

From 26/8/67 - 6/9/67 in Chiangmai to attend conference on Hill Tribes.

7/9/67

MEETINGS WITH COATES:

Today we paid a call on the Coates (Don & Pat) who are the resident Baptist missionaries working with the Karens. They struck us as unusual in relation to our usual stereotypes about missionaries. They were extremely informal & not at all overly absorbed with religious matters. She, in particular, seemed like a popular midwestern coed of 10 years before.

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

I asked what happens to Karen who finish ~~the~~ matayam? They answered that they don't know because the first graduates are just coming up. They said that they hoped that the Karen would return to their villages as school teachers or join the Public Welfare Dept. tribal development program. But both types of jobs are handed out by Thai officials. However, the Coates are afraid that once Karen have been educated, they will leave Karen life altogether & enter Thai life. One example is a young man who dropped out of school here after about 14 & is now working as a mechanic under a Thai in Chiangmai.

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Like: PERFORMANCE:

There has been a like performance in the neighborhood ever since we returned ^{from} Chiangmai. Last night was the last performance & we decided to go. We noticed that the audience was made up primarily of married women, old women, & children with another large group of teenage girls & a lesser number of teenage boys. Very few adult men. The setting is obviously an opportunity for courting, & we noticed a number of couples sitting together although they didn't arrive together.

The Like troupe was from Chiangmai. They started out their performance with a pantomimic parody of vaudeville & chorus girl acts - all rather amateurish & totally out of place in the presence of such an audience. The actual performance itself - about twins who were kidnapped from a Queen & raised by fishermen - made use of both Central Thai & Kammyang.

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

MARK ANDERSON - PENCE CORPS VOLUNTEER:

At the Like performance, we met Mark Anderson, the peace corps volunteer teaching at the ~~school~~ high school here. We discussed several topics about the school. It seems that his roommate, a Central Thai from Nyaethaya, not only was the first Central Thai at the school but also the first teacher of physical education. There are now several C.T. teachers at the school - all of whom have come within the last ~~few~~ year or so. Students of the school come from all over the tambon & include Karen (mainly from the hostel) but very few Lue?

Mark himself has been here about a year and a half - long enough to be here during the last rainy season when the road between km. 60 & M.S. was not good enough to be kept open through the entire rainy season. He knows a number of the ~~best~~ shopkeepers / business men in town.

One of the biggest Chinese merchants in Nai Than who owns a ~~shop~~ general merchandise shop & the ice factory, among others. An even bigger merchant, although not so well known to Mark, is the owner of the hotel (which bears his name), a woffram processing plant, a shop, & other

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enterprises.

After lunch the three of us went down town. Among the misc. information we learned:

The woman owner/manager of Amarin (?), the new concrete general store, has a large collection of Burmese jewelry & jewels. Most of the "Indian" merchants are Muslims from the Chittagong area. They have their own mosque ~~located~~ ^{located} on the NW side of the market. & have all their shops together. These shops deal in almost the same merchandise - cloth (including some things from Burma), a few tools, etc. As milk drinkers, they have apparently got some arrangement to obtain fresh milk. The slaughter house near the river is the residence of relatively outcaste people. Nai Thau handles all of the periodical distribution for M.S. The shop where I bought the Burmese eleroots is owned by a Burmese who speaks Northern Thai all right, which makes me wonder if he isn't really Shan) & attracts a large number of Karen. It has Karen beaded boxes, cloth, pipes, elephant "shackles," etc.

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TRIP TO BÂN NÂM DÌP

This morning I went to the Amphur Office to obtain various statistics. After working there for a couple of hours, Pát Nákho:n invited me to go with him on a visit to a village across the Nâm Yuam where he has some business. We went to the shore & took a the "ferry" across. The "ferry" was a large dugout (prow boat), manned by two men with poles (the river is not very deep even at the height of the rainy season). ~~The boat~~ The boat carried people & bicycles & goods. The fare per person one way was 25 satang.

From the landing on the opposite side we walked about 2-3 kilometers to the village of Nâm Dìp (Nâm Dìp) which is the tambon center for tambon Mâ Yuam (Mâ Yuam). The pathway was very muddy & we had to ford a little stream on the way. We found several people planting peanuts, which I later discovered is one of the biggest crops of the village.

On arriving in the village, we first stopped at a home where two custom officials (see M.S. were enjoying themselves. I never did understand why they were in this particular home, or who paid for the beer, rice, & fruit we ate. We spent 2-2½ hours in this home drinking beer. Partly,

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The reason we spent so long there was that it was raining so hard that the patat didn't want to leave. A daughter of the household, who I would guess was about 17, stayed with the group. There was much repartee & teasing of her by the patat & the young unmarried customs official.

Finally, when the rain let up, we went across the road to another house where we drank Mekong & had lunch. As the patat & the young customs official monopolized most of the conversation, I didn't get a chance to learn much about the village. However, I did get a few questions in. The village has over 100 (nearer 200) households. It is Ichonmyay village (although there seem to be some Shan overtones). The older customs official who has been in Chiangmai & who is, I believe, Northern Thai told me a little about northern marriage custom - the couple lives initially with the parents of the bride. But no bride price. Have a form of buri si. su. khuan ceremony.

I was struck ~~greatly~~ greatly by the physical characteristics of the people in Nâm Dîp - much taller & fairer skinned than other Thai, & with quite diff. physiognomies. The man in whose house we ate lunch (Omlette, ké-y cù-t, m-m, & kháo cào) speaks No. Thai, Cent. Thai, Shan, & Karen. He apparently has worked near the Salween.

After lunch, we wandered on towards the kamnan's home (which was our destination). Our path led us by a beautiful wat which showed Burmese features (the Fajra Lion statues on the ~~gate~~ wall), Shan features (the bò-t), & Thai features (the khut'i), over a covered bridge, & just the school. This really is one of the most beautiful villages I have ever seen - the arts in the background & the streams running through the village.

The ostensible purpose of our visit was for the patat to talk w/ the kamnan about improving (making?) the road ~~the~~ through the village. I didn't grasp the whole story, but apparently the New Amphoe had not authorized as much money as had been hoped for & now the villagers would have to contribute too.

The kamnan was a very friendly man who took us to the school where the lika troupe which I had seen perform a few nights ago was setting up for a performance here (in order to raise money for the school). He also took us to look at an old Chedi on the school grounds which is interesting in that it attests to a longer link to M.S. than exists in the written records & in that it does not

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appear (to my untrained eye) to be Burmese in style. The kamnan also pointed out another chedi on the hill above the village which is definitely of Burmese style.

On the return back we wandered through the wát where we saw a large group of older men & women who were spending wan phró⁴ in meditation.

By the time that we reached the Amphoe office it was nearly 5 p.m. - in other words it had taken the palat approx. 6 hrs. to transact a relatively simple bit of business. He justified his actions by saying that it is only proper to accept the hospitality of the villagers.

The District Officers of MÊ. SÀRIANG:

At the district office, I made a copy of the District Officers of MÊ. Sàriang since the beginning as a district:

No.	Rank of D.O.	Years of Service	Time of Service
1	Khùn (၇၂၆)	2448-2453 (1905-1910)	5 yrs.
2.	၀.၅ Zammât Tho. 'Army' Captain (၂.၀.၇.) *	2453-2455 (1910-1912)	2 "
3.	၀.၅ Zammât Thèk ? Captain (၂.၀.၀.)	2455-2462 (1912- 1924 1919-1924)	7 "
4.	" " " (")	2462-2467 (1924 -1924)	5 "
5.	" " " (")	2467-2467 (1924)	< 1 "
6.	" " " (")	2467-2472 (1924-1929)	5 "
7.	(၀.၅) Zammât tri. (၀.၀.၇.) ၀.၅ Zammât Thèk	2472-2475 (1929-1932)	3 "
8.	? Captain (၂.၀.၀.)	2475-2482 (1932-1939)	7 "
9.	Khùn (၇၂၆)	22/6/2482-1/3/2483 (24/6/1935-1/3/1940)	9 mos.
10.	Lüang (၇၂၀၀)	1/4/2483-?/4/2486 (1/4/1940-?/4/1943)	3 yrs. 0 mos.
11.	Nai (၇၇၅)	?/?/2486-?/1/2486 (?/?/1943-?/1/1945) < 1 yr. 9 mos.	
12.	Khùn (၇၂၆)	?/12/2488-?/?/2490 (?/12/1945-?/12/1947) < 2 yrs. 0 mos.	
13.	Nai (၇၇၅)	3/11/2490-3/2/2493 (3/11/1947-3/2/1950)	2 yrs. 3 mos.
14.	" "	3/2/2493-7/4/2496 (3/2/1950-7/4/1953)	3 yrs. 2 mos.
15.	" "	7/4/2496-9/2/2497 (7/4/1953-9/2/1954)	1 yr. 4 mos.

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The District Officers of M.S. (cont.):

No.	Rank of D.O.	Years of Service	Time of Service
16.	Nai (1672)	9/9/2497 - 21/1/2501 (9/9/1954 - 21/1/1958)	3 yrs. 5 mos.
17.	" "	3/2/2501 - 16/5/2502 (3/2/1958 - 16/5/1959)	1 yr. 3 1/2 mos.
18.	" "	5/6/2502 - 30/4/2506 (5/6/1959 - 30/4/1963)	3 yrs. 11 mos.
19.	" "	1/10/2501 - 1/12/2506 (1/10/1963 - 1/12/1963)	- 2 mos.
20.	" "	1/1/2507 - 31/3/2508 (1/1/1964 - 31/3/1965)	1 yr. 3 mos.
21.	Police 2 nd Lt. (T.M.T.)	1/4/2508 - 30/9/2508 (1/4/1965 - 30/9/1965)	- 6 mos.
22.	Nai Nai (1675)	20/9/2508 - 6/2/2510 (20/9/1965 - 6/2/1967)	1 yr. 4 mos.
23.	Captain (T.O.)	6/2/2510 - (6/2/1967 -)	

Average duration of Service for 1st 12 D.O.'s 4 2/3 yrs.

Average duration of Service for 2nd 14 D.O.'s (nos. 9-22) 1 yr. 10 5/11 mos.

Average duration of Service for 22 D.O.'s 2 yrs. 4 mos.

Of the 1st 12 D.O.'s, 8 had military ranks, 4 had ~~civilian~~ ^{royal} ranks, 1 had no rank.

Of the 2nd 12 D.O.'s, 2 had " " , 0 " " , 11 " " .

Of the Total (23) " , 9 " " " , 4 " " , 12 " " .

Had bureaucratic rank, old style

* ร.ย.จ.จ.ม.น.ต. (tri., tho., pè.l.) (รองอธิบดีจ.ม.ต., โท, เตท) ~~(ร.ย.จ.จ.ม.น.ต.)~~ are the old bureaucratic ranks.

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MISC. INFORMATION ON AMPHUR MAE SARIANG:

N.B.: The following information was obtained from records kept at the Amphur office. These statistics need some explanation as there was a change in the boundaries of the district this year. Early in 1967 one tambon, Tambon Mĕ:la:nó:i (ม. ๒๖๖๗๕๐), including 16 villages was taken from Amphur Mĕ:Sariang & joined with another tambon from Amphur Khūn Yuam to make ~~the~~ the kĕng Amphur of Mĕ:la:nó:i. (past statistics apply, unless otherwise noted, to the Amphur as it was before Tambon Mĕ:la:nó:i was removed from the District.

- 8 Tambon with 85 mŭbān
- Total land area: 5,278.601 sq. km.
- Land planted in paddy: 9,921 rai with a harvest of 3,987 kwian
- Land planted in shifting cultivation (พื้นที่ป่าไร่หมุนเวียน): 933 rai with 157,500 kg. harvest
[This contrasts with another figure that the pŕat amphur used to be: i.e., 15,430 rai planted in paddy.]

Population:

	T	M	F
Total	39,614	19,387	19,227
Karen	19,860		
Lue?	2,464		

CLIMATE AND NATURAL RESOURCES:

- 2 rivers - Mĕ:nām Mĕ:Sariang (แม่น้ำแม่สารียง) & Mĕ:nām Yuam (แม่น้ำยูแอม)
- Rain, ave. per year: 1,213.6 mm.
- Natural resources: Teak, mĕi tākhan (ไม้ตะกัน), mĕi pŕiuk (ไม้ประยูง), "red" wood (ไม้แดง) shorea obtusa (Shorea obtusa), shorea siamensis (Shorea siamensis), & mĕi yomhŕm (ไม้ยอหม่ม) and wolfram.

Animals:

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436 Elephants

197 horses

1,977 cattle

3,314 buffalo

Occupations and Industry:

- 84% of the population engaged in paddy farming or gardening.

- Annual agricultural income of the population is about 1,000 - 1,500 Baht

24 small rice mills

2 saw mills

1 Liqueur Factory

1 ice factory

1 Electricity generating plant

- Community development: In 1957 a development village was set up in Bán Thung Léng (ບ.ທຸງ ນ້ອງ), Village #1, Tambon M². Khong as an improvement district and it is still being carried out according to the orders of the Min. of Interior.

- 1 Sanitation district with an income of 92,385.51 Baht & expenditures of 51,074.49 Baht.

Firearms (ອາວຸທຳປືນ)360 ^{villagers} ~~cartridges~~ (ປືນປະຊາກອນ - lit. 'back-end loading guns')

749 muzzle-loaders (ປືນປະຊາກອນ - lit. 'mouth-loading gun')

185 revolvers (ປືນປະຊາກອນ)

68 acid? (ອິດສາ)

10 air rifles (ປືນອັດສາ)

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Distances:

Mé. Sáriag - Mé. Hô-n Són 175km.

Mé. Sáriag - Chiangmai 191 "

Schools:

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>
Local/Village Elementary (โรงเรียนประชาบาล)	32	2,723
Govt. Schools (โรงเรียนรัฐบาล)	2	585

Religion:

<u>Institution</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Monks</u>	<u>Novice</u>
wát	7	51	117
Clerical residences (สำนักสงฆ์)	22	51	117

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N.B: This list was made from one kept in the Amphoe office. Páit Nakhon, who provided me with the list, said (1) not all of the names are correct & (2) not all villages are included. In addition, the 16 villages of what was formerly Tambon M2-la-ná-i (ตำบลบ้านลาด), now part of Sub-District M2-la-ná-i, are not here listed.

Name of Tambon /village	Name of Kamnan / Phû-yai bân / other official	Explanation
<u>ตำบลบ้านลาด (tambon bân læ.t)</u>	นางสาว สุนันทา Mr. Niam Sunnathóp	Kamnan
บ. ป่า (B. Pò-y)		Kamnan Asst.
" "	นางคำ ทวีทิพย์ (Mr. Kham Khamphilàí)	" "
" "	" อ้อ วงศ์ชาติ (" Týi Wogphú-tho-n)	" "
บ. ส่อง (B. Sóp ^{hán})	" คำ สุ่มคำ (" Kham Khomsútcai)	HM
บ. 114 (B. Phé?)	" สม วงศ์วิชัย (" Sóm Wúthá-lá-c-m)	"
บ. บ้าน (B. M2. Hân)	" วงศ์ วิชัย (" Wong Sî-wí-chai)	"
บ. บ้านดอน (B. M2. Tò-p)	" อิ่ม คำคำ (" Zin Khamcai)	"
บ. บ้านป่า (B. Thâ-phá-pûm)	" อิ่ม คำคำ (" Wogzin Káwí)	"
บ. บ้านป่า (B. Thâ-Khâm)	" บุญรักษา (" Banya Sûphá-rát)	Tambon 'Doctor'
<u>ตำบลบ้านไร่ (Tambon M2. Sà-rí-y)</u>		
บ. บ้านไร่ (B. C-m C2-y)	นางคำคำ คำคำ (Mr. Khammuan Kham-sén)	HM
บ. บ้านไร่ (B. nai Wí-y)	" สุทัศน์ สุขสมชัย (" Sùthút Sùksóm-chí)	Kamnan
" "	" สม อรรถ (" Phóg Sa-yút)	Tambon 'Dr.'
" "	" อิ่ม สุทธินา (" Týi Suthinna.)	Asst. Kamnan
" "	" สุข ขันทิพย์ (" Sùk Khà-yán-kít)	" "
บ. บ้านไร่ (B. M2. um-b-y Ní-y)	" สม ปิ่น (" Tà-by-kry. Ló-dú?)	HM
บ. บ้านไร่ (B. M2. um-b-y Ní-y)	" ช่าง (" Phá? Nú-cho.)	"
บ. บ้านไร่ (B. pà. p2-y)	" ตาคำ (" Ta-kham Myay Ngam)	"
บ. บ้านไร่ (B. Sa-y mó. Ní-y)	" พัน (" Pan De-yto.)	"

Tambon/Village	Official	Explanation
บ. หัวเตี๋ย (B. Húi ^{Dyá} Tái)	หวงจ้อทู่ เค้อดาง (Mr. Co-tú' Khya-kha.)	HM
บ. หัวลิ๊ด (B. Húi. Lít)	" วิ๋ บือญ (Mr. Wí-rí By-Thu.)	"
บ. หัวลิ๊ด (B. Húi. Lá')	" คักฉา พหาวฮัน (" Khamma. Phána. sin)	"
บ. หัวลิ๊ดหลวง (B. Húi. Lít Luang)	" เบ. บือ ดี 10 (" Be-by. Di. ce.)	"
บ. หัวฮากม้าย (B. Húi Hák mai)	" คี 118 (" Kí He.)	"
บ. หัวหนะ หน้อ (B. Húi. Hó' Nho)	" ก้อ หน้อ (" Kò. Hě. g'ò.)	"
บ. หัวจ้อ (B. Húi. Cáo)	" โน หน้อจ้อ (" No. Dey-sái)	"
บ. หัวกู่ (B. Húi. Kú')	" ลัว หน้อจ้อ (" Phía peigdog)	"
บ. หัวหลวง (B. Húi. Luang)	" คีลลของ หน้อจ้อ (" Dí-loi Thongchai)	"
บ. หัวปลาแก้ว (B. Húi. Pla. Káu)	" คีลล หน้อจ้อ (" Kho. ce. Nga.ndi.)	"
บ. หัวปู้ (B. Húi. pu.)	" หู 118 (" Hú He.)	"
บ. หัวหนะโต (B. Húi. Hó' Tái)	" หม่อง หน้อ (" Mò. g. s'è.)	"
บ. หัวปลาหมอน (B. Húi. Pla. Phán)	" พะ หน้อ หน้อ 118 (" Phó' Mì. Tāmú. he.)	"
<u>ตำบล หัวเตี๋ย (Tambon Húi. Khong)</u>		
บ. หัวลิ๊ด (B. Húi. Lít)	หวงจ้อทู่ หน้อจ้อคักฉา (Mr. Khompan Puongkham khong)	Komnan
" "	" คักฉา หน้อ (" Fu. Khog. keo)	Tambon "Dr."
" "	" คักฉา หน้อจ้อคักฉา (" Thíp Kò-tmogkham)	Asst. H. Komnan
" "	" คักฉา หน้อจ้อ (" P'í. Khog. g.)	" "
บ. หัวคัก (B. Húi. Kák.)	" ส้ม หน้อ (" Sám. he.)	HM
บ. หัวลิ๊ด (B. Húi. Lít)	" หน้อ หน้อ หน้อ (" Mò. he. Khán khún)	"
บ. หัวลิ๊ดหลวง (B. Húi. Lít Luang)	" พะ หน้อ (" Phó' Sù' t'è.)	"
บ. หัวคัก (B. Húi. Kák.)	" จอ หน้อ (" Co. mi')	"
บ. หัวคัก (B. Húi. Kák.)	" พะ หน้อ (" Phó' Yo. h'oy.)	"
บ. หัวหนะ (B. Húi. Nge')	" โพ หน้อ (" Po. so. Po. ya.)	"
บ. หัวคัก (B. Húi. Kák.)	" พะ หน้อ (" Phó' Su.)	"
บ. หัวหนะ (B. Húi. Nge')	" หู หน้อ (" Hú' t'á' plé')	"
[M.E. 13.]		

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Tambon/Village	OFFICIAL	EXPLANATION	Ta
บ. ไร่จอบ (B. M ² . S ² .g)	นายเพชรโต (Mr. Ph ² . W ² .kno.)	HM	บ. ไร่
บ. กอจอบ (B. K ² .g. S ² .m)	"จอบ (" S ² .g. e.)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. อู่ทอ (B. U ² . U ² .)	"เพชรทอเหล็ก (Mr. Ph ² . W ² .ke. L ² .li)	"	บ. ไร่
<u>ตำบลแม่ยาม (Tambon M². Yam)</u>			
บ. ห้วยดิบ (B. N ² .m. D ² .p)	นายกองคำ ไชยชานันท์ (Mr. K ² .g. Kham Chaiyachanan)	Kamnan	บ. ไร่
บ. เขะปวง (B. Kh ² . P ² .uang)	"ทิพย์ มนต์ (Ms. Th ² .p. Mun ² .)	HM 3	บ. ไร่
บ. ห้วยพวง (B. Th ² .ng. Ph ² .e.m)	"จันทร์ ห่อแก้ว (Ms. Can N ² .k ² .e.o)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ห้วยวัง (B. H ² .uai. S ² .ng)	"ตา อินตาจวบ (" Th ² .? In ² .a. w ² .ong)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ไร่โต้ง (B. L ² .e. Kh ² .o?)	"ชัยบอย ไททอง (" Ch ² .u. a ² .i. b ² .o. i. K ² .o. p ² .h ² .o.)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ไร่จอบ (B. M ² . T ² .at.uan)	"อ้อจอบ สว่าง (" T ² .a ² .i. S ² .u ² .k. s ² .a. w ² .at)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ห้วยหิน (B. H ² .uai. H ² .e.g)	"หิน ชัย (" Kh ² .em. Th ² .i. n ² .o.)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. สบจอบ (B. S ² .o ² .m. M ² .a ² .i)	"เพชรเมจ (" Ph ² .? N ² .e. m ² .u ² .i)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. บุนจอบ (B. B ² .un. L ² .a.)	"ปลาท (" Ph ² .a. C ² .e.)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. เขะโต้ง (B. K ² .o ² . Th ² .i. l ² .o.)	"อ้อจอบ มนต์ (" T ² .a ² .i. M ² .u ² .n. T ² .u ² .n)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ไร่จอบ (B. Kh ² .i. s ² .o ² . B ² .o.)	"เพชรโต้ง (" Ph ² .? K ² .o. C ² .o.)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ห้วยจอบ (B. N ² .a ² .m. S ² .i. k. h ² .u.)	"เปะเปะ (" P ² .e ² . P ² .e ² .)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ไร่จอบ (B. M ² . T ² .a. l ² .a ² .)	"อ้อจอบ มนต์ (" Kh ² .y. l ² .a ² .i. T ² .i. r ² .u.)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ไร่จอบ (B. M ² . L ² .a ² .i. m ² . l ² .u ² .ng)	"จอบ มนต์ (" W ² .o. g. B ² .un. m ² .a ² .n)	"	บ. ไร่
บ. ไร่จอบ (B. Kh².i. s².o² Kh ² .i. s ² .o ²)	* นายจอบ มนต์ (" Y ² .u. a. k. M ² .u ² .h ² .a. s ² .i. g)	Tambon "Dr."	บ. ไร่
" " "	" คำปัน เข้มชัย (" Kh ² .am. p ² .an. Th ² .u ² .n. c ² .h ² .a. i)	Asst. Kamnan	บ. ไร่
" " "	" มนต์ เข้มชัย (" M ² .u ² .n. Th ² .u ² .n. c ² .h ² .a. i)	" "	บ. ไร่
<u>ตำบลแม่ยาม (T. M². Yam)</u>			
บ. เขะปวง (B. Ph ² . Ph ² .a.)	นายเป้ง แก้วคำจอบ (Mr. P ² .e. g. K ² .e. o. K ² .h ² .u. m. m. a.)	Kamnan	
" "	" ปัน จอบ (" P ² .a ² .n. W ² .o. g. s ² .i.)	Tambon "Dr."	
" "	" คำปัน เข้มชัย (" Kh ² .am. p ² .an. Ph ² .u. t ² .h ² .a.)	Asst. Kamnan	
" "	" จอบ เข้มชัย (" R ² .o ² . t. C ² .an. t ² .h ² .a. d ² .e. y)	" "	

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Tambon/Village	Official	Explanation
บ. ฝ้าย (B. Mái)	นาย ไข่มุก ฝ้าย (Mr. Wai Phen-ít)	HM
บ. หนองบัว (B. Mò. Kò?)	" ไข่มุก ฝ้าย (" Mi. Phanhá?ái)	"
บ. หนองผก (B. Mò. ?q.k)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Há?há? Nga-nwí.)	"
บ. หนองบัว (B. Húi mưang)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Nè?ce. Tà? pho.)	"
บ. หนองบัว (B. Mò. Múi)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (Mò?thualá? biithu.)	"
บ. หนองบัว (B. Húi Mái?nám)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Thè? char)	"
<u>ตำบล กอแก้ว (T. Kò?g Kò?i)</u>		
บ. กอแก้ว (B. Kò?g Kò?i)	นาย ไข่มุก ฝ้าย (Mr. Ca. Pinyá?ít)	Kamnan
" "	" ไข่มุก ฝ้าย (" Pan zuwan)	Tambon "D."
" "	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Wí. Sò-n khem)	Asst. Kamnan
" "	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Khem Tho-mnam)	" "
บ. หนองผก (B. Phá?ya-nhà)	" ฝ้าย (" Pa?g)	HM
บ. หนองบัว (B. Tón Ngíó)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Sè? Nge.)	"
บ. หนองบัว (B. Húi Múi.)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Mú?kè. Dò-khò)	"
บ. หนองผก (B. Mò. Phè. Nò?j)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Khò.Sò. Sathitkhoy)	"
บ. หนองบัว (B. Mò. Lai)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Cò.la. Biithu.)	"
บ. หนองผก (B. Mò. Phè. Lú?g)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Phè?)	"
บ. หนองผก (B. Phá?ya-tái)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Mò. ?y. Wí?thū.)	"
บ. หนองผก (B. Pà. Pò?g)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Pò?ni. Kò?thū.)	"
บ. หนองผก (B. Kò?g Phè.)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Pè?tá?y Wú?y kè?)	"
บ. หนองผก (B. Húi Wò?k)	" หนองผก ฝ้าย (" Nú?c. Dò-khū.)	"

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TRIBAL GOODS IN THE MARKET:

Visited the town today with Jane. Stopped at the American (? sp.) store - the big new store. The store carries a number of ~~the~~ pieces of Karen cloth & Burmese cloth. I asked the manageress (the middle aged woman, not the old woman) whether Karens bring their goods to sell to her or she goes out to ~~sell~~ buy Karen cloth from Karens. She answered that Karens bring things to her to sell. I noted that she had no Lua' things. She said "The Lua' live too far away" - a rather strange response considering that Lua' live in town. One does see a few Lua' bags - we bought one at the 'Burmese' shop & saw others at the shop at the entrance to the mkt. - but they are much rougher than Karen work.

STATUS (THAI) OF TRIBALS:

The ~~other~~ brother of the ^{Karen} pastor of the ~~the~~ Baptist church in M.S. is a mgr. of the Siam Commercial Bank in Chiangmai. He is the highest status, defined in Thai terms, Karen (or other tribal) I have heard about.

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PAT COATES:

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

NAI THAN & GEORGE PO:

The visit of the ~~date~~ newspaper delivery boy from Nai Than's shop reminded me that Nai Than has the periodical concession for almost all newspapers, magazines, etc. sold in the Amphur. Also, seeing George Po at the Post office yesterday reminded me that Mark had said that Nai Than sends his children to George for additional study in English.

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MERIT-MAKING AT WÁT KĪTIWONG:

This morning Jane, NAK, Sanga & myself went to Wát Kitiwong to make merit (it being won phr^é). To feed the monks, we took three containers: a silver phan (๑๗๓๖) [i.e., tray with pedestal] containing the traditional khuyng bu-cha (๑๗๓๖) - flowers, candles, and incense; a Burmese-made silver khán (๑๗๓๖) or bowl filled with nawnia (khô sǎn / ๑๗๓๖), a tin of sundries, a sack of sugar, a vegetable marrow, and a package of candles; and a basket containing two tins from a pinto, one filled with a phat & the other with cooked white rice, spoons for dishing out the food, and a bottle of water for the trát nám part of the ceremony.

We arrived at the wát between 7:30 and 8:00 and returned before 10:00. This wát was selected by Sanga because it is the only one in town where sermons are given in the morning. The services were held in the khútí, not the bát. The majority of the congregation were old people (with a few grandchildren) & then mainly women. To present food, one did not go up to the front when the monks were seated, but to the side where two tables were arranged, one with the bát of the monks and novices and the other, the place where one put káp khá'ô & other gifts. As one entered, one made the proper 3-times krap, & then took the khuyng bu-cha & presented them in front of altars & priests & then stuck them in a receptacle in front of the altar, but situated in the midst of the congregation.

The service was the usual "morning worship", followed by óu bát. In this case, the donors went up to the table with the bát & placed some rice on each. Following this came the sermon by an elder priest - not the čáo kháná zampáo. After his trát, which we could not follow, even though it was in Pechai Thai - but he used too many big words - the čáo kháná zampáo made a series of announcements & led a discussion about two forthcoming ceremonies: one known as sǎ'áik (๑๗๓๖) - i.e. "lottery" & the other trát káthín (which will be sponsored by some relatives of Sanga from Bangkok). After his announcements came the trát nám & the service was over.

The Amphoe Abbot was very friendly & invited that I sit towards the front & posed a few words during the service. Afterwards, we had a short talk about studying Buddhism & northern writing. He gave me a book concerning "Nirvana" written by a Westerner in the world fellowship of Buddhist service.

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Wát Sē'n Thō'g:

After taking the women home, Cit & I went to the Wát Sē'n Thō'g. This wát is the oldest one in Mae Sariang, but the abbot, a rather young man, didn't know much about it. All he could say was that it originally embraced a larger area (including lands now on the opposite side of the road) & was orig. outside of the city walls. The bō't, he claims, is the original - although the original wood/certhen roof has been replaced by corrugated iron in the last few years. It has a very old image in the Chiergsaen style.

The wát, like the neighborhood in which it is located, is exclusively komyang. There have never, to the knowledge of the abbot, been Lu' or Karen novices or monks in the wát. At the present time there are but one novice & two monks.

At noon the monks from this wát were going to wát chom thō'g where there was to be the sá'ik ceremony today. That wát has one Lu' novice at the present time & a good part of its congregation is Lu' (although komyang & Karen also participate).

After talking with the monk, we went to what I think is the bō't for the morning's sermons. Here all of the congregation were elderly people - no more than 20 with a preponderance of women. The service (sans the reading) was much the same as the one previous although the chanting style was slightly different & the sermons considerably so - being komyang sermons [I have recorded their service almost in its entirety]. There were 2 sermons, one by a priest who appeared only to give the sermon & then promptly retired.

Some differences from first service: women all wore white blouses with sítái's (mainly white). All lighted candles in front of them - some of these were collected & placed on the altar. All the phā'n's were of the red lacquer variety.

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INTERVIEW WITH NA'I NŪ MA-LAI, AN OLD POLICEMAN:

This afternoon M^s. Tawⁿ took me to talk with Na'i NŪ Ma-lai (ນາໂນ ນຸ ມາລາຍ), a man of 86 who had been a policeman in Mae Sariang. He lives in a house ~~is~~ on a little side road just before one reaches the landing to take boats across the river.

Mr. NŪ was born in Ubon, but has lived here for 57 years (i.e. since 1910). I asked him mainly about his remembrance of the govt. of Mae Sariang.

Prior to its incorporation into the Bangkok administrative system, Mae Sariang was a myang under Chiangmai & had a ruler known as Ph^s. Luang (ພອນ ລູງ) - equivalent to the ĕo myang of the Northeast. This Ph^s. myang was a Khammyang, not a Shan. The name of the best Ph^s. Myang was Phaya (Phya.) S^v.li.s^v.nmyang (ພະຍາ ສະລີ ສະນິ ມຽງ). There are apparently descendants of the person still living here.

In B.S. 119 (A.D. 1900) Mae Sariang was divided from Chiangmai. The rulers were returned to a na'i khw^en (ນາໂອ ກຸ້ວນ) which was equivalent to Na'i Ampho. & Kh^o. Luang bor^oweⁿ (ກຸ້ວ ລູງ ບໍຣົວເນ) who was equivalent to governor. The ruler of M^s. H^o.g^s.n at the time was a Shan prince known as ĕao lo' m^e. h^o.ng^s.n (ເຈົ້າ ລຳ ມະ ກຸ້ວ ສະນິ).

In B.S. 121 (A.D. 1902), h^o.h^o.ng^s.n was made into West Chiangmai Province with a Dane, Thoransen, became the Kh^o. Luang bor^oweⁿ. This Thoransen was in the police force & later moved to Chiangmai [must have been Danu Thorangkul's Father or G.F.].

In B.S. 2453 (A.D. 1910) ~~the~~ M^s. H^o.g^s.n stopped being a bor^oweⁿ & became a province. The name of M^s. Sariang was changed from Muang Yuam about this time because of the confusion between it and Kh^un Yuam. The name M^s. Sariang came from the smaller (than the Yuam) Ph^s. Sariang river which flows through here.

I asked what was the attitude of the govt. (in particular the district offices) in earlier days towards the tribal people. He said that the D.O. wanted the Karens to become Thai. He helped implemented this policy by moving (or encouraged the moving) Karens down to live in the plains rather than have them remain swidden agriculturalists. Also, schools were opened to bring Karens into the Thai way.

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

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There were more Burmese living here when he first arrived than there are now.

There used to be a lakmyang but there is not now. However, MS Tawon said there is still a pygmy shrine known as the h^u. c^uomyang: (၂၈၀၂၇၂၃၀၀). This is not a very imp. place & is rundown. There is no one to look after it. However, before ordinations, the person to be ordained is supposed to go ~~past~~ wai at the shrine.

Nai Ni said that there was no difference between border police & regular police when he started. He again repeated the fact that Shanmen was responsible for the police before.

VISIT TO TOWN SHRINE:

After leaving Nai Ni, MS Tawon took me to see the h^u. c^uomyang. It is on a small alleyway, fairly close to the Phansit Co. (1/2 off the MS-Siang Rd). Indeed, it is ~~in~~ rundown & the grounds are ill-kept. He said that the D.O. plans to build a better shrine.

THE PHANSIT CO.:

Afterwards, I spent an hour or so sitting on the front porch of the Phansit Co. talking with Cit & several others.

The Phansit Co. employs about 300 Karen who work primarily as tree cutters & cantakers for the elephants. The Co. has 70-40 elephants. Karen also work in the mines in the area. Apparently no Luc^s are employed in these things.

While we were sitting there, a group of Karen came up to get rice from the company. I asked if the co. paid its workers in rice rather than money. The answer was no, but that since rice was so expensive in M.S., the co. buys rice in Chiangmai (filling up the empty trucks for the returning, supplies), & provide it for its employees.

INTERVIEW WITH BENNY:

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

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We talked at length about a variety of subjects:

Hostel:

He says that the hostel charges the students 10 tang of rice per year for their rent. Some can't afford this & provide only 5 tang & others none at all (for this latter type, special arrangements have to be made). Some students bring such other foodstuffs as peppers & garlic for the hostel.

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

Thus far, there have been 3 hostel students who have graduated from MS3 (Mathayom 6): 1 girl & 2 boys.

- 1 boy finished MS5 (MS) at Prince Royal College & is now studying at Chiangmai Teachers Training College.
- The girl first went to Dara Academy & then couldn't pass the entrance examination to study M7-8 at Prince Royal. Then she went to another school in Chiangmai & lived at the Baptist hostel there while attending school. She didn't like school & has returned to M.S. & doesn't know what she wants to do.
- The last boy completed M6 (MS3) & didn't continue his education. He would have liked to have been a teacher in one of the tribal schools (under the auspices of the Border Police), but didn't pass the examination. He worked for a while at the hospital & is now working with his brother in a lumber firm in Tak Kae(?) on the other side of the airstrip.

Karens are given Thai names when they go to school. This causes problems because they were registered (census, ~~etc.~~ registration card, etc.) with Karen names. There are always difficulties when they change schools.

There are lots of Karens in Chiangmai who are not easily identifiable as Karens.

The hostel children like to rush back home if they have a few days' holidays.

The aim of most of the students is simply to earn a salary. Consequently it is very disappointing when they fail examinations.

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One boy who was studying M2 left school & is now working in a Honda workshop in Chiangmai. Another boy who left while studying M5 is now working at the Baptist Agric. Experimental farm on Huay Kao, in Chiangmai.

Generally speaking, Karens have lots of problems in finding jobs.

KAREN SHOPKEEPERS & WEALTHY PEOPLE:

[As a general answer to the question if there are any Karen shopkeepers in M.S., Benny answered,] Karen shopkeepers who exist in M.S. have usually married into Thai families. The biggest land holder [according to Benny] in M.S. is a Karen who married a Thai wife. The da of this man married Wichian who owns the ~~shop~~ big modern shop [which we have heretofore known as Amarin J. Benny thinks that Wichian himself is Luo? - maybe his father was half-Chinese, but his mother was Luo?. The shop employs only Luo?. Benny thinks that Wichian's father was involved in selling "country liquor". He says a story is told of Wichian, although he doesn't know if it is true. There used to be a famous Khru. Ba. (Kṛ. ʔ) - i.e. a Buddhist monk - living in the temple across from the hotel. This monk accumulated a large amt. of wealth - how, he doesn't know. Wichian's Fa borrowed 400,000 baht [prob. an inflated figure] from this monk. Shortly thereafter, this monk died & the papers regarding the loan were very unclear. Consequently, the loan was never repaid & it is said that the capital for building the store was obtained in this way.

Interestingly, Lu had originally told Jane that the Wichian & his wife were "Chinese" & was denigrating the deceitful (ko-g-Tṛo) ways of the Chinese. In any event, the store - or rather its owners - have a reputation for being shysters. Lu also says that they charge exorbitant interest on the credit they extend to people. It is also apparent to us that the shop deals in Karen & Burmese cloth; but Lu says they also deal in opium.

Benny thinks that the Karen man who owns all the land got his start with elephants - The Karen man who is running the lumber business (mentioned about his brother above) was orig. an Elephant owner. He also now owns a truck. I remarked that elephants obviously represent one source of capital for Karens. Benny doesn't think that there are any wild

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elephants in this area, but Karens breed elephants.

Jam asked about Karen cloth on the market. Benny says that there are a number of weavers who cater to Thai taste in colors - i.e., they change the basic blue colors which are white, black, & red, with an occasional touch of green.

Jam asked if Karens are sharp businessmen like the Chinese. Benny says no, but the hill Karens are very tight fist.

Karen Nationalism:

Benny talked at length about his experience in Burma. He says that today there are very few Karens who wish to secede from Burma, but feel a common cause with all other Burmese ~~and~~, of any group, who wish to change the present military govt. He feels that the military is exploitative & arbitrary.

To write his wife's sister in Dargan, he must use a roundabout method by writing to some missionary in the U.S. who sends forward the message. In turn, she will send out messages via some missionary who passes through Burma.

Wát Pá Hiao:

Benny mentioned that ~~the~~ ^{the} previous monk who used to be in Wát Pá Hiao was a Pao Karen. His brother is the present Karen incumbent there. The former monk was very popular & it was thus a shock to ~~the~~ his admirers, according to Benny, that he left to get married. He married a Taungtha Karen girl who lives in M.S. This ex-monk could read Burmese - but not his Karen. The same is true of his brother. The reason for this is because they have been trained in a Burmese wát.

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HEADMASTER OF THE M.S. SCHOOL:

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

George Po:

Jan 2 I had a long visit with George Po over coffee in the restaurant next to the hotel. We heard mainly about his trial & tribulations in Burma.

He has 8 children:

- 1- boy - now living in Rangoon - working as a writer & cartoonist.
- 2- girl (age 25) - now studying at M.C. Chw. Agric school (1 of 15 girls). Has had a hard time because has begun her education 3 times (Burmese, English & Thai) but has persisted. Likes farming & tractor driving.
- 3- girl - living in Kelao in Shan States with ~~the~~ George's Wi Mo (now 86) & takes care of her.
- 4-5-6 - born in Durma, living in M.S.
- 7-8 - born in Thailand, living in M.S.

His Wi Fa, although a Baptist (i.e. his da sent to Catholic school) was the head of a Wesleyan school. Wi Mo was a nurse who lived for long periods of time in England. His cousin was the 1st Div. of Burma & was one of those who went with the 30 Thakins (Purmer who had been working for the Japanese of later headed the Burmese govt.) to India to help allies. Parachuted back into Burma. Another distant relative was the head of the Karen Independence movement.

became - George is obviously very interested in religion in general & in the occult (despite - maybe his protestations about being a free thinker). He commented that Thai Buddhism is not

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like Burmese Buddhism - no emphasis on meditation (U.pasana). He said that the monks at the tribal development center did practice meditation. They apparently attracted a group of lay followers - both men & women - including the son of the woman who runs the Khâo sô:i shop on M.S. Rd. This chap apparently made some sort of breakthrough in his meditation.

ANALYTICAL OBSERVATION:

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

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WATS IN MAE SARIANG

Every wát in M.S. has two names; one the 'official' (Govt. or Thai or formal) name and one the name which local people know the wát by. This according to Ćit. He says that this practice is also widespread throughout the country and even found in Bangkok.

Not every wát is really a true wát - only those which have a bôt marked off with sě.ma. (ဝဲသံ). The other places that appear to be wats (and are so called in common parlance) are formally known as sǎmnák sǎng (ဝဲကံသံသံ) and the buildings in them that look like bôt are really wíhǎn. The following is the list of wát & sǎmnák sǎng in M.S. (revised & repeating information on pp. 5 & 15). The first name given is the official name & the second, the local name. An asterisk indicates that the place is a wát. No marks are given for sǎmnák sǎng:

1. ဝဲကံသံသံ (wát sithimogkhon) - ဝဲကံသံသံ (wát khá'puay). The latter name is the name of the villoge in which the wát is located.
- * 2. ဝဲကံသံသံ (wát sǎ'bumliay) - Ćit does not of any other name.
- * 3. "ဝဲကံသံသံ" (wát tháya'rom) & - ဝဲကံသံသံ (wát chong sa'ng)

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- * 4. วัดจันทร์สวรรค์ (wát čánthára.wát) - วัดมณฑลารักษ์ (wát manta.la.)
- * 5. วัดกิตติวงศ์ (wát Kittiwong) - วัดสบหารักษ์ (wát sòphá.n) or
วัดสบหารักษ์ใน (เวียง) (wát sòphá.n nai (wiang)) - วัดแก้ว (wát Mě.há.n) -
in the Karen village - is known as วัดสบหารักษ์นอก (เวียง) - (wát sòphá.n nǎk (wiang))
- * 6. วัดแสงทอง (wát sǎ:n thǎ:ng) - วัดคุ้ม (wát lúm)
- 7. วัดสุพรรณบุรี (wát sùphān.rá.sī) - วัดจอกดำ (wát čǎ:ng kham)
- 8. วัดไชยลาป (wát čhaiyá.lā.p) - วัดป่าหนาด (wát pā.nà.t)
- 9. วัดจอยทอง (wát čǎ:m thǎ:ng) - Ćit could think of no other name.
- 10. วัดอมราวาส (wát ōmmára.wát) - วัดป่าหิมา (wát pā.hi.aa)
- 11. ~~วัดไชยลาป~~ (wát čhaiyá.lā.p) - Ćit could think of no other name.
วัดจอยทอง (wát čǎ:m thǎ:ng)
- local writing จอยทอง (čǎ:m čǎ:ng)

In addition to the 4 full wát listed above, there is one more outside the town - วัดแก้ว (wát phǎ.phá.) & wát čhaiyá.lā.p is in the process of building a new bôt (see below).

OTHER NOTES ON RELIGION:

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

Priests are supposed to spend wan phrá.yái (the 14th or 15th waxing/waning) in ~~the~~ a bôt. If they live in a sǎmnók.sǎn, they will travel to the wát residence of the tambon or district tabut on these days.

There is no formal prohibition against women entering a bôt. Whether or not they do depends on the local custom they follow. Consequently, some women will and some women won't. The presence of the women at the services at wát sǎ:n thǎ:ng is explained by the fact that there is no proper bôt at the wát - just a wihán.

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because the ~~the~~ wát is too involved in the construction of the new b^ò.t. This yr. the students go to wát sithi bunyang. When the school is operating it is mainly for monks & novices, although lay men can attend.

At the moment, the wát has 1 Karen novice who was ordained here, but is currently away studying Pali in Hê. H^ê.g S^ê.n.

This wát was founded 70 years ago. Its original name is ^{ဝတ်ပုသိန်} (wát p^u.n^á.t) - [Correction over previous spelling?]. This is the name of a tree. (According to M^ê.t^ho Yuan-Thai - English dictionary, ^{ကတ်လွင်} (n^á.t l^uang) in B.T. & ^{ကတ်} (n^á.t) in CT is a shrub or shrubby tree technically known as *Burmesa Balsamifera* & colloquially as Ngai Camphor Plant). ~~At this~~ Northern Thai believe that it is a good protection against ph^y. (နိရောဓ).

The wát attracts people ~~from~~ from villages as far away as 16 km. to become monks / novices. This includes Karen villages. This led us ~~to~~ to see the monk to talk about M^ê.Tiya. (?n.) which I had heard about before as being a Christian village. The abbot said that of the 60 households in the village, 10 are Buddhist, 4 are Catholic, and the rest are Protestant. If the Buddhists want to follow their religion they either have to invite monks (there is no wát in the village) or go to a neighboring ^{kon} ~~kon~~ myay village in the district.

Most Karen Buddhists, the abbot answered in response to my question, use Kammyay forms of sermons & chants although a few still use Burmese / Shan forms. But these latter seem to be disappearing.

We had a long discussion about ceremonies held in local wats. People in M.S. hold "the leaving of lent" (wan z^í.k phans^ö. - ^{ဝတ်ခန့်ခွာနေ့}) as a most important festival & have some distinctive customs associated with it. It lasts for 3 days & , as in the NE, includes ~~Kammyay~~ Kom Pai.

One ceremony which is restricted in practice is the "washing of Buddha's relics" - ^{ပရိသတ်တော်အား ရေစိမ်းဆေးခြင်း} (phⁱthi. s^ögn^á.m phr^á. b^ár^ám^á.th^át) - which is held only at wát Kitiwong & wát ~~kon~~ kh^á.m (^{ဝတ်ခန့်ခွာနေ့}) which is outside the city.

Each year some wats, but not all, will have the ~~the~~ th^ê.t má h^í.ch^át (^{ဝတ်မာရ်ဆေးခြင်း}) which is similar to the Bun Phr^á. w^át (^{ပုသိန်နေ့}) of the NE.

The Bun B^ö.g Fai (^{ပုဂံပွဲ}) is held in this area as in the NE. It is held ~~in~~ in the 8th lunar month, northern reckoning (6th lunar month, E.T. reckoning) - or May.

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This date led to a footnote that Northern lunar months are 2 ahead of the Central Thai lunar months.

I then asked the abbot to give the ceremonies held in each lunar month. He didn't get very far, but gave me the following attenuated list:

- 1: ^{The.tsi'ka.n} ~~The.tsi'ka.n~~ zō'k phansā: (เทศกาลออกพรรษา) - "End of Buddhist Lent"
 between the abbot & I
- Sā.lā.k kâ.phāt (สาลักกภัต) - there was considerable discussion about whether this can precede the end of Lent ceremony. Obviously, as is now happening, it can & can be in the 12th month.
- The.tmā'nā.chāt (เทศกาลเข้าพรรษา)
- 1-2: ~~The~~ Thō't Kā.thin (ทอดกฐิน)
- 2: Thāwā'i khā.o.mā.thūp.yāt (ถวายข้าวสงฆ์ปลงบาตร) - in CT; Thān khā.o.phrā'cāo.thūng (ถวายข้าวพระเจ้าหลวง) in NT; and Thāwā'i khā.o.sō.m.tō: (ถวายข้าวสวดธัมม) in Shen.
- ~~L~~ Lō'i Krā.thog (ล่อใจพระสงฆ์) on 16 November

The conversation then turned to the "Dharma Ambassadors" (Thammā.thū't (ธรรมทูต)) or Buddhist missionary program. The abbot said that it wasn't all from monks in Bangkok & that in the dry season 4 monks from M.S. (2 from wāt Kī'fō.wong, 1 each from wāt sī.thī'mong.khā & wāt sī.bun.kyāng) participate in this program.

The groups of people who go out from the tribal development center (to Karen villages) include, besides a health officer & an agricultural officer, a "meditating" monk (one skilled in Vipassana) & a "preaching" monk. Although 2-3 of these monks are from Bangkok, the others are from Chiangmai & Kammyang is the medium of communication.

The abbot also referred to what he called Thammā.cā.rīk (ธรรมจาริก) - lit. 'wandering Dharma' which is apparently applied to monks who wander around the countryside in March, April, & May. He says that this program has had some success (in propagandizing?).

The conversation next turned to the reliquaries in the countryside. There were, as I had surmised, primarily for laymen. ~~There~~ For the North, reliquaries for the ashes of laymen & ordinary members are called Hō'ng (ห่อหิ้ง) or simply h'ng (หิ้ง), while those of the Buddha, his disciples, &

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Important monks are called thâ-t (တံတဲ).

These Abbot said that there is an Indian monk now at Wát Kitiwng (the brother of a cloth merchant in town) & there have also been Chinese monks in that temple.

Last year 3-4 Karens were recruited through the tribal ^{development} center & were sent to Bangkok to be ordained as priests. One of them was a village headman. They will return at the end of Lent.

The man in charge of building the bòt comes from Lamphun. Already 40,000 baht has been spent in the bòt & it is not yet finished. Money came primarily from people, but in part from govt. It has always been more than two years in the building & will be at least 3 totes before finished.

In February there will be a special ceremony at the wát, known in Kamengay as Tha-n thâi (ကံကော) to help in raising money for wát.

INVITATION TO ATTEND Sàlà-kkàphàt Ceremony:

Today, a man representing the wát committee of Wát Zommára-wát (wát pà-hiáo) brought us an invitation to attend the festivities connected with a sàlà-kkàphàt ceremony. The invitation (as translated) reads as follows:

" SCHEDULE OF EVENTS "

* {	Thambun Sàlà-kkàphàt (တံတဲန)	Wát Zommára-wát
}	ကျပ်ပုလဲကံကော (ကျပ်ပုလဲကံကော)	Zampho. M&S. Sàriay

~~together~~ " Together the Wát committee (ကျပ်ပုလဲကံကော) ^{& longyatin' (ဝိနာ)} of Wát Zommára-wát has arranged the merit making of presenting sàlà-kkàphàt (တံတဲန) [with the following schedule

* ကံကော (sàlà-k) lit. means ~~ticket~~ 'ticket or take' & ကျပ်ပုလဲကံကော (phàt) is a bound form meaning 'food'. The term ကျပ်ပုလဲကံကော (sàlà-kkàphàt) is the Thai name for the ceremony. ကျပ်ပုလဲကံကော (tainten) apparently is the local word for the ceremony although No-i M&S's dictionary gives the name as either ကျပ်ပုလဲကံကော (kin kô'i sàlà-k) or ကျပ်ပုလဲကံကော (tân kô'i sàlà-k) and Phrôtham Ratcha-niwat's dictionary gives the following

Sàlâ:kâphât:

23 Sept., 1967

Because I had to take Suga to Chiangmai on Thursday & Friday, and just returned this afternoon, I was unable to attend the ceremony at wât ?omá-ra-wát. However, Jane, NAK, la., & Lai's sister (our land lady) attended the ceremony. The offering that our family made consisted of an earthenware water vase filled with uncooked rice (khâ:osǎn) & into which was stuck a 'money tree'. This latter is a bamboo tree decorated with artificial flowers & pieces of money. ~~the~~ On ours was placed B\$15 from us & B\$10 from Suga. Jane also took our silver khân filled with khâyay bu:cha: (flowers, candles, incense).

Jane said that other peoples offerings at the wât consisted in part of ones like ours & in part of pails filled with ~~food~~ dry foods (or foods that can be kept for several days) & the other things (money tree, khâ:osǎn, etc.).

Jane said that the things in the khân were presented in the usual way at the beginning of the ceremony. The sàlâ:kâphât offering was first taken away by a member of the organizing committee. Then, when her turn came, she was taken to a monk & ~~the~~ a member of the organizing comm. said to the monk that this person came to make an offering. Jane said that she wasn't aware of numbers being stuck into the offering, & of the gifts being presented by 'to Hong' - although she may not have been attuned to this facet of the ceremony.

A Burmese orchestra played outside of the wihā:n where the ceremony was held.

Karen Businessmen in M.S.1

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

While talking with him, we asked about Karen businessmen (shopkeepers in M.S. He gave us a similar story to Benny. There is a Karen landowner (married to a ^{Shan} ~~Thai~~) who also owns a small shop in the mkt. His da. is married to Wichian who in turn's half-Chinese. The only variations on the story are the ownership of the small shop, the wife of the Karen being Shan (not Khonmyang), & ~~Wichian~~ not knowing whether Wichian was half-Bur? or not.

I wonder if Karens make any distinction between Shan & Khonmyang?

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He also said that when he first came here (13 years ago), there were only 3 Chinese residents (each of whose name he prefaced by the title Čik - i.e. čĕk) - Nai Thank Pather, Nai Wichian's Pather, & Sombat (the owner of the hotel). However, he said that there are now a number of mixed bloods.

25 September 1967

INVITATION TO SĀLĀ:KĀPHĪT Ceremony at Wāt ^{Chom} ~~Chom~~ Čĕ:ŋ:

Today I received a hand-written invitation to attend a sĀlĀ:kĀphĪt ceremony at Wāt Chom Čĕ:ŋ (which was called Č:m Čĕ:ŋ in the note):

"We the 'congregational group' (คณะสังฆกร) of Wāt Č:m Čĕ:ŋ are pleased to invite you to come together with us to make merit in the festival (พิธี) of presenting sĀlĀ:kĀphĪt (ตบเทียน) at Wāt Č:m Čĕ:ŋ on 26th September, 1967 (25 day of the waning of the moon in the 12th lunar month northern reckoning).

Time: 12:30 hours

[Signed] Congregational Group of Wāt Č:m Čĕ:ŋ "

26 September 1967

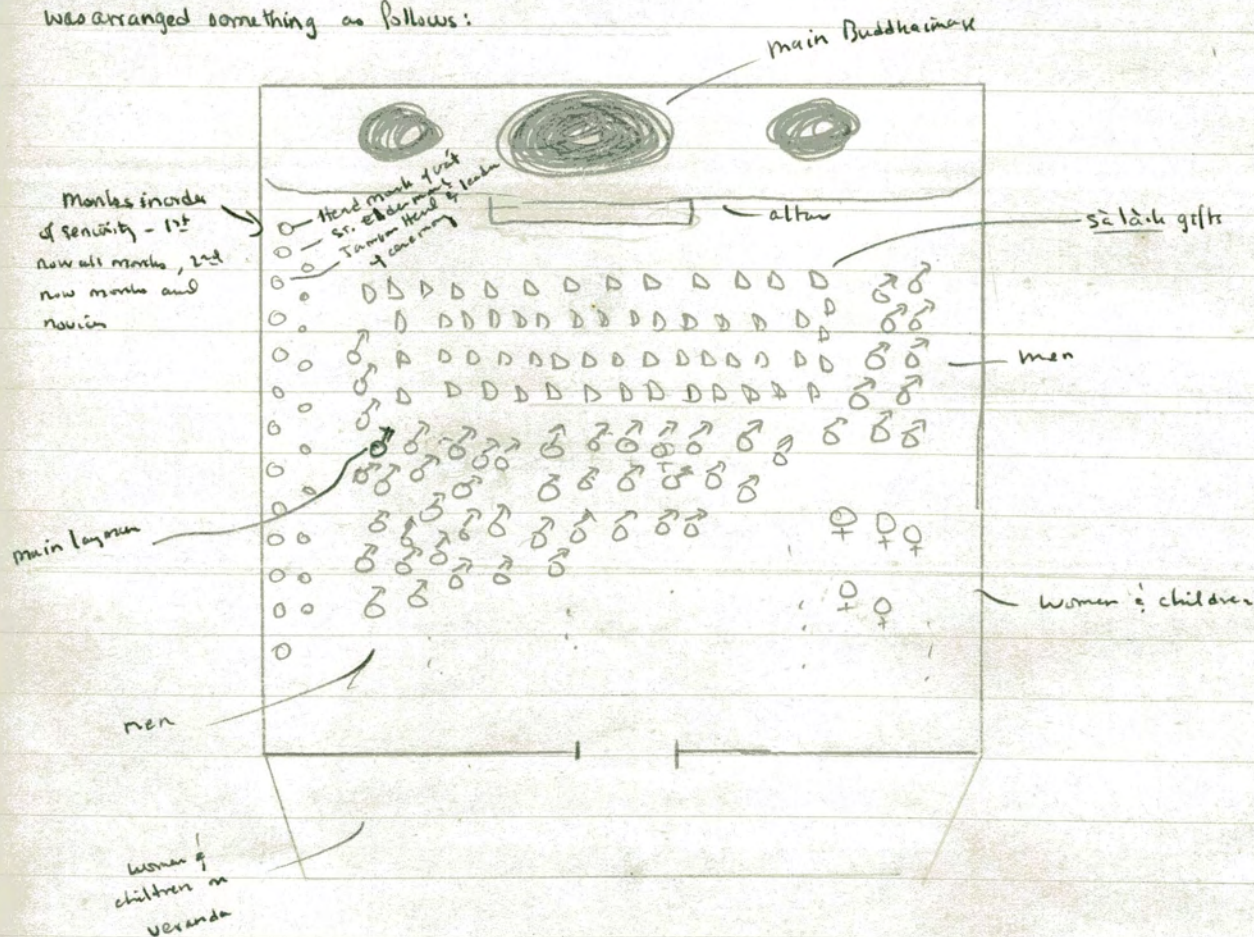
SĀLĀ:kĀphĪt Ceremony at Wāt Č:m Čĕ:ŋ:

At a little after 12:30 today I arrived at Wāt Č:m Čĕ:ŋ to witness (and participate in) the sĀlĀ:kĀphĪt ceremony. I was accompanied by Čit, Čit son Khĕik, & Sanga. I couldn't go earlier or stay too long because Peter & Betty were visiting at mid day & Jan & NAK were not well.

When we arrived, the majority of the people were in the wĭhĕ:n (or just outside on the porch & under the neighbouring sĀ:la.), although some people were milling around & a khonmyay orchestra (consisting primarily of a long drum & gongs) was playing on the veranda of the khĭtĕ. The inside of the

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was arranged something as follows:



I did not take a salaik gift. Rather, I took the silver khun filled with flowers, candles, incense & an envelope containing B25. I made the presentation of these in front of the main monks shortly after I arrived. There were containers for the flowers & incense in front of these monks. With cool bunch of flowers, I made a request wai - also with the incense. I didn't see any candles there so I kept them here. I also presented the envelope with the money. I then retired to a sitting position in the central part of the wihan.

Some chanting had been going on when we arrived, but I was too disoriented to get it recorded. However, once back in the center, I started recording in the midst of a layman's chant of presentation of the gifts. This was done in the formalized No. Thai. This was followed by another person (monk?) whom I could not see became behind a pole chanting also in formal N.T. During this chant a layman took a baht & filled it with

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slips on which numbers were written. These numbers corresponded to the numbers attached to each offering. The baít was passed to each monk who selected a slip (ธูปธูป - cháp sítáik). One monk then followed around with a notebook & wrote the name of the monk, his wát, & the number he selected. After all the monks & novices had selected their numbers, several lay leaders also took numbers.

During the course of the ceremony piecrackers were set off.

When the chanting ended, chimes were struck.

Then the monks chanted their official acceptance of the offering. This chant was in the Northern Thai form (sítáit kammuan).

Followed by chant by chief layman in formalized Northern Thai.

Then there was a short intro. sítáit by chief monk & then the thúat nó'm in Thai style chanting by all monks.

Then the gifts were distributed. This was done by ~~the~~ a layman reading off the list ~~by~~ made by the one monk. When the gift was announced, it was taken outside to the pavilions surrounding the wát. Here the donor & monk would have a private presentation & thank you. If there were more gift to than monks, the remaining ones were given to wát en cón cén. Those given to particular monks & novices were taken home to the clergyman's home wát.

After the distribution was through, there was another short chant by the layman (unrecorded) & then the ceremony was over.

The gifts in this case consisted primarily of buckets filled with kháo sán, vegetables, fruits, canned foods, fresh foods that can be kept (it emphasized that the gifts of food must be of the type that can be kept for a long time), ~~the~~ earthenware vases, utensils of various sorts (particularly basins), etc. Each offering had a piece of paper attached telling whom its donor was.

The people who attended the ceremony came primarily from the neighborhood & included some Lué from B. Phé?

I noticed at this ceremony, as with all other tham bun I have seen in S.S., that people often hold flowers & popcorn (a donation income) between their hands when sitting in the wát position.

27th September, 1967

INTERVIEW WITH ABBOT OF WÁT Čantherá-wát:

This afternoon Čit took me to wát Čantherá-wát (wát manta-le.) where we talked with Phrá Ya-níka (พระยาอินทร์), the abbot.

When we entered the wát, we were confronted primarily by the large new sá-la which is under construction. We met the abbot near the new building and spent most of the initial conversation in (or on) the sá-la. The abbot said that the Phansit Co. has donated 57,500 baht towards the construction of the sá-la. This represents the vast majority of the \$60,000 the abbot estimates the sá-la will cost. The old sa-la (wí-hán?), of which the abbot later showed me a picture, was built in traditional Burmese style; but, unfortunately, it was beginning to fall down and had to be replaced. Since no workmen know how to construct the old Burmese style, this new building will not be in the same style, although it ~~will~~ does have the several layers of eaves characteristic of Burmese wats.

Čit said later that the donation from the Phansit Co. comes in part from the Co. & in part from the family which owns the Co. (this corroborates Mark Anderson's story). Apparently, the fact that the family which owns the Phansit Co. is orig. Mon explains why this wát was chosen.

The abbot says that this wát is 60 years old & has the local name of wát manta-le. because the first abbot was from Mandalay.

The bót of the wát is a small building made of concrete. It has a dedication, in Thai, on the mantel before the entrance. The sé-ma which surround the bót are not like Thai sé-ma but are ~~pieces of~~ slabs of uncarved stone. On one of the pillars of the new sá-la. there is some writing in Burmese. In front of the new sá-la is an unusual bell. There is also a smaller sa-la built in the same style as the bót. Finally there is a khútí which is also used as the place in which services are held.

I asked the abbot about any special ceremonies which are held at this wát. He says that in the 12th month (northern reckoning) - or about November - there is a ceremony called thā-n lchā-ophrá-cāo-lūng (๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓). Although this ceremony is held in every wát, it has a special form here. Also, at the wísakha-bu-cha ceremony, people come specially to worship at a sacred Bo tree (อินทรี). This tree came originally from Ceylon via Burma.

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We then talked about Burmese wats in Thailand. The abbot took us to the khūti where he brought out a list of Burmese wats ~~included in an association~~ whose monks are included in a Burmese clerical organization - Khānā sōng phāmā. (ကောသလဝံသ). The headquarters of this organization is in ~~Lampang~~ Lampang & the chief monk (zāthibōdi sōng - ဝိပဿနာ) lives in the Lampang wāt of wāt thā.má zō. (ဘုံတံတေး). This wāt also teaches in Burmese, as well as in Thai - apparently the only wāt to ~~do so~~ teach in Burmese.

The no. of Burmese wats included in the association, by province, are as follows:

Bangkok	3
Lampang	11
Chiangmai	10
Chiangrai	3
Mae Hong Son	6
Tak (Mae Sot)	2
Phrae	1
Total	36 (33 in the North)

In Mae Hong Son, the breakdown is as follows:

Hmphoe. Pasi	1
Māe Sāriang	4
Khūn Yuam	1

In his own statement, as distinct from the official listing, the abbot said that the Burmese wāt in Khūn Yuam had been transformed it into a mixed Burmese/Thai wāt. There is apparently another Burmese wāt in Māe la. lūng (located about 50 km. from M.S.) In Māe Sāriang, the wats listed in the official listing as Burmese are wāt chōng sūng (ဘုံဝေလ်သွင် or ဘုံဝေလ်သွင်), wāt cānthāra.wāt (ဘုံခဏ္ဍာရ), wāt sūsān (ဘုံနုပိတောက် - another name for wāt zomāra.wāt), and wāt cōng kham (ဘုံဝေလ်ကမ် - the wāt near the landing on the river.

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I inquired a bit more about each of these wats:

- 1) Wát Cò-g (or chò-g) sūng: 4 monks, 2 novices; all clergy from here although descendants of ~~the~~ Shans; ~~is~~ is a Shan wát.
- 2) Wát Cò-g Kham: 1 monk, 0 novices; monk from here is descendant of Shans (according to Cít he doesn't speak any Central Thai). Shan wát.
- 3) Wát pà-hào (wát sù-sūn): 2 monks, 0 novices. Both monks ordained in Thai way rather than Burmese (apparently in contrast to other monks in Burmese wats). Older monk a descendant of Burmese and has travelled to Burma. Younger monk, the abbot, is a Karen. Known as a Taungsa (Taungthu) wát.
- 4) Wát Cānthāra-wát: 2 monks, 0 novices. The abbot is from Burma & the 2nd monk is from M.S. Sòt (descendant of Burmese). Known as a Mandalay wát because original abbot came from Mandalay.

According to the abbot, the qualifications in a Burmese wát for being an abbot of a wát include the following: (a) 10 tents in the monkhood; (b) ability to chant the Patinoka; (c) knowledge of the Sangha; (d) understanding of the teaching in phá-mi-sòt (?), (e) being able to give sermons so that other monks can understand them.

I asked about the 'congregation' of the wát - mainly Burmese plus some local people who live in the area (even though the sermons are in Burmese). The Burmese in M.S. come from many places in Burma - not just from one specific area. There is no kammakam wát (wát committee). There is just a sòphá (ဝတ်) - i.e. 'council'.

There is always a thít káthín at this wát although no sponsor has come forth as yet. It may end up being a káthín sámmá-khí. - That is, a káthín in which a large number of people join together in sponsoring the ceremony.

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There is no sālakphāt ceremony at this wát & it is not usual for the Burmese wats to have it - note that it was the first time the ceremony was held at wát pū-hiāo. However, we did discuss the meaning of the ceremony. I asked what 11016 (te.n) meant. It is cognate with 11726 (the.n) - to substitute for. I asked if this meant that the offerings were given in the memory of the dead? However both Āt & the abbot said this wasn't the case, but I didn't quite understand what was meant.

Returning to the question of Burmese wats, I asked if any Karen wats were included within the Burmese ~~the~~ organization or followed the Burmese way. He said that wát mē-hān used to be Burmese, but now it has changed to be Shan [sometimes the abbot makes a distinction between Shan & Burmese, which other times he says they are the same]. He said the Shan wats in MĒ. Hŏng sŏn are not included within the Burmese organization, but they can give sermons in Burmese. The Khana Sŏng Phamā has been in existence only 10 years.

I asked about divisions of the Order in Burma comparable to Thammayūt nīkai & Māhā-nīkai - Shweigin = Thammayūt & Thutthama = Māhā-nīkai (don't know about spelling of these words). Both types are represented in Thailand - or rather the Burmese organization here follows a middle way between the two.

He then brought out his monk's registration book - nāgsyē sūtthī (၇၅၆၂၅၀၅၀) and with this in hand, I gathered a few things about his life: He was born in 1923 in the town of Sākai (from Thai spelling). He was ordained as a novice at age 10 in 1933 and as a monk at age 20 in 1943. He came to Thailand in 1957 and lived for 2 years in Bangkok & then moved to Mae Sot in 1959. He made his first and only visit back to Burma in 1963 & spent 3 months there.

I noticed that he had a Burmese calendar & Āt asked him if he got it and other books of things from Burma. He said that the Burmese consul in Chiang Mai got things for the Burmese wats.

We looked at the Buddha image on the shrine. He said the rest of them came from Mandalay at a time when traffic between Burma & Thailand was easy.

28 September, 1967

INTERVIEW WITH ABBOT OF WAT SITHIMONGKHON & KAMNAN OF TAMBON MAE SARIANG:

Today June, Ėit and I went to wat sithimongkhon to interview the ~~abbot~~ abbot who is also a cao khana ~~khana~~ khana tambon (อำเภอ ๓๗๒๓) Also present at the interview was a kamnan - I believe of Tambon Mae Sariang (or at least of a tambon - not B. Kait - that has its base in the city). This man is very interesting in that he is a Central Thai who came here 30 years ago as a policeman & settled here.

We discussed first the salaikaphat ceremony. Wat sithimongkhon is holding this ceremony on Saturday. ~~The kamnan~~ I inquired if the ceremony could be ~~invented~~ to make merit for people who had died. Although Ėit said that it couldn't be a sangkhathain (offering for the dead) offering, both the abbot & the kamnan said it could be. The kamnan said that in older times the monks did draw the salaik slips, but laymen drew them for the monks. However, now monks draw their own slips. At wat ~~the~~ Com Ceng ~~is~~ when I say laymen drawing slips, they were drawing for monks who had been invited to the ceremony but had lived so far away that they couldn't come. I asked the ~~the~~ abbot if there was a set number of monks who were invited. He said no & the kamnan said it depended on how many the people wanted to invite. The abbot said, I believe, that sometimes as many monks are invited as there are ~~the~~ Buddha images in the wat. For wat sithimongkhon there are 18 images.

¹ ~~the~~ then ~~described~~ ^{described} the lekhaosai ceremony in the N.E. This & the bun pradapdin do not exist in the North - Bun Khao-ci does however (also called Bun Khao-ki) in the 5th month northern. The kamnan said he didn't think that lekhaosai is related to won-sait, a Brahministic ceremony in the Central Plains.

Since the abbot is a cao khana tambon, I asked about ~~the~~ organization of the Sangha at this level and about the wats ~~that~~ under him.

There are 4 cao khana tambon in Amphoe Mae Sariang. The abbot said that the boundaries of these ~~the~~ administrative districts sometimes include ~~more than~~ 2 tambon. In actual fact, as I discovered in plotting out the wats under the abbot, the "tambon" in the church structure may be quite different from the "tambon" in the administrative structure (this may be a function of the ^{no. of} paenawut in Mae Sariang as compared with other areas of the country). The following is the list of each of cao khana tambon, the no. of wats and the (nominal) administrative tambon in which they were located:

Seat of <u>Cáo Kháné</u> Tambon	No. of Wats Under Him	Tambon (name at least according to abbot) in which those wats are included
วัดชัยลาภ (Wát chuiyá-lá-p)	8	{ ตำบลบ้านกรวด (T. Bân Kâ-t) " " บ้านหัวอ (T. Mĕ-lá-Nô-si)
วัดศรีบุญชู (Wát Sĭ-bun-chū)	8	ต. บ้านสระบัว (T. Mĕ-Sà-rĭang)
วัดหน้าดง (Wát Ná-mđip)	5	{ " บ้านยูง (T. Mĕ-Yuam) " " บ้านคาง (T. Mĕ-Khag)
วัดสีทองมงคล (Wát Sĭthĭmongkhon)	6 (or 7)	" บ้านตะตวง (T. Mĕ-Khâ-Tuon) " " หนองไผ่ (T. Kóng Kĭ-si)
TOTAL	25 (or 26)	

[N.B The figure for total no. of wats does not agree with the Cáo Kháné amphoe's figure of 29 (see p. 15) or the District Office figure of 7 wats & 22 clerical residences (see p. 25).]

The following is the list of wats, ^{their} location, the no. of their inhabitants, & the ethnic identification of the village in which they are located which are under the Cáo Kháné tambon living in Wát Sĭthĭmongkhon.

Wat	Village	Tambon	No. of Monks	No. of Novices	Ethnic identification of village
Sĭthĭmongkhon (สีทองมงคล)	Khá-puay (กะปวย)	Mĕ-Sà-rĭang (บ้านสระบัว)	2	5	Khonmyang
B. Phĕ-phá (พระป่า)	← same	Mĕ-Khâ-tuan (บ้านตะตวง)	4	8	"
B. Mái (บ้านไม้)	← same	"	1	1	Lua? → Khonmyang
B. Mĕ-Khâ-tuan (บ้านตะตวง)	← same	"	4	7	Khonmyang (apparently used to be a Shan element in this village, but no more.)
B. Kóng Kĭ-si (บ. หนองไผ่)	← same	Kóng Kĭ-si (บ. หนองไผ่)	1	5	Lua? - The monk, however, comes from Chiangmai & is Khonmyang.
B. Hái Sĭng (บ้านหัวอ)	← same	Mĕ-Yuam (บ้านยูง)	1	6	Lua? - Although the monk is Lua?, he can speak only Kammyang.
B. Hái Sái (บ้านทราย)	← same	" " บ้านทราย my list of villages but know it is บ้านทราย .	0	0	Lua? - There was a monk, but he is currently away studying.
TOTAL	—	—	13	32	—

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We discussed the participation of Lua² and Karen in Buddhism. The abbot said that the only Karen wát in the District was in B. MĒ. Hám in T. Bâh kâi. ~~There have also been Karen from~~ There have also been Karen from B. MĒ. la. ma. (U. 11252727) & B. Khün Wog (U. 9722) who have been ordained at ~~B. wát. B. Phá. Phá.~~ as novices. A Karen from B. MĒ. wa. i, T. Thá. sǎng Ya. g (U. 112120, 01. 11752222) ~~was~~ offered to give money in the ordination ceremony of someone else who would be ordained at B. Phá. Phá. (U. 0722). However, the abbot said that Karens usually do not ~~know~~ know enough Thai (kammyang) to be able to be ordained. However, the abbot thinks that it would be good if ~~they~~ there were more who were ordained because they would learn more Thai & about Buddhism at the same time.

As to Lua², they rarely are ordained monks, although a number are ordained as novices. In addition to those from villages given in the above table, Lua² have also been ordained as novices in wát Kitiwong, wát cǎ. mǎ. y, & wát cǎ. m. thǎy.

Lua² were present in fairly large numbers of the sá. lá. k. k. í. p. í. t ceremony at cǎ. mǎ. y. They came from B. Phá. Phá. Sometimes Karen & Lua² make merit at wát Sít (moukhan).

I mentioned that it was strange that Karen Buddhists didn't affiliate with Burmese wats. This didn't elicit any response, but it did lead to a comment by the kamman, & seconded by the abbot, that those who attended Burmese wats were too attached to their nationality (chít niyom).

I asked if the Karen followed Buddhists in a different way from Thai Buddhists. After considerable efforts to explain what I meant (with Cit's help) & describing Ted Stern's findings in Kauchanaburi, the abbot did say that there was a Karen in MĒ. Sít who was a Pagan teacher. This led me into a series of questions about the khru. bā. khāo (075122) who lives in Amphā. Li. & is so famous among Karen & Lua². ~~It had~~ was told by both the abbot & the kamman much the same story as Donce Markham has got in Chiangmai. This man is a defrocked monk - forced to leave the monkhood because he cut timber without official permission. Currently, he lives in a wát in which there are no monks. He has a large following because of his good works in encouraging development & helping people.

He is one of a number of people who wear white robes and are known as "white robes" (wǎ. rǎ. - phá. khāo). The most common of the "white robes" are nuns, but men can wear them as well. The kamman says that people who wear the white cloth have clean & pure minds.

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~~(๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒) - it (๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒ - zít'cái sít'ait)~~. They often live in wats, but it is not necessary they do so. Also many practice Vipassana.

We also talked about local history, much of which I lost because the Kamnan spoke so rapidly I didn't give me time to take notes. However, among the things I did gather were the following:

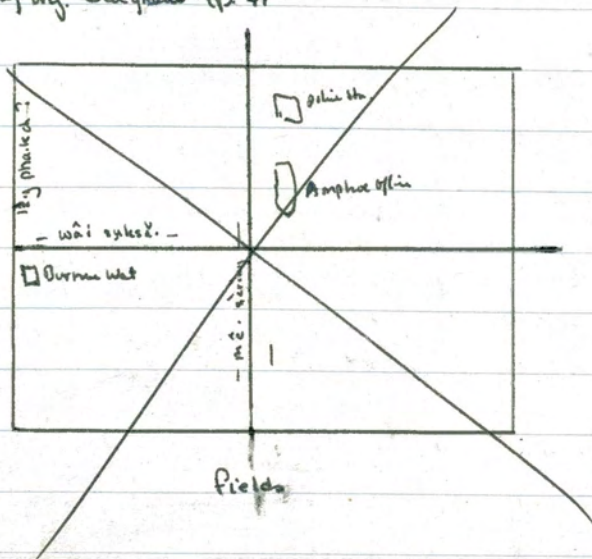
Neither the Kamnan nor the abbot know of any ~~local~~ books on local history. The D.O. tried to find me a few years ago, but was unsuccessful. The Kamnan said that when he first came, he saw an old book in the police station, but it disappeared.

When the ~~name~~ word khün appears in the title of a village, it indicates that this title was given to the headman (usually Lu²) & later incorporated into the name of the village. The village of Khün wong used to be a Lu² village, but it is now entirely a Karen village.

The tribute which M.S. used to send to Chiangmai was a type of orchid known as zú'ang sít'z' (๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒).

The Kamnan believes that all of the orig. inhabitants of M.S. were Lu² & that the khomyang came from Chiangmai.

As I already knew there used to be a moat around the town. In the local language this is called khí' wí'ang (๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒) & in Thai khū-mý'ang (๒๒๒๒๒๒๒๒). The old town was square with the following information to add to my orig. diagram (p. 4)



See p. 59

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Two villages in this area used to be filled with bandits - B. M̄: khá tuun & B. M̄: ai (U. 112022022 & U. 112022).
They had a mixed ethnic population. In addition M̄: was also subject to attacks by Red Karen (၉၇၇၇၇၇ - Yang Deng).
For this reason, the ruler ~~had~~ of Chiangmai had to send very tough people to govern here. These comments all
by the Khamen.

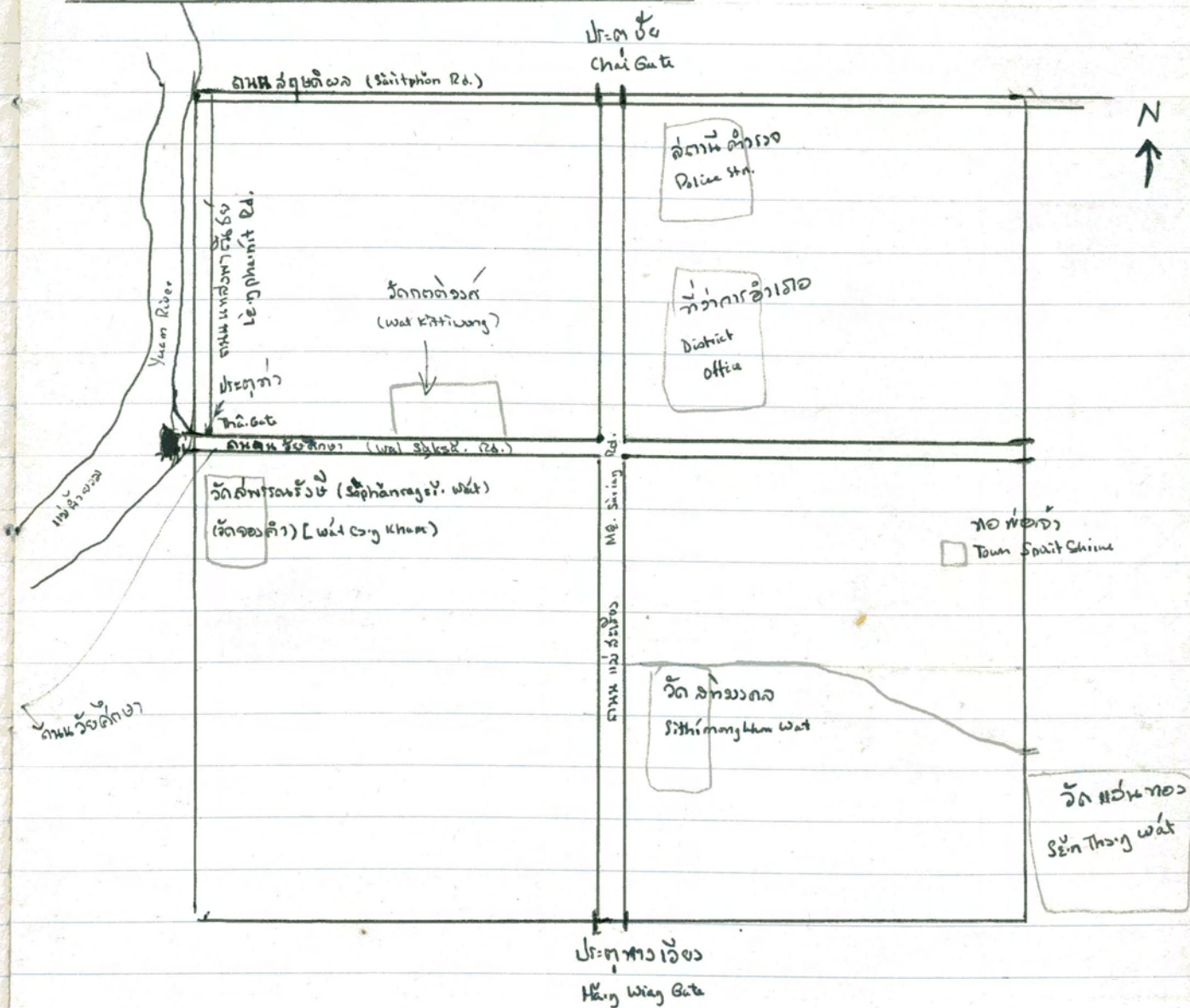
The abbot said that this temple is about 150-160 years old.

MISC. NOTE:

The name of the big shop in town which is supposed to be owned by a half-Chinese-half who married to a
half Karen-half Shan has the official name of ၇၇၇၇ ၇၇၇၇ (၇၇၇၇၇၇). This is apparently the surname of the owner.

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MAP OF THE OLD TOWN OF MR. SARIANG (เมืองสารียง)



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Sàlā:klaphāt Ceremony at Wát Sithimongkhaon:

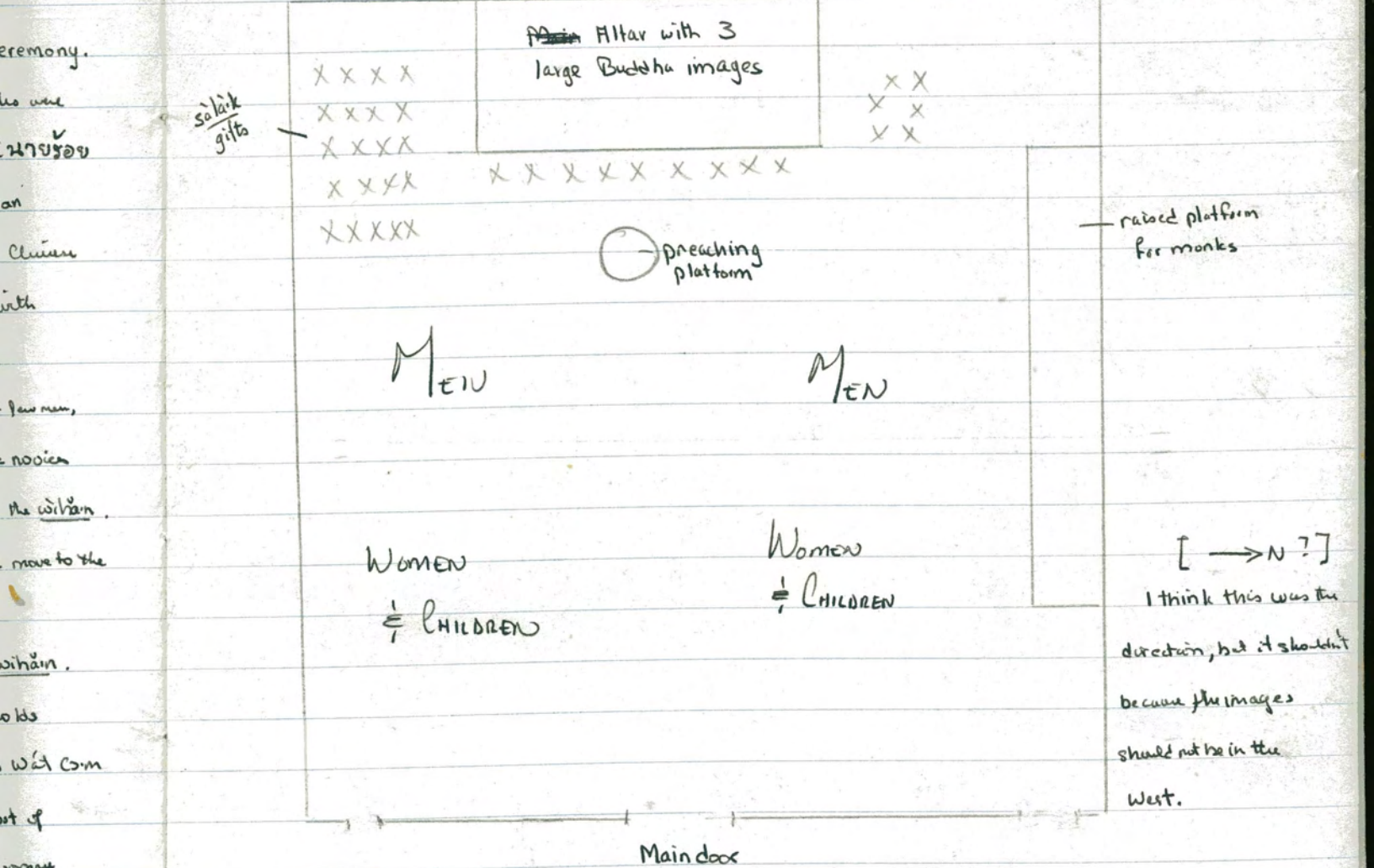
This morning about 9:45 June 1 I went to wát sithimongkhaon to observe another sàlā:klaphāt ceremony. When we arrived, people were coming into bringing the sàlā:k offerings into the wihān (no sò:t), monks were foregathering in the khúti, & children were playing around the wát grounds. In the khúti a policeman (ตำรวจ) (ตำรวจ ๒๕๖๖) - Police Capt. ~~Wáit~~ Sǎm Wáidi. was playing Central Thai music on an instrument something like a sitar - called a khim (ขิม). Mr. Sǎm said that the instrument was of Chinese origin (the wood of the instrument also coming from China). Below the khúti the children were playing with longdrums & gongs. [recorded to the both music - esp. that of the khim].

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

While waiting for the monks, I had an opportunity to observe in more detail the arrangements in the wihān. There were not nearly as many people as at Cóm Cēng. The abbot said that only about 30 households (๓๐ langkha:ryan) normally provide food for wát sithimongkhaon as compared with over 100 at wát Cóm Cēng. Among people carrying things into the wihān was one woman wearing a Karen blouse. Most of the women, however, were dressed in Burmese silk phasins & plain blouses - the dress of the khonmyang women on festive occasions. There were more men present than I might have expected, including several bachelors & a number of employees from the Phrasait Co. However, today being a Saturday ^{means} present that many men who work at 9-5 jobs could come. [Seeing men from the Phrasait Co. present, I asked Cit if this was the wát he regularly made merit at. He said he didn't go to any particular wát. If he were a native of Mae Sariang, he probably would make merit at his 'neighborhood' wát, but since he is an outsider, he goes to different wats on different occasions].

The setting of the wihān was something as follows

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Distributed around the wi-hān were dishes containing hand rolled cigarettes and miag, spitoons, ~~these~~ & water jugs. These were for the use of the people attending the ceremony

I noted that the three Buddha images all had decorated cloths around their tops called, in Thai, phā-hōm (ผ้าห่ม), lit. 'blanket' or 'shawls'. I asked if these shawls were changed every season as is the case for the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok. The old men who were sitting near me said no, they were changed every year on the wan phra after 25-ke phansa. - that is, 8 days after the end of lent (วัน ๘ ค่ำ). They are replaced by similar cloths of the same color. The old cloths are

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kept & used for other purposes. Actually, ~~the~~ on the same day a ceremony is held ~~in~~ during which the whole wat is set in order (ทั่ววัด).

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

Each offering was marked with a 'flag' on which was written the number to be used in the ceremony. In addition to each was attached a piece of paper on which was written, either in Thai script or in NT script, the name of the donor & the person to whom the merit made in this ceremony was to be given. When the merit ^{is} "given away", it is directed to someone dead (thus corroborating the other information, including the abbot's explanation of the ceremony later during the ceremony, that the sālak offerings are usually for the dead). I made copies of two of the "dedications":

๑) เจตนาดีรักขา หอบ นินว ปุริอว พร้อมด้วย ภรรยา และลูกเต้าทุกๆ คน
ขออุทิศส่วนกุศล แด่บุญอันนี้ ให้เสวย ทางหน้า ขอสมปราถนา ด้วย ภร [sic ภร]
สี่ประการ มีอายุ วรรณะ สุขะ หะ คง เกอญ ล่วงๆ ๗๗.

TRANSLITERATION (in C.T. since it was written in C.T.):

TRANSLATION: It is the faithful intention of Mr. Bunryang Neo Bunryang together with [his] wife and all his children to make an offering for merit. The merit accrued is to be kept to be used [lit to eat] in the future. It is accordance with [the donor's] wishes that the blessings be fourfold: age, complexion (or caste), happiness, and physical strength. With tra-n sāwāthú etc.

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๒) เจตนาศักขา นางต๋อน เป้นแก้ว พร้อมด้วยนาง นวน และ นางดวงตา พร้อมด้วย
สามี และ ลูก เต้า ๆ ก ๆ ๑๗ ขออุทิศให้ นางคำขวัญ ผู้ เป้นแม่ ที่ ๑ ได้ ล่วง ล้ม
ไป แล้ว ขอ กุศล ส่วน บุญ ไป รอด ไป ถึง ๕ วัฏ ~~คือ~~ เต้าอะ .

TRANSLITERATION (in Northern Thai):

TRANSLATION: It is the faithful intention of Mrs. T'ón as [the main donor] together with
Mrs. Nuan & Mrs. Duang-tá, ^{also with} her husband, and all her children to make an offering ^{to dedication offering to} for Mrs. Khan Pan,
her mother who has already been carried away [to die]. Let this merit be sent [to her]!

As can be seen, even when Thai script is used, the dedication is sometimes in Northern Thai (but not always).

At almost 12 noon exactly, the priests & novices filed in. When they had seated themselves, there were
12 monks on the platform, 8 monks seated on the floor in front of them, and 5 novices in the same row as the
monks on the ground. (The abbot had said that more than 20 monks would attend). The first four monks on
the dais were the abbot from Wát Cóm Cēng (apparently being given priority in exchange for the abbot of
Wát Sithimongkhon having been given priority at the sabok sūlak ceremony at Cóm Cēng), the abbot of
" " , and 2 monks from Wát Cóm Thong. Also among the monks were the abbot of Wát Cóm Thong &
Ān-thā-tā-wā-t & the old monk from Wát Pā. Hīao.

During the preparative, and the beginning part of the services, a layman passed through the congregation making
note of who came to make merit, & what their gifts were.

The ~~services~~ ceremony proper was as follows:

- 1) The abbot from Wát Cóm Cēng led the congregation in a responsive chant.
- 2) The chief layman chanted the formal opening.

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- 3) The abbot of Ēm Cāng led the congregation in the Namo... etc.
- 4) The lay leader made the formal presentation of the offerings. Whereas before he had been seated facing the monks, he now faced the Buddha images. He read first from a khōi manuscript & then from a sheet of paper. His presentation was done in the formal N.T. used in religious services.
- 5) A young monk took the sermon chair & the lay leader moved to sit in front of him. The lay leader requested a sermon. The monk gave a sermon in Cauchal Itai. Although he held a palm leaf manuscript, he didn't read from it but recited instead from memory. As he said during the sermon, this was his first sermon & his nervousness showed it.
- 6) The abbot of wāt sithimongkhon took the sermon chair, but did not give a sermon (nor did he sit in the preaching position (rather he sat as a Westerner might with his feet on the ground). He gave a brief description of the ceremony & thanked people (including ourselves) for attending.
- 7) The monks chanted the formal gāthās.
- 8) " " " trātnāim.
- 9) Then, laymen began to call out the numbers of the gifts & the monks & wats to whom they should be given. (The monks had cāp and sāpūk in the khōi). As each offering was called out, it was set in front of the monk-recipient & the donor sat in front of him to receive the blessing. As the monk gave the blessing, he would pour water into a container, similar in manner to the pouring of water in trātnāim. Once all of the offerings had been distributed, the ceremony was over.

(I recorded all of the ceremony except 7 & 8 which I was unable to record because the butchers had given out & had to be changed)