dishes had been sold by the head man at

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a cost of B200. I learned later that this money was raised by the wát comm. by keeping a B2 donation on every household. Women were busy making sōm-tā:n also in the khūtī. At about 10:30, Nāj sī:hā: surrounded the donors, and other people began showing up carrying various quantities of prepared rice to be used as well.

### 4. The Ceremony:

At about 11:00 the guests from Ban Khueaw began arriving in lorries commandeered from the highway dept. All the priests from Ban Khueaw, the leading laymen (among whom was the official sponsor), some school teachers, and a large number of ba:w sā:w. Altogether, I would say that there were around a 100 people from BK.

When they had gathered in the wát grounds, they began a procession around the sālā:. In this procession, led by a man striking a large gong, were other musical instruments, large gaily decorated brooms, one of which was ~~made~~ used in "sweeping" the grounds clean by Nāj sī:hā:, the collection of gifts, and a rope which was passed through the procession, with many people holding onto it ("in order that they might better 'make merit'"). After circling the sālā: three times, the procession, with the monks from B.K. in the lead entered the sālā: where the monks took up their place on the raised dais and the people sat on the floor. ~~to~~

The sālā: had been prepared before hand by the removing of the desks, the laying down of mats (~~to~~ <sup>on</sup> the bāy) and mats and matting for the priests (both of which had been borrowed from various homes in the village). In between the people and the priests, in the middle of the room were placed the gifts.

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One thing that struck me in this initial stage was the division of the people ~~of~~ from the two villages. The people from BNT tended to remain in the *khedi* or on the grounds with the exception of a few leaders who looked after the needs and comforts of the visitors. This situation obtained throughout the days events. After arriving in the *sā:la:*, the visiting monks were fed, and in the *khedi*, the home monks were also fed (along with a monk from B. dō:n du: who came along to observe the proceedings). Thus, the guests were fed.

After people have eaten, the actual presentation takes place. So far as I could gather the ceremony was quite similar to that which Krammer (pp. 187-8) describes from Ban Bangkhud. The "sponsor" in this case, I recognized to be one of the leading laymen of Dā:n Khūwān. He led the main presentation of robes to be given to the "abbot" of BNT. He ~~then~~ *khō:sin* and then laid out the robes and chanted the presentation words. Then the head priest took the robes, made the customary statement of saying that these robes should be used for anyone, to which another of the BNT priests said (chanting) that they should be only for the head priests ~~which~~ - a statement "seconded" by the response of ~~the~~ *sā:thū* from the other priests present. Then the Head Priest gave the "precepts" in the standard response form.

Then a presentation of a collection of things including a *khān*, incense, underclothes, robes, pillows, umbrellas, necker-cards, were made to the other two priests from BNT. They faced each other and in turn made responses.

## 5. The Gifts:

These formal presentations did not include all the gifts given to the monks and the nuns

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at BNT. The other things which had been laid in the *sā:la:* included a cupboard, a Buddha statue, a *ai* (ornamental covering for the Buddha statue), blankets, cloths (other than the ones presented), mats, mattresses, pillows, small pressure lantern, paper flower decorations, glutinous rice steaming and regular baskets, priest's bowl, huge purple pie, little china bowls, huge tin of tobacco, *pitom*, *baij sy:*, small scythes, new cotton, water scoops, western style pillows, Thai style pillows, quinquet plants, trees, western umbrellas, *tōn dō:sik gā:n* ("money tree") with one bank note, priest's water strainer, *māj thā:w lēk* (ไม้ ไม้ ไม้), decorated "bamboo," etc. There were the things I could see, but there were more. I was unable to sort out ~~what~~ which of these were gifts proper, which merely auspicious items, which necessary items of the ceremony.

## 6. Conclusion of Ceremony:

When the formal gifts had been presented, the priests gave the blessing (*hāj phān*), and the ceremony was formally over. The gifts were then carried to the *khedi*. The priests from BNT then repaired to the *boit* where they alone (without laymen who were not allowed) chanted in front of the main Buddha image, and then the ceremony was completely over.

## 7. Other Items:

Prior to the beginning of the procession and after the ceremony was over, two circular fire rockets - called *phān* (ไฟ ฟ้า) were set off. And after the ceremony a *khān* was also released. This latter would have been set off before the ceremony except that it was raining then. These were set off to let the *thawān* know that the ceremony was being held.

Just prior to the ceremony proper, the noise which had been passed through the procession

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was tied around the central pillar of the sà:la: and attached to the cupboard which was serving as a makeshift altar.

The cùlā kàttin in loan is known as kattin 12:11 (กัฏฐิน 12:11).

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TRIP OF VILLAGERS THROUGH N.E.

Last night while talking with Mr. Ngaw, I discovered that during our absence a trip was planned & executed by the Nat'l. Govt. which enabled a representative from nearly every village in Amphoe Phuang, M.K. (usually headman or headman) plus the C.D. workers, the ant. naj amplier, etc. to tour parts of the N.E. The purpose of this trip was to enable people to see development projects elsewhere. There were ~~one~~ <sup>two</sup> ~~parts~~ 4 buses of people. The group even made it across to Vientiane on two occasions (unplanned part of trip). The govt. footed the whole bill.

Naj Horm (โสม), the brother of the head man, was the representative from BNT. I suppose that this was because the headman hasn't been feeling well. <sup>Several</sup> ~~Two~~ things apparently stuck in his mind: (1) seeing the P.M.'s house in Sakorn Nakhon; (2) he didn't have to spend any money; (3) things are cheaper in Vientiane.

Naj Horm:

Speaking of Mr. Horm, he has bought a bicycle. He certainly is one of the "rising" people in the village, but then he has good credentials.

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THE ABBOT OF BÀ:n KHUAW:

The "Abbot" of BÀ:n KHUAW is officially known as the zùpàtchája:já (ฐปะตชาจาจา) Mr. Ngaw so lit. "one who is empowered to ordain". Mr. Ngaw says that a man must be in the monkhood at least 10 years before he can aspire to this rank. There is no one of this rank currently in T. Nǎng Kug or in T. THÀ: tu:m.

CHILD DISCIPLINE:

Yesterday, we saw a child struck by its mother for spilling a newly purchased bottle of kerosene.

MR. HŌ: AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD:

Yesterday in talking with Mr. Lek, he said that people in America must not grow rice because America is a more advanced country (equating rice growing with underdevelopment). This led to a discussion on the relative merits of Thailand and America. I said that a village in Thailand was a much better place to live because in America everyone is only concerned for himself whereas in village Thailand, people are willing to help one another. He emphatically agreed with the statement that villagers are very willing to help one another.

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A LEGAL QUESTION:

Yesterday morning I saw the son of Mr. Horm taking his father's ducks out to the field. He returned about noon holding 6 dead (later 7) or nearly dead ducks in his hand. It seems that a dog belonging to Naj Sǎm (who lives near the headman) had taken an especial dislike to these ducks. Mr. Ngaw says that when an incident of this sort occurs, the

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owner of the dog must pay for the ducks (such has happened before). In this particular case, Naj Som has returned to Bangkok where he works 1/2 the year. Thus, his wife will be held responsible. Any dispute in the matter over the issue would be mediated by the headman.

CHILDREN'S DAY:

Today is wan dik - "Children's Day" and there were many functions recognizing the fact all over the country. Insofar as BNT was concerned, students from the village walked to Ban Khwae village school where they were joined with students from all the other schools in the tambon in a special ceremony. I didn't have the opportunity to observe what occurred.

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TRIP OF VILLAGERS IN ANNOUE MUNGIA THROUGH THE NORTHEAST:

Mr. Wichian told me a bit more about the <sup>announced</sup> trip which took villagers from the area around part of the Northeast. The trip was called what Mr. Wichian termed "Service Training for Village Leaders." Leaders were selected by the CO officers from the various villages. There may or may not have been headmen (but always included kamnans). Mr. Wichian had selected Naj Horn as being a village leader in BNT because of his "example" in raising ducks and other activities. He said he felt that Mr. Phom wouldn't mind because Mr. Horn was his ygn. brother. The four included Sakol Nakhom, Nakhom Phanom, That Phanom, Mukdahan, Udon. The Lao city visited by some members of the tour was Suwannakhet, not Vientiane. Mr. Wichian said that Mr. Horn did not go to Laos because he was afraid of the soldiers.

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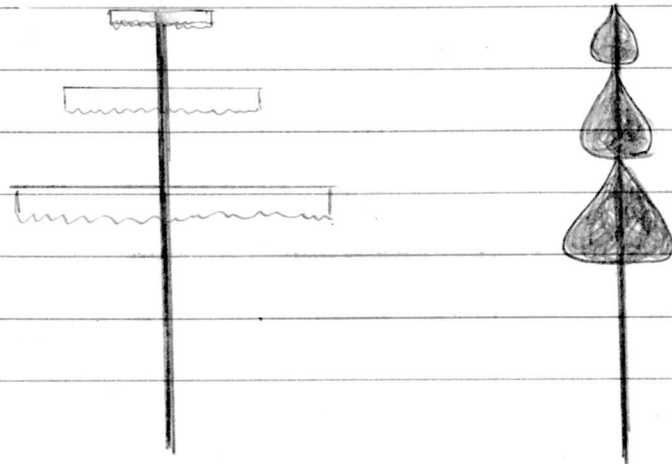
THOT KATHIN AT BAN ?IAT:

This morning I went to Ban Iat with Mr. Wichian where there was a thot kathin sponsored by Mr. Narong, a teacher at Ban Sain Ployaj who lives at Ban Khwae. We arrived at 10:00 in the morning, but the people from Ban Khwae had already gone to B. Iat and were already seated in the sa'lat. Mr. Wichian explained that the ceremony can be held at any time on the day designated (he said that in town, one was held at 6:30 p.m.), but usually they are held just before or just after the monk's lunch hour. In this case, it was held before.

When we arrived, the ceremony had not yet begun, so Mr. Wichian, and the abbot of Ban Iat, phra' mahā: non (PH = 2X7 26X7) explained to me some of the things which are used in a thot kathin ceremony:

## 1. Things carried in the procession:

- a. 1330 1308 (Pachap) - chawet sat (Thai) or sa'wet sat (L.) - These are poles with particular types of decorations which are used in royal processions and other processions as well.



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b. brooms (๒๒๓๓๓ - māj kwě:t)

There ~~is~~ is apparently no particular symbolism to the brooms other than they are to signify keeping the wát clean. Apparently, the queer plants ~~at~~ which I saw at BNT were also meant to be brooms.

3. Gifts: one gift which is special to the thái káthín is a "lotus blossom". This consists of a priest's cloth, starched, and folded in pleats and then attached to the end of a stick. In the middle is placed a betel seed and the result is a "lotus blossom".

Most important of the gifts which must be presented to the monks - at least to the head monk are the ๘๓๓๓๓๓๓ (iáttá bōrlekhān) - the essential eight possessions of the priest.

THE CEREMONY.

Because the wát at B. lat is much larger (currently 7 priests with an old respected abbot), the ceremony was prettier and more decorative and somewhat more elaborate. At the beginning of the ceremony, a bell was struck in the sá:la: . Then, a rope was wound around the center pillars of the sá:la: . Mr. Wichian ~~of~~ thought that this rope was used to protect the gifts from malevolent spirits entering in.

At the start, a respected layman (from BK) "requested the precepts" and were then given by the abbot of Ba:n lat. Then the same layman led the laity in presenting the things to the monks. A special chant and response by the laity was used in this presentation, when the chant

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was finished, the priests from Ba:n lat formed a semi-circle around the abbot. Then followed what Mr. Wichian termed ๘๓๓๓๓๓๓ (sōmmút káthín) or ๘๓๓๓๓๓๓ (tūppá:lō:káthín) in which 2 priests faced each other with faces ~~placed~~ placed in front of each other. The Head Monk then said that these robes and gifts which had been presented by the laity should be ~~had~~ for any monk who had lived in the wát for 3 months. Then the first of the two priests asked, formally, who should receive this gift? The second priest answers that the priest who has best lived by the precept of the Buddha ought to receive the gifts - i.e. the abbot. To this the other monks from B. lat responded with the word sáttú - "that is good". This was the same scenario which I observed at BNT.

A smaller thread was then tied around the rest of the gift. This made them into a single bangkueen - dedicated to Mr. Narong's (the sponsor) dead father. The priests were then fed their noon meal.

The priests then gave the blessing (háj phon) followed by the trúat ná:m which always appears in every service I have seen. This is a blessing during which water is poured slowly on the ground in order to transfer merit to dead ancestors, other creatures, and in local belief to no:ij thórá:nis (the Earth Spirit). This is called já:t ná:m māj thá:n in Lao.

The "lotus blossom" ~~flowers~~ <sup>clothes</sup> were broken and the clothes were presented to the monks and priests from B. lat. Also distributed were incense, candles, etc. to individual priests.

Then everyone else was fed. When the feasting was finished, the abbot gave a short sermon, and the ceremony was over.

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PHYSICAL SETTING OF CEREMONY

As in BNT, the ceremony was held in the sāi:lə: and the sāi:lə: had been quickly decorated. The monks sat on a raised dais. Behind the head monk was a large Buddha statue which had a canopy over its head.

MISC. REMARKS:

When a person sponsors a kaithin ceremony, he will get help from his relatives and friends. The calling up people together to come help in a kaithin is called in Lao - ມາ ຈຳນວນ ມາ ຈຳນວນ - mā: hōim kaithin. The sponsor of the kaithin ceremony at BNT was Mr. Chayunin.

LEGENDS OF BUN PRĀDĀP DIN AND BUN KHĀ:W SĀ:k:

Today I had ~~some~~ conversations with Mr. Wichon and then ~~the ceremony of~~ phrā? māhā: non of B. lat concerning the bun prādāp din - khā:w sāk ceremonies. First Mr. W. said that at the time of khā:w sāk people always send rice & food to living relatives or people who are particularly respected. Such things include khā:w sāk, sesame, coco-nuts, bananas, & other fruits. The person receiving will give something in turn.

phrā? māhā: non gave this story as the reason for the prādāp din ceremony: it is believed that some people who die, & their souls go to "Hell" (névōk). The Lord of the underworld allows these people to return to ~~earth~~ earth on one day of the yr. to eat the food which their relatives prepare for them. This day is prādāp din. The relatives prepare specially delectable foods - particular

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swath because they know that their relatives have had very poor food most of the year.

The story of the origin of khā:w sāk is based, according to phrā? māhā: non, on the story of kunlāthida: (กุนลาธิดา). "It seems that there was a woman, who because she had had no children encouraged her husband to take a second wife (mia nōj) which he did. However, when the 2<sup>nd</sup> wife became pregnant, apparently the 1<sup>st</sup> wife had second thoughts, because jealous, and prepared medicine which caused the ~~child~~ embryo child to die. She also on 3 occasions ~~she~~ tried to kill the 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, but was unsuccessful. The ~~first~~ <sup>second</sup> wife says that when she dies she hopes that she will be a cat, and the 1<sup>st</sup> wife will be a hen. Thus, when the hen has eggs, the cat will come and eat them. The 1<sup>st</sup> wife responds by saying that when she dies she hopes that she is a tiger and that the 2<sup>nd</sup> wife is a cow. Thus, when the cow has calves, the tiger will come and eat them. In actual fact when they do die, the 1<sup>st</sup> wife becomes a ghaol and the second wife the people called kunlāthida:. When these people have children the ghaol tries to eat them. Once when the kunlāthida: had a son in her own family and the ghaol came to try to eat it, the Buddha was close by, so the kunlāthida: goes to seek the Buddha's help in protecting her from the ghaol. The Buddha says that they mustn't do any one another and please stop and help one another. The kunlāthida: says that the ghaol should go stay in the forest which is called ta: hēik (ตาดเหยือก). And when the rainy season starts, we shall come to this forest and give you food and ask if the rains are to be good or not. Thus, people come to ask kunlāthida: each year if there would be good rains or not. When the ta: hēik says that the year will have much water, people will plant

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in the lowlands; but if there is to be little rice, people will plant on the uplands. So the kunláthida became very rich. All people think that we must ask the ta:heik when planting. And this is the origin of the khá:w sá:k ceremony.

"When Buddhism came to Thailand came to Thailand, the story was changed so that the event became a merit-making ceremony." The abbot says that it is very difficult to change the customs of the people, so that when the attempt was made to change from to give food to the priests instead, the people still retained some food to give to the ta:heik. Mr. W. had never heard this explanation before.

LEAVING OF MONKHOOD:

The leaving of the monkhood is called sík (สิก) or sikkháwá bót (สิกขาวาบท). Phants can leave when wan tsik shansá: is over, but usually they wait until the hán káthín are over.

KHO:M FAN; KHO:M LOM:

The abbot of Ba:n Khawo thinks that the khó:m fan and khó:m lom are like the izj ká thong in that they are prob. Brahmic wags for scaring away misfortune. The wichian (and others) believe that if any function, they are used for washing the thawáda:.

Misc on <sup>Tamba</sup> Khawo:

According to the Kamma there are 15,000 people in the tambon & 5 schools. There

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are 75 people in the leprosy colony at Ba:n Hón.

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MARKETING:

• Today I noticed that both bamboo walking & baled kaur are transported by the owner taking the saleable items by public bus/lorry to the mkt. himself.

FISHING:

Today, I went fishing with a group of men & boys (a day male activity with the possible exception of a very young girl). The fishing took place in the lam huaj. The spots where fishing takes place is in still water, under shaded overhangings, & places where there are lots of bushes, roots, etc. extending into the river. The method of fishing is such: A single man will turn a net (thá:t hē:) which will spread over a certain area of the river & subsequently the river bed. This net is a large circular net woven of cotton or nylon with a heavy chain around the bottom. The chain causes the net to sink to the bottom & to keep any fish from escaping. When the net has rested on the bottom for a few minutes, the fisherman will dive under & inspect the netting to see if any fish have become entangled. If they have, he will disentangle them one by one, come up to the surface, break the fish's neck, and place it in a basket (These baskets may be a variety of kinds - everything from ones that flood to ones which rest on the bank. All usually have a lid which allow fish to be placed through it, but which make it impossible for any remaining live fish to escape.).

The thing that really struck me about fishing was a factor which is obvious, but still struck me -

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i.e. the earnestness and seriousness of these people when they fish. There is no idle leisure spot. These people are looking for food. There is, admittedly, a bit of the spontaneity in each net fisherman, in that he becomes excited over a large fish or in trying to keep fish from escaping. Nonetheless, the general feeling is one of systematic ~~exploitation~~ exploitation of this gift of nature.

LOCAL LOTTERY:

Mr. Ngai told me this evening that at the last lottery, somebody won (or should win) \$9,000 from the local lottery run by Mr. Lai and Mr. Phansa, who is a co-sponsor. Unfortunately, these sponsors don't have enough money together to pay off the amt. of money. They are apparently trying to borrow from everyone but are meeting with little success. I asked what would happen if they didn't pay or refused to pay. Mr. Ngai said that they would probably be killed - at least that is what has happened in other cases. There certainly would be no appeal to the police in any case, because both buying & selling of local lottery is illegal.

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LOCAL ECONOMY:

Today, Mr. Bantuang was talking about the availability of food in Ba:n Khaw. It suddenly occurred to me that he must, in a way, face the same problem that we do in that he has no real source of food from his own resources. He says that there is no real problem because there are people who sell fish (and sometimes other meats)

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and vegetables every day. There is no organized mt., but if one knows where home to go to, one can buy these things. He says that all the surrounding villages come to sell in Ba:n Khaw rather than in their own smaller villages (i.e. thus less certain of mkt.). I now understand why teachers tend to live in BK & to commute. BK certainly has more of the characteristics of an urban center in the economic sense as well as in other ways.

KENAF:

This is the kenaf season. At the school the students have been preparing the kenaf which was grown on the school grounds. The kenaf is harvested, & then (there may be an intermediate stage) soaked in water with stones on top to keep it down. When it has soaked for a length of time, it is then hung up to dry & then rolled up in bales to be sold. The headman (and others confirm it) says that the price this year on kenaf is \$1.80/kg. Mr. Ngai pointed out that this price is much lower than several years ago when the price was \$4.00/kg.

CLOTH MAKING AND DYEING:

Mr. H: was explaining to us a few things about cloth making & dyeing. The machine for spinning silk thread is called a *phaj saw* ( ) in Thai and a *may hōp*.

Myah dyes in the following way:

black	from the Tamarind tree
red	from <i>khē</i> :
yellow	from cumin
green, blue	brought in mkt.

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EDUCATION:

Today I acted as teacher for the 1<sup>st</sup> grade while the regular teachers were out working on the school's kenaf. I taught Thai language and arithmetic - subjects which weren't too difficult to teach and for which I had models in what Mr. BT had done and from the text which is being used for teaching lang. The thing that impressed me was that though there are some bright kids, they are given very little opportunity to really fully develop due to lack of discipline, lack of sufficient stimulus, and lack of interest on the part of the teachers (at least this is true of Mr. BT.).

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MR. NGAW:

Yesterday, Mr. Ngaw brought some brightly coloured phâ:sins in Roi-et Market. These Burmese style phâ:sins with their bright colours and flowers, he thought would particularly appeal this time of the year when people are going to thi:t ka'thin. He paid  $\text{฿}18$  / piece for them and is selling them for  $\text{฿}20$  / piece. He certainly seems to have a low margin of profit on nearly everything he sells. He took a bunch of these phâ:sins west to Bâin Nôk krâdôk to sell also because he had too many to sell in BNT.

VILLAGE MEETING:

This evening there was a meeting at the mî:kam mi: stage in front of Mr. Phon's house. This meeting was announced (or rather called in to being) by the beating on a hollow wooden drum. This is the special signal for convening meetings. The meeting was called at about 7:30-8:00,

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a time when most people are eating, it was a good hour later before the meeting was finally opened. ~~These~~ Those who attended the meeting included males of all ages from very old down to quite young. There were no females at all present, and Mr. Ngaw confirmed that women never participate in the meetings of the village. There wasn't really a very large group present - about 25-30 people. Probably, people didn't consider it worthwhile coming from the Penkha knums to attend a night meeting (though usually the meetings are held at night). Actually, it wouldn't be necessary for many people to attend a meeting such as this - mainly a series of announcements - as those who did attend would soon convey the message throughout the village.

Mr. Ngaw ~~came~~ came upon a scene that reminded me vividly of the sitting around a campfire in Boy Scout camp. There was a fire in the middle of the group and only one or two kerosene lamps as lighting. When we arrived the group was carrying on a discussion of the motor cycle accident which had occurred in Bâin Khwâw 2 days before. Soon after we arrived Mr. Phon, the only person standing - and he was standing in the middle of the group - opened the meeting by saying that he had some information to convey from the Nai Amphoe and from Mr. Wichiam (N.B. The role of the headman as a political broker between government and village). He produced 2 sheets of letters - one from the Nai Amphoe and one from Mr. Wichiam. Mr. Horn, the brother of the headman, was asked to read these letters which were written in Thai (I have noted the growing importance of Mr. Horn in village leadership). ~~As~~ As Mr. Horn read the first letter from the Nai Amphoe, Mr. Phon gave a running commentary in Lao. I noticed also that Mr. Horn read the Thai with a

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Lao accent and sometimes would stop to give a commentary in Lao himself. The letters included orders, invitations and announcements - some of which were as follows:

1. The road from the corner to ~~Ban~~ BNT has several places which are covered with water (as we well know). The government "forbids" such water standing in the road (particularly now that the rainy season is over) and the villagers should proceed to remedy the situation.
2. Villagers are forbidden to dam up the lan huij for the purpose of catching fish because they may catch too many fish and they then won't be any at future dates.
3. All boys 17 years of age must now be registered for the draft. I asked Mr. Phon about this, and he explained that boys must be registered at age 17, but they wouldn't be conscripted until age 20 or 21. In actual fact boys have never been drafted from BNT (or apparently from ~~Ban~~ Mahasarakham) because there have been enough to fill the ranks as is. The boy from here who recently went to the army was a volunteer. Mr. Ngao said that he couldn't understand why a small country like Thailand needed a draft anyway.
4. The Changwat agricultural officer has some few watermelon seeds which he will distribute free to the village.
5. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of October, Bunthit Attakorn, the Head of the Secondary Educ. Dept. in B. Khwao, will sponsor a thot katin. BNT villagers are invited to

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attend and are encouraged to ~~be~~ have a "procession" to B. Khwao and to participate in the proceedings.

The announcement from Mr. Wichien was also on the topic of the ~~same~~ participation of BNTers in the Ban Khwao thot katin with more specific instructions on how BNT can participate.

The topic of BNT's thot katin in B. Ma:hjâ: on the ~~28~~ 30<sup>th</sup> of October was also discussed.

In actual fact the meeting consisted primarily of Mr. Phon and Mr. Ho:in making announcements with only "asides" being made by others present. Occasionally, a query would come for further clarification and I elaborated on what events there would be in B. Khwao and ~~the~~ my comments were explained in Lao. Finally, when it was apparent that all the business was through, people began drifting away.

#### A SPECIAL BANGSAKUN:

About 6:00 this evening, a drum was sounded in the wat & Mr. Ngao asked me if I knew what it meant. As I didn't, he explained that it was to call people to come present bangsakun for ~~the~~ making merit for the dead. This practice apparently can occur on any wan phra which today was. In the case, there was one person who presented a bangsakun for dead ~~and~~ relatives.

#### A ~~Satellite~~ SATELLITE:

After dark we were called outside by a group of villagers who called our attention to a moving star in the sky. Much to my surprise, instead of magical-naturalistic explanation of this

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phenomenon, we were treated to a rather sophisticated explanation of the fact that this was a satellite and one villager asked whether it was Russian or American. Though Mr. Ngai knew more about it than the others (that there might be a man in it, and that it was now possible to send someone to the moon, and that the moon was uninhabited because there was no atmosphere), it was obvious that everyone present was at least vaguely aware of the fact that this was a man-made satellite.

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Age AND Sex Roles:

I saw some cotton being dried in the sun, which led me to enquire about the cotton process. Mr. Ngai said that the planting of cotton was men's work but any thing connected with making up the cloth from the cotton (including spinning of the cotton) is women's business. There is some overlap here, however, as women may plant cotton and they also make take charge of drying it. This is rare, however. The same principle could be applied to the silk process, except that women play, often, a larger role in feeding and taking care of the silk worms. Cotton, incidentally, is little grown in BNT but is usually purchased from the larger cotton-growing villages such as B. ~~Ja:ng~~ Ja:ng.

CENTERS OF SOCIAL INTERCOURSE:

There are several "places" (in a social sense) where informal social intercourse takes place. The most, there are usually places of work. Especially, ~~there~~ for example, the men will seek out a cool spot, which is shaded by a large tree, to work on making baskets, making

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fish nets, making bamboo walking. The mō:lam stages in both khum wāt and KPH as well as the open space near the road in Khum Jāj are such loci of informal social gathering among men. Similarly the "plaza" formed by surrounding houses in KKN is another. Men also work together in fishing, but in such cases the work is more intensive and the conversation inversely less. Women tend to gather informally in front of the store, but this doesn't seem to be the reason d'être for large gatherings of women as there is for men. Of course, women do tend to go out gathering herbs, plants, small animals, etc. in small groups.

The membership of the informal male groupings is of course shifting. Nonetheless, there does seem to be a constancy in them in that the work groups are khum oriented. Thus, one is likely to find Mr. Saeng, Mr. Phon, Mr. Di, Mr. Hō:, Nin, and others from Khum wāt at the mō:lam stage in front of Mr. Phon's house. Rarely, will men from other khums be there except as transients.

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CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THĀI KĀTHĪN:

Today, we have been able to attend part of the Kathin ceremony in 3 different villages: B. Dō:n Dui (906 g) in Tambon Khwāt, B. Thā: tum (177 g) in Tambon Thā: tum, and B. Ya:ng (375) in Tambon Nō:ng Kung. Though, I am mixing the sequence <sup>in</sup> which we actually saw these events, I will describe the events in B. Ya:ng first, because in order of Kathin activities, what occurred there precedes what we saw in the other two villages.

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KATHIN ACTIVITIES IN B. YA:Y:

The events which we observed in B. Ya:Y are the events which occur in a "donor" village.

Tomorrow, B. Ya:Y will present its offerings to the priests at B. Nō:Y Dūk in T. Nō:Y Kuy.

For "donor" villages kāthin activities last two days. The first day consists of arranging the gifts in a conspicuous place and with fancy decorations, feasting and drinking, certain religious observances, and a "celebration" which in this area consists of mō:lammū. The second day consists of feeding of one's own priests, more feasting, procession to "recipient" village, presentation of the kāthin, procession home, and perhaps more "celebration" in the evening.

There are two basic types of sponsorship of a kāthin ceremony: "individual" or "social unit". The former type is one in which a single person, or at most a few individuals, in the same family, will act as sponsor and will therefore supply most of the money required in purchasing the kāthin gifts. Almost invariably, the meritorious act of an individual is not directed towards the making of merit for the sponsor but is done in order to make merit for some ancestor who has not been dead for too long a time. Such was the sponsorship in B. Ya:Y. The second type of sponsorship is by a "social unit" - in the rural N.E. this usually is a whole village, but it may also be a company or organization from an urban center. In such cases the merit received is for the whole organization, company, or village - whatever the case may be.

What are the costs of sponsorship? From what I have seen, at least the following

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things require expenditure of money by the sponsor: (1) purchase of kāthin gifts; (2) hiring of entertainment (usually mō:lām) for the celebration; (3) renting of generator and other electrical equipment (lighting, gramophone - with records - etc.) for the celebration; (4) provision of special food for the day. I estimate that the minimum cost of sponsoring a mō:lām is somewhere between \$1,500 - 2,000, broken down as follows:

<u>kāthin</u> gifts	700-800
entertainment	\$ 400-600
Electrical equipment	\$ 200
Food	\$ 200-400
TOTAL	\$ 1,500 - 2,000

In villages, it would almost be impossible for a single individual to pay for everything. Thus, he usually calls on relatives, and to a lesser extent fellow villagers, to help. People are willing to do so because they will make merit for themselves and will also be able to enjoy the entertainment and food.

We went to B. Ya:Y at about 5:00 in the afternoon. At that time, the collection of kāthin offerings had been set up on display. The mō:lām stage erected (both of these things were set up in front of the house of the sponsor), the electrical equipment set up and records were being piped out over the P.A. system, some petty traders were present, and more; more people were beginning to mill around. The kāthin gifts were placed under a makeshift roof which was gaily decorated with crepe paper, paper flowers, etc. The area with the gifts had been cordoned off in order to make the whole thing a bang sakan. The gifts

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themselves were placed in ~~the~~ ~~decorated~~ on a decorated platform, under a decorated "roof" which looked like the "nooses" of castles.

Under an extension of the larger roof of the temporary shelter were placed a "preaching" chair where a monk sits to give a "sermon" and tables with mattresses for monks for other priests and novices. At about 6 p.m. the P.A. system was set up and a visiting blind monk began to "preach" in a voice which reminded me very much of a Jewish cantor. While he was "preaching" the local priests and novices filed in. When the "preaching" was finished, a layman began the sūnatnān ~~service~~ "service". During this, a thread was passed from the kāthīn gifts to each priest who held this string. I believe that this has something to do with making up merit for the dead person.

The kāthīn in this case was dedicated to a dead parent of the sponsor.

After the monks had finished, people either went to eat or else waited around for things to begin. We ate ~~at~~ a supper which consisted of beef cooked over a charcoal fire and lā:p wān. There also was some drinking going on and a good number of drunks about as evidenced by one young alcoholic rubbing his hand down Jane's thigh.

I learned that the P.A. system and electrical equipment were rented for \$190 at a village in ~~at~~ T. Thā: tum. The mī:lam troupe came from near Rō:jet and cost \$450.

The mī:lam performance didn't begin until about 9:00. In mī:lam performances, the story is portrayed by means of singing, talking, and dancing - to the accompaniment of khr:n

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music (the khr:n player is on the stage) and cymbals and drum (off stage). The stage (at least the one this evening) included the following props: a painted backdrop showing a road with Thai temples, and carrels paralleling the road, leading to some trees and mts. in background, overhead light (naked bulbs) and mike, a stool ~~from~~ <sup>for</sup> the khr:n player, a bench for the main actors (both placed directly in front of the backdrop and under the mike and light), two side rod drapes to provide places for exits and entrances, and a green, fluorescent foot light. The actors all had costumes.

At every mī:lam performance, the troupe will give a series of "plays" - it is not a continuous performance as in the case in Java. These an evening of mī:lam will last from 9 or 9 in the evening until 3 or 4 in the morning.

In addition to their props, a mī:lam troupe receives its food and a place to sleep (if necessary) at the expense of a village. Usually, village presentations include house troupes that come from not too great of distances.

These "celebrations" are great attractions from villages in the area. I was really quite startled at the size of the crowd tonight. Of course, many young people come not only to see mī:lam which they enjoy very much, but also to go a courtin'. Several young blades from BNT said that they were paj thiaw sū:w or ma:hā:sū:w.

Bā:n Dō:n Du: thō:t kāthīn in B. Thā:tum:

In the morning we went to B. Dō:n Du: in order to accompany villagers from that community to go thō:t kāthīn in B. Thā:tum. We arrived in the village at what would be the

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stage of the morning after the proceedings in B. Ya:y. There had been a "celebration" with mō:lām the night before. And there had been those káthín presents were still in their decorated temporary pavilion. The only major difference was that B. Dō:n Du: was under water and it was necessary to go from place to place by boat or by wading through water.

We went to the house of the ~~the~~ sponsor (in this case an individual also). Inside the house were some more ~~of~~ things of the káthín - ~~the~~ decorated brooms, bunting, and a decorated picture of the former headman and dead father of the sponsor - the ancestor for whom merit was being made. Though we came late, we were served the remnants of the breakfast feast - a pork phát.

The procession from B. Dō:n Du: to B. Thá: tu:m was one of the most colorful experiences we have had because between the two villages, the flood waters had come and it was necessary to go by boat. This was it was quite something to see these little boats (for about 8 people at most) which had been carved out of single logs and which were filled with priests in yellow robes and girls in their gayer apparel weaving in and out of the here submerged trees. On the way, the head priest of B. Dō:n Du: would set off circular rockets called tá:lāj. There are large fire-cracker type things called bōng Dú which are set off in the evening before the káthín ceremony (and which were not off at B. Ya:y but I forgot to mention) are always associated with Bun káthín.

When we reached Thá: tu:m, about an hour a half's boat trip away, people and gifts were unloaded and assembled at the end of the village to process through the village. Along the way

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mats had been laid and small stands holding water were placed. There, Mr. Wichán who was along, explained were to make the going easier for the guests. I had not seen this (or at least not noticed) before. The procession around the wát included several elements which I have come to associate with káthín processions: the men using the ceremonial brooms to sweep the ground in front of the procession, the huge dongson type gong being struck, ~~and~~ the rope passed through the center of the procession, and the qínqā khā: stalks.

After circling the wát sá:lā 3 times, the procession entered the wát sá:lā. I tried to take note of all the gifts and various items which made up this káthín. The gifts I observed included umbrellas, dō:k bua (ดอกบัว) - "lotus flowers" - which are phá sabog<sup>①</sup> (ผ้าสบง) made in the shape of lotus blossoms and placed at the end of strings attached to sticks to make a "flower," small tin set of betel containers, khā:w nīaw baskets, khā:w nīaw steaming basket, sandals, set of Monk's cloths called ~~from~~ <sup>ci: wən</sup> troj ~~from~~ (ผ้าไตร) <sup>②</sup>, Thai style pillows, western style pillows, mats, cupboard (the main large item), teapot, "money tree" (ไม้เงิน), tām dō:k gō:n (ตาล), māj thā:w lék (ไม้เท้า), <sup>priest's fan,</sup> a begging bowl, priest's water filter, rice (uncooked), water scoops, small porcelain dishes, axe, ~~narrow~~ narrow sword, various vegetables and greens.

There were also a number of things which were more decorative - i.e., pots of paper flowers, mak beg (ไม้บาย) which look like bai:j sī, other things made of ~~the~~ colored paper.

① phá: sabog are the cloths used by monks as trousers.

② Includes wǎ: dō: wǎ: (phá: sabog), wǎ: dō: wǎ: (phá: zay sá), sǎ: khā: (sǎ: khā:) and in this case, tāk kōt zē: w.

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According to several people, ~~there are~~ and I have seen this written, there are two types of gifts made at bun káthín: (1) the káthín proper and (2) bōriwain (บ่อริวัน) which are the non-essential gifts. I am not certain as yet what constitutes the káthín proper. Some say it is the set of cloths called traj ciwon; Mr. Wáthian says that it is the 8 items of necessary for a priest's personal possession. The old man at thá: tum had another list: sáykha: (เสี้ยกหา), ciwon (จิววัน), sáboq (สบอก), tàkòt z:c:w (ตะก้อตจิว), z'ag sá (จ้อจ) which is called z'ag sá - phá: biay in (พ้าบิยอิน), sát z'ok (สะตจอก), ~~z'om~~ róm (จ้อม), and kyap (กยัพ). It is probable that orig. the idea was the presenting of the cloth, and has now be expanded to include all the material possessions of the priest.

The present formal presentation was as I have described before. Mr. Ngáw Wáthian pointed out that the early chant by a layman was to notify all the spirits (the: wáda: of the ceremony.

After the presentation and eating by the monks was finished, the scene of money on the money tree was announced, and two gifts from D:n Du: of village spirits to the 2 sá-lá-wát (keepers of the wát) at B. Thá: tum were made. This last event was new to me, and Mr. W. was a little surprised that it hadn't occurred at BNT.

After the guests from D:n Du: had eaten, they returned home and the ceremony was over.

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CHULALONGKORN'S DAY:

Today was Chulalongkorn's Day - a national holiday. The children from the school went to participate in events at B. Khwáw school. But other than this, there seemed little recognition of the fact that it was a national holiday. People were too concerned with local events.

PETTY MERCHANTS AND THE ART OF SELLING:

At B. Ya:q Mr. Ngáw had set up a stall to sell things which he ~~stored~~ stocks at his shop. He was at B. Ya:q from about 12:00 noon to 3 the next morning during which he grossed over \$200. He said that this year wasn't as good as last when he grossed \$500. His biggest selling items were cigarettes and various types of kharon at a sá-líy each.

During the evening he had company of other petty traders - entirely food - from Ban Khwáw who laid out their wares on a mat and light it up with a small kerosene wick lamp. They were mainly selling pieces of sugar cane placed on a stick, cooked rice in bamboo (khá:w lam), and the rest at a sá-líy an item. These petty food traders are finds at every celebration in any village.

I was very interested in the buying habits of the people who purchased from Mr. Ngáw - particularly of children. Children would come up and often without speaking would lay down their sá-líy piece, point to a kharon, lit. grab it from Mr. Ngáw's hand, and immediately turn away. Never in the whole time I was

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there did there a person say thank you. Children were often almost hostile and if they had received change, they would stare at it minutely to make sure that they had received the proper amount  $\frac{1}{2}$  hadn't been given a wooden nickel. I also noticed that adults would often take an item, enquire its price, put it in their pocket and then very reluctantly and slowly pull out their money. Occasionally, I would see an adult, but never a child, who would genuinely seem pleased with a purchase. Generally, there seemed to be an attitude of brusqueness, of hostility toward the seller (but not towards Mr. Ng. as a person), and great moment made of giving up one's money. Such attitudes prob. arise because of the paucity of money in villages. There are most certainly other reasons as well.

Mr. Ngau as a salesman did very little pressuring of people to buy things. He didn't have to. He is well-known in Ban Ya:ng and people know what wares he had to sell. If they wanted to buy, they would come. He occasionally would try a little pressure - "buy two kharoms instead of one and get the plastic sack they come in" - but it seemed quite ineffective and was really half-hearted on his part. Never with Thais (not so true of Chinese or Indians) have I observed the salesman yelling out his wares if he is in a stationary shop (they will if they are selling something like food on the street and are walking from neighborhood to neighborhood).

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SĀLĀWĀT AT BNT:

Mr. Ngau says that Na:j s'p'hā: is the sālāwāt (๙๙๙๙) for the whole of BNT (there is only one general one). There are also sālāwāt for each khum - eg. Mr. H'j: is the one for Khum wāt.

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KĀTHĪN:

Mr. Ngau says that there are two types of kāthīn: māhā:kāthīn, sponsored by a single individual, and kāthīn sāmmākhī: , sponsored ~~and~~ by a village or other social organization [there is, of course, also cunlá kāthīn, but Mr. Ngau has never seen one in this area].

Interestingly, Mr. Ngau says that a person can sponsor a kāthīn in his own village wāt, and though this is not usual practice, it is done. ~~§~~ The sponsor of a kāthīn will choose a wāt in which to sponsor a kāthīn very early on - say March or April (wāt Bā:n Khwāw is already spoken for for next year). The sponsor will write a letter declaring his intention and then sneak up (or someone designated by the sponsor will) to deposit this letter at the recipient wāt, "like a thief" in the dead of the night.

We were also discussing merit-making with Mr. Ngau and he said that sponsoring a kāthīn is the best way of making merit  $\frac{1}{2}$  the next merit is made by sponsoring a kāthīn as an individual. He said that the king who sponsors many kāthīn each year will probably be born as a king again because he has made so much merit in sponsoring kāthīn. Mr.

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Ngaw wants to sponsor a kathin in memory of his dead grandmother.

PERSONAL ADDENDUM:

The wearing of earrings is peculiar to small girls & older women. These earrings are for pierced ears.

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KATHIN IN BAN KHUAW:

Today has been a kathin ceremony in Ban Khuaw sponsored by Banchana Attakorn who is the head of T.T.E.C. now a dept. of the NEOS called Krom Witthaisakorn. Yesterday evening there were ga:n's in both B. Khuaw and in Sarakham at the Sala: klay. We went to BK where we saw a like - our first in Thailand. I won't give a full description of the events. See program for details of events. However, I will mention a few points which were particularly noteworthy.

This morning Jane took notes on the making up of the food at B. Khuaw.

Mr. Wichaiw said that the name at Ban Khuaw has the name it does -

Wat Raj Khun Khuaw (วัดราชขุนศรี) - because the head man of BK used to have the royal bureaucratic title of khun (ขุน) and was known as Khun Khuaw (ขุนศรี).

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BNT SPONSORS A BUN KATHIN:

Today & tomorrow are the days of bun kathin ~~sponsoring~~ sponsored by BNT for B. Do:n Ma:ja: Activities in the BNT began early in the morning with the preparation of food. The following are the major

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activities of the day:

1. Special Food:

Actually, food making began several days ago with the buying up of the white rice to make the special rice noodles which are called khaw phin in Lao and khawm cing in Thai. We actually helped in this process by providing the money for the rice for Mr. Ngai and extended family. The rice is first taken and soaked for several days. Then, this soaked, uncooked rice was passed (or) in the hand rice mill. The new ~~from~~ heavy, thick flour-paste was put away in sacks. This morning, very early, the rice ~~flour~~ flour was rolled into huge balls, and placed in boiling water for about 10-15 minutes. Then, the now parboiled flour was taken and passed again in the hand mills. It was then placed out on boards to be kneaded. As it was kneaded, hot boiling water was added in small quantities over a period of time. Finally, when a thick, but mummy paste had been achieved, the flour was ready to make the noodles. There are two devices for making noodles. The first consists of a cloth in which a metal plate with holes has been sewn. The rice flour is then placed in this cloth, and the cloth is closed over it. As the cloth is squeezed, the flour-paste is forced through the holes and comes out in noodle shape to be dropped into boiling water. The second device works on the principle of a press. A device that looks a bit like a yoke with a hole in the middle is placed on poles over the boiling water. Into the hole is fitted the metal disc with the holes. After the rice flour has been placed in this hole, a "screw", which is a pole which has a ~~down~~ piece of wood which exactly fits the hole in the center, is placed in the hole and two men apply pressure

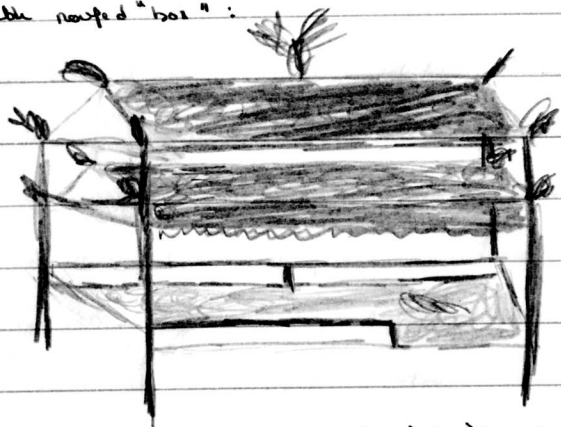
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until all the paste had been turned into noodles. After the noodles have cooked for a few minutes, they are dipped out of the boiling water with a net and put into cold water. Then they are laid on trays and are ready to eat. With such a process, it is easy to understand why khá:w phá:w is only made on special occasions.

Other foods that were made included special ké:g's (fish, chicken) to go with the noodles, and khá:w tòm as a khanóm.

### 2. Making up the hó:káthín and other things for procession:

At the khut: many people were involved during the day in making the hó:káthín - the containers for the káthín gifts and other things necessary for a káthín procession. The hó:káthín was a large double roofed "box":

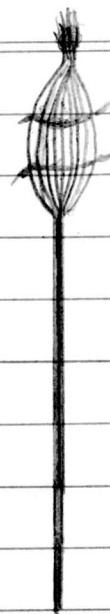


Also being made were the brooms and the chá:wé:t sá:t which are used in the procession.

For a picture of chá:wé:t sá:t see p. 376 of this notebook. The brooms looked some thing

like this:

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### 3. The Gifts:

Phrác máhã: sãg had come out for the ceremony to supervise to see that things were being done properly. He particularly had taken charge of the arrangement of the gifts and donations made by the people. He had written down on a sheet of paper each donor and what he had given. Such lists are made every time there is a ban, later just before the má:lám mí: in the evening, Mr. Bunthiang read these lists aloud over the PA system. Again, this reading aloud of the gifts is something which is always done. I asked Mr. BT where these lists are kept, and he said they are kept in the wá:t after a ban is over. The average monetary contribution seemed to be about \$5. Interestingly, Mr. BT himself gave \$5 + Khun Bunpha, the young teacher gave \$3. •

Other gifts that were given included the following: priest's robes, priest's bag,

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towels (which we gave), sandals, candles (several sorts), forks, dishes, something in packets they might have been some sort of medicine, water scoop, umbrellas, water filters, knives, máj thawlele, paper flowers, a money tree, trees made of gold-colored paper, etc. Some of these gifts were bought with the money donated by a crowd of Mr. So:n, Mr. Ho:m, and maybe others who went to R.E. Other of the gifts, like our towels, were personal donations of individuals.

#### 4. Procession around village:

In the afternoon after the hó: káthín was finished, a procession was formed to take the káthín gifts around the village. The procession included the káthín gifts, the priest, the knoms and other decorated sticks, the drums, cymbals, and song. This procession went to every khóm to show up the káthín.

Also, during the afternoon, numerous taláij were set off.

#### 5. Evening Religion:

The only really religious aspect of the day was the súat mon (led by phrá máhá: sэг) at about 6:00. As I have seen in another village, this súat mon can be followed by a "sermon".

#### 6. Entertainment:

The real highlight of the day's activity was the mó:lam performance that was to be put on in the wát at beginning at about 9:00 p.m. A troupe from a village near R.E. had been hired for \$260 (about as cheap as they could be obtained) and a PA system had also been hired.

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Occasions such as this are ones during which many men get drunk. Mr. Ngáo said that for some reason more people get drunk in BNT than in other villages on such occasions. Drunkenness certainly showed her head in many places. Mr. Tú:p & Mr. Chue: kept getting up on the stage during the performance and speaking. I have also seen other people dance on the stage during the performance. Min, who was completely out of it, got into a fight with someone from a neighboring village. This is one of the first fights I have ever witnessed in Thailand.

The mó:lam troupe was really a village troupe, but for what it lacked in ability, it made up for in spirit. I really wonder how such a performance can be put up with so much distraction in the audience.

There were the usual food sellers in the wát grounds though there were more than in B. Yang (prob. because of easier accessibility).

#### Mr. Hó:

Mr. Hó: was around this morning as well as last night. He again was talking at great length about the Attakorn family. He demonstrates a very definite pride in this local family as the descendants of the old cáu myag. The Attakorn family is the nearest approximation which local Mahasarakham has to aristocracy. Mr. Hó: has followed the doings of the family with some interest - knowing that the daughter married ~~and went~~ a "Chinese" & went to live in Khon Kaen, & that Buntin and Buchana have both gone to Bangkok in high govt. posts. He knows that Buchana (whom he calls Bunchin) was a lák sít up phrá ká chò:j, the abbot of wát B.K. And he knows that Buchana sponsored the building of the new bò:t

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in wát B.K. at a cost of over 20,000. He says that most people in this area ~~would~~ know these facts about the Attakorn family. Certainly, it is not surprising that they would know more about this family than about appointed officials from Bangkok such as the governor. However, I wonder if the extensive knowledge which Mr. Hsi & others in BNT have of this family is not in part a function of proximity to Mahasarakham & the special relationship of B.K. to this family.

For a man of 70, Mr. Hsi has considerable knowledge about the world outside of BNT. He knows, for example, of the recent rice deal between Thailand & Laos, and commented that in BNT there is no one "lacking food" as there is in Laos.

He was also telling us about his earlier life again. He walked to Kwat, following no roads, because there were none, and going through the forest. He was 14 or 15 when he made this journey. He explained that there was no school in BNT at that time and wasn't any until 2 yrs. after he got married.

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KATHIN IN B. DORN MAJAJ.

This morning, the people of BNT went to thi:t katin at B. Dorn Majaj. The first thing that occurred this morning was the feeding of the priests in wát BNT. At this time, the special foods which had ~~been~~ been made the day before - the khá:w phá:w, the khá:w tòm, & the various kinds of ká:p khá:w - were presented to the priests. After the láj phrá:, there was súatmon. When this was finished, people prepared

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for the káthín procession. The procession left about 9:30-10:00. Along the way káthín were set off. When we reached B. Dorn Majaj, we stopped at the entrance of the wát. Here something occurred that I hadn't seen before - the people crouched down while Nej si:há: the mó:súat, "chanted" what I was told by Mr. Phon was necessary before entering the gate of the wát. I asked Mr. Ngáw about this, and he answered that he had never seen or heard of it before.

When Mr. Sy:há: finished, we entered the wát. As this is a new wát with only a khúti, a makeshift sá:la: had been set up by placing a white cloth wall around two sides of a rectangle formed by placing mats on the ground. At one end, in the corner of the white walls, a small "shrine" with a green glass Buddha and the mats for the monks had been placed. The procession from BNT circled the khúti 3 times and then the "incense" were taken and placed in the ground in order to complete the rectangle around the makeshift khúti. Rope was strung from one broom to another in order to close in the sá:la:, with space for a "door" left at one end.

First the priests and then the people were fed. I must say that this was one time when the food really revolted me - being very dirty and heavily drenched in the fermented fish paste. Also, to indicate how poor this village is, the khá:w tòm were made not only without coconut milk, but also without sugar.

The actual presentation was as I have described before, except that the priests from the recipient village were somewhat unprepared & phá:má:há:sá:w had to supervise.

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the order of things. One interesting point is the order in which things were presented. First, there were three things consisting of a decorated cloth "roof" which is hung over an "altar", a māj thā:w lək, and a fan. Then the cloth stems were presented, first the set of robes for the abbot and then the robes and towels (and shoes & umbrellas) for the other priests (which we did). At the end, a white ~~short~~ t-shirt was given to the local sā lā wāt.

After the presentation was over, a khō:m lōw was set alight, and these people returned home.

KĀTHĪN (MISC.):

According to Miss Buapha: there is a name for the last day of the kāthĪn period - the last day of the month-long period in which bun kāthĪn can be held. There will be a fair tomorrow night to celebrate the end of this period. Mr. Hō: says that if a village has a bun kāthĪn, it will not have a bun pā: phā: (the leaving of robes in the woods for a priest).

Phā māhā: sōg said that the flags which were used at the kāthĪn ceremony in B. Khwāw - ~~two~~ white flags with pictures of a crocodile, millipede, & a snake - were pictures of animals who had asked to be able to present kāthĪn gifts as well to the monks (or to Buddha), but moved so slowly that they couldn't make it in time. Thus, they requested that their pictures be placed on flags & carried in the procession so that they would at least be present in spirit.

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NUAN'S CLOTHES-MAKING:

Nuan is doing quite a business in making clothes. I noticed that in the past few weeks more and more "fancy" (as contrasted with village type) clothes are appearing in the village. It would seem to me that clothing is one area in which "rising expectations" are beginning to have an effect on traditional patterns. Because of cheap material & cheap labour, people can have much prettier clothes (in their eyes) made at not too large a cost & without the tremendous expenditure of energy required in the cloth-making process.

MR. NGĀW:

Mr. Ngāw is planning to build a new house for his mother-in-law, Mrs. Hō:m, sometime in early part of next year.

He says he isn't really happy with his work because he doesn't make enough money.

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ATTITUDES TOWARDS GOVERNMENT:

Some comments which I have heard recently are beginning to give me an idea of what the villagers' attitude towards government is. Mr. Hō: said that the king is more important than the P.M. But this doesn't imply that the king has more "power" than the P.M. There is no doubt in villagers' minds where the real source of power in the national government. Nonetheless, in his conception of the social universe of the state, the king is more necessary in villagers' eyes than is the P.M. P.M. come and go, but the king as a symbol remains.

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Mr. Ngau and another fellow, looking at a Baht-note with a picture of King Ananda on it, said that they didn't know why he was assassinated. However, they both agreed that Pridi and his clique were responsible for the assassination (though Mr. Ngau reserved some doubts). Thus, of the three most important PM's since the war, only the current one remains un-discredited in villagers' eyes. Pridi-~~assassinated~~ is alienated because of being responsible (at least in villagers' eyes) for that most reprehensible of acts - regicide. Phibun is thought to have been a "bad dictator" because of such things as his corrupt labour policy during the war. Only Sarit as yet stands free of ~~the~~ censure - partially because his work has been somewhat remote from the villagers. He on the other hand has the best opportunity for getting his case to the people because of the spread of radios and better communications.

Nonetheless, currently, the idea of the PM is of a person who possesses the highest power which he can exercise in an arbitrary and personal way. There is ~~little~~ nothing that villagers can do to influence or restrain that power. Thus, if the power is exercised in a bad way, there is no use complaining, but one must be resigned and accept it. Of course, where an act like regicide occurs, it is expected that the system will do something - and did do something.

The idea of power being exercised from above, with little possibility of influence or restraint from below extends all the way down the system, eg. the power of Kamnan List up to N. N. Key and the orders of the Nazi Angkor. The only way

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to have any influence on these higher powers is to "have a friend up court" - a patron who has a personal interest (for one reason or another) in helping those of lower status. Thus, BNI would turn to Mr. Wichian for help. Also, they would expect the Attakon family to be interested in helping Maharakham in general.

FISHING:

Last evening I went on a special fishing expedition with Mr. Ngau & Muán. We went out to the fields where there was still fairly deep water. Through such fields (actually all fields) runs a little "path" between the rice. We walked quite a way out on this path & then Ngau & Muán began to string a net along this path. The net was strung up at intervals with sticks for a 100 m. It was fixed so that fish or freshwater crabs would get entangled in it. The net was left out overnight. This morning when Muán went out to check it, it was full of crabs but no fish.

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Liag phra by a family:

This morning being wan phra, Jane went with Nean & Anan (as representatives of two families) to Liag phra. When they reached the wat, there were very few people. Food was carried on trays. At the khui, the rice was divided into 3 parts: (1) the biggest portion, of course, was reserved for putting in the baht of the monks; (2) a small portion was placed in what looks like an upturned basket, or stool, and this was for the phra-bik (ဘိဝံသ); and (3) some was kept to be placed in the thut of some