

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written between May 1 and June 30, 1968.

Field notes in this document were primarily written in Mahasarakham Province (Changwat Maha Sarakham) and Amphoe Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son Province (Changwat Mae Hong Son), Thailand. This document is preceded by field notes written in Mae Sariang in April 1968 and is followed by notes written in Mae Sariang in July 1968.

Bān Nōng Tūn

May 1, 1968

Bān Nōng Tūn Villagers Working In Bangkok

I visited Phra Mahā Sāēng this morning at Wat Phō Sī. I talked with him about the group of ex-villagers now working in Bangkok who had sponsored a *thôt phāpā* in BNT. He said that there are now ten people from the village working in Bangkok including five girls who are working as servants.

Town Shrine in Mahasarakham

I noticed in passing the town shrine in Mahasarakham that it now has a sign in front of it which gives the name – *Caophô lakmüang* (เจ้าพ่อหลักเมือง). I noticed a number of people worshipping there this morning.

Nuan

Nuan has had a third baby - another girl.

Mr. Ngao

The story of Mr. Ngao's robbery and aftermath continues to unravel. Mr. Hōm thinks the robbers were poor people, and Mr. Ngao agrees. Ngao says the police are asking Baht 500 apiece to go after the thieves. Mr. Ngao says this giving of money to the police for help is a “Thai custom” (Mrs. Chuanphit later used the same phrase).

Document: Letter from Mr. Ngao Regarding Robbery

What follows is a copy of a letter that Mr. Ngao sent to Charles F. Keyes in March 1968 describing the robbery.

2 March 1968

บ้านเลขที่ 1/1 ต.เขวา อ.เมือง จ. มหาสารคาม
เรียนอาจารย์ไคส์และมาคามาเงินที่เคารพมีชื่อทราน

เนื่องด้วยอาจารย์ไคส์ส่งเงินมาให้ผมเพื่อให้แจกการมีชื่อของชาวบ้านหนองคัน เป็นจำนวนเงิน 2500 บาทนั้นผมได้รับใบขนานติจากที่ทำการไปรษณีย์แล้วแต่วันที่ 22 แต่ผมยังไม่ได้รับเงินจากทางไปรษณีย์เลยเป็นคราวโชคที่มากเพราะว่าผมไม่ได้นำเอาบัตรประจำตัวไปแสดงด้วยแต่พอมาถึงวันที่ 23 ธันวาคม เวลา 17.00 น. มีคนร้ายประมาณ 3 คนมีปืนครบมือโค่นบ้านของผม คนร้ายไค้มาผมหลับที่ผมจนเลือกคนองกินผมไค้สลับไป คนร้ายไค้ยิงผมหลายที่แต่ยังมีบุรุษช่วยลุกขึ้นทุกคนไม่ไค้ถูกผมเลย แต่คนร้ายไค้เก็บเอาของในบ้านไปหมดเงินของผมคนร้ายก็เอาหมดเช่นกัน เป็นผมคนร้ายเอาถ้วยชอคคั้งเสื้อ กางเกงของผมและของนางเยาว์ของหนวน ของบ้านที่อาจารย์และมาคามาเอาไปและของที่เอามาขายคนร้ายไค้เก็บเอาไปทั้งหมด ส่วนตัวของผมไค้ไปรักษาตัวอยู่ที่โรงพยาบาลตั้งหลายวัน แต่เกี่ยวกับผมยังเจ็บนิคหนอยที่แขน แต่ผมก็จะเขียนจดหมายส่งชาติให้อาจารย์และมาคามาเงินทราบตั้งแต่วันแรกแล้ว ก็เขียนไม่ไค้เพราะเจ็บมากพอผมหายหนอยแล้วผมจึงไค้เขียนจดหมายมาเรียนให้อาจารย์ทราบผมยังโชคดี ไม่ถูกคนร้ายยิงผมตายก่อน ชาวบ้านช่วยไม่ไค้แต่ร้องไห้เพราะว่าคนร้ายตั้ง 3 คนมีปืนทุกคน แต่ชาวบ้านไม่มีปืนเลย ถ้าชาวบ้านจะเข้ามาช่วยคนร้ายก็ยิงปืน ทุกคนกลัวตายมาลวนตำรวจความจับไค้ไค้เลยจนถึงวันนี้

ส่วนอาจารย์และมาคามาเงินและคุณนิคทองจะสบายดีไหม เคย แต่ผมเสียใจด้วยว่าวันที่อาจารย์กลับจากบ้านหนองคันถึง เชียงใหม่ ไค้เกิดอาการปวดแสบกลางกลางทำให้เสียเวลาจนไม่มีเวลาออกกฐินที่แม่สะเรียงเลย ผมขอแสดงความเสียใจมาละที่นี้ด้วย ก็บอกก็ถึงหลาย

เคารพมีชื่ออย่างสูง
เหงา ต้าวิชา

วันที่ 2 ม.ค. 2511

ท้ายนี้ขอให้อาจารย์ไคส์และมาคามาเงิน อนุมัติผมขอให้ส่งรายชื่อโชคคคอกปี 2511
ขอให้มีความสุขความเจริญ ตลอดไปเสมอ

ส่วนหนวนก็ถูกคนร้ายทะเลาะวิวาทเหมือนกัน

Letter from Mr. Ngao, dtd. 2 March 1968, reporting robbery that occurred on 28 December 1967.

จากโรงสีบ้านหนองกิ้ง

เรียน อาจารย์โคสและมาตามเจนที่เคารพนับถือทราบ

ขอโทษอาจารย์และมาตามเจนมากที่ผมไม่ไ้ส่งข่าวให้อาจารย์ทราบ เนื่องด้วยผม
กลุ่มใจมากในเรื่องคนร้ายปล้นผมนั้นเอง คือเคียวนี้จำเป็นจะทองเสียเงินอีกเป็นจำนวนมากให้ตำรวจไปจับคน
ร้ายเคียวนี้จับได้แล้วหนึ่งคนแต่คนร้ายไม่ไ้รับเลย แะทองเสียเงินผู้อื่นอีก เคียวนี้ผมเสียเงินไปในราวหนึ่งหมื่น
บาทแล้วคนร้ายยังไม่ไ้เข้าคุกเลย เป็นอย่างนี้เองจึงทำให้ผมเสียใจมากจนไม่เป็นอันทำมาหากินแล้ว

ส่วนเรื่องของอาจารย์เป็นอย่างไรและมาตามเจนหนุ่มนี้คงช่วยขยายดีหรือ เป็นอย่างไร
ไรผมไ้รับข่าวจากอาจารย์จำไปสอนชาวเขาเกี่ยวกับพุทธศาสนาผมไ้ยินว่าชาวเขาสวนมากเป็นคอมมิวนิสต์
ทำให้ผมเป็นห่วง เหมือนกัน

ส่วนเรื่องเงิน 2500 บาทที่อาจารย์ส่งมาให้ชาวบ้านหนองกิ้งนั้นผมไ้ไ้รับเอาที่
ทำการไปรษณีย์ไม่ไ้เลย ทางไปรษณีย์บอกว่าให้อาจารย์ไปติดต่อที่ทำการไปรษณีย์ที่แฉะเรียง ให้อาจารย์ขอ
ใบแทนบอกว่าเงินที่ส่งไปรับไม่ไ้ไ้เพราะว่าใบขนานตีหายไป ขอให้อาจารย์ไปติดต่อเพื่อขอใบแทน และอีกประ
การหนึ่ง เมื่อให้อาจารย์จะขึ้นมาบ้านหนองกิ้งอีกทุกคนเป็นห่วงมากอยากจะให้อาจารย์กลับมาบ้านหนองกิ้งเร็วๆ

ท้ายนี้ผมขอแสดงความนับถืออย่างสูง

เหงา คำวินา

ขอให้อาจารย์ทบทวนด้วย เคียวนี้ผมกลุ่มใจและเสียใจมาก

10 มีนาคม 2511.

รช
Letter from Mr. Ngao, dtd. 7 March, 1968,
in December 1967.

Article Written About Robbery of Mr. Ngao

WHERE CAN I TURN FOR HELP?

THE STORY OF A NORTHEASTERN VILLAGER

Charles F. Keyes 1968

Background Note

I wrote the following piece while in Thailand in 1968 after discussion with Mr. Sulak Sivaraksa, the editor of *Sangkomsāt Borithat*, "The Social Science Review". He had suggested that I publish this story, based on interviews with a villager in Northeastern Thailand, owing to

the strong point which could be made. Although recognizing the possibility of repercussions for all involved parties, I agreed to do so. I wrote the paper in English and gave a copy of the paper, together with the interview notes in Thai, to Mr. Sulak. He then translated the paper into Thai and edited it. It was published, in Thai, in *Sangkhomsāt Borithat*, vol. VI, no. 1 (June-August, 1968), pp. 89-94 under the title, *čotmāi čāk īsān* ('Letter from the Northeast'). The author of the article was identified as *phū sū khao phisēt không rao* ("Our special correspondent") and was described, in the listing of the contributors (p. 148 of the same journal) as follows (translated from the Thai): "A Western anthropologist who reports from personal experience and who is willing to be contacted by any government officials who wish to ask questions regarding the reality of unrest among villagers".

WHERE CAN I TURN FOR HELP?

The Story of a Northeastern Villager

In the past few years the Thai government has initiated a large variety of programs designed to improve the standard of living of northeastern villagers. These programs has resulted not only in such conspicuous accomplishments as dams, roads, experimental farms, etc., but also in improvements much more desired by villagers such as the ownership of radios, bicycles, sewing machines, ready-made clothes, corrugated iron roofs and the like. It is no secret that the government hopes that if northeastern villagers enjoy more of the material benefits available in Thailand's expanding economy that they will be less susceptible to the blandishments of those who advocate a revolutionary transformation of Thai society.

An economic response to the problems of the Northeast certainly has helped and will continue to help disperse some of the sentiments of discontent which exist in the region. However, there are other sources of disaffection which no amount of economic development can ever shut off. Many villagers throughout the region have been and continue to be the victims of banditry and terrorism. What villagers who have been of who fear they might be attacked want from the government is not better roads or new markets for their products, but protection from threats to their lives and property. If the government does not succeed in providing protection or, worse, yet, makes the price of protection as high or higher than the losses caused by bandits and

terrorists, it should not be surprising that some villagers in the northeastern region might turn for guidance and help to those who advocate a new regime.

The following is the story of one northeastern villager who has, through availing himself of the opportunities offered by Thailand's growing economy, improved his own economic status far beyond that of his peasant parents. His commitment to economic betterment has not, however, blunted his attachment to traditional values. He is both an ardent Buddhist and a fervent royalist. Until the 23rd of December last year, he looked forward to a future in which he could employ his increasing resources to give his children a better education than he himself had had and to contribute to the merit-making activities of his village. Since that date he has lived in day-to-day fear of his life and has seen his resources disappear first through losses to a band of thieves and thereafter through the expense of buying protection and assistance from government authorities. Today he has almost reached a point of total despair because he does not know where to turn for help.

This is a true story. The names of the people and places have been changed or omitted in order to protect the man whose story this is.

The man whom we shall call Bunthorn was born in an average-sized village in one of the northeastern provinces - a province, incidentally, where there have not yet been any major outbreaks of trouble ascribed to communist terrorists. His family was not poor by northeastern standards, but neither was it rich. During his youth he helped his parents on their land, but he knew that eventually he would have to seek his fortune elsewhere because land in the rural areas of northeastern Thailand is passed on to daughters rather than to sons. His normal prospect would have been to marry someone whose inheritance would provide sufficient land for him to continue the way of life he had been born into. However, like many young men of the Northeast today, he had seen the products of a higher standard of living enjoyed by people in the towns of the Northeast and he had heard of the fantastic wealth and opportunities of the capital city. In his late teens, he followed the road of many of his friends and travelled to Bangkok where he sought work as an unskilled laborer. At first his salary as a construction worker, which was then six baht a day, was dissipated on some of the many pleasures of Bangkok - new clothes, movies, and liquor. But unlike many of his friends, Bunthorn early on decided to forego these pleasures in favor of saving money which he planned to use to make a permanent improvement in his lot in life. At the end of his second year in Bangkok, he found a job in a Chinese noodle factory where

he made a considerably better salary than those of mates who worked in construction work. However most of his friends would not have been interested in the job because he had to work long hours during the night shift whereas they preferred to use the nights for having fun. Bunthorn impressed the owner of the factory who gave him fairly rapid increases in salary.

Despite his improving economic position and the opportunities of the urban life, Bunthorn was not certain that he should remain indefinitely in Bangkok. After three years, he returned to his home village and arranged to enter the monkhood. The charisma of the abbot of the wat in which he lived was such that he remained for three years in the yellow robes. Although he never felt that he had the requisite Karma to remain for life as a monk, he still looks back on those days in the wat with nostalgia.

When he left the monkhood, there were several local girls who tried to attract his favor. He would have made an excellent "catch" because he was now fully "ripe", having served in the monkhood, and he had a nice nest-egg built with his savings from Bangkok. However, Bunthorn was not yet ready to commit himself to the life of a farmer and, leaving several admirers behind, he returned again to Bangkok.

He spent an additional three years in Bangkok working in the same Chinese noodle factory. His recent experiences in the monastery made it easier for him to continue to forego immediate pleasures and to add to his savings. At the end of the third year, he was earning 800 baht per month and had saved several thousands of baht. He decided to take his savings and return to the Northeast despite the pleas of the factory owner that he stay and become an adopted son. As Bunthorn said later, "I finally decided that I preferred the ways of the northeastern village to those of Bangkok."

With his capital, he was able to buy a small rice mill which he set up in a village near his home village. Within a year after establishing himself in the village we shall call Ban Huai Phung, he married a local girl who was a relative of the headman.

In the six years since he came to Ban Huai Phung, he has expanded his economic efforts to include the running of a small shop, the raising of pigs, and the marketing of charcoal and kapok. With his earnings, he has also bought rice land and last November he built the first two-storey building in the village. His wife, meanwhile, had bore him two daughters and bore him a third after the incident with which this story is mainly concerned.

Despite his greater wealth and better prospects, villagers in Ban Huai Phung have not become greatly resentful of Bunthron. On the contrary, his generosity, good sense of humor, concern with merit-making, and maintenance of local patterns have won for him the admiration and respect of most of his fellow villagers. Given his economic and social position, it is quite understandable that Bunthorn should have felt very happy with his lot, although he had begun to sense his vulnerability being the wealthiest man in a small and unprotected village. Because of petty thefts, he had bought and registered a revolver and, in another sphere, he took care to sponsor an annual house-blessing ceremony. Neither of these attempts to ensure his continued well-being proved sufficient to ward off the events of the 23rd of December which were to so shatter Bunthorn's dreams. Let him tell the story of what happened on that day in his own words:

At about 5:00 in the afternoon on 23 December, 1967, eight strange men entered my shop. To begin with they asked to buy cigarettes and liquor, which I sold them. I asked where they were going and they said that they were on their way to buy cattle and were waiting for the bus which travels daily from the provincial town of _____ to tambon _____. One of the men asked me to take them out to the back of the shop where there is an empty space bordering on rice fields. The eight all asked me to sit down and talk with them which I did for about 20 minutes. They poured out some liquor for me and as I was extending my hands to take the glass two of the men grabbed me around the neck from behind. Two others said "take his clothes" while the other four helped tie my hands and beat me over the head with a hammer. They asked me where I kept my revolver. One of the eight bandits, whose name I later learned from the police was Mr. _____ and whom I remember well, jumped up and shot his gun into the air. All eight bandits beat me until my head split open and I was afraid that I would die. I then told them where my gun was hidden and one of the bandits ran into the building to fetch it from its hiding place in the bedroom. Another of the group went in, grabbed my wife, and kicked her once in the shins. At the time my wife was in the last stages of pregnancy. I was led by the wrists into the shop and asked where I kept my valuables. A gun was pointed at me and I was told that if I didn't answer they would kill me. I then told my wife to take the valuables from

their hiding place and one of the bandits seized them. Together these were worth over 2,000 baht and included a gold bracelet weighing about 5 baht.

Bunthorn goes on to give in detail all of the things which the bandits took. The losses included items he had for sale in the store as well as personal belongings. The bandits also broke his display cases and his kerosene lanterns. His total losses he estimates as nearing 10,000 baht. Bunthorn continues his story:

When the bandits had taken everything they wanted, they led me by the hands to go with them. One of the bandits led me while the other seven, carrying the loot, walked behind us about 10 meters. As we neared the cremation grounds, my captor called out to those behind to bring three *phakhaoma*. I didn't know what these were for and asked my captor why he had called for the three *phakhaoma*. He said to take it easy. I then began to fear that they were planning to tie me to a tree and shoot me and so I decided to make a break for it. I jerked the rope loose and ran away in front of the bandits. The bandits chased after me and began to shoot but I still had merit and none of the shots hit me. I ran for about 400 meters and then had to stop to catch my breath. I then ran again until I had reached the forest where I hid until the bandits had left. I then got up and broke the rope which bound my hands and started walking away from the forest. By this time several villagers came to help me. They took me to the well and washed the blood off and then sent me by motorcycle to the hospital. There a nurse took seven stitches to close the wound on my head.

Bunthorn goes on to say that his fellow villagers had not come to help earlier because the few men who were not in the fields harvesting were warned by the bandits that they would be shot if they tried to help. One young relative had run to the tambon headman's house, some five kilometers away, to use the radio-telephone to call the police. However, the bandits had chosen their day wisely, for this was the day of municipal elections and there was no one at the police station to answer the call for help. The radio-telephone being of no use, someone else in the Kamnan's village ran into town on his motor cycle to inform the police. The police came out to

investigate and hunted for the bandits for about an hour but by then it was dark and they gave up the search.

Bunthorn himself went to talk with the police after being released from the hospital. An officer promised him that the police would give him every assistance they could. As time passed, however, the police failed to make any arrests. A Kamnan whom we shall call Kamnan Thipseng who lives in the tambon bordering on that of Bunthorn's came to Bunthorn and said that he knew who the bandits were and would arrange their capture. There was to be a ceremony held in the neighboring tambon and Kamnan Thipseng invited the bandits to attend. The leader of the group of thieves, not suspecting anything, came and was arrested by the police who had been tipped off.

For Bunthorn the consequences of this arrest were such that he almost began to wish that it had not occurred. First Kamnan Thipseng suggested that 1,000 baht might be an adequate payment for his help. In addition, Thipseng regularly drops by Bunthorn's shop where he expects to be fed and to be given Mekhong Whiskey. A few days after the arrest, Bunthorn was visited by another Kamnan from a tambon in the next province. He identified himself as a relative of the man who had been arrested and said that he had come to discuss how much it would take for Bunthorn to drop the charges. At first Bunthorn was totally reluctant to talk with this Kamnan for fear that anything he said might be used as evidence that he was conspiring with the thieves thereby weakening his case. On the Kamnan's third visit, he finally said that if the thieves would pay 15,000 baht, the amount he calculated was the cost of his losses, his hospital visit and his subsequent expenses in the matter, he might consider dropping the charges. The Kamnan left not to return again.

Bunthorn was asked by the police to come to identify the suspect and to give information necessary for the drawing up of charges. Before going to the police, he consulted with a high provincial education official who had befriended him before. This official suggested that Bunthorn drop all of the charges and forget the whole matter lest he find that he was paying more money in bribes than he had lost in the theft. Bunthorn considered this advice, but decided that if he didn't prefer charges, the bandits would think him easy prey and would come again.

At the police station, he and a few other villagers who had witnessed the events of 23rd December had no trouble in picking the suspect out of a line-up as one of the group which had made the attack. However, when Bunthorn began to give information to the police regarding the

identification he noticed that the officer had written that he could not identify the suspect. Bunthorn then offered the two police officers present a total of 1,200 baht. They accepted the money and then took down his story correctly. After this incident, he told his friends that he thought that the police must have been under the influence of the Kamnan who was a relative of the suspect and that he had to give presents to the police or they wouldn't help him at all.

When it became apparent that Bunthorn could not be bought off cheaply and that he was intent in pressing the case even if it required large amounts of money to offset the influence of the suspect's supporters, the bandits who were still at large wrote a letter to Kamnan Thipseng in which they threatened to kill both him and Bunthorn. Bunthorn was very frightened and again went to the police. He discovered that the police knew who the suspect's friends were but would not go to arrest them because they live in another province. The police did, however, send several men to stay with Bunthorn for a few nights following the receipt of the letter. When no attack came, the police returned to town. Bunthorn is still frightened and has built the equivalent of a stockade with barbed wire fence and sharpened poles all around his house and compound. Whereas before his shop was open to all passers-by and was the congregating point for villagers who wanted to sit and chat, today it is a forbidding fortress into which only those who are well known are admitted. Bunthorn is also frightened to go out, and when it is necessary to make a trip he travels only in broad day light. Kamnan Thipseng has invited him to celebrations in his home village, but Bunthorn is afraid to go because he feels that he cannot really trust a man who would betray his friends for money.

At the moment of this writing, the trial of the one suspect has yet to come up. Bunthorn was told by the clerk of the court that on the eve of the trial, the clerk will take him to the homes of the judge, the assistant judge, and the public prosecutor. He believes that he will have to present these people with relatively large sums of money in order to ensure that an honest trial is held. Even then, he believes that the suspect's relatives and friends may have more influence with the court officials than he can gain by his presents.

Today Bunthorn fears most for his life. But even if he escapes from death, he fears that he will be ruined financially at the end of this affair. Not only is his business suffering because of his reluctance to admit people to his shop and rice mill, but he is also having to use up his resources in order to ensure that his just complaints receive fair hearing from the authorities.

Bunthorn is richer than most villagers in northeastern Thailand and so can call on financial resources to protect his interests. Nonetheless, even he had reached a point of almost total despair for he feels that there is almost no one to whom he can turn for help and be certain of receiving it. His friends and relatives in the village sympathize greatly with him but they realize all too well their own powerlessness. Some have advised Bunthorn to move to another province while others have suggested that he return to the monkhood. Among the authorities who should provide Bunthorn, as a good citizen, with the protection of the government, there are a few who have responded well. The Kamnan of the tambon in which Bunthorn lives made available the radio facilities in his house on the day of the crime. Moreover, several policemen did come to stay with him at a time when he most feared for his life. Despite these examples of help, Bunthorn's other experiences have led him to the understandable conviction that the authorities, meaning in this case Kamnan, police and court officials, will help you only if you can pay them enough. Furthermore, one can never be certain that one's presents are sufficient to outweigh the presents and influence of those who have injured one.

Bunthorn is not unique in his experience for similar cases have been reported from other parts of the Northeast including from the same tambon as the one in which Bunthorn lives. However, whereas Bunthorn feels he has nowhere to turn for help, people in similar predicaments elsewhere in the region have been offered help by those who say that they will rid Thailand of both bandits and corrupt officials. Could we blame them for listening?
[end of article]

Bān Nōng Tūn

May 2, 1968

Spent day looking at new *kuthi* under construction (using money which we gave), cataloguing collection for museum, and listening to Mr. Ngao's story of the robbery (this we put on tape¹).

¹ Charles F. Keyes's tape recording of an interview with Mr. Ngao about the robbery, conducted on May 2 (or 4?), 1968 in Bān Nōng Tūn, is located in the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.37 EC. The original tape is titled, "Tape Number 23, Side 2." An index and Thai transcript of the recording are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

Bān Nōng Tūn

May 3, 1968

Ao Bun Hian / Tham Bun Bān For Mr. Ngao²

Because of the misfortunes Mr. Ngao has suffered, he decided to sponsor a 'house-blessing' ceremony which is called locally *ao bun hian* (เอาบุญเฮือน) and in Thai *tham bun bān* (ทำบุญบ้าน).

(Phra Mahā Seng (PMS) says that in the local language one can say either *ao bun* or *hētun*, but I heard *ao bun* used in conversation). Mr. Ngao arranged it so that we would be included in the ceremony.

During the afternoon preparations were underway for the ceremony. Māē Hōm, and some other women were engaged in making *bāisī* [incidentally I questioned villagers on pronunciation of this word. Most said that it was *bāisī*, although one said it could be *bāsī*]. PMS, who had come to the village with us, was involved in making candles. He said that it was still much more popular in the villages to make the candles rather than to use store-bought candles. The components of the candles include homespun cotton thread and wax which exists in large disks (maybe 5-6" in diameter) of wax which can be purchased in the shop. The wax he let set in the sun a bit before putting it on the string – so that it would be pliable.

To make the candles, he first measured Ngao and myself around the head and from tip of shoulder blade to waist with pieces of the string. These he said measured the 'head' and the 'body' of the person for whom the ceremony was to be held. With me, he had me measure my own head, but he measured Ngao's head and both of our 'bodies'. He also made long strips of candles which he cut up into smaller candles. I asked if these were cut any special length. At first, he said no, but then said that they could be length of the principal's middle finger and used mine to measure them.

² Charles F. Keyes's tape recording of the *ao bun hian* ceremony for Mr. Ngao, held on May 3, 1968 in Bān Nōng Tūn, is located in the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.38 EC and 2001-2.39 EC. The original tape is titled, "Tape Number 24, Side 1 and 2." An index and Thai transcript of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

A *sāi sin* was wrapped around the house and brought to the 'altar'. *Nām sompōi* (น้ำส้ม
ปลอญ) was also produced to be used in the ceremony.

The principals included the following: five monks – Phra Khrū Chōēi; a monk from Lopburi (originally from the N.E.) who is currently staying at B. Khwao; Phra Mahā Seng, another monk (friend of PMS) from Wat Phō Sī; monk from BNT; novice from BNT; a *thāyok* who also was to serve as *mōsūkhuān* (I believe this man is father of Tamruat Piam, formerly from BNT); Mr. Ngao and Nuan; Jane and me; and to a lesser extent Māē Hōm, Ngao's children, Nikhom, and a number of other villagers, [incidental, there are now one monk and two novices in BNT Wat].

The setting of the ceremony was in the downstairs of Mr. Ngao's house. We removed all of the usual belongings in the room (display cases, items for sale, beds, etc.). Along the southern wall was draped plastic cloth, and in the foreground were placed mats, and for the monks, mattresses. In the Southeast corner was the altar which consisted of the following: *to mū* (brought from Wat Phō Sī), a Buddha image (from Wat BNT), flowers and the *bāisī*, and a container for incense. In front of it was a 'boat' candelabra with two ready-made candles, and a *bāt* with *nām sompōi*. The *sāisin* had passed from the doorway to the Buddha image and lay in a ball in front of the monks. Finally, there was a *khan* (*khansin* ?) which was a metal tray on which there were flowers, rice, and a bowl of water on which two sticks floated (and maybe other things).

The ceremony began with Mr. Ngao lighting the candles. The ceremony was taped. The *sāisin* was held during the ceremony. At one point, Phra Khrū Chōēi made *nām phra phuttha mon*, using the 'body' or 'head' candles and the *bāt* of *nām sompōi*. This water wasn't sprinkled at this part of the ceremony.

The ceremony today was *suat monyen*. It was held somewhat earlier than usual because we wanted to return to town before dark.

Bān Nōng Tūn

May 4, 1968

Ao Bun Hian (continued)

This morning we returned to BNT for the rest of the ceremony of *ao bun hian* for Mr. Ngao. The setting and artifacts were the same as yesterday with the exception that the *bāisī* had

been placed on a cover *phan*. There were also other things on this tray which I don't fully remember. The cast was the same except that many more villagers were present.

The ceremony went as follows:

- 1) *waiphra* and precepts.
- 2) presentation of food (this part not taped)
- 3) During the monk's eating, the old man who I think is the father of Tamruat Piam conducted the *bāisīsūkhuan* ceremony for Mr. Ngao, Nuan, myself and Jane. Both Ngao and I had cloths, draped over our left shoulders. The *mô sūkwan* chanted while the four of us sat in the wai position. Then he fed me some liquor. Then we were asked to put our hands, palms upwards, on the *phan*. The *mô* placed in my hand a *khāo tom phat* (ข้าวต้มผัด), egg (hardboiled), and banana. This was my left hand since that was how I was seated. The *mô* chanted and then sprinkled some liquor with garlic heads (?) over my hand. Later he opened the egg to check the omens and I think it must have been favorable because no comment was made.

Following the end of the *mô*'s chanting, the people came to tie our wrists, beginning with the *mô* himself. Then other people came to tie our wrists, Ngao's and Nuan's wrists, and the children's wrists. Interestingly, even PMS and the other monk from Wat Phō Sī tied our wrists.

After the wrist-binding was finished, the "Buddhist" part of the ceremony began again (Again this was tape recorded). The monks chanted and then there was the sprinkling of holy water (made the previous evening) first by Phra Khrū Chōēi and then by PMS. This was followed by the *truat nām*.

Following this, Mr. Ngao, I, and Nuan were ritually bathed (*hotnām*) by the monks in the open area behind the house. Phra Khrū Chōēi, Phra' Mahā Seng, and the other monk from Wat Phō Sī bathed Ngao while Phra' Mahā Seng and the monk from Phō Sī bathed Nuan and myself.

The ceremony was followed by a feast.

Phra Mahā Seng gave me a present of three *phra* or Buddhist amulets. According to the other monk from Wat Phō Sī, these are identified as follows:

- 1) The standing Buddha in Sukhothai style is called *Phra Thung Sēthī* (พระทุ่งเศรษฐี)
- 2) The large image is called "Phra Somdet" (พระสมเด็จ). It is a copy of the amulets made by a monk of royal blood who lived in a wat in Thonburi in Chulalongkorn's time.
- 3) The last image is called *Phra Sīwalī songlāp māk* (พระสีวลีทรงลาภมาก) and is an image of the monk who made number 2.

Bangkok

May 14, 1968

Trip to Bangkok

In the morning of the 5th of May we left Mahasarakham and travelled to Bangkok, stopping to buy some N.E. silk in Korat. We will leave tomorrow for the North, taking with us Janet Murray, a friend of Jane's from Tasmania and Sulak Sivaraksa.

Mae Sariang

May 17, 1968

Return Trip to Mae Sariang

On the 15th we stopped overnight at the Yankee (Phumiphon) Dam north of Tak. We looked at the dam the next morning and then drove on towards Chiang Mai via Lampang.

Before reaching Lampang we stopped at Wat Chēdī Luang Lampang, which is the most beautiful wat I have ever visited in Thailand. The abbot there mentioned that the wat was first built by Lua who received a visit from the Buddha. It is a fascinating wat artistically because of the vast array of styles and traditions present. There are even some very old wall paintings and inscriptions in Northern Thai are still being made in the old styles.

We spent the evening and night in Chiang Mai and today we drove on to Mae Sariang, stopping at Wat Cōm Thōng and at Ob Luang for a picnic lunch.

When we arrived home, we had a visitor who came to invite us to an ordination of three novices at Wat Ommarāwāt on the morrow.

Ordination at Wat Ommarāwāt³

Three boys are to be ordained – one of whom is apparently a Karen from B. Phômalô while the other two are Shan. Last night we heard practicing on the percussion instruments, but didn't go to see what was going on. This morning, the procession got underway in the Wat grounds. A number of Karens were in the procession. It left Wat Ommarāwāt and travelled to the *sān phôcao müang* and then to Wat Kittiwong where the novices-to-be ‘begged forgiveness’ of the abbot. Apparently, they also went to other waits as well, but we didn't observe them.

Later in the morning we returned home to find that the procession was going from house to house in order that the novices could ‘beg forgiveness’ of their elders (friends and relatives) and then could have their wrists tied. In association with the latter was the singing of Shan songs to thank those who tied the wrists. Often liquor was provided by the hosts. Much to our pleasure, the procession came to our house. I tied the wrists and provided liquor and in turn for which we were treated to a Shan song. I also presented ฿10 to each novitiate.

I asked Sulak what the formula is that is repeated when one ties the wrists. He said that in the Central Plains it is:

ขวัณเธิ์ขวัณมา *khwan oēi khwan mā*

ขวัณอยู่กับเนื้อตัว *khwan yūkap nūa yūkap tua*

Translation:

khwan oēi, khwan come

khwan stay with the flesh, stay with the body.

During the visit of the houses, the Karen relatives didn't seem to be present.

³ Charles F. Keyes's tape recordings of the *ordination* ceremony at Wat Ommarawat and Shan music performance, both held on May 18, 1968, are located in the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.40 EC, 2001-2.41 EC, and 2001-2.42 EC. The original tapes are titled, “Tape Number 24, Side 2” and “Tape Number 25, Side 1 and 2.” An index and partial Thai transcript of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

At about noon, the ceremony of *hông khuan* was held at the wat. We missed this part of the ceremony. We went over after hence to find the Burmese orchestra playing and some men carrying the novitiates on their shoulders and dancing. There were no horses or bicycles used in this ceremony. After dancing for awhile, the procession left again for a tour of houses and the repetition of the above ceremony.

About 4:00 we returned to the wat where the ordination was to take place. Monks present included the two from Wat Ommarāwāt, and one each from Wat Suphanrangsī, Wat Uthayārom, and Wat Mantalē. All five of these monks are in the Burmese/Shan tradition. In addition there were Northern Thai monks present from Wat Sībunrūang, Wat Sitthimongkhon, Wat Chaiyalāp and Wat Kittiwong (the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) who was acting as 'ordainer'). Finally, there was one monk, Tu Pan, from Māē Lā Nōi (a Shan monk also).

While we were waiting for the ordination to get underway, Sulak and I talked to the CKA about some of the things connected with the ceremony. I had noticed at other ordinations the presence of candles stuck in coconuts. The CKA says that each novitiate must have three of these. The first is used to 'request ordination' (ขอบวช); the second to 'request the precepts' (ขอศีล), and the third is to 'request the ordainer [to] perform precepts' (ขออุปัชฌายะ). Formerly, there used to be four, the fourth being presented first to 'worship the Buddha'.

Three *phan* contained the robes of the novices rolled up into a cylinder with the prayer beads around it. In the Thai and Northern Thai traditions the robes are laid flat on a special container, but they are prepared this way in the Shan and Burmese tradition.

Next to the candles and robes were three buckets of offerings. These are for the novices after they have been ordained. Also, in this collection were three 'alms' bowls. While we were watching, a man placed something in each of these *bāt*. He said it was *phra* (amulets). In another part of the room, but still in front of the 'altar' were three bundles of mats, blankets and pillows (According to CKA, monks in the Shan/Burmese order now sleep on mattresses).

The ceremony (which I recorded) went as follows:

- 1) First the *lūk kāēo* came in and were completely stripped of their finery, including having all the make-up taken from their faces. They were left in white clothes, although these were not robes as was the case in the ordination of the group from B. Khapuang. The novices then knelt in front of the CKA who was on the preaching platform.

- 2) They presented the first of the candles and coconuts to the CKA. They began a chant – requesting ordination. The CKA responded by giving a long sermon on the meaning of novice status. This sermon, strangely enough, was in Central Thai.
- 3) They received their robes from the CKA, changed into them, and then presented the second candles and coconuts. They then received the precepts.
- 4) They presented the third candles and coconuts in honor of their ordainer. The CKA gave another short talk.

This was the end of the ordination ceremony which, by law, followed the Thai way. The CKA retired to the background at the head of the Northern Thai monks (although Tu Pan was in this group) and the Shan abbot of Wat Uthayārom took the preaching chair. First came the presentation of the *khan thēt* and then a layman gave a long 'chant' in Shan. Then came the *Okasa, namo*, and precepts Burmese style. Then came the Shan sermon – a *nithān*. This was followed by the *haiphon* and *truat nām* in Burmese form.

During this part of the ceremony, the novices turned to face the congregation thus signifying their membership in the clergy.

In the evening, the Shan orchestra (consisting of one long drum, two gongs, and one set of cymbals) came to our house where there was an evening of music, Shan songs, and dancing (spurred on by two bottles of Mekong from me). Sulak discovered from Tu Pan that it is traditional for the orchestra at a Shan ordination to go to the house of the sponsor of the ceremony. (There is always one main sponsor of the ceremony even when several people are ordained.) If the sponsor be the parents, the orchestra goes to the house of the parents. In this case the abbot himself was the sponsor and sent the orchestra over to our house.

Local Clergy Studying in Bangkok

The CKA says that Phra Mahā Kēo has gone to Bangkok for an indefinite period to study. He is living at Wat Benca. The Karen novice from Mē Hān who has been living at Wat Kittiwong has also gone to Bangkok at the behest of the abbot of Wat Benca.

Mae Sariang

May 19, 1968

Visit to Bān Huai Kung (ห้วยกุ่ม)

This morning I took Jan and Sulak to Bān Huai Kung, one of the Karen villages in which Thammacārik monks are living. This village is just off the Mae Sariang-Hot highway and thus is easily reached. I also took Tu Pan who was returning to that village, another Thammacārik monk who was going to B. Māē Phē Luang and the abbot of Wat Ommarāwāt who went along for the *thiao*.

We met the monk from Wat Chaiyalāp who is staying at B. Huai Kung and the health officer sent out from the tribal welfare center at the *sālā* at the head of the pathway leading to the village. They were just preparing to leave to visit another village under the jurisdiction of the Huai Kung station. However, they decided to stay and show us around the village.

The health officer is one of two Public Welfare Department people stationed here. The other is an agricultural officer. He is originally from Bangkok and began his career in the Public Welfare Department as a clerk. When he was to be assigned as a health officer, he was given six months training in a hospital. He has been connected with the Tribal Welfare Center in Māē Hô for three years and has been at B. Huai Kung for one year. He has learned Karen and believes himself beloved by the Karen villagers in this village. He said that other officials have been transferred in and out of this village and villagers tell him that they are afraid that he will be transferred too. He is married and his wife lives in Chiang Mai. I asked if she could live here as well. He said that she could and has visited here, but it would be too difficult for her to live here. I asked him how he liked living here and he said he liked it because it gave him an opportunity to see strange things.

He spends part of his time teaching the children and the monks have taught too. But there is no systematic literary program. (The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) agrees with me that it is difficult to have permanent success with hill tribes people in teaching them about Buddhism if they are illiterate.)

Sulak asked the monks if they ‘taught’ Buddhism to the villagers. They said that they didn't formally teach religion, but would talk with people (particularly children who came around) and tried to get villagers to follow the basic practices of feeding the monks, listening to chants, *waiphra*, etc. Tu Pan speaks Karen, but the monk from Wat Chaiyalāp does not. (I

noticed that the abbot from Wat Ommarāwāt was speaking to villagers and asked him if he could speak S'kaw Karen as well as P'wo and he said he could.)

In wandering around the village, we noticed a poster.

On the wall of the official's house was the following information about the villages covered by those working in Huai Kung:

Village	No. Households	Population	No. children between ages of 7 and 12
Bān Huai Kung (ห้วยทุ่ง)	42	165	84
Māē Hōklāng (แม่ทะกลาง)	54	274	108
Māē Lāi (แม่ลาย)	56	236	112
Māē Litpāpōng (แม่ริตป่าโปง)	53	263	106
Total	205	938	410

All of these villages are S'kaw Karen. The health officer says that Māē Hōklāng has seven Christian (Baptist ?) households, but Tu Pan says that they are all Christian save one.

Mae Sariang

May 25, 1968

Talk with Khrū Prasāt, BPP Teacher

Today Khrū Prasāt, one of the BPP teachers in B. Dong visited here. He said that the other BPP teacher in B. Dong has been transferred to Māē Salāp. Prasāt himself gets bored in the village. He says he teaches each month more than 20 days. There are now two teachers in this school – he and Choedēt, a Karen Christian. There is a desire to have more teachers in both B. Dong and B. Chāng Mô and to open a school in B. Lā-up, but the Amphoe lacks the budget and there are not enough teachers. One teacher is now in training in Mae Hong Son to be posted to Chāng Mô. The headman of Lā-up, incidentally, wants an Amphoe, not a BPP, school in his village. Prasāt thinks that this may be because he doesn't want BPP interfering with the village. The BPP is in the process of opening a new school in B. Huai Phō (a Karen village). Khrū Prasāt would like to be posted to this school because it isn't so far away from B. Huai Wōk where his wife lives.

He was one of the BPP people who visited Māē Thō, the Meo village, to forbid them to plant opium in this district. He said that the villagers from Māē Thō planted opium in this Amphoe last year (thus was probably what caused the protests from Karen and Lua since the Meo moved in at the heads of the streams running down to Karen and Lua villages). He said that the BPP told the Meo that they were forbidden to plant opium in Mae Sariang this year (the orders for this apparently emanated from the Governor and Head of BPP in the North). If they do, it would be cut down. Khrū Prasāt says that it was difficult to convince the Meo because in Amphoe Mae Chaem and Amphoe Hot, the BPP permit the Meo to plant opium if they pay a 'tax'. They offered to pay a 'tax' in Mae Sariang, but the BPP wouldn't (probably couldn't) accept it.

Karen Monk

Today, I picked up the second monk from Wat Mantalē and gave him a ride back to his wat. He says that he is from Mae Sot, is a Karen, lived in Lampang before coming here, and has been here for a year.

Mae Sariang

May 26, 1968

Ceremony at Local *Phraphutthabāt*

Today a 'bathing' ceremony was held at a local shrine called by most people *phraphutthabāt*, but which is in fact supposed to be a *phraphuttahāt* (พระพุทธรูปหัตถ์ or พระพุทธรูปหัตถ์) – a hand impression left by the Buddha (in this case the left hand). The shrine is located on a hill and in the forest southwest of B. Thung Phrāo. I went with Čit, Khāēk, Čit's mother-in-law, and several monks, novices, and temple boys including the abbot of Wat Sitthimongkhon who was the chief monk present (the other monks present were, so far as I could learn, from wats to the south of the Amphoe office – Wat Sāēn Thōng, Wat Nām Dip, Wat Huai Wōk, etc.). It took us about 45 minutes to reach the shrine, walking from the Phanasit's tobacco drying station.

The shrine consists of the 'impression' of the hand in rock covered by a cement *sālā*. This *sālā* has an inscription (really not 'inscribed' but written) in Northern Thai, which states that a Mr. Intāng built this *sālā* in C.S. 1299 – i.e. 1937. Old style bricks around the shrine suggest that it is much older than that.

There were five monks and five novices at the ceremony and two *ācāns* (one of whom was the one who had been at the building of a new structure at the tobacco station). There was not a large crowd of lay people present and of those, only a few were from town proper.

The opening of the shrine was towards the north and the monks sat on the east. Opposite them, lay leaders spread out leaves on which people presented food. Also, most people, when they first arrived, would present offerings (candles, incense, flowers and sometimes food) in front of the sacred impression. For example, one woman did the following things:

She had a large leaf spread before her on which she placed flowers, a small leaf container of food, and candles.

- 1) She held lighted candles and flowers and 'worshipped' the shrine.
- 2) She gave the lighted candles, flowers, and small container of food to a young boy (probably a relative) to go and place in front of the shrine. (She may have felt that, as a woman, she shouldn't go up on the platform on which the *sālā* was built and where the monks now sat. However, earlier other women had done so - but before the monks were seated.)
- 3) She then took a basket of foodstuffs and distributed them amongst the leaf containers (*sai bāt*).
- 4) She kept in her basket other flowers, candles, some food and also had a container of *nām sompô*. These used later during the ceremony.

The ceremony proper included the following parts:

- 1) One *ācān* led the congregation in the *arahan*..., chanted something else, requested precepts.
- 2) The abbot of Wat Sitthimongkhon led the congregation in *Namō*... and precepts.
- 3) Long chant by second *ācān*. Then he gave another chant during which the first *ācān* raised a tray of offerings.
- 4) Food on the leaf containers was presented to the monks, the abbot chanted.
- 5) Chanting of monks – first facing congregation and then turning to face the altar.
- 6) *Truat nām* by abbot, followed by chant of all the monks.

At the end of this chant, the formal ceremony ended – about 9 A.M. Then monks and people ate. Interestingly, the food on the leaves, which was mostly *khanom*, was not kept to be eaten by the monks but distributed to the children present. The monks ate food which had been brought in pintos and the same was true of other people.

After the meal, lay people took *nām sompōi*, which had been collected into two large buckets and then scooped into smaller containers by individuals, and poured it over the sacred impression. Some people then collected the liquid from the *phraphutthabāt* into bottles since it was now sacred itself. In pouring the water, people would first hold the container in a *wai* position.

After this, some of us including the monks, went to visit a nearby cave which we couldn't enter because the entrances were too deep. On our way down, two *bôngfai* were set off.

Mae Sariang

May 27, 1968

Talk with BPP Teacher

Khrū Prasāt came again today.

He said that some of the people in the BPP are part Karen. I asked about Sgt. Thawat. He said that he was part Burmese (father) and part Khonmüang (mother) (Pete and Bob Coates think he is part Karen). He speaks Karen, Burmese, Shan, Kammüang, and Thai.

Prasāt says that Thông-in, the teacher at B. Huai Phüng (Shwelôkhī) is part Karen – his father being a Karen from Burma (he himself claims his father is Burmese).

A few years ago, the BPP here had a six-month training session in Karen for all members. Taught by a Karen who was living in B. Dong who spoke poor Central Thai but good Northern Thai. He says that there exists the possibility of sending some tribal children who have passed through a BPP school on for further schooling at the BPP school in Mae Rim, Chiang Mai. Sāt is now preparing 4-5 students in B. Dong, but their parents don't want them to go until they are older (16-17). One student from the B. Dong school is now studying at the B. Dong school and is living at the Baptist hostel. He is a Christian from Lā-up.

He said that refugees are still coming in from Burma. They are usually free Karens. When they arrive, they must report first to the BPP station at Thātāfang, then when they reach Mae Sariang they must report to both the Immigration Department and to BPP Headquarters. At Thātāfang they must get a *laissez passer* (*bai phān*).

Before a BPP school is established, there must be a nearby BPP post and the village must have over 30 households.

He has been in Mae Sariang for two years and in the BPP for three years.

Khrū Choedēt's parents are both Karen, Christian, school teachers. His father is originally from B. Huai Phūng; his mother, from Thātāfang. They have one daughter studying in Chiang Mai, one son in Bangkok, and two children in the Boriphat Sūksā school.

Mae Sariang

June 1, 1968

Talk with Ed Hudspith, O.M.F. Missionary

Today we visited the Hudspith's who are O.M.F. missionaries working with the P'wo Karen. They formerly lived in Hot and have only recently moved to Mae Sariang.

Ed estimates that there are 13,000 P'wo Karen between Hot and Mae Sariang and south of the road in Amphoe Hot, Omkōi, and Mae Sariang. He doesn't know how many of these are in B. Mae Sariang, but it looks from a rough map that he has made that about 1/3 of the villages are in Mae Sariang – maybe more – i.e., about 4,500 or more.

I asked him if there were any P'wo Karens living in Mae Sariang town. He said that there were two households near the telegraph office and one behind the Catholic mission (but not Catholic). They work as laborers and may be opium addicts. Seven to eight households live in B. Thung Phrāo where they have been steadily forced to higher ground by more recent (Thai) migrants. These people come from the first mountain corridor as one travels on the road towards Hot.

A few P'wo Karen do own elephants which they hire out. One man hires out to a teacher in Mae Sariang and to the Phanasit Company, but he claims it is difficult to get paid. Some P'wo from this side have worked in the mines, but the employers say that they are not good workers because they don't work steadily. However, he confirmed the rumor that most of the employees of the mines are P'wo Karen from Burma. Actually, he also says that the mines here are mainly a cover for the one brought in from Burma (by P'wo).

I asked him about the history of the P'wo. He says that in all his years here, ca. 13, he has met only one P'wo villager who claims his village was founded by Karen from Burma. All the rest claim to have been founded by P'wo on this side. He says that P'wo on this side are

linguistically and culturally quite different from the P'wo on the other side. The P'wo on this side refer to those on the other side as 'lesser'.

He said that he once met a man in Chiang Mai, who, though now a Northern Thai (Christian), said his village was originally P'wo Karen. The story was that his village was filled with slaves. The Reverend McGilvary purchased the village from their owner (the Uparāt ?) and converted them to Christianity.

He said that most P'wo speak S'kaw, but the reverse is not true. He also says that many P'wo know enough of the S'kaw script to record S'kaw songs.

Mae Sariang

June 3, 1968

Talk with Čao Khana Amphoe

Today, in talking with CKA, I discovered that there is a site at the confluence of the Moei and Yuam Rivers where remains of an old wat were found. A Buddha image found there suggests that there was once a Northern Thai village there.

P'wo Karen

I met Peter Hinton's Thai assistant today at Wat Kittiwong. In the course of conversation, he said that P'wo Karen do sometimes come down to make merit – usually at Wat Chông Sūng. The CKA said that once a very rich P'wo who was seriously ill held a *thambun* at Wat Kittiwong in which he presented each monk with 10 silver Rupiahs.

Bob Coats

This evening the Coats' came to a farewell dinner as they will be leaving for home within a week. I took this opportunity to ask Bob a few questions about the work of the mission here.

There have been foreign missionaries here for about 11 years (the Coats' have been here for 8). The hospital was founded less than three years ago. However, Karen evangelists from Burma have been working for about 75 years.

The official number of Baptist Karens in Mae Sariang and as far north as Khun Yuam is 869, but Bob thinks it is probably close to 900. Most of the Baptist Karens are concentrated in Mae Sariang on both sides of the river.

There are ten 'mother' churches including one at Bān Huai Hōm (Chôti), Māē Tōp Nūa

(he says the formation of two villages here was due to a break between Christian and non-Christian), Māē Tia, Bān Huai Phūng (Shwelôkhī), and Māē Lāyā. There are some 35 churches in total, including 'daughter' churches. Some of the pastors have some Bible training.

Bob told about a recent 'incident' at the Boriphat Sūksā school. It seems that the headmaster insisted that the Christian (and Moslem) students *wai* the Buddha in the morning ceremonies, although he explained that they could continue to be worshipping their own God. One Karen adamantly refused to do so, saying that it would be against his religion. The headmaster pinched his hands very hard, but the student still refused. He was thus sent home to the hostel to inform Benny.

Benny wouldn't go to see the official (Bob thinks that his reluctance was partially due to his lack of ability in the language). Bob and Don Schlatter finally paid a visit on the assistant Nāi Amphoe who said that the incident was illegal and that he would go to talk to the headmaster.

Apparently, this infuriated the headmaster who called a school assembly and had the Christians get up in front and tell why they were Christians and what was wrong with the Buddha. Students and faculty jeered at the students for their accents. Pat says that the Karen Christians are extremely unhappy and may pull their children out of school. Bob is disappointed with the Karens because they won't fight their own battles.

Bob thinks that if the Thai Government ever treats the Karen like the Meo, they will turn for training and support in revolutionary warfare to the (the Karen Independence Army).

Bob thinks that the Karens contact with Thai Education has been of little help to the Karen:

- 1) He thinks the schools in hill tribe villages (especially BPP schools) are not very effective because the teachers are not consistently around to teach.
- 2) Although he can understand why many Thais are reluctant to stay for prolonged periods in the hills, he feels that the Government has been very reluctant to recruit Karen teachers, even when they are qualified candidates. For example, this year none of the Karen Christians who had graduated from M.S. 3 in Mae Sariang were accepted as teachers even after having taken exams in Mae Hong Son. Yet, they were taken on in Bô Kāēo in B. Māē Čāēm, C. Chiang Mai. Moreover, the one Karen Christian who was given a post in Mae Sariang (after having completed teachers' training college in Chiang Mai) was assigned to the Thông Sawat school because "he was too good for a hill school" (this is Bun Eng).

Mae Sariang

June 5, 1968

Ceremony at Wat Sībunrūang

Today there is a ceremony at Wat Sībunrūang to raise money for repairs. A few days ago we received the following invitation. A translation and copy of the invitation follow.

Translation of Invitation to Alms-Giving Event at Wat Sībunrūang

INVITATION TO JOIN IN THE ALMS-GIVING FOR REPAIRS

Wat Sībunrūang, Tambon Mae Sariang, Amphoe Mae Sariang

Wat Sībunrūang is the wat to which the government gave permission for the establishment of a Dhammic school (โรงเรียนปริยัติธรรม -- literally, 'school [for] Buddhist scriptures) in order that the monks, novices, and laity can study and learn the *Tripitaka*, the *Vinaya*, the *Dhamma*, and Dhammic studies. [It was begun] in the time of the late Čao Khana Amphoe. It is the wat where novices from the outlying areas of the district come to stay both during lent and at other times. There are high status monks from other provinces who come to stay here and each year without exception there are foreign tourists who come to admire structures in the wat. There are structures within the wat which have long been in a state of collapse, as, for example, the crown of the *prāsāt kuthi*. The drainpipes and roof of the *prāsāt kuthi* are leaky. These are things which are very suitable for all of us to help keep beautiful because they are in ancient Thai style. In order to carry out the intentions of program and in order to keep in line with the development policy of the government, it is necessary to test the strength of all pious Buddhists to complete the repairs. For this reason, the wat committee of Wat Sībunrūang has thus organized the merit-making festival of *thēt mahāchāt (tang tham luang)*. The income which is created from the worship of this Dhamma, the wat committee will take to make permanent repairs on those structures which have deteriorated. The schedule of events is as follows

Wednesday, 5 June 2511 (10th day of the waxing moon of the 9th month, northern reckoning) is the first day. The opening sermon chapter of *Thatsaphon* will begin at 9:00 P.M. [The ceremony will continue] until 6 June 2511 (11th day of the waxing of the 9th lunar month, northern reckoning) and will end with the *nakhôn* sermon chapter.

Besides this those whose hearts are so inclined may worship the Dhamma in order to

make merit for someone who has died.

Thus, as a Buddhist who desires merit, you are invited to sponsor the (*chūchok*) chapter, to be delivered by a monk from Wat (Nām Dip) at 2:00 P.M. and to come join in the merit-making by listening to the *Thēt mahāchāt* at Wat Sībunrūang in the days mentioned.

For another thing, sponsors may, if they wish, bring fireworks to light.

Phra Khrū Anusātpunjāthôn, Chairman

Sgt. Tômôn Pôngsuwan, Member

Mr. La Manīthôn, Member

Mr. Thawit Sāikham, Member

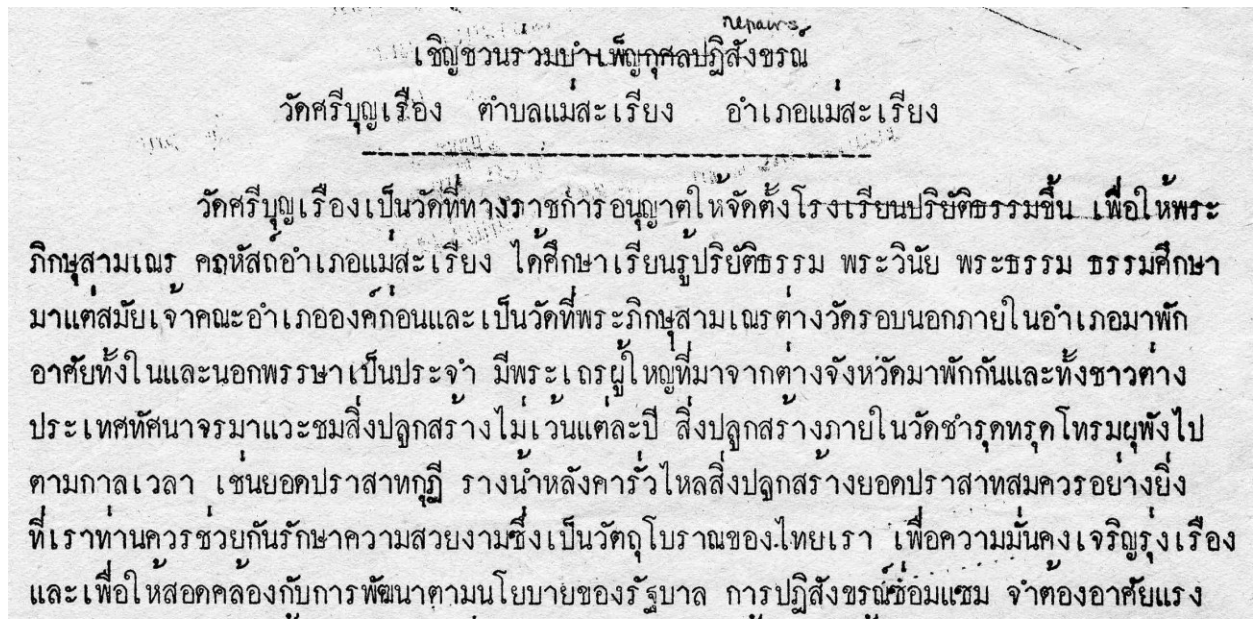
Mr. Māt Tānasēt, Member

Mr. Pradit Damrontham, Member

Sgt. Bunphon Wonghuai, Member

Permission granted by Phra' Khrū Anusōnsātsanakiat, Čao Khana Amphoe

Document: Invitation to Alms-Giving Event at Wat Sībunrūang



ศรัทธาพุทธศาสนิกชนผู้ใญ่บุญทั้งหลายร่วมกันจึงจะสำเร็จลงได้โดยเหตุนี้คณะศรัทธาคณะกรรมการ
 วัดศรีบุญเรือง จึงได้กำหนดงานทำบุญบำเพ็ญกุศล " เทศมหาชาติ " (ตั้งธรรมหลวง) ขึ้น ปัจจุบัน
 รายได้อันเกิดจากการบูชาพระธรรมนี้คณะกรรมการจะได้นำไปปฏิสังขรณ์ซ่อมแซมสิ่งปลูกสร้างที่ชำรุด
 ทรุดโทรมดังกล่าวให้คงทนถาวรสืบไป โดยมีกำหนดการดังนี้

วันพุธที่ ๕ มิถุนายน พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับวันขึ้น ๑๐ ค่ำ เดือน ๘ เหนือ เป็นวันเริ่ม
 แรกเทศน์กัณฑ์ ทศพร เริ่มเวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ถึงวันที่ ๖ มิถุนายน พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับวันขึ้น ๑๑ ค่ำ
 เดือน ๘ เหนือ เทศน์กัณฑ์ นคร เป็นกัณฑ์สุดท้าย

นอกจากนี้ท่านที่ประสงค์จะบูชาพระธรรมอันเกี่ยวกับการอุทิศถวายแด่ผู้ล่วงลับไปแล้ว
 แล้วแต่จิตศรัทธา

จึงได้บอกบุญมายังท่านพุทธศาสนิกชนผู้ใญ่บุญทั้งหลายว่าเป็นเจ้าภาพกัณฑ์ ๖.๖๖.....
 กัณฑ์ เทศน์โดยพระคุณเจ้าวัด เวลา ๑๒:๐๐.....น.
 และขอได้โปรดไปร่วมบำเพ็ญกุศลฟังพระธรรมเทศนามหาชาติ ณ วัดศรีบุญเรือง ตามวันเวลาที่ได้
 บอกบุญมานี้โดยพร้อมเพรียงกัน

อนึ่งเจ้าภาพกัณฑ์เทศน์จะมีดอกไม้เพลิงจุกเป็นพุทธบูชาด้วยแล้วแต่จิตศรัทธา.

อนุมัติตามนี้
 พระครูอนุสรณ์ศาสนเกียรติ
 เจ้าคณะอำเภอแม่สะเรียง
 ประทับตราตำแหน่งเป็นสำคัญ

พระครูอนุสรณ์บุญญาทร	ประธานกรรมการ
จ.ส. ทอมร ปองสุวรรณ	กรรมการ
นายละ มณีธร	กรรมการ
นายถวิล สายคำ	กรรมการ
นายมาก ตานะเศรษฐ์	กรรมการ
นายประทีปรัฐ คำรังสรรค์	กรรมการ
อ. ศศ. บุญชนะ วงศ์ทอง	กรรมการ

I didn't attend this ceremony because I was on my way to Bān Pā Māk (see below) to attend a ceremony there. Jane, Wan, and Nick A Keyes did go, however, at the appointed time.

Ordination of Karen Novices in Village of Bān Pā Māk

Yesterday, I went with the CKA and several Karens from B. Pā Māk to that village where three Karen boys were to be ordained as novices. We went in the afternoon, arriving at B. Pā Māk about 3:30.

This is the first time that Karens in this village have been ordained as novices. B. Pā Māk is a suburb village of B. Māē Hān, but, the ceremonies were not held in Wat Māē Hān, but in the *sālā* which is on the hill below the Bān Pā Māk *čēdī* (*thāt*). At this *sālā*, the Shan monk whom I met at B. Māē Tōp (and whose name is Phra Sāi, พระสาย) has been living for over a year. He has living with him one novice from B. Pā Māk who was ordained at Māē Tōp.

The three boys who were to be ordained all have Thai as well as Karen names, the former having been given to them in school.

- 1) Adun Wannaphông (อดุลย์ วรรณพ้อง), Tadū (ตะดู), 23 years old and graduate of P4 at Māē Hān school.
- 2) Damrong Thawīphōn (ดำรง ทวีพร), Dôčahae (เดชะแฮ), 13 years old and graduate of P4 at Māē Hān.
- 3) Mānop Čaidī (มานพ ใจดี), Kōnaphô (โก่หนะพอ), 12 years old who completed P3 at Māē Hān school and received permission of his teacher to leave school to become novice.

Although this is the first ordination to take place in B. Pā Māk, these three are not the first from the village to be ordained as novices. One villager was ordained with four from B. Pā Māk in Chiang Mai at Wat Phra Sing and another was ordained at Māē Top. This latter, who is now living at the *sālā*, had passed only PI at Māē Hān school – this explains why I had such difficulty in talking with him at Māē Tōp.

When we arrived in the village, we were first met by villagers who came carrying containers of popped rice and flowers. These were presented to the CKA by people on their knees. He referred to them as *khan nimon*. From, each he would take a handful of rice and sprinkle it – preferably on the *lūkkāēo* who came out to greet the CKA as well. People also sprinkled popped rice on the CKA himself.

The procession wound through the village and up the hill to the *sālā*. Here, the *lūkkāēo* were brought (they were riding on the shoulders of various people) to *khôsumā* (๒๐๔๓๓) from the CKA. This short ceremony involved the novices bowing before the CKA and then the CKA chanting something.

Then the procession sans the CKA (but with me in tow) went up and circled the *thāt* (in the wrong direction – going to the right instead of to the left) and then returned back down to the village where it continued to go to every house where the novices had their wrists tied by heads of household. The procession included an orchestra of one long drum, a pair of cymbals, and a gong.

In the houses, the *lūkkāēo* would seat themselves below the *hingphra*. I am not sure whether they prostrated beforehand as I always entered the house afterwards, but I suspect they did. (I was rather surprised to find every house I went to having a *hingphra* with a Burmese-style Buddha image -not all Northern Thai houses have images. There was an explanation – see below.)

The head of household would then come out with a *khan* containing popped rice, three baht in coin, three pieces of string and sometimes flowers. The person with the *khan* would sometimes prostrate himself in front of the *lūkkāēo* and sometimes not. Then he (or she) would take a handful of rice and 1 baht and placed it in the upturned palm of each *lūkkāēo* (beginning with the eldest). This could be either hand. Then he (or she) would tie the string (the eldest novice used the Northern Thai expressions *matmū* and *hông khuan* to refer to this ceremony). Some people would brush the string on top of the wrist first and sometimes mumble something (I could never hear what language), but most just tied it; all wrapped the string around several times. Some people would break off the remaining long bit and toss it onto the shoulder of the *lūkkāēo*. This ended, the *lūkkāēo* would place the rice and coin in a *phan* in front of them. This *phan* was carried from house to house by an older man who collected the money after each house. The person doing the tying would tie a wrist of each of the *lūkkāēo*. Some would then prostrate themselves three times. This ended the ceremony, but in nearly every house, a bottle of liquor was brought out (sometimes home brew, sometimes ‘Salween’) and a cup was passed from person to person (except for members of the household, in which the ceremony was held, no women seemed to be present in the procession). Once the liquor was finished, the procession

would move on to a new house. But before leaving, the *lūkkāēo* would bow three times before the household shrine.

At dusk, the procession returned to the *sālā* and the guests were fed. (I didn't see what happened to the *lūkkāēo* at this time, but they said they would be sleeping at the *sālā* or *thāt*). One man sang a *sô* connected with the Buddha and *thāt*.

This morning, events connected with the ceremony started with the bringing of food and offerings to present to (1) the monks, (2) the Buddha images in the *sālā*, (3) a 'spirit' shrine outside the *sālā*, and (4) the *thāt*. Not everyone made offerings to all four but a good proportion made offerings to the first three.

People would bring food to present to the monks in pinto and on metal trays. These were taken, sometimes after the donor *wai*-ed and sometimes before, and the food placed in containers possessed by the *sālā* (at least temporarily). The emptied pinto and trays were then given back to the donors who returned below.

Those who made offerings to the Buddha and the 'spirit' shrine (and, I think, the *thāt*) usually did so before presenting food to the monks. These offerings included candles and small leaf containers of food. In front of the altar of Buddha images had been placed a stand for candles on which both food and candles were placed.

When the food had all been brought in – at sometime after 7:00 A.M., the monks, then the novices and the guests ate breakfast. Afterwards, there was about two hours delay, during which guests from other villages arrived, and preparations of the *lūkkāēo* and procession took place. (It was during this time that I interviewed people about local history.) About 9:00 A.M. the (Khonmüang) monk from Wat Māē Hān arrived. He took his place between the CKA and Phra Sāi. Then the procession arrived and went directly to the *thāt* where it began processing around it to the right. The CKA sent word that the movement should be to the left. The procession circled more than three times while its members sang Karen *sô* connected with worshipping the *thāt*. For this procession one bicycle had been brought up for the eldest novice-to-be to ride. (The fact that it has been raining constantly for the last few days made movements up and down the hill somewhat difficult).

After processing around the *thāt*, the procession moved down to the *sālā* which the novices and a large group of males (adolescent and older) entered. No females or children entered the *sālā* at this time although they had done so at other times while we were there.

The first thing that happened was that the novices-to-be removed their 'decorations' (jewelry, fancy clothing, cosmetics) leaving them dressed in basic (albeit dirty) white. This done the three took their places in front of the CKA and the two other monks.

Then they turned around and received their robes from their sponsors.

They chanted something and presented their robes to the CKA.

The CKA gave a talk (one of his usual long-winded variety) to the novices-to-be. In this talk, which was basically in fancy Northern Thai with an occasional word of Karen, he explained the meaning of being a novice and then launched into (what has now become familiar to me) a short description of the history and meaning of Buddhism. (This speech was obviously directed towards the villagers whom he considers to know little about Buddhism. However, despite the fact that they said afterwards, in response to his questions, that they would understand his Northern Thai, it was obvious that he had lost most of his audience during the talk.)

This was followed by the formal presentation of robes to the novices (CKA placing one garment over the heads of each one). They then changed into the robes in an inner room and returned to receive the precepts (10) from the monk from Māē Hān. During this they received some prompting from the resident monk.

This was followed by formal initiation (statement and response) given by CKA. This finished, the novices took their places on the raised platform.

Then there was the *haiphon/truat nām* in which each of the monks and new novices were given water to pour. Each of the three monks gave separate blessings.

This ended the formal ceremony, after which monks, novices, and guests were given their noon meal. Shortly thereafter we all departed.

It is worthwhile noting that the Karen have taken over the word *lūkkāēo* to use in Karen to refer to the novitiates-to-be.

Bān Pā Māk and Bān Māē Hān

During my stay in the village, I asked about the characteristics of B. Pā Māk and its neighboring, superior village, of B. Māē Hān. The two villages, along with a third much smaller village, B. Māē Cōk (? sp.) are included within the single administrative village of *mūthī* 4 (หมู่บ้าน 4). Each has its Karen name as well.

B. Māē Hān has, according to its headman, 80+ households (probably closer to 90). Its Karen name is Suhôklā.

B. Pā Māk according to several informants has 40+ households. Its Karen name is Sipôkhlô.

Finally, B. Māē Cōk has, according to the headman of Māē Hān, 7 households. Its Karen name is Māē Čôklā.

One villager says that there are over 40 elephants in B. Pā Māk.

The *čēdī*, according to an inscription, was built in 2504 and the *sālā* in 2508. However, both from the evidence of brick remains and villagers' stories, there must have been some edifice at the *čēdī* before this time.

One man I talked to is from Māē Tōp (several men from Māē Tōp have moved into this village at marriage). He said that his father is dead and his mother has embraced Christianity.

Buddhism and B. Pā Māk

I talked at some length to Phra Sāi this morning about himself and about his relation to B. Pā Māk.

According to the CKA, Phra Sāi is not a *thudong* monk, although he has lived at the Chiang Dao (Yet, I thought I heard the CKA refer to him as a *thudong* monk in his talk to the novices). He is a Kengtung Shan and has, according to the CKA, lived in Thailand 21 years.

He himself says he has lived here in B. Pā Māk more than a year.

He has made the considerable number of Buddha images in the *sālā* -out of cement. These include Burmese, Shan, and Thai style images (the biggest one struck both me and the CKA as a self-portrait). His work in this regard explains why there are so many images in village houses (Every house I was in had a *hing phra* which contained a Burmese-style image, the usual long leaves, and usually a Northern Thai style *yan*). Last year, according to the CKA, a ceremony was held dedicating the variety of images made by this monk, after which they were distributed, by lottery, to people in the village.

I asked him about food. He says that people bring food every morning. Sometimes, he does send the novice to collect alms.

He says that he is invited by people for ceremonies associated with entering a new house and weddings.

I asked him about the novices. He says that the older one will stay in only for 15-20 days because his relatives need his help in the fields. The other two will remain indefinitely. I asked what the previous novice and the new novices will do. He said he will teach them to read (he said Karens who have passed P.4 still cannot read well) and to *suat*. I asked if he would teach them to *suat* in Burmese or Thai style. He said that he will teach Thai style because they live in Thailand (จะสอนแบบไทย เพราะว่าอยู่ในประเทศไทย).

In addition to influencing people in the village as to the adoption of house shrines, the influence of this monk on the general lay populace is undoubtedly a major factor in why the people know how to act in the *sālā*, in front of monks, and in front of the *thāt*.

The CKA is obviously developing a reputation among hill people as a *khūbā* interested in them.

Local Karen History

With the CKA's help, I interviewed Kāē Wong, the headman of B. Māē Hān (aged 66), and an old man, Lūkē (aged 75) resident of B. Pā Māk since aged 20, but born in Māē Hān. They answered my questions about local Karen history.

The Headman says former (Khonmüang) name of Māē Hān was B. Hān Luang or B. Luang. He doesn't know when it was founded, but said that it was at the same time as Mae Sariang. He said that there is an old wat, called *wat hāng* (= Thai *rāng*, ร้าง, 'abandoned'), remains of which can still be seen in the bricks at the confluence of the Māē Hān and Māē Cōk streams. Thinks it may be Lua.

The old man says that his parents were born in Māē Hān, but that he doesn't know where grandparents were born since they died when he was very young.

The two informants gave me information which is relevant to reconstructing the ethnohistory of the valley of the Yuam above Mae Sariang.

Māē Hān, together with its satellite villages, is the oldest Karen village in the area (Kāē Wong). (Incidentally, Phāēkhō or Bān Phae is the only village in *mūthī* 3).

Lūkē said that when he was a small boy there were no Khonmüang living north of Sophān and Thākhām.

The two main informants plus several other people said that B. Māē Tōp (today a Khonmüang village) was founded by Tongsu (Taunthu, or Shan-ized Karen), the names of some of whom were Kyông Ti, Twôk Wông, and Cita. There are still descendants of these people living in the village.

About 30-40 years ago, Khonmüang went to live in Māē Tōp. The Tongsu built the wat at Māē Tōp.

Bān Thāphāpum, a Shan village, had Shan living in it when Lūkē was young. Today, there are a few Khonmüang living in that village, but it is still mainly Shan.

I asked if any Yāngdāēng had ever come to live in this area. Both Kāē Wong and Lūkē answered that none ever came to live here, but they did come to raid (มาปล้นเอาของ) and some brought children (Yāngdāēng children) to sell. Some were bought and their descendants still live in the Karen villages. I asked what the S'kaw word for Yāngdāēng was and the answer was something that sounds like B'ghe.

The wat in Māē Hān was built in C.S. 1297 (A.D. 1935). It was built by Kāē Wong's uncle.

Both Kāē Wong and Lūkē had worked for Bombay-Burmah along with many other Karen. I asked if the Englishmen who worked for the company could speak Karen. No, they spoke Burmese.

I asked about the tribute system under the old regime. The Karens paid tribute to both the King/Prince of Chiang Mai and the ruler of Müang Yuam (they didn't send tribute through Lua).

- 1) To the prince of Chiang Mai, cotton thread and Karen clothes were sent. Representatives of the prince came annually to collect it. (Both male and female clothes were sent).
- 2) Paddy rice (ข้าวเปลือก) was sent to the ruler of Muang Yuam. The rice 'tax' was calculated by representatives of the ruler (called *khwāēn* – แคว่น). The unit of measurement was the *tang* (Thai, *thang*, ถัง) which is about 1½ times today's *thang* (20 litres). Depending on the size of one's fields, one had to pay an annual tax of between 1 and 4 *tang*. This tax was collected by the headmen (แก้วบ้าน, *kāēbān*) and sent via His assistants (*lūk bān*, ลูกบ้าน) to the ruler of Müang Yuam.

The ruler of Müang Yuam who came to mind when I asked was one Khwāēnpia (แคว้น
เพี้ยะ) who is the same as Thāo Sām Āng (ท้าวสามอง). (The CKA. could remember the names of
two rulers of Müang Yuam – พระสลิ, Phrayā Salī and Thāo Sām Āng and one assistant ruler -
Thāo Chaiyawong, ท้าวไชยวงศ์).

When Lūkē was 10+ years he saw the men who came to assess the rice taxes.

Mae Sariang History

In the context of discussing local history, I asked the CKA about Sanguan's story that
Cao Fā Kōlān was originally from Mae Sariang. He said that he thought the story was true and
the Kōlān was a Khonmüang not a Shan (เงี้ยว). He said that in Müang Mōkmai they use Yuan
script [this is supported by the existence of two manuscripts in Yuan script - written in Chiang
Mai – which were found in Mōkmai and which came to Donna Markhara. One of these
manuscripts is now in my possession.]

Talk with Benny

This evening Benny came over to talk because he is worried that Pete's efforts on behalf
of upland people might alienate local officials and have repercussions affecting himself. The
specific incident that stimulated this fear was the upset of the Thai doctor about Pete's reporting
of cholera (I don't know the full story).

Benny also talked about the recent 'school incident' (see above talk with Bob Coats on
June 3, 1968).

When it first occurred, Benny was quite distressed and wrote Pete that such things should
be "nipped in the bud" because of their possible future implications. That is, he feels that unless
Thai officials desist from such actions they will end alienating the Karen completely.

On the other hand, Benny feels his own powerlessness and vulnerability. He advised the
students to act according to their own consciences and was reluctant to attempt to put any
measure on the Thai officials. He feels that the officials won't listen to Karens. Even when they

do listen to people acting on the Karens behalf (i.e. the missionaries), the consequences may be worse.

He believes that Karens on this side need to work within the Thai system, but he fears that incidents such as this may strongly discourage Karens from doing so.

Mae Sariang

June 9, 1968

Relic Bathing and *Bôk Fai* (*Bông Fai*) Ceremonies

Today preparations are underway for 'relic bathing' (*song nām phra thāt*, สรงน้ำพระธาตุ) and *bôk fai* (บอ๑ไฟ) [the equivalent of *bông fai*, (บ๑งไฟ) in the N.E.] ceremonies at Wat Sāēn Thōng and Wat Thākhām. Although, many wats have 'relic bathing' ceremonies, only these two wats have *bôk fai* ceremonies. According to the Čao Khana Amphoe, both of these wats have the *bôk fai* ceremony on the same day each year.

Today, I received an invitation to the ceremony at Wat Sāēn Thōng. A translation and a copy of the invitation follow.

Translation of Invitation to Ceremony to Bathe Buddha Image Relics at Wat Sāēn Thōng

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

Festival of Bathing Phra Phet and Phra Sāēn Thōng [two Buddha Images]

[at] Wat Sāēn Thōng Amphoe Mae Sariang, Čangwat Mae Hong Son

on 9-10 June, 2511 [1968]

As it has again reached the time to hold ancient and popular festival of ritually bathing [the two Buddha images of] Phra Phet and Phra Sāēn Thōng] at Wat Sāēn Thōng, the wat has arranged the following events for this year's festival:

Sunday, 9 June 2511 [1968] (14th day of the waxing of the moon [9th lunar month Northern reckoning]):

9:00 A.M. Procession of the faithful taking Phra Phet through the town and returning to
Wat Sāēn Thōng.

7:00 P.M. Nine monks will chant *phraphutthamon*. When this is over, there will be a movie.

10 June, 2511 [1968] (15th day of the waxing of the moon):

7:00 A.M. Making merit through filling of the monks' alms bowls.

9:00 A.M. The faithful of this and other wats will bring bôk fai in procession to present at this wat.

11:00 A.M. Presentation of the mid-day meal to approximately 100 monks and novices.

12:00 Noon Ritual bathing of the Phra Phet and Phra Sāēn Thōng.

2:00 P.M. Procession of faithful and wat leaders taking the bôk fai from the wat to the place where they will be lit as Buddha worship (พุทธบูชา) and in competition for prizes.

7:00 P.M. Procession of faithful and wat leaders taking bôk fai dôk to Wat Sāēn Thōng to be lit as Buddha worship and in competition for prizes (then the winner of the bôk fai contest will be announced) together with distribution of prizes.

8:00 P.M. Phutthaphisēk sermon. 10:00 P.M. Two sets of chanting and a movie.

Therefore, all you Buddhists are invited to go to make merit by bathing the Phra Phet and Phra Sāēn Thōng according to the schedule of events given here.

[Signed] Festival Committee and Wat Sāēn Thōng Committee Sponsors

Approval given by

Phra Khrū Sātsanakiat

Čao Khana Amphoe Mae Sariang

กำหนดการ

งานสร้างน้ำพระเพชรและพระแสนทอง วัดแสนทอง อำเภอแม่สะเรียง จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

วันที่ ๕ - ๑๐ มิถุนายน พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๑

คว้งงานสร้างน้ำพระเพชรและพระแสนทอง วัดแสนทองอันเป็นประเพณีนิยมที่กระทำกันมาแต่โบราณกาลจะไดเวียนมาบรรจบอีกวาระหนึ่งในวันที่ ๑๐ มิถุนายน ๒๕๑๑ ซึ่งตรงกับวันขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เดือน ๕ เหนือ ทางวัดจึงจัดงานน้ำเพ็ญกุศลสร้างน้ำพระเพชรและพระแสนทอง เช่นทุกปี สำหรับปีนี้ ได้กำหนดการไว้ ดังนี้

คว้งงานสร้างน้ำพระเพชรและพระแสนทอง วัดแสนทองอันเป็นประเพณีนิยมที่กระทำกันมาแต่โบราณกาลจะไดเวียนมาบรรจบอีกวาระหนึ่งในวันที่ ๑๐ มิถุนายน ๒๕๑๑ ซึ่งตรงกับวันขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เดือน ๕ เหนือ ทางวัดจึงจัดงานน้ำเพ็ญกุศลสร้างน้ำพระเพชรและพระแสนทอง เช่นทุกปี สำหรับปีนี้ ได้กำหนดการไว้ ดังนี้

วันอาทิตย์ที่ ๕ มิถุนายน ๒๕๑๑ ขึ้น ๑๔ ค่ำ

เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. คณะศรัทธาจัดขบวนแห่พระไปตามถนนสายต่างๆแล้วแห่นำมาวัดแสนทอง

เวลา ๑๘.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๘ รูป เจริญพระพุทธรูปมณฑล เสร็จแล้วฉายภาพยนตร์

วันที่ ๑๐ มิถุนายน ๒๕๑๑ ขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ

เวลา ๐๗.๐๐ น. ทำบุญตักบาตร

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. คณะศรัทธาและวัดต่างๆแห่ขบวนมอไฟขึ้นนำเข้าวัดเพื่อถวาย

เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายภัตตาหารเพลแก่พระภิกษุสามเณรที่มาในงานประมาณ ๑๐๐ รูป

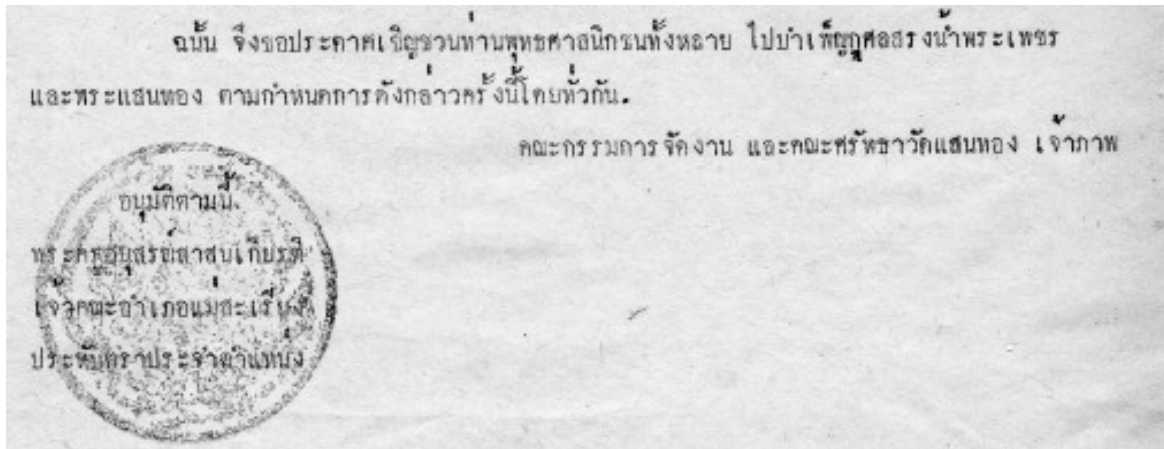
เวลา ๑๒.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีสร้างน้ำพระเพชร และพระแสนทอง

เวลา ๑๔.๐๐ น. คณะศรัทธาและหัววัดต่างๆ แห่ขบวนมอไฟออกจากวัดเพื่อไปทำการจุดเป็นพุทธบูชาและประกวคิงรางวัด

เวลา ๑๘.๐๐ น. คณะศรัทธาวัดแสนทองและหัววัดต่างๆแห่ขบวนมอไฟคอกเข้ามาในวัดแสนทองเพื่อจุดเป็นพุทธบูชาและประกวคิงรางวัด (แล้วประกาศผลการประกวคอกไฟ) พร้อมกับแจกรางวัด

เวลา ๒๐.๐๐ น. เทศน์ธรรมพุทธานิเทศ

เวลา ๒๒.๐๐ น. สวดเม็ง ๒ วาน และฉายภาพยนตร์



Mae Sariang

June 10, 1968

Relic Bathing and *Bôk Fai* (*Bông Fai*) Ceremonies (Continued)

I didn't attend any of the events connected with the ceremonies at Wat Sāēn Thōng, but I did go with the CKA today to attend similar ceremonies at Wat Thākhām. Last night at this wat, as part of the entertainment, a *like* performance was held.

Today we arrived sometime shortly after 10:00. Nothing much happened until about 11:30 when the monks were fed. People were milling around in the wat courtyard where there were small stalls and where the apparatus for the bathing was also set up. During the time we were waiting and during the ceremony itself, processions bringing the *bôk fai* arrived. These processions consisted primarily of young men, usually quite drunk and some of them in ragged costume (but nothing of the obscene costuming that occurs in the N.E.). There was a percussion orchestra which joined these processions.

During the time that we were waiting, the CKA helped me interview some old men with regard to local history (see below).

There is one main building in this wat. Its interior is interesting because there are three tiers of flooring:

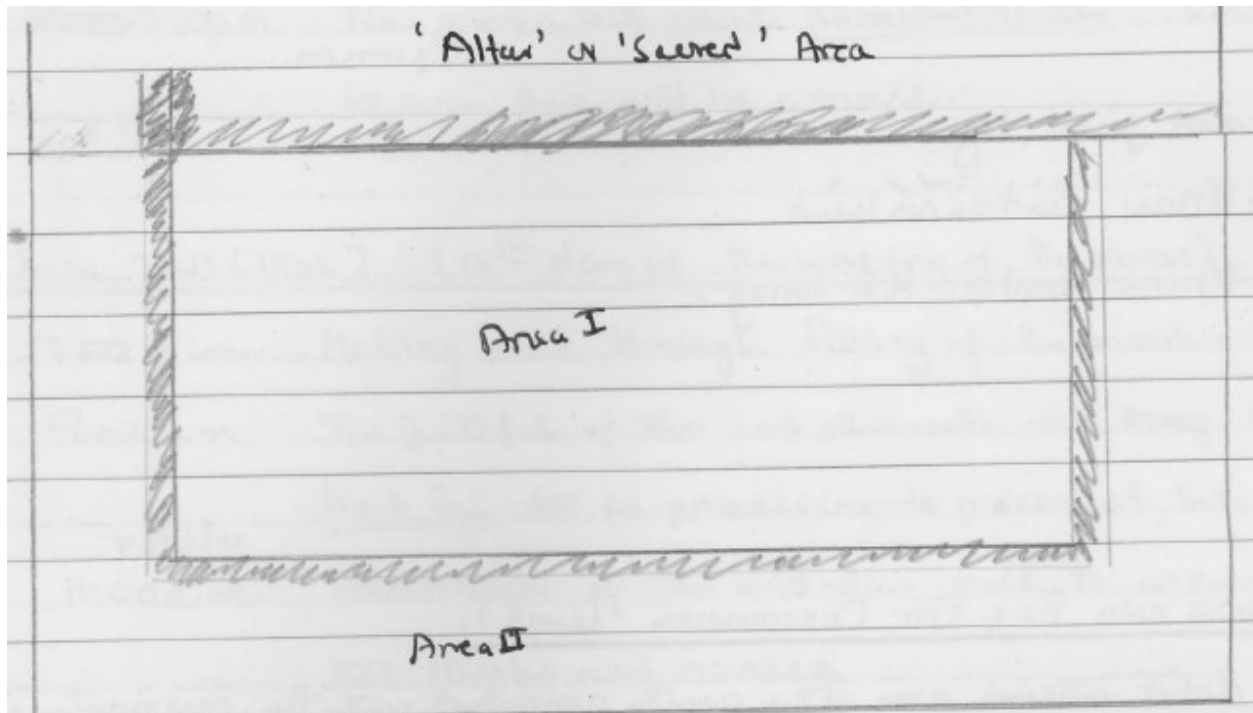


Illustration of three tiers of flooring at Wat Thākhām during relic bathing and *bōk fai* ceremonies

I noticed when I first arrived that only men were seated on the raised area marked 'Area I'. I asked an old man if women were allowed to sit here, and he answered no. This symbolic division of the interior, the CKA says, is in Burmese style even though this is a Khonmüang village. Later, I noticed women sitting on the very edges of Area I.

As people arrived, they would usually deposit *khriiang būchā* in a container near the 'bathing' apparatus in the courtyard, although some brought items into the building to be placed by men (or selves if men) in containers near the relic on the 'sacred' area. People also brought containers (often silver *khan*) of *nām sompōi*, small amounts of which were poured into buckets which were later moved to stage center where they were used by the clergy. People all retained *nām sompōi* in their containers to use for themselves. Some men also went up and lit candles and placed them on in either side of a fenced area in the 'sacred' area where the relic was placed.

The monks were given food a little after 11:00. They were not fed in front of everyone, but at a low table to one side (the right) of the altar. Novices were also fed, in another place. There was not, however, a general feeding of the guests.

After the presentation of food was over, the monks seated themselves in front of the altar, but leaving a gap so that the container with the relic showed there were 6 monks. About 20

novices sat behind the monks and to the right of the 'sacred' area. An *ācān* took his place in front of the monks and relic. The *ācān* first led the congregation in the waiphra⁹ and request for precepts. This was followed by the CKA giving the precepts. The *ācān* then gave a long 'chant' followed by the monks chanting while facing the relic. The CKA then gave an extemporaneous and informal talk on the meaning of the relic (I really couldn't understand the talk because there was too much noise going on outside – orchestra playing and dancing by the carriers of the *bôk fai*). This was followed by a chant by the monks.

Then the *ācān* led the people in preparing to bathe the relic by dedicating their containers of *nām sompô*i which people lifted in a wai position.

The relic was then removed by the CKA and placed in the 'bathing container'. Each of the monks and novices then bathed it. It was then taken out and placed in the bathing apparatus outside. It was carried by one layman, while another layman carried an umbrella over it. There was a large crowd of people who came to bathe the relic. The 'run-off' was collected by people to *damhua* one another, to drink, or take home (for others at home ?). When everyone had bathed it, the relic was returned to the wat, again with the two laymen carrying it and protecting it with an umbrella. It was taken out of the bathing container by the CKA, and after allowing people to examine it, it was placed back in its original container. This was the end of the bathing ceremony.

People drifted off after the bathing ceremony to an area on the main highway where the *bôk fai* were set off. Each of the 16 or so *bôk fai* according to the care of lighting, the height they reached, the sound they made (each were fitted out with bamboo pipes which 'played' as the moved through the air), the trajectory, etc. This contest of *bôk fai* brought to Wat Thākhām was held almost simultaneously, but on another part of the road, with the contest of *bôk fai* from Wat Sāēn Thōng. There was no ceremony connected with the setting-off of *bôk fai*.

Karens at Ceremony

The CKA had said before we arrived that there would probably be a large number of Karen at Wat Thākhām, but not at Wat Sāēn Thōng. There were actually very few Karen, at least conspicuously present. However, among those who did come and who joined in bathing the relic was the headman and his wife from B. Phae. The CKA says that they came every year.

Nature of Relics in Mae Sariang

The CKA lent me a book concerning relics (ตำราพระธาตุ) [*Tamrā phra Thāt*], พระนคร: ร.พ. การศาสนา, 2445 [Bangkok: Kānsatsanā Press, 1952]). He said that the name of the relic in Wat Kittiwong is *phra borom sārīrikhāt* (พระบรมสารีริกธาตุ)⁴ In the book lent by the CKA (op cit, pp. 4-5) it says that this relic "sometimes has the characteristics of a broken bean (or pea), sometimes of broken husk rice, and sometimes of cabbage seeds. Its complexion is [either] the color of pure gold, of quartz, of pearls, or of flowers. Those of pure gold color are sometimes with perforations."

Wat Thā Khām Relic

The relic at Wat Thā Khām is called Thāt Phra Chōtityathēra (ธาตุพระโชติยะเถระ).⁵ According to the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) this relic was found in a cave near Sophān. It was kept in a private home, but one day it began to glow and the owner then took it and gave it to the wat. According to the book (p. 13), it has the character of a nutmeg fruit.

Local History, Thā Khām, etc.

While we were waiting for the ceremony to begin at Wat Thā Khām the CKA helped me interview some people (old men) in reference to local history.

First we talked to a 60 year old man. He said that people in Thā Khām originally came from Chiang Mai. The people first lived in Mae Sariang and then moved out to settle here. There were 3-4 households here when people arrived – they were also Khonmüang.

This wat was built a long time ago – before the birth of the informant.

The CKA says, however, that the relic has only been in the wat 28 years (see above for story of finding of *thāt*.)

⁴ *Borom* (บรม) according to McFarland (p. 468) means 'highest, ... most excellent' and *borom(ma)thāt* means 'most precious relic'; *sārīrik* means 'corporal; bodily; physical' and *sārīrikhāt* (สารีริกธาตุ) means 'relics of the Buddha' (McFarland, p. 859).

⁵ According to McFarland (p. 303) *chōt* (โชติ) means 'light, brightness'; I can't find a definition of the other part.

We then interviewed an old man, Lung Lā Tākham (ลุงหล้า ตาคำ), who claims to be 78 years old. He was born in Mae Sariang and moved here when he was 16 years old. His mother moved here but his father died in Mae Sariang. There were then five households here. His parents and grandparents were both born in Mae Sariang. In his early youth, the Mae Sariang polios station was located where the house of the police chief now is. His parents cut (made) paddies near Māē Hān, but they didn't buy land from Karens who were already established there.

He is a descendant of Thāo Chaiyawong (ท้าวไชยวงศ์), the last assistant *Čao müang* of Müang Yuam. Chaiyawong (whose original name was Čai Kham –ใจคำ) was still in power (or ended his power) when the informant was 20 years old. [This would be 1920 – the date when the changeover came in government.] He doesn't know the names of the rulers of Müang Yuam prior to the last one, but he did give information on the rule of this last *Čao müang*:

- 1) The ruler or *Čao müang* (called locally, *pômüang* – พ่อเมือง) was Phayā Salī (พระยาสาลี). He was a Khonmüang, native of Müang Yuam.
- 2) His assistant (called *phūchuai* – ผู้ช่วย) was Thāo Chaiyawong (ท้าวไชยวงศ์) who was also a Khonmüang from Müang Yuam. He was not a relative of Phayā Salī.
- 3) Thāo Sām Āng (ท้าวสามอง) or Thāo Pia (ท้าวเปี้ย) whom the Karens in B. Pā Māk had said collected their rice tax was a son of Phayā Salī. He, of course, was a Müang Yuam Khonmüang.

The tribute from B. Thā Khām to the Prince of Chiang Mai was for most Khonmüang villages in Mae Sariang, orchids known as *üang sālē* (เอื้องแซะ). These were collected by the people in the forests and on the hills. Each year, the *pômüang* of Müang Yuam would appoint some villager(s) to take this tribute to Chiang Mai. Villagers have also paid a rice 'tax' to the *pômüang* of Müang Yuam. People were supposed to pay according to their rice holdings, but the informant said that Phayā Salī had no records of paddy land holdings. The official who made the assessments and collected the rice was known as *Sāēn Phithak* (แสนพิทักษ์). The rice was stored in a granary around by Phayā Salī. People could come and take rice from this granary. The

measure of *tāng* (ต้าง) was also mentioned. Hill villagers have said it was worth 2½ times the *tāng* of today.

The informant said that B. Sophān is older than B. Thā Khām. There is an old man in Sophān by the name of Lung Pāēn (ลุงแป้ง) who has taken on the white robes who is said to be 120 years old.

This informant has the surname *Tākham* (ตาคำ) because that was his father's given name and he adopted it when surnames were introduced.

This building was built in B.E. 2493 (1950).

Mae Sariang

June 14, 1968

Pôi Khāo Sang

Today we received an invitation to another *pôi khao sang* ceremony. This was a printed invitation (mimeographed) and reads as follows.

Translation of Schedule for *Pôi Khāo Sang* Ceremony

Schedule of Events in the Dedication of Merit

For Māē Ū Lā Buttham (แม่อุ้ หล้า บุตรธรรม)

at House No. 243, Wai Süksā Road, A. Mae Sariang

16 June 2511

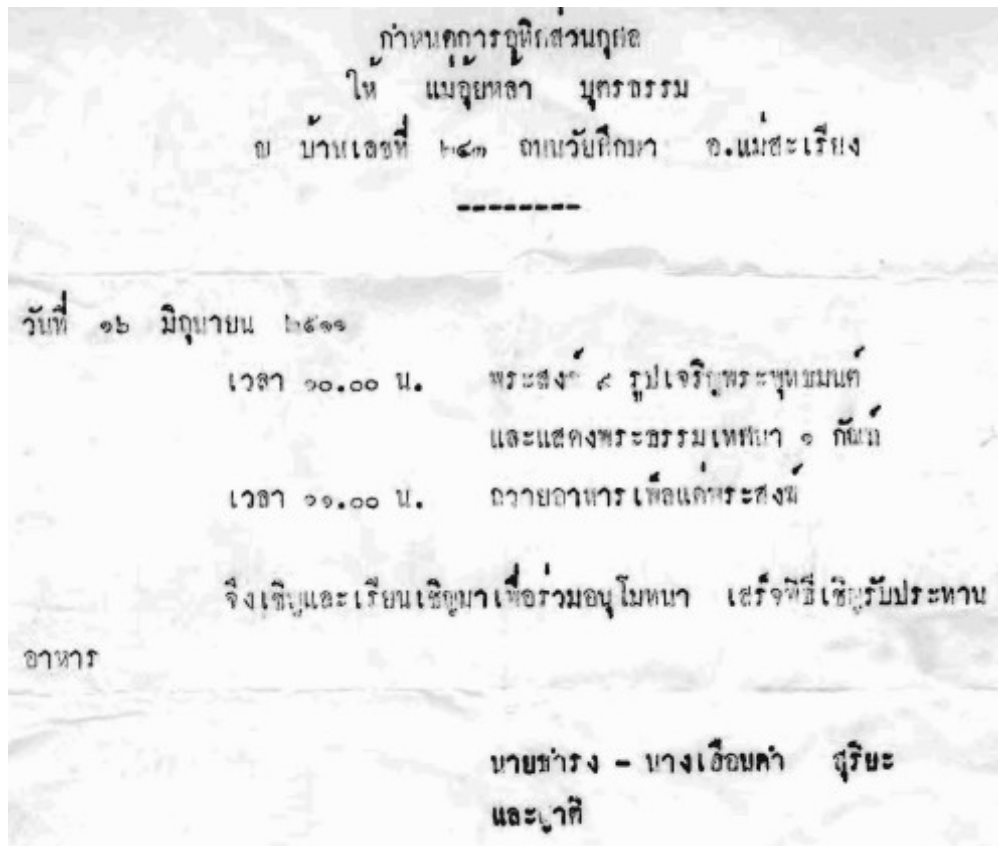
- | | |
|------------|---|
| 10:00 A.M. | Nine monks will chant <i>Phra phutthamon</i> and then there will be one sermon. |
| 11:00 A.M. | Presentation of noonday meal to monks. |

Thus, we would like to invite you to join in the rejoicing and to eat once the ceremony is finished.

[Signed]

Nāi Thamrong-Nāng Huankham Suriya and relatives

Document: Schedule for *Pôi Khāo Sang* Ceremony



Mae Sariang

June 15, 1968

Local History

Today I talked with Mr. Insuan about local history.

A most important figure is obviously Thāo Chaiyawong (ท้าว ไชยวงศ์) whom Insuan thinks was born in B. Sophān. He apparently built Wat Sophān (*nūa*) – the Wat in Sophān village, and then Wat Sophān (*nai*) – the wat which is now Wat Kittiwong. He also apparently invited Khrūbā Kitti to come from Chiang Mai to Wat Kittiwong (which changed its name to honor him).

The Red Karen (ยางแดง) invasion is an important point in local history. Insuan thinks that the *hān* in Māē Hān has something to do with this invasion. When the Red Karen came, people (Khonmüang) fled from Mae Sariang and neighboring villages and went to Chiang Mai and

Lamphun. They took their monks with them and apparently built wats in one or both of these cities. They returned to this area when the Red Karens had been driven off.

In 2472 (1929) the Prince of Nakhōn Sawan, after whom the Boriphāt Sūksā school is named, visited Mae Sariang.

The CKA says that B.S. 121 (1903) was when there was a major revision of Sangha organization and the national hierarchy came into existence. Prior to that time, each local group of monks had its own organization attached to some Khrūbā. The original title of the Čao Khana Amphoe was Čao Khana Khwāēn (เจ้าคณะแขวง). The CKA before the one who lived at Wat Sībunrūang lived in Wat Kittiwong.

Mae Sariang

June 16, 1968

In Search of some Ancient Manuscripts

Today I am supposed to leave with a party including the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) to go to a cave near Māē Ngae or Māē Tae to look for some ancient manuscripts that are supposed to be there. We will be travelling, in part, by elephant, provided by Karens from Māē Tōp and Māē Hān and the Khonmūang *Kamnan* of T. Māē Khong. This morning I received word that the Karens who will be riding the elephants haven't yet come, so it is not certain that we will leave today.

Pōi Khāo Sang

At 10:00 this morning Jane and I went to the house of Mr. Thamrong Suriya to attend a *pōi khāo sang* ceremony. We were unable to see the ceremony because we were placed with the guests in a make-shift pavilion across the street from the house while the ceremony was held upstairs in the house. The guests included some very high status people including the District Officer.

We could hear the monks chanting and the *ācān* chanting. We also knew that the monks were given their mid-day meal. Shortly thereafter, the monks gave the blessing and then, with the exception of the CKA, departed. The CKA came downstairs and entered the 'small house' where he delivered a traditional Northern Thai sermon. While he was doing this, all but the immediate family were served food.

The 'small house' contained a wider selection of things than we had seen in other such ceremonies – such things as books, a large variety of medicines (the sponsor owns a shop which sells a variety of medicines), etc. The CKA later kidded about the fact the house was built like a 'bungalow'.

Trip to the Salween

Despite our earlier fears today (see above) I did begin the trip with the CKA to the Salween in search of some ancient manuscripts. Our party, as we started out from Mae Sariang included the CKA, Tū na Mae Hong Son, a sort of lackey for the CKA, the CKA's father (a man of over 60), Police Sgt. Sīnguan, a man by the name of Sanguang who is garden farmer and a representative of the *Yonok* newspaper whom the CKA invited to come along because he is a fairly good cook. We were driven from Mae Sariang to B. Māē Tōp Nūa in the Tribal Welfare Center jeep which the CKA had commandeered (it had come down yesterday to bring the remaining Thammacārik monks, to Mae Sariang). The car also carried Khrū Kēsōn, the teacher at B. Māē Tōp Nūa school.

In B. Māē Tōp we stopped to pick up one of the Karen novices who had been ordained at B. Pā Māk on June 6, 1968 and another Karen boy, an ex-novice, also from B. Pā Māk. The first whose Thai name is Adun Wannaphōng and Karen name is Tadū, is the eldest of the novices. He plans to leave the novice-hood as soon as we return from the trip. The other boy whose Thai name is Chum Wardī and Karen name is Sēmō, had spent a lenten period in Wat Kittiwong after being ordained in Wat Phra Sing: Chiang Mai. He considers himself a *lūksit* of the CKA.

When we arrived at B. Māē Tōp Nūa (whose Karen name is something like Māē Tāklō [or Māē Tōklō]), we discovered that the elephants which were supposed to meet us had not arrived. For a while, it seemed as though we wouldn't be going, but the CKA persuaded some villagers to provide us with two elephants who would take us to B. Māē Ngae where we hoped to find more elephants. The elephants from B. Māē Tōp Nūa had to leave us so shortly in order to go to work for the Phanasit Company.

Mae Sariang

June 17, 1968

Bān Khun Māē Tōp or Bān Tae Prakhī

Today we travelled from B. Māē Tōp Nūa to B. Khun Māē Tōp (บ้านขุนแม่ต๋อบ) another

S'kaw village which in Karen is called B. Tae Prakhī (บ้านตะประที้). Administratively, the village, along with the Karen villages of Māē Tōp Nūa and Māē Tōp Klāng is part of B. Māē Tōp.

Yesterday we had travelled about 10-12 miles or 16-19 kilometres by car from Mae Sariang to Māē Tōp Nūa. Today, we travelled about 7-8 miles or 11-13 kilometers, leaving about 9:30 in the morning and arriving about 3:30 in the afternoon (the elephants came about half an hour later). Yesterday we moved in an ENE direction and today, after lunch, we moved NE. The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) travelled by elephant today while the rest of us walked. Our party has been augmented by the two Karen elephant riders from B. Māē Tōp.

Both the walkers and the elephants followed the Phanasit lumber road until about 11:30. Then we stopped at some houses, administratively a part of B. Māē Tōp Nūa, where we ate our lunch. Here the party split into two groups. The elephants, followed by Tū and Sēmô, followed the stream while the rest of the walkers took the much longer but easier route provided by the lumber road.

We are staying in the house of the headman of B. Khun Māē Tōp – one Chidi (ชิดิ).

Administratively, this man is really a *phū chuai phūyaibān* (ผู้ช่วยผู้ใหญ่บ้าน). The CKA and I asked this man (who speaks quite good Northern Thai) about his village. There are some twenty-five households (or families) in the village. All are animists or Buddhists and none are Christian. The village was established about nine years ago. Before that, there was an abandoned village. There is no school in the village, and none of the villagers had been to school. Reportedly, the BPP has been thinking of establishing a school here.

We were told that there was a man in the village who had come from a neighboring village to perform a ceremony similar to *song khô* which is called in S'kaw, *sōētā* [or *sāētā*] (เซอตำ). This man, whose name is something like Kāēnu, is the headman of the nearby village of Māēlāē [same as the village of B. Yāng Khun- บ้านยางขุน - as marked on the map ?]. He performed the ceremony, for a cost of Baht 60, in a household which has been plagued by ill fortune. No outsider was allowed to enter this house whose doorway was marked with a *talāēo*. Occasionally, a northern Thai from B. Māē Tōp – one Nān Kham – comes here to perform a

song khô ceremony. He last came two years ago. We were told that if someone entered a household which was closed during this ceremony, they would have to pay a fine of 25 satang. *Talāēo* is said to be the same word in S’kaw.

I asked about ‘medicine tattooing’ and several informants including the headman said that a Karen from Māē Lā Nôi has come here to perform this work, called *chekkhasī*. He tattoos neither pictures nor words, but dots. It is said that once he does this tattooing, it is not necessary to feed the household spirits anymore. However, the headman said that many people do, in fact, continue to feed the household spirits and gave an example of a man who had to feed his wife's household spirits.

From the appearance of the villagers, I would say that this is a very poor village. No paddy is grown here and there is only one elephant (?). Many cannot speak Northern Thai – men as well as women. During the evening there has been a steady stream of people coming to request medicine from the CKA – often for quite serious ailments.

Noted headman's house had Christian literature in Thai hung up in conspicuous spot. But is neither Christian nor literate.

Mae Sariang

June 18, 1968

Bān Māē Ngae

Today we travelled to the S’kaw Karen village of Bān Māē Ngae (บ้านแม่เงาะ) which is almost due west of B. Khun Māē Tōp, although our route wasn't direct. First, we climbed the rest of the mountain upon which Khun Māē Tōp is located. Then we followed the Phanasit Road until about 11:15 or thereabouts. After lunch, we descended the mountain, which travelling on elephant took over two hours, and then followed the Māē Tae Nôi (บ้านเตี้ยน้อย) river to its confluence with the Māē Ngae River. We crossed this river and climbed over a small ridge and came down into this village which is on the banks of the Māē Ngae.

Today’s trip has been very tortuous and difficult. I rode a small male elephant of six years age which was owned and controlled by Chidi, the headman of B. Khun Māē Tōp. Travelling up and down mountains by elephant was very slow and painful and the [illegible word: *مصالحه*] are not built for passengers. Chidi had to dismount and lead the elephant I was on because together we were too heavy for a small elephant going up and down mountains.

Compounding our difficulties was a heavy rainstorm which began in late afternoon (it had been raining all day, on and off, thus making the trail very slippery, but the storm was even worse). The Māē Tae Nôi River became a raging flood which couldn't be forded by the walkers. Thus, for the last couple of hours, the elephants had crossed every ford several times, bringing each of the party in turn.

Just as we were nearing the village, the elephant without a passenger (we had three elephants – a female from B. Māē Tôp Nüa carrying baggage and the CKA, another female from the same village carrying only baggage, and the small male from B. Khun Māē Tôp carrying me and some baggage), suddenly broke and ran down the mountain towards the river, carrying baggage and mahout with him. Both the CKA and I immediately got down from our elephants for fear that they would follow the elephant-gone-wild. Fortunately, they didn't. We walked on into the village, while Chidi went in search of the wild elephant and its mahout. About three hours later, the two men arrived on the elephant which had a very bloody head. Our gear, although somewhat wet, was all intact.

It took us eleven hours to travel 23-24 kilometers (about 14-15 miles). [We noticed that at the confluence of the Māē Ngae and Māē Lā Nôi River there was a marker, put up by Phanasit, indicating that this point was 50 kilometers along the lumber road from Mae Sariang.]

On the route, while still following the Phanasit Road along the ridge of the mountains, Chidi had pointed out an area near the headwaters of the Māē Hân where he said Lua used to live and indicated a dirt 'ridge' which he said had been built by them.

We are staying in Māē Ngae at the house of the headman, one Phō Sô (ໂພສ໌) whose name the maps have given to the village (บ้านໂພສ໌). The headman is currently away in Burma trading goods (he has been gone about a month). Phō Sô is a major contractor for Phanasit and has a large number of elephants. He is originally from B. Phae and was a monk in Māē Hân for more than one Lent. He married into this village.

Bān Māē Ngae (Continued)

We spent the day in B. Māē Ngae recuperating and attempting to find elephants and guides to take us to the Salween since the elephants from B. Māē Tôp Nūa and B. Khun Māē Tôp returned home this morning. One of the elephants – a huge bull belonging to Phō Sô – which was supposed to have been sent to meet us in Māē Tôp Nūa had proved so unmanageable, that it had thrown its rider, a younger brother of the headman, several times. This morning it again threw this same man, right before our eyes in the middle of the village. Late this evening, the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) finally got three elephants promised (a large male, a small male, and a medium-sized female).

I spent part of the day, with the CKA's help, trying to find out some things about this S'kaw Karen village.

One middle-aged informant (male) said that Māē Ngae has seventeen households, of which five have paddy fields. Only 2-3 households have elephants and these are the only ones who work for the Phanasit Company. This man said that his parents moved here from B. Phae, but there were already some households here (it turned out after interviewing another man, that this informant had in mind the predecessor village of B. Māē Ngae from which people came to settle here). This man has four children, including three daughters.

We then talked to an old man who didn't know his age, but said his eldest child is thirty. Although, he himself is from Burma, he gave the history of his wife's family to help us in tracing the history of the village. He said his wife's grandfather lived in a village called Māē Sae (whose location I cannot find, but which seems to be on this side of the border). They moved (or their children moved) to a site near the confluence of the Māē Lā Nôi and the Māē Ngae. The site of this village was transferred to the present location about eighteen years ago. He can't remember when he moved to the predecessor village on the Māē Lā Nôi, but it must have been about 35 years ago since he says he lived in the village for five years before marrying.

He came across from Burma to work in lumbering for a Burmese (now dead), by the name of Teng Phē (တင်ဖေ) who lived in Mae Sariang. He can't speak Burmese. He came from a village with a name something like Phôkhôdā in Burma. His name is Klāchā.

He says that there are a number of people in the village who were born in Burma.

He and another younger informant told us that about seven years ago there was a BPP school here. It had been here for three years, but was closed because no teachers were sent.

There are no Christians in this village. In fact, every household we went into (maybe every household) has a Buddhist altar. This Buddhist accretion has been stimulated partially by the headman who was once a monk and partially by a monk who once lived in the village at the invitation of the villagers. This monk was half-Burmese (father) and half- Khonmüang (mother). The villages have requested, from the CKA, to build a chēdī next year. At the moment there is only a Chēdī Sāi,

I learned that there was a man in the village from the village of Māē Čē (บ้านแม่เจ). This village of only six households is Shan. It is practically due north of this village, near the confluence of the Māē Čē and Māē Ngae Rivers. It is in Tambon Māē Khong and is, I believe, under the headmanship of Phō Sô. Several people from this village have been lüksit of the CKA. This village is due West of Māē Lā Nôi so doesn't represent a more southern extension of Shans than I had thought. There is no wat in the village. I estimate that the village is about 7-8 kilometers north of B. Māē Ngae. Considerably further north (about 30 kilometers from Māē Ngae), but also on the Māē Ngae' River is another Shan village known in Shan as Salā Čōēng Tōng (ศาล่าเจียงทอง) and on the map as Salā Čiang Thōng (ศาล่าเจียงทอง). It has about fifteen households but no wat. From this information, it would appear that the Māē Ngae is the most important river west of the Yuam and east of the Salween in the area north of Mae Sariang. B. Salā Čōēng (Čiang) Tōng is also in T. Māē Khong.

North of the village and nearby on the Thai-Burmese border is the village of B. Sao Hin (บ. เสาหิน) which itself is populated by provincial police and their families since it is a police post. However, some of the villages under it are Karen.

B. Māē Ngae is the seat of a *mūbān* headman, but *I* haven't found out what villages are included in this *mūbān*.

This evening *I* had a long talk with Sīnguan, the policeman travelling with us, and Sanguan, the man the CKA invited along. Sīnguan was born in Mae Sariang and was first in the BPP there. He later moved to Māē Sôt where he joined the provincial police. A few months ago he returned to Mae Sariang where he is still in the provincial police.

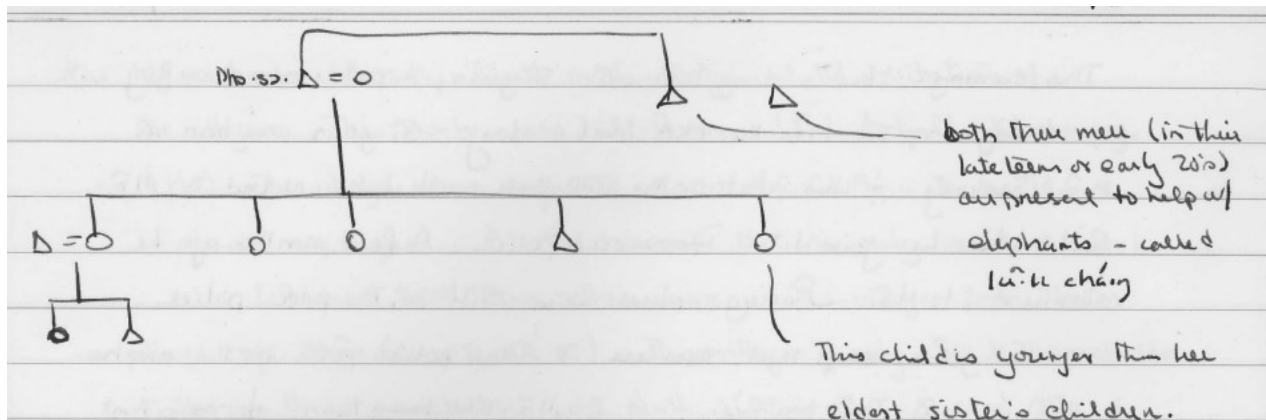
Sīnguan says that there are three provincial police posts in the Amphoe – Bān Sao Hin, Bān Thātrafan, and Bān Māē Khatuan. He says that Thātrafang was built as a police post by the Dane who governed Mae Sariang for a short time. Māē Khatuan was opened as a post just last year. He says that the BPP has no permanent post outside of their headquarters in Mae Sariang.

The CKA says that there is also a cave near B. Thātrafang which has old things and there is a village opposite on the banks of the Salween which was built by Khonmüang..

Sanguan is originally from Chiang Mai. His father had a school which was destroyed by bombs during the war. He never finished his agricultural course at Māē Čō and has spent most of his adult life as a garden farmer in Mae Sariang. He seems rather disgruntled with his lot.

Sēmô, the young Karen from B. Pā Māk expressed his disapproval of Sīnguan, Sanguan, and the CKA's father for drinking so much. Indeed, this evening they were all quite drunk.

The composition of the household of *Phō Sô* is as follows:



both these men (in their late teens or early 20's) are present to help with elephants – called *lūkchāng*

This child is younger than her eldest sister's children.

Illustration of the kinship composition of the household of *Phō Sô*

Phō Sô's one son will go this year to live with the Kamnan at B. Thung Lāēng in order to go to school.

I asked Sēmô the words for some ethnic groups in S'kaw. Although my transliteration is unquestionably incorrect (no tones are indicated), the following list may be useful:

Yu.	=	Khonmyag
ñio	=	Shan
cho-te.	=	Thai
b'yo.	=	Burmese
ko-la.	=	European
'ka-wa.	=	Lawa

Yū Khonmüang

ñio Shan

chôtē Thai

b'yô Burmese

kōlā European

'kāvā Lawa

Mae Sariang

June 20, 1968

Near the Salween

Today we followed the Māē Ngae River for about 8-10 kilometers until we reached a point some 1-1½ kilometers from the Salween where we made a forest camp. We left at about 9:30-10:00 in the morning and reached our destination at about 3:00 in the afternoon. Again the trail was difficult because of the rains. Our camp was made at a place where the elephants could be let loose to forage. A lean-to was made of bamboo, leaves, and raincoats (it hasn't proved to be too rainproof). Tomorrow we will go in search of the caves where the manuscripts are supposed to be.

Mae Sariang

June 21, 1968

Māē Ngae Cave

Today, our entire party save one of the mahouts walked to the Salween. There we waited while the Karens traced down one Cō Mui (၁၀ မှု), an elder brother of Phō Sō, who knew the way to the cave where the manuscripts were supposedly located. The cave was located on a mountain about 2-3 kilometers from the confluence of the Māē Ngae and Salween Rivers (and

about 3 kilometers from our base camp). Our guide is an opium addict, but he and the other Karens had relatively little difficulty in reaching the cave, but the rest of us were completely exhausted. We arrived at the cave about 11:30.

The find was beyond any of our expectations - six large teak boxes, decorated and with tight fitting lids, each filled with *bailān*. Unfortunately, disasters had hit the collection; the first was some sort of termite-like insect which had eaten into many of the manuscripts; the second had been created by men. According to Cō Mui, some men from the Phanasit Company had come to the cave two years ago and had taken several Buddha images away (including some bronze ones). Apparently, they had rifled the boxes, looking for more images. As a consequence, many of the *phūk* had been broken up and the remainder left as separate pages. Nonetheless, there still appears to be a large number of complete manuscripts. The CKA asked Cō Mui why Karens had never taken anything from the cave – he answered that they were afraid of the spirits.

After lunch, the CKA led the group to *wai* the *tham*, saying that it had been a long time since this doctrine had 'eaten incense' (*kin thūp*). We also explored the cave, but could not penetrate very deeply since the way was blocked by a deep chasm. There was a growing stalagmite/stalactite in the interior, but nothing man-made (at least so far as we could see). The boxes were in front of the cave, and although protected from rain, probably benefited by wind which helped keep them dry.

Along with the boxes was a decorated wooden structure in which a Buddha image had once been kept. There was also a badly eaten small stand for an image and a headless stone image. Inside the boxes, we found mainly manuscripts, but there were also pieces of white cloth which had been used to wrap the manuscripts. One box contained two bamboo pieces with a list of the contents of the box written on it.

The manuscripts we looked at were all ones 200 years old. We couldn't find any clue in the cave as to why the manuscripts (and other things) had been placed there. Cō Mui said that on the brow of another mountain, closer to the confluence of the two rivers, there is the remnants of an old *chēdī*, and another cave with more manuscripts and Buddha images (later the CKA commissioned Cō Mui to bring these manuscripts to us in Mae Sariang, offering him money to buy opium).

We couldn't carry all the manuscripts or the boxes down the hill with the labor force we had. Thus, we decided to bring out only those manuscripts which still looked as being complete.

We carried nine large plastic sacks down the mountain with us. The CKA left a written message claiming the remaining things. He plans to have the remainder of the manuscripts and the boxes brought out by car next dry season when the Phanasi Road goes through.

We returned to our camp, very exhausted, but very pleased.

Today, we met two Karens, from the Thai side, who had just crossed the Salween by means of a small bamboo raft. The raft was still moored on the Salween. We also met yesterday several Burmese Karens who had crossed over to work in the lumbering trade.

Mae Sariang

June 22, 1968

Bān Māē Kôn Tai

This morning we left our forest camp, and followed the Māē Ngae' to its confluence with the Māē Kôn, and thence along the stream until we reached the S'kaw Karen village of B. Māē Kôn Tai (บ้านแม่ก้อนใต้). The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) rode while the rest of us walked. The walk was boring and difficult. We travelled about 19-21 kilometers, taking eight hours to do it. This route is shorter than the one we came by.

This village was just built this year, and was moved from its former site at the headwaters of the Māē Kôn. The village is entirely upland rice cultivating. It has twelve households and the name of the headman is Phô Thô Thithā (พ่อท้อทิตา). We stayed at the headman's house where I noticed there was a Buddhist altar with a picture of the Khrübā Khāo pasted over it. Very few villagers speak Northern Thai. This village is noteworthy because of the use of bamboo for roofs of houses.

On the trail today, we met a convoy of fourteen elephants, heavily loaded. The Karen novice said that their drivers, all Thai Karen, were taking various things to the border to be sold in Burma while the elephants themselves would go to work for Phanasi.

Mae Sariang

June 23, 1968

Return to Mae Sariang

Today we got a late start because the elephants had wandered far. We finally left the village at about 8:30. We followed the Māē Kôn until it branched and then followed its southern branch. Before we reached the source, we began climbing a mountain. We ate lunch while

climbing the mountain. I then went ahead of the rest of the party, and travelled with the Karen novice and Sēmō. We crossed the mountain, then descended to the Māē Hān side, and followed the Māē Hān to B. Pā Māk. We reached there about 3:30. Although the rest of the group planned to stay in B. Pā Māk for the night, I went ahead to Mae Sariang, Sēmō travelling with me as far as Thā Khām. I reached home about 5:30 after having travelled some 25-26 kilometers in nine hours.

On the trail today, about an hour outside of B. Māē Kôn Tai, we met two elephants with Karen drivers on their way to B. Māē Ngae to work for Phanasit. The supplies they were carrying were not destined for Burma but would be used by the workers during the course of lumbering.

Mae Sariang

June 24, 1968

End of Trip

Today I took the car out to Thā Khām to meet the rest of the party. They arrived after 11:00 due to the fact the elephants had wandered very far and weren't ready to go until 9:30. The Čao Khana Amphoe thus returned to the wat by the same mode of transport as he left it – i.e., by car.

Mae Sariang

June 25, 1968

A Karen Teacher

Bun Eng, the adopted son of Benny and Lahsay, had done so well on the teacher's examination that he was given first choice of positions in the districts. Since there were no Karen schools available, he opted for the Thôn Sawat school - a more lucrative position in that it is a town school and because he could specialize in English teaching. Today, we learned from Lahsay that orders had been signed, transferring Bun Eng to Māē Hān. He didn't like this because he would prefer the better position and also because he suspects that influence had been brought to bear on the District Officer. He will be seeing the District Officer tomorrow and feels that if he doesn't get satisfaction, he may quit and go to work teaching in a Karen Christian school.

Mae Sariang

June 28, 1968

Work on the Māē Ngae Cave Manuscripts

Several monks and laymen have been working at Wat Kittiwong on classifying the Māē Ngae cave manuscripts. Most of the manuscripts are identifiable by subject, author, temple in which they were written, and date (Culasakkarāt⁶) written. Thus far, the oldest manuscript was written in CS 1000 – i.e. A.D. 1638) and none are less than 200 years old. None of the wats mentioned now exist, but the names, similar in some cases to existing rivers, suggests that Northern Thai communities once existed where there is now no one or Karens. This is interesting since we didn't see anything like old paddy fields on our trip or even any areas, which could have been or could be cultivated in paddy.

Mae Sariang

June 29, 1968

Visit to Wat of Khrübā Inthā Sanpatông

Today I drove to Chiang Mai, taking with me the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) (who has a meeting tomorrow in Lamphun) and Khrū Bun Yün. On the way we stopped at the wat of a famous Khrübā – Khrübā Inthā. He has built the largest Buddha image (using cement) in North Thailand. (I was not impressed aesthetically).

Unfortunately, the Khrübā was away. He is the only monk in this wat, but there are several novices.

Khrübā Inthā has a very large reputation, despite the fact that he is only 29 or 30. People from Pā Māk told me that they and other Karens in the Mae Sariang area have been to *wai* him. Ratana, the Kunstadter's servant in Chiang Mai, told me of many miraculous things ascribed to the Khrübā (at least one story was also told me by the CKA with no miraculous overtones). The mother of Thanat Khoman has presented a car to the Khrübā and the king himself provided the name for the Buddha image (however, the royal family have not been to worship at the temple).

⁶ The Culasakarāt or Culasakaraj (C.S.) / จุลศักราช (จ.ศ.), the 'Lesser Era' began on a date equivalent to March 21 March 638 CE (McFarland 1956: 255). If a date occurs before the 21st of March, 639 should be added to the date. [This era] "was founded by King Senakha Racha of Burma, who had been a learned priest before his accession. He proclaimed the use of C.S. in B.E. 1182 when he became king. *Culasakarāt* was introduced into Thailand in the reign of King Maha Tamm Racha (B.E. 2112-2127)." (Wimonti 1961: 12)

Khrübā Inthā is a native of the area and spent his novicehood in a nearby wat. He was ordained into the monkhood at Wat Dōi Suthēp.

He combines some of the same qualities of Khrübā Sī Wichai and the Khrübā Khāo – namely, ability to attract money for the construction of major monuments, buildings, etc. and, reported to help others. On sale at the wat were *yantras* incorporating his picture, amulets, photos of himself and of the image, and a book of Northern Thai lore.

I sensed that the CKA was a little skeptical of the whole thing, but he didn't say anything outright.

The Khrübā Khāo and Similar People

I mentioned to the CKA that some villagers from B. Pa Māk had been to worship the Khrübā Khāo, Khrübā Inthā, and recently a young Karen in A. Thā Sōng Yāng, C. Tak who is called the *phā khāo nōi* (ฟ้าขาวน้อย). With regard to the latter, the CKA said he had heard the same story from people in B. Pā Māk and he gave me some more information. Apparently, this Karen boy was first ordained as a regular novice. Thus, he left the novicehood and was *buat phā khāo*, although the CKA does not know what this means. People now come to *wai* him. Although he is only ten, he is reportedly literate in many languages. However, the CKA examined a paper written by the *phā khāo nōi* (probably modeled in *yantras*) on which were written several symbols from different languages, none of which had any meaning.

In B. Pā Māk, the villagers hold the sixth and thirteenth days as *wanphra*. The CKA believes that the origin of this aberration stems from the Khrübā Khāo. The CKA says that when people go to *wai* the Khrübā Khāo, they ask him what day it is and he inevitably answers *wanphra* no matter what day it really is.