

**Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand**

**Written between July 1 and July 31, 1968.**

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

**Mae Sariang**

**July 2, 1968**

**Talk with Čao Khana Amphoe**

Today I returned from Chiang Mai, bringing the CKA with me. On the way we discussed several topics.

Yesterday, there was an ordination ceremony in Chiang Mai for some hill tribes people (Lahu, Meo, Karen, and Hô), at least some of whom came from Dôi Chiang Dão. Before the ordination, there was a procession around town.

I mentioned to the CKA that I had been reading a book about Burmese religion (Spiro's *Burmese Supernaturalism*) and wondered if some of the same phenomena existed in Thailand. In particular, I asked about 'witchcraft'. He said that there are people who are skilled in making potions which can be injurious to others. They are called, locally, *mô yā fāēt* (หมอยาแฝด) [I can't find a meaning for แฝด in any Northern Thai dictionary]. There are also people who can manipulate spirits for their own ends. One of the most powerful spirits to be manipulated is the *Phī kayak* (ผีกะยักษ์) [ผีกะ (*phī ka*) is defined in Nai Mēt's dictionary as "a spirit believed to dwell in the body and eats bowels" and is equivalent to the Thai ผีปอบ (*phī pōp*); ยักษ์ (*yak*) is the word for 'giant'.] which is supposed to live at Wat Sāēn Thōng. There are practitioners in Mae Sariang who can use supernatural power to injure other people, particularly unfaithful lovers (thus, witchcraft) and there are others who can manipulate supernatural power for good ends - such as helping a person without a lover.

As we passed the Sahawit Company camp, about 17 kilometers from town, the CKA pointed out to me a garden area which he said was being cultivated by two families of immigrant

Meo. They produce food to sell to the Sahawit personnel. One of the families has sent their son to the Sahawit school in Māē Lā Nôi.

### Thôt Phā Pā at Wat Sitthimongkhon

Today the tobacco section of the Phanasit Company (Čit's section) sponsored a *Thôt phā pā* at Wat Sitthimongkhon. In the afternoon there was a procession about town, the highlight of it being a group of *fônlep* dancers from Chiang Mai (six girls). After the procession there was feasting and drinking at the Phanasit Company. Then the ceremony was held beginning about 8:45-9:00.

After the people had settled themselves in the *wihān*, the abbot (the only clergy present) entered and took his place in a centrally-placed preaching chair. First, a layleader led the congregation in the *waiphra* and *khôsin*, followed by the abbot giving the precepts. Then the lay leader led the congregation in the formal presentation. After which the abbot got up and removed the robe hanging from a 'tree' (there were two 'tree' offerings) one had, besides the robe, fruits of money, soap, matches, etc. tied in pretty paper while the other was a 'money' tree). Then the abbot gave a short extemporaneous sermon on the meaning of the ceremony and then the *haiphon*. The ceremony was over in not much over half an hour.

### Mae Sariang

July 3, 1968

#### Candidates for Provincial Assembly

At the time of election for members of the provincial assembly, I had asked Saman to prepare for me a list of candidates, giving their names, their occupations, their residence, and their ethnic identity. He never completed this job, so I put La'ô on to the job which she finished while I was away. The numbers do not correspond to positions on the ballot.

#### 1. นายตัน บำรุงกิจ (Mr. Tan Bamrunakit)

- Owner of the Mae Sariang Ice Factory and a shop in town (Sahamit Bamrung Kit)
- Lives in Mae Sariang
- Chinese
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'
- Elected

2. นายอุดม มหาวนา (Mr. Udom Mahāwanā)

- Owner of the Nakhôm Mai Lumber Mill
- Lives in Chiang Mai
- Thai
- Elected

3. นายอินสวร ดวนผ่อง (Mr. Insuan Duan Phông)

- Assistant Manager of the Mae Sariang Branch of the Thai Samut (Insurance) Company. Formerly a clerk in the court.
- Lives in Mae Sariang
- Khonmüang
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'
- Elected

4. ส.ต.ท.สงัด บัวเย็น (Police Captain Sangat Buayen)

- Owner of Sangat Phānit Store and former Police Corporal
- Mae Sariang
- Khonmüang
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'
- Elected

5. นายจรัสศักดิ์ ศรีวิชัย (ครูคำ) (Mr. Čirasak Sīwichai) [Khrū Kham]

- Owner of Sīwichai Lumber Mill
- Mae Sariang
- Karen (actually half-Karen, half-Shan or Northern Thai – uncle is headman of Māē Hān)
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'

6. นายวิชา ณ เชียงใหม่ (Mr. Wichā na Chiang Mai)

- Owner of mine in Mae Sariang
- Chiang Mai
- Khonmüang

- Elected

7. นายทิพย์ บุญลือ (Mr. Thip Bunlū)

- Headman of B. Huai Wôk
- B. Huai Wôk
- Khonmüang
- Elected.

8. จำโทนิกร แสนสุข (Sgt. Nik Sāēnsuk)

- Mechanic and owner of Nik Borikān
- Mae Sariang
- Thai
- Is a native of C. Čanthaburī who has settled in Mae Sariang
- Elected

9. นายสะอาด คงแดง (Mr. Sa'āt Khongdāēng)

- Formerly a teacher at Māē Lā Nôi
- Māē Lā Nôi
- Khonmüang

10. นายมูล คำมาลา (Mr. Mūn Khammālā)

- Former village headman
- B. Khapuang
- Khonmüang

11. นายล้วน สุวรรณลพ (Mr. Luan Suwannalop)

- Retired amphoe official
- Mae Sariang
- Thai
- Moved here from outside the North a long time ago
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'

12. นายโพธิ์ ชื่นชูไพร (Mr. Phō Khūnchūphrai)

- Owner of Nāi Phô Lumber Mill
- B. Māē Tia
- Karen Christian
- Was more-or-less the 'Christian' candidate

13. นายสง ฐรศิริวัฒน์ (Mr. Song Thôn̄siriwat)

- Owner of new restaurant
- Mae Sariang
- Khonmüang
- Moved here from Lampang

14. นายสนั่น โต้วัฒนกุล (Mr. Sanan Tōwatnakun)

- Formerly a 'Doctor'
- Chiang Mai
- Thai

15. นายเรียงสร ทองสวัสดิ์ (Mr. Riangsôn Thôn̄gsawat)

- Owner of market and Phimthông Lumber Mill
- Mae Sariang
- Chinese/Khonmüang (parents Chinese)
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'
- From one of the economically most important families in Mae Sariang

16. นายคำป็น ถานันไชย (Mr. Khampan Thananchai)

- Assistant to *Kamnan* of T. Māē Yuam
- B. Nām Dip
- Khonmüang

17. นายหล้า มหาไชย (Mr. Lā Mahāchai)

- Also Assistant to Kaman of T. Māē Yuam
- B. Nām Dip
- Khonmüang

18. นายอนันท์ กันธภาพ (Mr. Ānôn Kanthāphā )

- ?
- Lamphun
- Khonmüang

19. นายสนอง สิริอางค์ (Mr. Sanông Siri'āng)

- Former Assistant District Officer
- Mae Sariang
- Khonmüang

20. นายใจ พวงแก้ว (Mr. Čai Phuang Kāēo)

- ? (farmer ?)
- B. Huai Wôk
- Khonmüang

21. นายอรุณ กันทะสีมา (Mr. Arun Kanthasīmā)

- ?
- Māē Lā Nôi
- Khonmüang

22. นายวิชัย มยุรศรี (Mr. Wichai Mayūnsī / Mayārasī)

- Supervisor of Mae Sariang Electrical Plant.
- Mae Sariang
- Shan / Môn

23 นายเปรม เอกจันทร์ (Mr. Prem Ēkčān)

- ?
- B. Phā Phā
- Khonmüang
- Former member of Provincial Assembly

24. นายถวิล สายคำ (Mr. Thawin Sāikham)

- ?
- Mae Sariang
- Môn
- Former member of Provincial Assembly
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'

25. นายทอง ณ เชียงใหม่ (Mr. Thông na Chiang Mai)

- Formerly a teacher
- Has settled in Chiang Mai
- Khonmüang

26. นายเหรียญ อุปวรรณ (Mr. Rian Uppawan)

- ?
- B. Kông Kôi
- Khonmüang

27. นายอินรต อุปวรรณ (Mr. Inrot Uppewan)

- ?
- B. Kông Kôi
- Khonmüang

28. นายสมบัติ ชูวัฒนกุล (Mr. Sombat Chūwatthakūn)

- Owner of hotel, mines, trucking firm, shops, etc.
- Mae Sariang
- Chinese
- Murdered before the election

**Mae Sariang**

**July 4, 1968**

Ordination of Monk and Novices at Wat Kittiwong

Today there was an ordination of two monks and three novices at Wat Kittiwong. I received an invitation to this ceremony (with a candle brought by Khun La'ò) yesterday through the suggestion of the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA). I was told to come at 7:00 A.M., but when I

arrived at the Wat at that hour, the ordination of the monks had already taken place and the ordination of the novices was nearly finished. The CKA later told me that although the ceremony began at 5:00 A.M., guests were invited for 7:00 A.M. so that they could join in the feasting.

After the end of the ordination of the novices in the *bōt*, the ordaining clergy retired to the *khuti*. The new clergy passed out of the *bōt* and received their first alms (money), from the faithful and relatives. Then they, as well as the guests, went into the *khuti*. There the following took place:

- 1) The monks and the new clergy were given their morning meal.
- 2) The CKA gave a series of announcements, mainly related to the 'Beginning of Lent' events.
- 3) *Rapsin* and *haiphon*
- 4) Presentation of *khriang thaiyathān*.
- 5) Feeding of guests.
- 6) Sermon (*Anisong Buat*) by one of the new monks.

I left at this point.

### **Mae Sariang**

**July 5, 1968**

#### **Preparation for the Ordination of Monks at Wat Kittiwong<sup>1</sup>**

This morning Khun Čit brought over an invitation from *Phô liang* Thông-ôn to attend the ordination of two young men tomorrow at Wat Kittiwong. One of the young men is being sponsored by Thông-ôn and it was his formal invitation we received. A translation and copy of the invitation follow.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles F. Keyes made tape recordings of the *hông khuan nāk* ceremony and part of the music celebration at the Phanosit Company preceding this ordination on July 5, 1968. The original tapes are titled, "Tape Number 27, Side 1 and 2." The tapes are now located at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.43 EC and 2001-2.44 EC. An index of the recording, a Thai transcript, and an English translation of the transcript are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

Translation of Invitation to Ordination at Wat Kittiwong

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Mr. Riangsak Waidī (เรียงศักดิ์ ไหวดี)

Has Requested Permission to Undertake the Higher Ordination at *Phatthasimā*  
[the name of the ordination hall]

Wat Kittiwong Tambon Mae Sariang Amphoe Mae Sariang

Āngwat Mae Hong Son

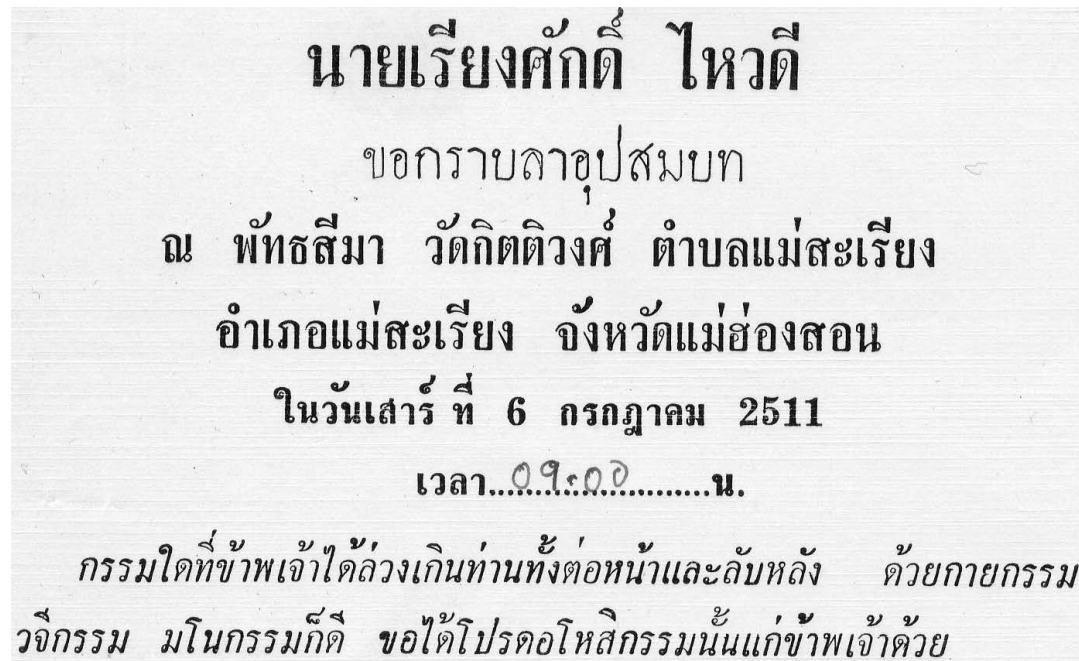
On the Sixth of July, 1968

at 9:00 A.M.

If any of my actions, whether of the body, of speech, or of the mind, have  
intentionally or unintentionally offended any of you, may I please be forgiven them.

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Document: Invitation to Ordination at Wat Kittiwong



The focus of the preliminary activities was on the second floor of the Phanasit Company. During the day, a number of people, mainly women, were busy making decorations.

In the evening the ceremony of 'calling the *khwan*' (*hōng khuan* – สองขวัญ) was held at the same place. When I arrived at about 7:00 P.M., the two aspirants were still dressed in lay

clothes, although their heads had been shaven. About 15 minutes later, they withdrew to a back room where they changed into the white robes of the *nāk* or novitiate.

The setting was something as follows. Along the wall facing the stairway was a long table on which the various gifts (wrapped in yellow cellophane) for the new monks and ordaining clergy had been placed. The most conspicuous of these gifts were the robes which were placed on a two-layered lacquered *phan* and covered with a flowered top. Other gifts included mats, pillows, blankets, the '8 requisites', etc. for the ordaining clergy. Mats had been laid in front of the table and on top of the mats; in the immediate area of the table, had been placed quasi oriental rugs. It was here that the novitiates would sit and the ceremony would take place. In front of the table in stage center was the *bāisī*, which contained the offerings and delicacies necessary to attract the *khwan* [McFarland, p. 481, defines *bāi* (ហាម) as a word of Cambodian origin meaning 'rice, boiled rice' and *bāisī* (ហាមឥរិ) as 'propitious or auspicious rice', i.e., rice offered to the mysterious psyche hoping to bring good fortune.] This *bāisī* included four of the flower-banana leaf 'pyramids', two with cotton thread attached to it. In the midst of the four was a silver *khan* in which had been placed two eggs, four bananas, candles, fried pork skin, rice, *miang*, cigarettes, a bottle of *nāmhōm*, etc. [see taped interview for more details about this *bāisī* and the ceremony in general]. The *bāisī*, and silver bowl were placed on a large *phan*. Near it was another *phan* containing popped rice, *khriang būchā* and an envelope with money in it. In the center of the room were several things placed for the convenience of guests and participants (these are standard in one form or another at almost every ceremony). Water jugs and cups, a tray with hand rolled cigarettes and *miang* and a betel tray (this one was a particularly lovely silver set on a lacquer stand), and spittoons.

The personal of the ceremony consisted of the two *nāk*, an *ācān*, and relatives and well-wishers who would join in tying the wrists (I nearly forgot, there was also a silver bowl in which guests placed money to 'join in the merit-making'). During the actual ceremony there were few people - mainly women (in fact only three men besides the *ācān*). After the ceremony was over, a large number of people came in and joined in the wrist tying.

The ceremony began with the two *nāk* seating themselves in front of the *bāisī*, facing the entrance, and the *ācān* seating himself on the opposite side of the *bāisī* facing the *nāk*.

First the *ācān* raised, in a *wai* position, the *phan* with popped rice and *khriang būchā*. Then he moved the *bāisī* nearer the *nāk* and strung pieces of the cotton thread from the *bāisī* to the novitiates right arms. The novitiates in turn extended their right arras and took hold of the *phan* on which the *bāisī* was placed. Later in the ceremony, the *nāk* ceased gripping the *phan* and held onto the cotton thread.

The *ācān* began to chant, taking a string during the chant and drawing it continuously over the *bāisī*, and then ending by blowing on the string and dropping it on the *bāisī*. He then chanted for a long time, stopping occasionally to blow on the *bāisī* and once to take a drink of water. This ended, he raised the *bāisī* in a *wai* position and moved it closer to the *nāk*.

Then begins the string-tying – *matmü* (มัจฉิมือ).

The *ācān* took some cotton thread and moved himself in front of the *nāk* on his right. The *nāk wai*-ed him, and then the *ācān* tied first his right wrists and then his left, chanting during the ceremony, and blowing on the wrist when finished. Both *ācān* and *nāk wai*-ed each other at the end. The same ceremony was repeated for the second *nāk*. When the *ācān* finished, other people beginning with close relatives came to *matmü*. also. Some repeated a formula while tying the wrists, some did not. Most tied both wrists. A few blew on the thread at the end.

Once the *ācān* and relatives had finished 'tying the wrists', there was a change in atmosphere from 'sacred' to 'informal' even though new people continued to tie the wrists all evening. The *nāk* relaxed and conversed casually with people, breaking off to have their wrists tied once again when someone came. Later, music, played on a *khim*, several *sō*, cymbals, and a drum was performed (not very well since many of the players were quite drunk). Liquor was passed around among the guests (but not to the *nāk*).

The *nāk* will spend the night here.

### Buddhist Lent

Tuesday (the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing of the moon of the 10<sup>th</sup> month northern reckoning) is celebrated as the 'beginning of Lent' in the north and the following day (the 1st day of the waning of the moon, 10<sup>th</sup> month) is the first day of Lent. In the local language, the word for Lent is *pha-sā* (according to Nōi Mēt, မနာ) – a word closer to the Pali *Wassa*.

The spate of ordinations recently are part of the preparation for Lent since most of those now ordained will spend a lenten period in the wat. The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) says that seven monks who are intending to stay for lent will have been ordained at this time and another two will have been ordained for an indefinite period. The number of novices is much larger.

## **Mae Sariang**

**July 6, 1968**

### **Ordination of Monks at Wat Kittiwong<sup>2</sup>**

This morning the ordination of the two monks, for whom the *hông khuan nāk* described above was performed, took place at Wat Kittiwong. I arrived at the Phanasit Company a little after 8:00 A.M. to find that the *nāk* and the gifts had already gone to the wat.

At the wat, the gifts had been placed in the *kuthi* and the *nāk* were sitting in their white robes in front of the gifts, but not on the raised platform. They were facing the altar. Shortly before 9:00 A.M., the *nāk* came out of the *kuthi*, followed by some relatives and Thônġ-ôn as sponsor carrying the robes, *bōt*, candles in glasses filled with rice (instead of candles in coconuts), and other of the things to be used in the ceremony. This small party of no more than 15-20 people circled the *bōt* three times. Then the two *nāk* came to the northeastern *sēmā*. Here the two took *khriang būchā* and *wai*-ed the *sēmā* and then repeating something too softly to be heard they placed the *khriang būchā* on the *sēmā*. The group then moved to the front of the *bōt* and as they were climbing the stairs, Thônġ-ôn (and others ?) threw popped rice and coins in the air towards the front of the *bōt*. Small boys (and some not so small) scrambled for the coins.

This procession around the *bōt* was the only procession held in association with this ordination. The monks-to-be were not dressed as *lūk kākēo* and they neither rode horses (or bicycles) nor were they carried piggy back as was the case in other ordinations we have seen.

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<sup>2</sup> Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the ordination ceremony held at Wat Kittiwong on July 6, 1968. The original tape is titled, "Tape Number 28, Side 1." The tape is now located at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.45 EC. An index of the recording, a Thai transcript, and an English translation of the transcript are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

Inside the *bōt*, the two *nāk* *krāp*-ed before the Buddha three times in front center and then moved to back center where they took up the usual sitting position for inside sacred buildings.

There was a small group of laypeople in the *bōt* including two or three women. I asked Insuan about this and he said that it was all right if women came into the *bōt* so long as they didn't approach too closely to the front of the *bōt*. They were in fact seated just inside the door. They appeared to be close relatives of the *nāk*. Other lay people were seated in the *sālā* outside, while still others were involved in making food.

The monks (ten, not including the CKA) entered the *bōt* and *krāp*-ed three times before the altar. Then, they broke up into groups of two and three and each in turn *wai*-ed another monk and repeated a Pāli formula. The District Officer, who was present, told me that this act purified the monks before beginning the ordination. The ten monks then seated themselves as follows:

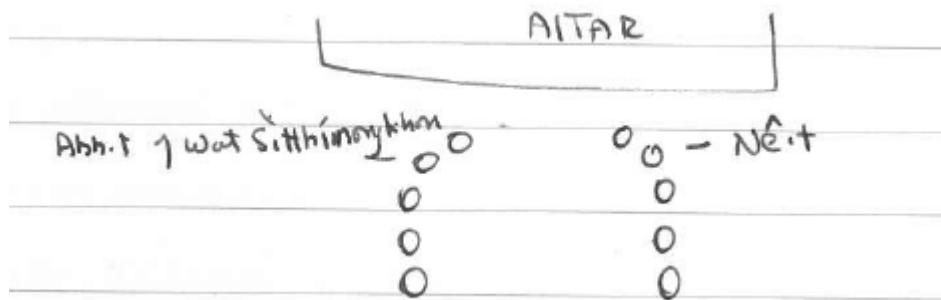


Illustration of arrangement of participants of the ordination ceremony held at Wat Kittiwong

Two monks, each second in these respective rows, were to play special roles – Phra Nēt from Wat Kittiwong and the abbot of Wat Sitthimongkhon.

When the scene was thus set, the CKA entered, walked between the rows of monks, knelt down and *krāp*-ed three times, and then turned and took his place at the head of the chapter of monks between the two rows. All the monks then *krāp*-ed him three times. He didn't perform the action of purification.

With the CKA's arrival, the ceremony proper began. First, the two *nāk* turned and taking positions side by side faced two older men sitting in the northern part of back center. First,

Thông-ôn was one of these men, but he relinquished his position to another man who may have been the father of one of the *nāk*. This man didn't seem to know how to kneel properly or what to do and had to be guided by others. These two men took the monks' robes off of their ceremonial containers and presented them to the *nāk*. The *nāk* then took the robes and holding them across their arms which were in a *wai* position, they crawled on their knees towards the CKA. They also took the first of the five (each) candles in glasses filled with rice. These were passed by the monks to the CKA.

Holding their robes in front of them, the monks repeated some Pāli formula; and then each in turn handed the robes to the CKA. The CKA gave the two a short talk in Thai in a voice almost too low to be heard by the congregation. When he finished this, he chanted.

The next part was the changing of robes. First, the *nāk* removed their upper garments and the CKA placed the clerical 'jacket' on them. Then he gave them the rest of the robes which they took, crawled backwards until out of the circle of monks. Then they stood up and moved to a corner of the front part of the *bōt* where with the help of two of the monks and a lay ex-monk (Insuan), they changed their white robes for yellow ones.

They came back to the center of the *bōt* and knelt down just outside the circle of monks. Here Phra Nēt and the abbot of Wat Sitthimongkhon came and knelt in front of them. From there, the two *nāk* received the precepts to be kept by novices, before which they presented the two officiating monks with candles/glasses. After which the two monks returned to their place in the chapter.

The two aspirants (now novices) turned to face away from the altar and received their alms bowls from two women (mothers ?). These had to be placed on 'receiving' cloths since the two men now within the Sangha and couldn't touch or be touched by women.

[Inside the alms bowls had been placed votive images.]

The alms bowls were then hung across their shoulders and the two, carrying yet another candle/glass, crawled forward into the circle once again. When they were before the CKA, they *krāp*-ed three times. They presented the candles before *krāp*-ing. They chanted something,

followed by the CKA chanting.

At this point, some laymen took part of the white robes and placed them at the doorway of the *bōt*.

Phra Nēt and the abbot of Sitthimongkhon chanted something and then the two aspirants withdrew, again crawling backwards until they were outside the circle. They then stood in the doorway of the *bōt*. Nēt and abbot of Sitthimongkhon chanted towards each other, then moved in front of the CKA *krāp*-ed three times, and withdrew to the doorway. Here they proceeded to follow the ritual questioning, in Pāli, of each aspirant in turn as to his qualifications for the monkhood. The two monks then returned to the circle, *krāp*-ed the CKA once, and resumed their positions. These two monks chanted their report followed by all monks chanting something. Then abbot of Sitthimongkhon chanted and the two aspirants came forward and *krāp*-ed three times before the CKA.

The circle of monks closed behind them. The CKA then noted for the benefit of laymen that no layman was to come further forward in the *bōt* than the lowest monk (this especially for the photographer present).

The two aspirants chanted, followed by the CKA chanting while all monks held their hands in *wai* position. At the end of the chant all monks said *satthu*, thus indicating their willingness to accept the aspirants as monks. The two officiating monks chanted while the other monks held their hands in *wai* position. Then they dropped their hands and the two monks continued chanting with the aspirants answering.

[Insuan said the two officiating monks are called *kammawācācān* (กรรมวาจาจารย์) and *anusāwanācān* (อนุสาวนาจารย์). Phra Nēt played the latter role, while the abbot of Sitthimongkhon (whose name is Sīthôn) played the latter. Sīthôn is also qualified as an ordaining-abbot.]

The two monks then took up another chant during which all monks again put their hands in a *wai* position. When this chant ended, the two aspirants *krāp*-ed three times and then handed their *bāt* to nearby monks who placed them in front of the CKA. The CKA gave a short

explanation for the aspirants about what was to follow, and then launched into a Pāli chant. The aspirants chanted something in return and then *krāp*-ed three times. They then withdrew and took their places at the end of the two rows of monks; the circle row having opened. All monks turned and *krāp*-ed three times and the ceremony was over.

All of the regular monks left the *bōt* first, followed by the laity. As the two new monks came out, people placed coins in their alms bowls, thus being vehicles of merit-making for the first time. [Before this began, the votive images were removed from the *bāt*.]

The same then shifted to the *khuti* where the crucial personal were now laity and monks rather than monks and aspirants. What followed (although I didn't observe it as I had to go to the airport to help send off the educational officer) was something like the following:

- 1) Request and receiving of precepts.
- 2) Presentation of gifts to ordaining monks.
- 3) Presentation of noon meal for monks.
- 4) First sermon by one of the monks (sermon - *anisongbuat*).
- 5) Feeding of lay guests.
- 6) Blessing and *truātnām* by monks.

Several things stand out from this ceremony.

- 1) One of the aspirants had an important sponsor – *Thông-ôn*. The second aspirant, whose family is poor, was also included under *Thông-ôn* sponsorship, but he was not honored by printed announcement.
- 2) The ordination ceremony is strictly for the clergy and the laity, with the exception of the relatives who give the aspirants their robes and alms bowls, are merely onlookers.
- 3) The laity's role begins after the ordination when they can make merit through offerings to the clergy – first to the new monks and then to the ordaining monks.

### 'Wasteful' Merit-Making

Before the ordination began, I was sitting and talking with Thông-ôn. He noticed the 'little house' which had been a part of the *pôi khaosang* ceremony sponsored by the Suriya family (see above June 14, 1968 and June 16, 1968). He said what a waste to spend money on building such a useless object. The several hundred baht spent could have been much better used in buying repairs for a *sālā* or something similar.

### Local Officials

The district educational officer has been transferred to Mae Hong Son where he will become the assistant provincial educational officer. He first came to Mae Sariang more than twenty years ago as a teacher and has been here ever since except for one year. He is being replaced by a northeasterner who was once a teacher here and is married to a Mae Sariang girl.

Today the old officer was to leave for Mae Hong Son by plane. A large crowd of officials, merchants and former students foregathered at the airport to see the official and his family off. Unfortunately, the day reached an anticlimax when the plane was unable to land. The 'sending' ceremony was held anyway (leis were placed on the official and his wife by leading people) and then everyone, including the official and his family, returned to town. The incident only too graphically revealed the problems of being an official in this province.

### Lenten Candles

It is a custom here as in other parts of Thailand for the faithful to make large candles which they then decorate and present to the wat. These candles burn throughout the lenten period, being lit each morning and extinguished each evening.

One group that has undertaken the making and presenting of lenten candles is the Boriphat Süksā school. A few days ago they distributed a mimeographed sheet describing their intentions. What follows are a translation and a copy of the sheet.

Translation of Invitation to Candle-Making Activity at Boriphath Süksā School

“Boriphath Süksā” School

28 June, 1968

To all respected Buddhists:

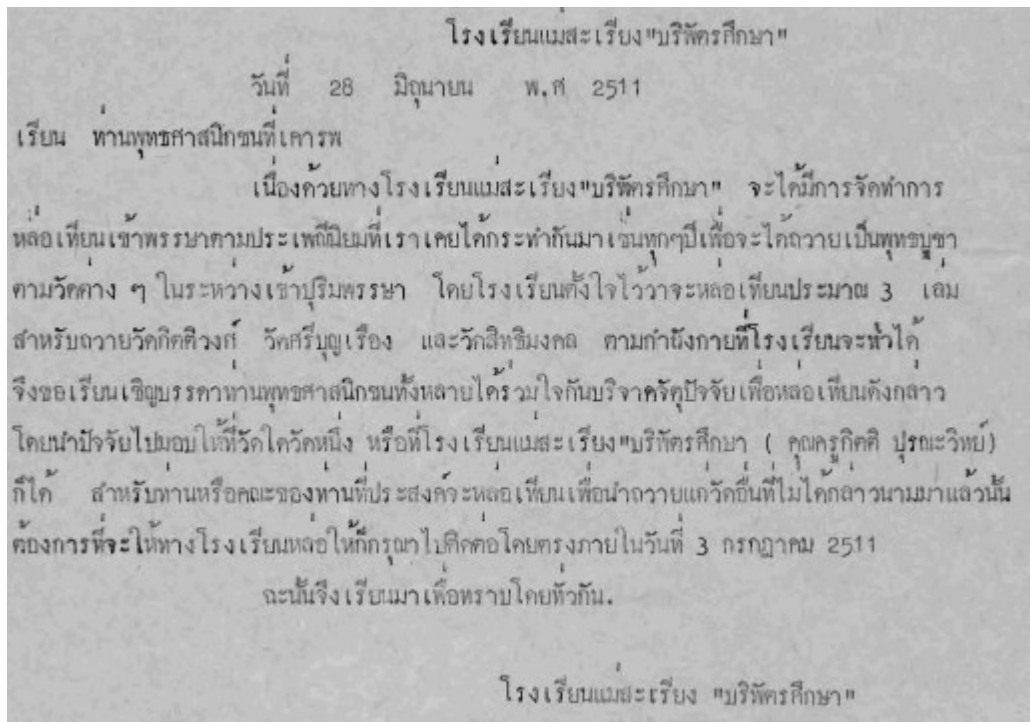
The "Boriphath Süksā" School has made arrangements to mold lenten candles in accord with the annual custom in order to present them in worship of the Buddha at different wats at the Beginning of Lent. The “Boriphath Süksā” School intends to use its own labor to mold three candles in order to present them to Wat Kittiwong, Wat Sībunrūang, and Wat Sitthimongkhon. Therefore, we should like to invite all Buddhists to join in contributing the requisite things [i.e., wax] for making these candles and to take these requisites to present at any of the wats or at the "Boriphath Süksā" School (Khrū Kittī Puranawit). For any individual or group who intends to mold candles in order to take to present at other wats which have not been named and wishes to have the school mold them for them, please make arrangements on or before July 3, 1968.

This has been sent for general knowledge.

Boriphath Süksā School

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Document: Invitation to Candle-Making Ceremony at Boriphat Süksā School



Attached to this was a blank to be filled out by those wishing to contribute the requisites for making candles. It asked that the person filling it in give the date and place written, the person's name and address, and the cost of the materials to be sent.

Document: Donation Form for Candle-Making Ceremony at Boriphat Süksā School

Today the ceremony of molding the candles performed by the students and teachers of the Boriphat Süksā School was held at Wat Kittiwong. It was held in one of the long *sālā* at the wat. Six candles were to be made. The arrangement was as follows:

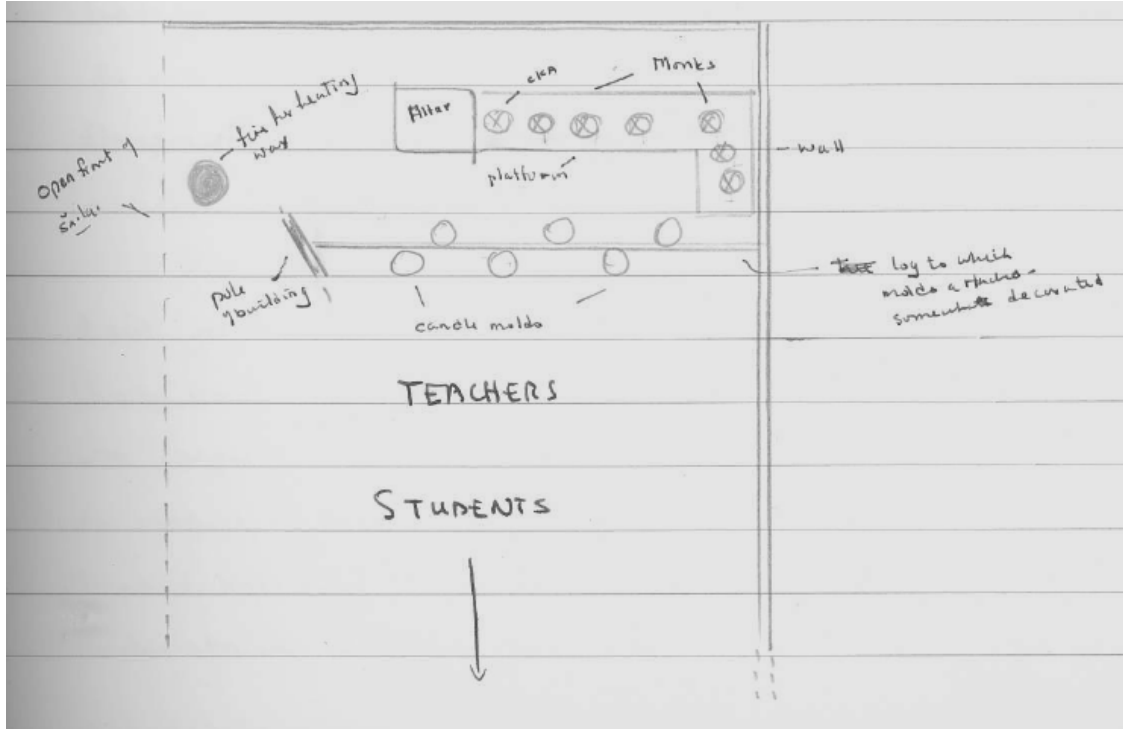


Illustration of the arrangement of people and objects at the candle-making ceremony at Boriphat Süksā School

The candle molds were made of tin or aluminum and were stuck in buckets of sand. Before the ceremony began, ice was packed around the base of the candles. Inside the molds a wick had been attached. Several of the students were in charge of melting wax.

The ceremony went as follows:

- 1) Request and receipt of precepts with headman acting as lay leader.
- 2) Chant *suatmon* by monks during which the wax was poured into the molds, each of the persons taking a scoop and pouring a little wax in every mold (some students didn't however). The order of pourers was as follows.

- a. CKA (but not other monks)
- b. Headmaster
- c. Myself
- d. Other teachers
- e. Students
- f. A few other teachers and non-school types who were supervising or melting the wax.

The chanting ended before all of the students had poured.

3) Short extemporaneous 'talk' by CKA.

4) *Haiphon*

#### Another Ordination at Wat Kittiwong

At 3:00 an ordination for monks and novices from B. Thā Khām was held at Wat Kittiwong. I didn't attend.

#### **Mae Sariang**

**July 8, 1968**

#### Ordination of Lua as Novice

I learned today from the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) that an ordination ceremony was held yesterday at Wat Čôm Čāēng in which a Lua boy from B. Chāng Mô became a novice. Apparently many villagers were down for the ceremony.

#### Bun Eng Case

Today Benny visited us and we learned more about the story of his adopted son, Bun Eng. Bun Eng was sent to Māē Hān to teach instead of the Thōng Sawat school. However, he wrote both the teacher in Mae Hong Son with whom he had stayed when taking the exam and the Governor. The governor sent a telegram to the District Officer asking for reasons why Bun Eng has been transferred and the teacher wrote Bun Eng advising him not to quit – at least until the Governor had had a chance to do something.

Bun Eng is very unhappy in Māē Hān and feels that if he doesn't get transferred back, he will probably quit teaching. In fact, Benny had come looking for Pete Kunstadter (who has been over here with Doges and Greens – respectively a doctor connected with the Illinois project and a medical student from university of Washington – to work on health records at Baptist hospital) to ask him about the possibility of a job with a new radio station in Lamphun which has some programming in Karen. Benny does not wish to interfere with what Bun Eng wants to do, but he is obviously uncomfortable with the situation since, as he says, the mission would very much like to see a capable Karen Christian teaching in a Karen school. Benny also says that Lahsay is somewhat unhappy about how Thai-ized Bun Eng seems.

### **Mae Sariang**

**July 10, 1968**

#### **Lenten Customs**

Today and yesterday have been filled with events relating to the beginning of lent – *wan khao purim phansā* or *wan khao phansā* (วันเข้าปฐมพรรษา or วันเข้าพรรษา) in Thai, and *wan khao pha'sā* (วันเข้าพระสา) in Northern Thai. Customs varied slightly from temple to temple and I couldn't observe all and will thus describe only those which I observed or learned about. In addition, there were some general customs which united the town.

The 9<sup>th</sup> (see above, notes for July 5, 1968) was the fullest day. At Wat Kittiwong, people (mainly elderly, but not exclusively) came to make offerings of food and other things from 5:00 AM on. These offerings were made in order to make merit for the dead.

From about 7:00 A.M. on people began congregating to make the morning offerings of food. The ceremony was held in the *kuthi* which was filled with people, including young people and such important personages as the Nai Amphoe, the head of the airport, etc. This day is one of the three biggest holidays of the year, along with the End of Lent ceremonies and Songkrān, and people here fill the temples like Christians at Christmas and Easter. The morning ceremony included the usual request and receiving of precepts. Then, while the monks chanted (*suatmon*), people *tākbāt*, placing prepared foods in dishes on a side table, and rice in *bāt* placed on a larger table. After the chanting, the *ācān* led the congregation in the formal presenting of food, laymen taking the *bāt* and presenting them. This was followed by a 'request for sermon' (by the *ācān*)

and then a sermon, in Thai (the subject was the ‘First Sermon’ preached by Buddha), by the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA). With the *haiphon* and *truatnām*, the ceremony ended.

At noon, after the monks noon meal, the ceremony of *songnām phra thāt* was held, followed by an afternoon of Northern Thai sermons.

In the evening at Wat Kittiwong and Wat Sībunrūang, there was a *wianthian* in association with the celebration of *ātsālahabūchā*. This holiday, although with older antecedents, was introduced by the Thai government only a few years ago (I think ten) and is celebrated only at the wats of the late CKA and the present CKA. Only a small number of people attended at either wat because of rainstorms that had continued throughout the day (we ourselves did not attend).

A more traditional custom was followed by the young people's association of Wat Chaiyalāp which staged a *hāēdōk* (แห่ดอกไม้), taking flowers in special arrangements to present to every wat.

At Wat Ommarāwāt, and perhaps at other wats as well, there were some fireworks set off in the evening.

Many old people took the eight precepts and spent the night in the wat. The most popular wats in this regard were Wat Sībunrūang and Wat Suphanrangsī. The latter, which I visited this morning, had 29 people staying at it. Wat Ommarāwāt had ten.

Today is the official 'entering of lent' for the clergy. I went to Wat Suphanrangsī at 6:00 A.M. and there observed a ceremony of requesting and receiving the five precepts by those who had spent the night in the wit.

### Čāka' ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt<sup>3</sup>

I then returned to Wat Ommarāwāt where I participated in a merit- making ceremony called in Shan *čāka'* (it would be spelled in Thai script จ้าก๊ะ ). The CKA says that this ceremony is often sponsored during lent on the day following *wanphra*. It consists of presenting special food and other offerings to monks and usually hearing a sermon. At Wat Ommarāwāt, the

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<sup>3</sup> Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the *čāka'* ceremony held at Wat Ommarāwāt on July 10, 1968. The original tape is titled, "Tape Number 29, Side 1." The tape, which was digitized, is housed at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.46 EC. An index of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

sponsor was an employee of the post office (a northern Thai, I believe). (Although this is a Shan custom, the CKA also says that it is often held at Wat Sībunrūang.

For the ceremony, the sponsor had invited seven monks from Wats Suphanrangsī, Uthayārom, Ommarāwāt, Chaiyalāp, and Sībunrūang (four 'Shan' monks, three Northern Thai monks). With the invitation to the monks, went an invitation to the respective wats. Thus, those who attended, besides the sponsor and those he had invited, included primarily the old people who had spent the night before in the wats in question.

The service followed the Burmese form, with a lay leader beginning with a 'chant' in Shan and including a Shan sermon by the abbot of Wat Uthayārom. This is the third sermon I have heard this monk give and each time he has given the sermon from memory rather than reading from a *bāilān*. The CKA says that it is the Shan custom to give sermons from memory.

Before the ceremony began, the monks and novices (there was a large number of novices present, more than the three resident at Wat Ommarāwāt) ate a meal without ceremony, followed by the guests partaking of a meal. It was a strange hour (after 8:00 A.M.) for the monks to eat since it was later than the usual time for morning meal and earlier than time for noon meal. (The CKA says that in the Burmese/Shan tradition it is customary to take the morning meal at about 5:00 A.M. some star disappears from the sky rather than at dawn as is the Thai/Khonmüang custom. The noon meal is taken at 10:30.)

In the afternoon and evening there were processions in which the decorated lenten candles were taken and presented to the wats so selected to be recipients. These *hāēthan* were staged by the Boriphāt Sūksā school, the Thōngsawat school, the young people's association of Wat Kittiwong, the young people's association of Wat Chaiyalāp and perhaps by other groups. At least one *hāēdōk* was held by the same postal official who had sponsored the ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt.

There was a major display of fireworks and some music at Wat Ommarāwāt in the evening and a general spirit of gaiety and festivity seemed to pervade the town.

**Mae Sariang**

**July 11, 1968**

**Household Acts of Faith**

I had noticed on our trip to the Salween, that it is common in households with 'Buddhist shelves' to place food in front of the image in the morning and to remove it in the evening. The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) said that there are Pāli formulas for both these acts.

- 1) When placing food in front of the Buddha, one should say:

*Imang supaphayan chanasam pannang salinang*

*Othanang uthanang warang phutthatsa puchemi*

- 2) When removing the food from the shelf, one should say:

*Sesang mangkhalang yacami*

After both formulas, one should *krāp* three times.

Today the CKA gave me a small booklet, entitled 'Religious Ceremonies for Householders' (ศาสนพิธีสำหรับชาวบ้าน) which he had prepared and which was distributed at the time of his receiving the royal Phra Khrū status. In it (April 27-8), he says that this same act of presenting food to the Buddha image should be performed at the time of a ceremony held in the household.

**Mae Sariang**

**July 13, 1968**

**Visit of Headman of Bān Māē Ngāē**

Today the headman of the Karen village of Māē Ngāē – Phō Sô (ໂພສ໌) was in Mae Sariang and visited the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA). He came to bring his son to leave with the Kamnan of T. Māē Khong in B. Thung lāēng that the boy can go to Thai school.

**Old Buddha Images**

Cô Mui, the Karen who had led us to the cave where we found the manuscripts had said that there were over ten Buddha images in the cave, but that they had all been taken away by people working for the Phanasit Company. He had led these people to the cave and they had told him that they were taking the images to give to the CKA.

However, they never came, and the CKA was annoyed at people using his name to obtain the images. A couple of days ago, a person living in B. Khapuang brought five images and a votive image to the CKA for him to see. This person said that a relative had left the images with

him and would come back to get them later in order to sell them. The CKA said that he would keep the images until the owner returned, since he suspects that three of the images are from the cave. (He planned to confront the owner of the images with his story that the images were being obtained for the CKA.)

Two of the images are Burmese style and are made of bronze (crude). They are very obviously of recent manufacture. The votive image is, according to the CKA, a phra Lamphūn. The three other images, however, appear to be possible candidates for the cave collection.

- 1) Bronze; about 8 inches in height; doesn't appear to be of either Burmese or Thai style. I suspect it is in Shan style.
- 2) Bronze; about two inches in height; holding flower on high stand (relative to image); remnants of red paint.
- 3) Solid copper (I suspect that this is the image Cō Mui thought was 'gold'); 1½ inches high; roughly made (looks hand pounded and chipped).

[I have taken photographs of these three images.]

I brought back myself the base of a clay sitting image, only the legs and bottom torso remaining had been painted gold and probably wasn't any more than 3½ to 4 inches high.

There is, the CKA says, an image in B. Nām Dip which appears to be very old and which has an inscription on it. However, it is so faded that it is impossible to read (the CKA thinks that making a rubbing might help).

He also has a small bronze image in what he thinks is Chiangsāēn style found in the same cave near Māē Lā Nōi as the large image now kept in the 'Southern Wat' in Māē Lā Nōi.

### Historical Reference Points

The CKA and I were discussing the place names mentioned in the manuscripts. He thinks that one of them may refer to a crossing on the Salween known today as Kōng ko' (ໂຄ່ງໂຄ້ຮ).

### Neolithic Remains in Mae Sariang

Yesterday some Lua from Chāng Mō brought some 'old things' to sell or try to sell to me. These included a bronze bell of about 4 inches in height, a stone that rattled when it is shaken, two silver bracelets, a clay Lua pipe, and a shouldered stone axe (I bought the latter two for ฿30).

The following is an outline of the shouldered axe (not to scale):

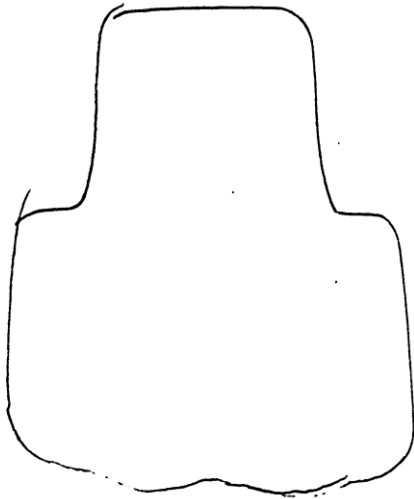


Illustration of outline of a shouldered axe

I could get no information from the sellers as to where the artifact was found.

Sally Kunstadter has found a couple of stone tools in the Karen village of Māē Umlong Nôi (Le Khô Khi).

**Mae Sariang**

**July 14, 1968**

Remarks on Cave Find

I took over from Wat Kittiwong the broken Buddha image and the ‘stand’ for the image which we found in the Māē Ngāē cave. He says that the image is in Northern Thai style.

The ‘stand’ (which has been badly eaten away) has an inscription which reads (modifying the script slightly).

ပင်္ဂါနီ အင်္ဂါ  
*pang 'ik 'annī*

ပာကောဝိလ္လာ  
*pa' kāwila sāng*

The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) said that the word *pang* ‘*ɪk* today is *pāng* ‘*ēk* (ปาง เอก) in the local language. It means ‘the base and backdrop on which a Buddha is placed’. The meaning of the inscription is thus:

‘This stand [for a Buddha image] Phra Kāwila made [literally, ‘built’].’

From internal evidence in the manuscripts, it seems that *phra* (*pha*) here means ‘monk’ not ‘novice’.

The CKA says that the boxes in which the manuscripts were kept are called *hīp tham* in the local language. The fancy open-sided container in which images are placed is called a *tangkāē*.

### Artifacts of Historical Interest in Wat Kittiwong

My discussion with the CKA led him to take me around the wat showing me articles of historical significance kept in the wat. There are two *hīp tham* which were found at *thātrafang* in a cave and brought to Mae Sariang more than thirty years ago. There had apparently been manuscripts in the boxes, but they were, so the story goes, in such bad shape that they were not kept. These boxes are now filled with *bāilān* which belongs to Wit Kittiwong. The CKA said that he once went through these manuscripts and discovered that they were all less than 100 years old. He says that there is only one which has historical information – “*Kotmāi Phra Čao Mangrāi*” (กฎหมายพระเจ้ามังราย) – i.e. ‘The Laws of King Menrai’.

These two boxes are kept in the *bōt*. Another *hīp tham* is kept in a *sālā*. This one came from a cave near Māē Lā Nōi. No books came with it either. The CKA said that a former Nai Amphoe took many things from that cave. This box is also filled with *bāilān* from Wat Kittiwong – ones that haven't been looked through (we hope to do so).

In the *bōt* there is a preaching platform which is over 160 years old.

He also showed me a number of Buddha images kept in the wat. One, a bronze Chiangsāēn Buddha, he said came from an old wat which used to be on the grounds of the forestry office (formerly part of Bombay-Burmah's holdings). Several images in the wat have come from there – including two beautiful Sukhothai sitting Buddhas. There are two images in Shan style made of

pressed flowers (but not the *buakhem* type). There are also several lesser Burmese images in the wat. In the *kuthi* he showed me several images of the *buakhem* type, some Mon, some Shan, some Burmese. He also showed me a piece of gold work (very small) which was dug up in what he called *wiangmai* in B. Thūng Phrāo. There used to be a wat there [Čit says that there is indication of a wat having been located just south of the tobacco drying station.]

He also showed me the equipment for tattooing. The medicine used for tattooing varies according to the ‘power’ desired – protecting strength, etc. One type of *yā* from Burma was in the form of a Buddha image. The CKA used to tattoo but now turns down people who ask.

### **Mae Sariang**

**July 17, 1968**

#### Cave Information

The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) says that the local name of the cave in which the manuscripts were found is the ‘Red Cliff Cave’ (ถ้ำผาแดง). The double roofed pedestal for a Buddha image which is locally called *tangkāē* (ตั้งแก) is called a *pradit thān phraphuttharūp* (ประดิษฐานพระพุทธรูป) in Thai. He estimates that the in the cave was about 50 cm. wide in both directions and about 125 cm. high He estimates the *hīptham* were about 60 cm. wide, 80 era. long, and 100 cm. high.

### **Mae Sariang**

**July 21, 1968**

#### Liang Phra for Nicholas' Second Birthday<sup>4</sup>

Today we sponsored a *liang phra* in order to make merit for Nicholas on his second birthday.

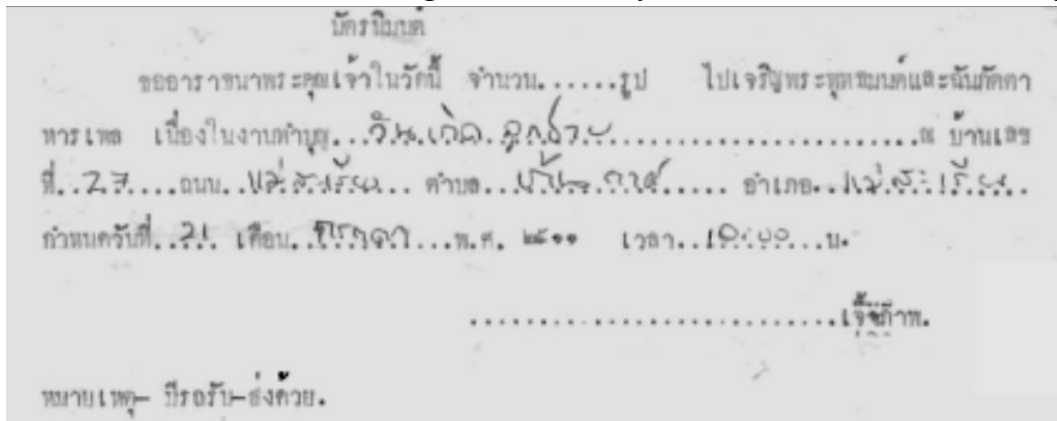
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<sup>4</sup> Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the *liang phra* ceremony sponsored by the Keyes family on July 21, 1968. The original tape is titled, “Tape Number 30, Side 1.” The tape is now located at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.47 EC. An index of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

## Preparations

I consulted the Phra Khrū with regard to what we should do for this ceremony. As to inviting monks, he said that the traditional Northern Thai custom was to invite four monks, no matter whether the ceremony be for making merit for the dead or for the living (some people invite more than four monks, but calculated in reference to the wats they wish to invite monks from rather than the number of monks who will come). However, the Central Thai pattern is to invite an even number of monks when making merit for the dead and an odd number when making merit for the living. (Sometimes the Buddha image at a ceremony is counted as additional 'monk' – really, the 'chairman' of the Sangha present – thus reversing the odd and even symbolism). He suggested that I invite either five or seven monks and I decided on seven. He made up the form which I would leave with the invited monks in order to be a reminder of the date. The following is a copy of the Thai and a translation of this invitation.

## Document: Invitation to the *Liang Phra* Ceremony in Honor of Nick's 2<sup>nd</sup> Birthday



### บัตรนิมนต์

ขออาราธนาพระคุณเจ้าในวัดนี้ จำนวน \_\_\_\_\_ รูป ไปเจริญพระพุทธรูปและฉันภัตตาหารเพล เนื่องในงานทำบุญวันเกิดลูกชาย ณ บ้านเลขที่ 27 ถนน แม่สะเรียง ตำบล บ้านกาศ อำเภอ แม่สะเรียง กำหนดวันที่ 21 เดือน กรกฎาคม 2511 เวลา 10.00 น.

-----เจ้าภาพ

หมายเหตุ – มีรถรับ-ส่งด้วย

## INVITATION

[I] humbly invite \_\_\_\_\_ monks from this wat to go to chant some sacred words and partake of a midday meal on the occasion of making merit for my son's birthday at House No. 27, Mae Sariang Road, Tambon Bān Kāt, Amphoe Mae Sariang on the 21st of July at 10:00 A.M.

-----Sponsor

Note : A vehicle will be sent to receive and send [the monks].

La'ô, my assistant, prepared the flowers, leaves, candles, and incense (3) which are wrapped in a banana leaf and used as a traditional offering when extending an invitation to a monk. Such are called *suaidôk* (สวดดอก). I then stuck a signed, typed invitation in each of them and about five days ago took them around to each of the wats from which I wished to invite monks (one invites a wat, not specific monks). The CKA had forewarned me not to mix Northern Thai and Shan/Burmese monks since they chant differently. An exception is the abbot of Wat Ommarāwāt who can chant Thai style. I invited the following wats (with the monk who came written in parenthesis):

- 1) Wat Kittiwong - two monks - (CKA and Phra Nēt)
- 2) Wat Sitthimongkhon - one monk - (abbot)
- 3) Wat Sībunrūang - one monk - (young monk - a Mahā)
- 4) Wat Čôm Čāēng - one monk - (abbot)
- 5) Wat Ommarāwāt - one monk - (abbot)
- 6) Wat Chaiyālāp - one monk - (abbot)

Although we had not expected to do so (but we should have known better), we learned that we were expected to invite lay guests as well (inviting them by presentation of candle). We invited only a few people because we didn't feel that we knew many people that well.

We borrowed many of the needed accoutrements for the ceremony from Wats Kittiwong (large number of items), Sitthimongkhon (*tomū*), and Ommarāwāt (tables and cloths) as well as borrowing dishes, etc. from Mrs. Sāēn, our landlady and next door neighbor. I was somewhat amused to find that Wat Kittiwong even has a receipt book for use by people who borrow things – but it makes sense. Wats often have things that no private person would own but might have occasion to use (the CKA told me once that the Catholic father even borrows things from Wat Kittiwong to use for Christmas).

On Saturday, we removed all furniture from the main area of the front of the house. The ‘platform’ we arranged for the monks as follows:

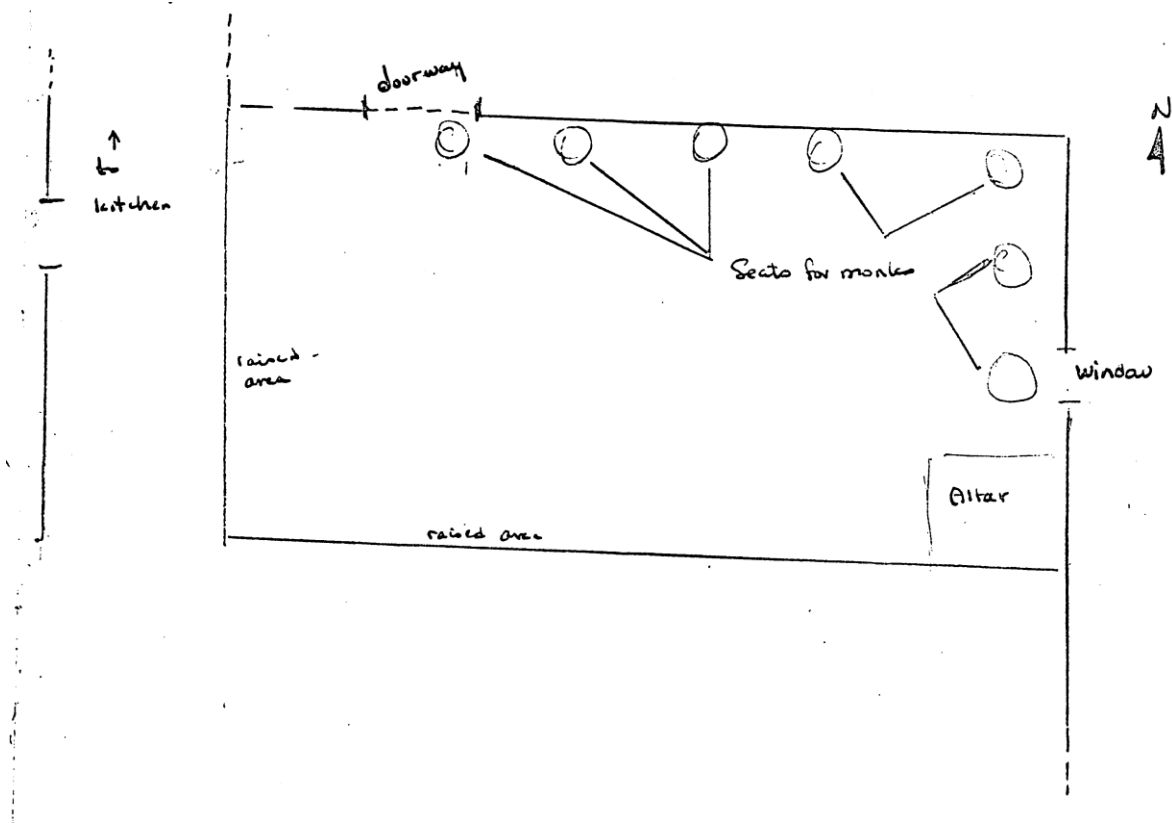


Illustration of arrangement of the Keyes home for the *liang phra* ceremony for Nicholas Keyes's 2<sup>nd</sup> birthday

We spread rugs (from the wat) over mattresses for the monks to sit on and placed pillows (also borrowed) at each of the seven places. On the floor in the lower area we spread long mats for the lay people to sit on.

Čit and Mō Thawôn came over last night to help arrange things. They said that we must have a *sāi sin* (holy thread) around the house since it was to be a *tham bun bān* ceremony. The CKA had lent us a ball of 9-strand (the "9" is auspicious) thread to use in the ceremony, and today Čit made more thread to tie around the house at the end of this ball. The string went north (on the right hand side of the door) and returned from the opposite direction to the altar. Here it was wrapped three times around the Buddha image and then three times around the *bāt nāmmon* (Insuan was the one who insisted on the wrapping three times around the *bāt nāmmon*. On the Altar, besides the image, were two vases of flowers, two candle sticks with candles, and an incense holder with three unlit sticks. The remaining ball of string was placed next to the seat where the head monk would sit.

Our offerings consisted of the following (besides the food which included 'birthday' cake made by Jane):

- for the head monk, a wash basin filled with *khāo sān*, a coconut, incense, candles, an envelope with Baht 100, fruit, canned foods, etc.
- for the other monks, an envelope with ฿75 each and a *suāi dōk*.
- In front of each of the monks seats was placed a tray on which a pack of cigarettes, *miang* and matches had been placed

For the guests, we placed in bowls around the room, cigarettes, matches and *miang* and water jugs (น้ำจืด).

The CKA had made and brought the special candle for making 'holy water'.

## The Ceremony

I picked up the monks and brought them to the house by 10:15. By 10:30 the ceremony got underway. Mr. Insuan acted as layleader.

- 1) *Waiphra* led by Insuan.
- 2) *Khôsin* by Insuan
- 3) *Namo* and *sin* led by CKA
- 4) 'Chant' by Insuan
- 5) *Suatmon* by monks, started by individual chant by Phra Nēt – During *suatmon* – holding of *sāi sin* and making of 'holy water'
- 6) Presentation of food to monks
- 7) Presentation of 'offerings' to monks – NAK helped me 'lift' the offering for the CKA. I placed the other offerings (*suai dôk* and envelope with money) in monk's bags.
- 8) *Truat nām* (I poured water from a glass into a silver khan) – given by CKA
- 9) *Haiphon* by all monks
- 10) CKA 'tied' NAK's wrists (*mātmü*). All monks chanted during act – both wrists.
- 11) CKA sprinkled 'holy water' on Nick A Keyes – all monks chanting
- 12) CKA sprinkled 'holy water' on Jane and myself - all monks chanting – end of ceremony
- 13) After taking monks home, returned and 'entertained' guests.

The 'holy water' (น้ำพระพุทธมนต์) was made during the *suatmon* by the CKA holding a lighted, special, candle over the *bāt nām mon* in which had been placed water and dried (เผา) *sompōi* pods. The drippings of wax dropped into the water and in the end the CKA doused the candle in the water. The water was sprinkled with a bunch of leaves (certain, special ones).

## Mae Sariang

July 22, 1968

### Information on Māē Lā Nôi

Today the Čao Khana' Amphoe (CKA) let me copy some statistics which he in turn had copied in the office of the Māē Lā Nôi subdistrict.

Tambon Māē Lā Nôi	6051 people	16 villages ( <i>mūban</i> )
Tambon Māē Lā Lüang	6201 people	21 villages
Total	12,252 people	37 villages

Tambon Māē Lā Nôi	1201 families ( <i>khrōp khrīa</i> )
Tambon Māē Lā Lüang	1028 families

Tambon Māē Lā Nôi	400 square kilometers
Tambon Māē Lā Lüang	324 square kilometers
Total	724 square kilometers

The CKA says that the head of a subdistrict *king amphoe* (กิ่งอำเภอ) is not called a *nāi amphoe king* or the equivalent.

## Mae Sariang

July 26, 1968

### Local Customs

The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) was today talking with an employee of the district office who had come to arrange a *pōi khao sang* ceremony. It was interesting to observe the interaction because it revealed how the monks serve to mediate the cultural tradition of which people are a part. The amphoe employee had come to consult about the proper form of the announcement of the ceremony to be held on the year anniversary of the death of the relative for whom the ceremony was being held. The CKA first changed the hour of the morning meal from 7:00 to 7:30. Then, in talking about the meaning of the ceremony, I commented that in N.E., ceremonies for the dead were not held during lent (except cremations). The CKA said this wasn't the case in Mae Sariang, but then turned to suggest to the amphoe employee that it would be better to hold the ceremony in the 12<sup>th</sup> lunar month (Northern Thai reckoning) rather than in the 11<sup>th</sup> as

scheduled. Phra Nēt came in at this point and added his agreement that the 12<sup>th</sup> month would be better. The 12<sup>th</sup> month, the CKA explained to me, is most suitable for ceremonies making merit for the dead, probably because it is the 'last' month of the lunar cycle (but not of the Thai year). He went on to explain that the full moon, *wan phra*, of the 12<sup>th</sup> month brings masses of people to the wats to make merit for the dead.

### Karens and Buddhism

The CKA said today that a number of Karens from Pā Māk and vicinity had come to the wat for *wan phra* this week. He said that Karens in this village have taken it upon themselves to cease work on *wan phra*. I asked if they now kept normal *wan phra* instead of the aberrant date stemming, apparently, from either the *khṛūbākhāo* or the *phākhāonōi* (the young Karen in A. Thā Sōng Yāng). He said that all but a few now keep the regular *wan phra*.

### Mae Sariang

July 27, 1968

#### Late Abbot of Bān Phā Phā

The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) left Insuan and I to look through a book of photographs which the CKA has. In it was the picture of a special 4-cornered cloth, called, literally, a 'ceiling' cloth (ผ้าเพดาน) which was raised on four poles above the pyre containing the remains of the late famous abbot of Wat Phā Phā (The monk's last formal name was Phrā Khrū Panyāworawat – พระครูปัญญาาวรรวัตร– and locally as *Khrūbā wat phā phā*). This cloth is raised only at the funerals of monks and is local custom common to Northern Thai, Shan and Burmese.

This monk had a reputation, according to Insuan, for being able to foretell events and to 'mind read'. He instanced several occasions on which the monk demonstrated his abilities.

The monk was cremated on *Mākkha būchā* (3<sup>rd</sup> month) in 1963 because *Mākkhabūchā* was a very auspicious day.

### Language

I overheard the CKA and Insuan speaking with the abbot of the Northern wat in Māē Lā Nōi in which they used the word *sung* or *sūng* to refer to a monk's eating. The northern Thai word is *san* and the Siamese word *chan*.

Bun Eng

We heard a few days ago from Benny that Bun Eng had gone to Mae Hong Son, at his own expense, to consult with the educational authorities. Benny thought that Bun Eng was to be offered a job as provincial supervisor of hill tribes schools. However, we talked with Bun Eng today who has just returned from Mae Hong Son and learned that he will be appointed to the new school at Māē Hô (Near the Public Welfare Department Center). In any event, it is interesting that although provincial authorities must have felt that Bun Eng was wronged, they did not order the District Officer to reinstate Bun Eng in the Thongsawat school. Rather, a compromise was effected to offend least parties concerned. (Even the Baptist mission will probably be happy since Bun Eng will be teaching in a Karen school).

Northern Thai Kinship Terminology<sup>5</sup>

Some time ago I provided my assistant, Saman, with a kinship schedule written in Thai for him to use in compiling Northern Thai terms which are used in Mae Sariang. I had planned to go over the list with him and to record him, but he left my service before I was able to do so.

I here have written the terminology reversing the form and putting the local word first and its guesses second. Transliteration is based in part on Hope and Purnell (1962).

( ๕ used for 'high short fall' tone)

1. Consanguineal Kin Terms

<i>pô</i> (พ่อ)	father
<i>māē</i> (แม่)	mother
<i>pôui</i> ( <i>luang</i> ) [พ่ออู๊ย(หลวง)]	father's father, mother's father
<i>māēui</i> ( <i>luang</i> ) [แม่อู๊ย(หลวง)]	father's mother, mother's mother

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<sup>5</sup> Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the Northern Thai kinship terminology, which may be the same list that is in these field notes. The tape's original title is "Tape Number 10, Side 1." The tape and a digital version are now located in the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.16 EC. Also on this tape is a list of vocabulary of *Samān*, based on Swadesh Word List. An index of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

<i>pômôn</i> (ป้อหม่อน)	father's father's father, father's mother's father, mother's father's father, mother's mother's father
<i>māēmôn</i> (แม่หม่อน)	father's father's mother, father's mother's mother, mother's father's mother, mother's mother's mother
<i>pôkāng</i> (ป้อกำง), [ <i>pôāi</i> (ป้ออาย)]	father's elder brother, mother's elder brother [Pa el Br]
<i>māēkāng</i> (แม่กำง), [ <i>māē ôi</i> (แม่เอี้ย)]	father's elder sister, mother's elder sister [Pa el Si]
<i>ā</i> (อา)	father's young sister
<i>nā</i> (น้า)	mother's young sister
<i>pôluang</i> (ป้อหลวง)	father's father's elder brother, father's mother's elder brother, mother's father's elder brother, mother's mother's elder brother
<i>māēluang</i> (แม่หลวง)	father's father's elder sister, father's mother's elder sister, mother's father's elder sister, mother's mother's elder sister
<i>pôpū</i> (ป้อปู่)	father's father's younger brother, father's mother's younger brother, mother's father's younger brother, mother's mother's younger brother
<i>māē yā or yā</i> (แม่ย่า or ย่า)	father's father's younger sister, father's mother's younger sister, mother's father's younger sister, mother's mother's younger sister
<i>āi</i> (อาย)	elder brother, children of father's sibling if older than one [?]
<i>pī</i> (ปี่)	elder sister
<i>nông</i> (น้อง)	young sibling, children of father's sibling if younger than one [?]

<i>lūk</i> (ลูก)	children (of either sex)
<i>lūk āi</i> (ลูกอ้าย)	eldest child (of either sex)
<i>lūk ôi</i> (ลูกเอ๋ย)	middle child (of either sex)
<i>lūk lā</i> (ลูกหล้า)	youngest child (of either sex)
<i>lān</i> (หลาน)	children's children

## 2. Affinal terms

<i>mia</i> (เมีย)	wife
<i>phua</i> (ภัว)	husband
<i>pīlua</i> (พี่ลัว)	eldest brother's wife
<i>nông ying</i> (น้องหญิง)	young brother's wife
<i>pīcāi</i> (พี่จาย)	eldest sister's husband
<i>nông cāi</i> (น้องจาย)	young sister's husband
<i>lūk ying</i> (ลูกหญิง)	son's wife
<i>lūk cāi</i> (ลูกจาย)	daughter's husband
<i>pōmia</i> (พ่อเมีย)	wife's father
<i>māē mia</i> (แม่เมีย)	wife's mother
<i>pō phua</i> (พ่อพี่)	husband's father
<i>māē phua</i> (แม่พี่)	husband's mother
<i>āi</i> (อ้าย)	wife of eldest brother, husband of eldest
<i>pī</i> (พี่)	wife of eldest, husband of eldest sister
<i>nông</i> (น้อง)	wife of youngest sibling, husband of youngest sibling

<i>pôthao</i> (ป้อเต่า)	child's stepfather
<i>māēthao</i> (แม่เต่า)	child's stepmother
<i>pô kāng</i> (ป้อกำ)	father of eldest brother's wife
<i>māē kāng</i> (แม่กำ)	mother of eldest brother's wife
<i>āi lua</i> (อ้ายลัว)	father of young brother's wife
<i>pô kāng</i> (ป้อกำ)	father of eldest sister's husband
<i>nā cāi</i> (น้ำจาย)	father of young sister's husband
<i>nā lua</i> (น้ำลัว)	mother of young brothers wife
<i>pī cāi</i> (ปี้จาย)	mother of eldest sister's husband
<i>nōng cāi</i> (น้องจาย)	mother of young sister's husband

### A Karen Buddhist

Yesterday we had a visit from a Karen who I have before met at Wat Kittiwong where he goes to massage the CKA and to teach him Karen. This man, although a relative of some of the leading Karen Christians, professes to be a Buddhist. The reason for this can be found in his past which he related in part. He was crippled from birth (he has little control over his left side which I suspect is paralyzed). His parents took him from his village near the Salween and deposited him at an early age at Wat Huai Wôk. He was raised and educated there. He now earns a living through massaging (which must be difficult when one has the use of only one side of the body) and flogging his wife's Karen handiwork which he was trying to do with us (inferior quality to that made by Khun Mali). He is middle-aged, married, with four children.

### Mae Sariang

**July 30, 1968**

### Cremation of Lung Tā

Today we learned from Čit and Mô Thawan that Lung Tā, an old employee of the Phanasit Company (and a man who gave me some information on local history early in my stay here) had died and was to be cremated today. I didn't observe any of the preliminaries but joined the procession as it passed our house on its way to the cremation grounds.

The procession was quite typical of others we have seen in Mae Sariang. At the head of the procession was a man striking the special type of bell-shaped gong that is only used, outside of the wats, when the monks and novices process out to receive their morning alms and when there is a cremation (Sulak says this gong is of Mahayana origin and people here identify it with the Shan/Burmese tradition). Following the gong was a man carrying a pole to which was attached a special "*thong*" with "three tails" and top half symbolically shaped to indicate a human being (this item has, I believe, been described and discussed by Phya Anuman somewhere) and a 'sack' filled with offerings of food for the deceased provided by the dead man's relatives. Both *thong* and sack were made of plain white cloth. Behind this came several men carrying long bamboo poles. Mō Thawan indicated that these were for poking the fire, but they were subsequently cut up and used, at least in part, as containers for water which the monks poured in their chanting. Behind these came the cortege itself – a wagon containing the coffin inside a decorated structure. The wagon was pulled by women and pushed by men. Also, helping to pull the wagon, and in front of the women were a group of 'temporary novices' who were relatives of the deceased and had been ordained especially for the cremation (such novices usually remain in the yellow robes for only a few hours and rarely for more than a day or so).

Following the cortege (in fact all around it) were other people who were also going to the cremation but took no special role.

At the cremation grounds, the wagon was pushed right up to the crematorium (until a few months ago, each death necessitated the building of a separate pyre; now there is a roofed concrete pyre).

As preparations were being made, I noted the people who had come to attend. Although Lung Tā was a poor man, his cremation brought out a very large crowd. Most prominent was Thông-ôn, the head of the Phanasit Company, the head of the regional forestry department, and other high personnel of the Phanasit Company – all testifying to Lung Tā's long connection with the forestry industry. Moreover, the fact that he was born in Mae Sariang some 60+ years ago (65 ?) and has lived all of his life here accounted for a good portion of the 'locals' who were in attendance. There were probably at least 200 people present.

The preparations included taking off the supra structure above the casket, draping white cloths from the casket, and placing candles, *suaidôk*, and bamboo tubes next to the cloths all around the casket which was still on the wagon. Some women (relatives) distributed the

ceremonial 'lighters' (consisting of paper bows, three sticks of incense, and treated wood which burns easily) to each person present (someone also distributed *miang* and cigarettes to guests).

The first symbolic act was the washing of the face of the corpse with coconut water. A coconut was taken and broken open over the face of the corpse and then the coconut was thrown away.

This was followed by the monks coming. There were, I believe, seven monks. Each took hold of one of the white cloths and chanted in unison (or almost in unison since some of the monks were from Thai/Burmese wats). Then they pulled off the cloth and handed it to a layman who in turn folded up the cloth and put it in the monk's bags. The monks then individually poured water from the bamboo tubes onto the ground, chanting as they did (this, Insuan explained to me, was to 'send' the merit to the deceased).

This was the only act of the monks. Several female and young relatives came forward and *krāped* three times before the casket. Then the casket was taken off the wagon and placed on the cremation pyre (both bottom and top was taken off the casket so the body would bum easier. Then, each person came forward (I think *Thông-ôn* was first) and threw his taper on the pyre. This was the end of the ceremony, although several men stayed around to make sure that the fire consumed the body.

Each person who threw a taper on the fire, *wai*-ed beforehand. The Casket was made of teak, and cost ฿400.

### Monks in Mae Sariang

This evening I visited the CKA. He said that there have been only six monks in Mae Sariang district who have been of the *phra khrū sanyābut* (พระครูสัญญาบัตร) station:

- 1) Phra Khrū Anusōnsatsanākēt (Wat Kittiwong)
- 2) Phra Khrū Anusōnsātsanākēt (late CKA who lived at Wat Sībunrüang.
- 3) the late abbot of B. Phā Phā
- 4) the late abbot of Wat Čôm Čāēng
- 5) himself
- 6) the present abbot of Wat Sībunrüang.

Between the years 1962-1965, five monks were cremated including numbers 2, 3, and 4 in the above list, the abbot of Wat Chaiyalāp and the abbot of Wat Suphanrangsī.

### A Strange Occurrence

At the cremation of the abbot of Wat Phā Phā, a *phāphēdān*, consisting of two square pieces (placed on top of one another) of 'monk's cloth' which were handmade and hand died, was raised on four posts over the pyre. On the first three days it was up, nothing happened, but on the fourth, which was both the day of the cremation and *Makhabūchā*, a perfect circle appeared in the middle of the cloth. The CKA thought that it might be from rains, but it was too perfect a circle. He had a photograph taken which, when I looked at it, does reveal an absolutely perfect circle in the midst of the cloth – too perfect to be a stain or color-run. Considering the late monk's reputation for extraordinary powers, this circle was read by nearly everyone as omen of special favor on the monk – some saying that the 'gods' had come down to attend the cremation and revealed their presence in this way; others saying that it signified an excellent rebirth for the late monk. Unfortunately, the cloth burned in the ensuing cremation and couldn't be examined.