

TRIP TO MĀ-HĀNG SŪN:

On the 1<sup>st</sup> we drove up to MĀ-HĀNG SŪN to attend the cremation service of the late provincial abbot. We spent the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, & 4<sup>th</sup> in MHS & returned on the 5<sup>th</sup>. On the way up we took 4 monks (KKA, KKTambur from Wat Sīthimongkhon, & another monk from Wat Kittiwong, & the visiting Phā' Khru. from Bangkok) our 3 servants, Wan's brother, & a girl who had requested a ride. On our return, we replaced the latter girl, Wan's brother, & the monk from Bangkok, none of whom came back with us, with Kris & Sheila Lehman & the Simon, Lehman's field assistant.

TALK WITH GOVERNOR OF PROVINCE:

During our stay, I talked with the governor for a couple of short spells at various functions & then had a long talk with him on Sunday afternoon at his home. Most of his conversation consisted of his frustrations & desires regarding the development of the province. He has a deep interest in the province, manifest in his search through a number of books for any information on the history of the province & on Shan customs and in his journeys (sometimes several days walking) to remote areas of the province even though he is not a young man (I would guess that he is in his 50's)

Regarding the ~~the~~ written literature on history & culture of the province & its inhabitants, he says that there is very little written. He said that there is a little in the 2<sup>nd</sup> vol. of the Collected Chronicles (the recently published version). He was somewhat disdainful regarding Bunchuai Pī-sī-wāt's writing on the hill tribes because he has not visited many of the places or people he writes about. (The Gov. said he knew Bunchuai's father when the gov. was a Palat Ampha in Chiang Rai 30 years ago.) He also mentioned a mimeographed brief history of the province dist. to members of the King's Party when they visited here. He promised to get me a copy & bring it to M.S., but I fear he will forget it.

I asked him about special programs for the hill tribes within the province. He didn't seem to clear about the 'hill tribe school program' [ ~~was~~ the Prov. Education supervisor whom I talked to later said that there were special exams for those wishing to be teachers in these schools but these exams only tested knowledge covered in a mb education.

He did say however that the teachers were encouraged to learn tribal languages]. He did say, however, that at his insistence the Public Welfare Dept. has promised to establish a tribal development center at the Sā-la-ka-g in MHS. However, although this promise had been made some time ago, the building to house the center & the personnel to staff it have not yet appeared in the province.

Although there are no lúa<sup>2</sup> in the northern part of the province, he says, there are remains which are identified with lúa<sup>2</sup> - wat sites, a well in which the lúa<sup>2</sup> are supposed to have thrown things, caves with skeletons ~~etc.~~ etc. inside. [Kris Lehman wonders if these are identified as lúa<sup>2</sup> by the local people or by officials, etc. who are familiar with lúa<sup>2</sup>-identified remains further south. I suspect that they are "lúa<sup>2</sup>" in the same sense the remains in the southern part of the province are, but whether they were built by the forebears of the present-day lúa<sup>2</sup> is another question.]

The Governor said he was very concerned about the Meo of Lahu in the province - that is, that they might be influenced by communists. [Kris says ~~he~~ <sup>the Gov.</sup> has also told him that he is frightened by KMT forces on the border & by dissident Communist elements among the Shan Liberation army].

#### SHAN WORD:

I discovered at M.E.L.A.S.I that the word written in Thai as พ้อง (Pōng) is the Shan word for wat. Simon, Kris Lehman's asst., says that properly ~~then~~ phoneticized, the word is kyōng ~~kyōng~~ kyōng & is from the Burmese. Apparently, ~~the word~~ a word cognate with wat also exists, but is rarely used. ~~Kyō~~ Kyōng is also a title for a person who sponsors the building of a pagoda / wat.

### CREMATION OF THE LATE PROVINCIAL ABBOT:

The cremation of the late provincial abbot, Phrá Râ.tchá.wi.râ.ko.n [PFR: ၅၆၅၅၇၇၅] (Burma. Ya.ná.khút.ta.the.rá [၂၃၂၅ ၅၇၀၇, ၇၅၅၅၅၅]), brought monks from all over the country. However, all there were certainly numerous officials & local people present at the actual cremation, the fact that the chief monks in charge of the ceremony had forbidden the Shan tradition of 'ang-o'-wan' was the cause of other Shan customs & because the central Thai customs were not well handled, the very attendance was certainly less than it might have been.

According to the cremation volume passed out at the cremation [the subject of the volume was a sermon by a Bangkok monk. The original idea had been to distribute the Thai version of the Shan chronicle, but apparently the expense was too great] the following main facts about the Abbot's life can be noted.

- 1) He was born on 9 October, 1902 in Yá.sô.tho.n town, Ubon province in N. Thailand.
- 2) He had a P4 secular education.
- 3) At 18 he became a novice in Yá.sô.tho.n
- 4) At age 21 he was ordained as a monk in Yá.sô.tho.n
- 5) Shortly thereafter he went to Bangkok to continue his clerical studies.
- 6) The next few years were spent in study at Wat Benchá.má.hò.phít (the Northern temple in Bangkok). By 1932 (when he was 30 years old) he had achieved HANSAWATI status & passed the 5<sup>th</sup> J.S. of ၂၃၅၅ studies (mainly Pali language).
- 7) Between 1930 and 1934 he was a teacher of Buddhist scripture at a wat in the Bangkok area.
- 8) In 1935 he was sent as a teacher of Buddhist scripture to a wat in Ampho.Sá.j.mê.n, sangwát Phrê. This was his first post in the North.
- 9) In 1936, because of the lack of clerical teachers, he was sent to M.E. Saitay to live at Wat Si.bunrany. [I wonder if there was a policy of sending Bangkok-trained monks to outlying regions of the country at this time.]

- 10) He spent 6 years in Mĕ Saring (he never was (KA here).
- 11) In 1942 he was appointed as Cáo Khánú Ćagwát for Mĕ-Hĕg Sĕn. He served in the post, living at Wat Múi: tō, until his death - a total of 25 years.
- 12) He died on 21 September, 1967.

He is reputed to have strongly discouraged the practice of shaman ways in Mĕ-Hĕg Sĕn & was apparently responsible for the fact that wats in the northern part of the province are not within the 'Burmese group' in Thailand. [It is somewhat ironic that in consequence of his action, the 'Burmese' wats in Mĕ Saring which has always been more of Khonmyag than than MHS, seem to have preserved the traditional ways more than the wats in MHS.]

The following is the translation of the official program for the cremation:

#### SCHEDULE OF ROYAL ORDERED CREMATION

[1967] Phró Rá-tcháwi-ra-kón (Burmese: Ya-nákhút-to-the-rá?)  
Wat Múi: tō. Amphā. Myag Ćagwát Mĕ-Hĕg Sĕn

Phrá Rá-tcháwi-ra-kón, the late Cáo Khánú Ćagwát of Mĕ-Hĕg Sĕn, began his life in Amphā. Yá-sĕ-thōn, Ćagwát Ubon-rá-tchá-thā-ni, was ordained as a young man, received his education in the Vinai at the residence of ordaining abbot Thu, Wat Amphuan, Yá-sĕ-thōn and then moved to continue his studies at Wat ~~Prasāt~~ Prasāt-bunya-wát, Amphā. Dú-sít, Bungkok. He studied at Wat Ben-dā-má-bhō-phít until he achieved ná-khām ?e:ik & s'tōn & passed the 5<sup>th</sup> práyō:k of parian studies. The Monthon ~~at~~ abbot in that time arranged to send him as a teacher of scripture at Wat Ní-wít-thā-sát-thu-ra-m, Amphā. Sŭy Mĕ-n, Ćagwát Phrĕ. and at Wat Sŭ-bunryag, Amphā. Mĕ Saring. He was then raised to the status of Cáo Khánú Ćagwát & came to live at Wat Múi: tō in Mĕ-Hĕg Sĕn when he lived from 1942 to 1967, a total of 25 years. [He lived in] Mĕ Saring 6 years and in Phrĕ. 1 year. Altogether he carried out religious functions in the North for 32 years. He carried out his clerical duties in government, education, missionarying, & general welfare for the people of Mĕ-Hĕg Sĕn as one of the best monks. He became ill of a ~~heart~~ heart and passed away on the 21 of September 1967 at 5.30 a.m. at Sŭ-săy-wu-n hospital at the age

65 and 46 years as a monk. A committee has arranged, thus, the following cremation rites:

2 March 1968: 10.00 a.m. 20 monks will chant the Thammāniya-m-sūt  
Presenting the monks (ธรรมนิยามสูตร)  
11.00 a.m. Feeding of the monks with their midday meal

7.00 p.m. Sermon dialogue.

8.00 p.m. Chanting of the Phrá Aphītham (พระอภิธรรม)

3 March 1968: 7.00 a.m. Presenting the monks with the morning meal.

10.00 a.m. 20 monks will chant Nát tà lákkhána sūt (นัตถลักขณสูตร)

11.00 a.m. Presenting the monks with their midday meal.

7.00 p.m. Sermon dialogue

8.00 p.m. Chanting of the Phrá Aphītham (พระอภิธรรม)

4 March 1968: 7.00 a.m. Presenting monks with their morning meal.

10.00 a.m. 20 monks will chant Sāti-pāṭṭhān sūt (สатиปาถกถาสูตร)

11.00 a.m. Presenting monks with their midday meal.

1.00 p.m. Sermon

4.00 p.m. Please come to participate in the cremation & in pulling  
the mǎhā-Bagsākaṅ.

4:30 p.m. Cremation

5 March 1968: Feeding of the monks for morning & midday meals.

On the occasion of this royally-ordered cremation, we would like to invite all students,  
faithful, officials, and everyone who was well acquainted with and respected the Ēao Khun to join &  
cooperate together in making merit on the day and at the place mentioned.

[Signed] Phra'Khru. Sī-lāwāra. caṅ

Acting Ēao Khóná's Ānguáit & Chairman of the Sangha side

Mr. ~~San~~ Lam Kring-sīrē

Governor and Chairman of Lay side

The actual events did not accord with this schedule completely. [I hope to get the tapes made by the

CLA to copy.]

6/3/68

Myang Pa-n (မြာဝပါန):

On the way down to MS. ~~we stop~~ on the 5<sup>th</sup> we stopped at Myang Pa-n (မြာဝပါန) about 10-11 km. South of Khün Yuam (ကျွမ်ယွမ်) and in Ampho. Khün Yuam. We stopped there because the CIA wished to consult with the people about a major festival to be held on the 10-15<sup>th</sup> of this month. Kris, Simon, & I took the opportunity to try to find something about the history of the place.

History of Myang Pa-n:

We were referred to an old man who has the title kyōng. This man said that the name of the village comes from the name of the Pa-n river, but didn't know why it was called myang as it has never been the seat of a chao fa. He was born here, but as were his parents. His GrPa came from Loi-lam ~~th~~ (? sp.) state, Pang-lom (? sp.) in the center of the Shan state.

There are a few Khonmyang in the village in the southern quarter of the village. A small neighboring village in the North, Pa-pay (sp.?) is also N. Thai. Together with this village, Myang Pa-n has a pop. of 270 households of which 250 are in Myang Pa-n proper.

During the time Bombay-Burmah was working in the area, the informant said, the place became crowded. When people retired from the work, they settled here. They came here ~~from the~~ mainly from the North, from the MHS not the Pa-i side.

Previously there were some Kayah living here, but absorbed (or driven out?) by the Shan. But this was before his time. No Luo live in this area. Karens (prob. S'kaw) come searching for food here. Also come to make merit when invited. They come to watch people at Songkran, but don't make offerings themselves at that time. He said that the Karens do not keep Buddha images in their homes & are still animists. The Karens from MĒ-Sō (? sp.) are the only Karens in the tambon - village of only 7-8 households. (Karens come to buy things in Myang Pa-n as I saw the remains of the shops. They were wearing skirts which are not quite the same as in MĒ-Sō Saring).

I asked about tattooing in Myang Pa-n since I observed that the old man had been

heavily tattooed. [Kris says that one must distinguish between the 'picture' type tattooing which is done from the waist down  $\frac{1}{2}$  sometimes on the upper trunk  $\frac{1}{2}$  the 'Batha' tattoos which are in Shan/Burmese script and are usually on the arms. This man had both]. The informant said that when he was a young man, there was a tattooer in the village. He wondered about tattooing both Shans and Karen. However, there is none who can do tattoos.

We left this old man  $\frac{1}{2}$  joined the CKA who had discovered an even older man to ask about local history. This second informant claimed to be 97 years old. He said that his parents were born here, but that his grandparents came from Sadaung Uung (3 sp.) in the northern part of the Kayah states. - Mawka-mai maybe. Kris asked about local Kayah  $\frac{1}{2}$  the informant said that the only Kayah in the area were those in Khün Yuam who still lived there when he was a young man.

He can't remember the name of the *Cao Fu* of MHS because it was beyond communications. He didn't work in lumbering, but he heard about it. He doesn't know where it was carried out.

Another informant (youngerish man) answered my questions about the school. There are 200+ students in the school  $\frac{1}{2}$  They all come from the village (not outside of it).

INTERVIEW WITH OLD MONK AT WAT OMMARA-WAT:

After listening to a tape <sup>which had made</sup> of a service at Wat Ommara-wat in which Burmese poems were used, Kris Lehman wished to get the correct order of the service in the Burmese way as compared with the Thai since they differ. Thus, we went over to the wat. The young monk was not there, having gone back to Naoi Thuan's mine. We then talked with the old monk whose name in Shan is U Phanti (? sp.)  $\frac{1}{2}$  who is known in Northern Thai as *Ti* ~~Ti~~ *Ti*?

This monk was born in Khün Yuam, but was ordained in M<sup>ê</sup>. Sàriay. ~~He~~ He was ordained in the Thai way because the old CKA of M<sup>ê</sup>. Sàriay insisted that the monks here follow the Thai way. I asked if the CKA was

the same person as the late CK Cangwát since # he had been cKA of M̂. Ŝariag before being cK Cangwát. But Tu' Ti' said that it was another cKA who was here before the CK Cangwát was. The late CK Cangwát also was very strict in insisting that the 'Thai' way be followed.) Tu' Ti' has lived alternatively in M̂. Ŝariag & Kĥn Yuam for 20 years, but has lived <sup>the last</sup> 6 years in Ŵ. Ommara-ŵ.á. Simon, Kris' assistant, says that the monk speaks Shan with ~~some~~ many Kammyang words & speaks Kammyang with many Shan words.

The order of the Burmese service is something as follows (Simon later got the monk to write out the full service in Burmese & I hope to get a copy of it.

- 1) The people (or representative) come to request, ~~the~~ not in Pali, that they receive the precepts. They also request a sermon at the same time if there is to be one. Then they lead the monk to the preaching chair.
- 2) The people repeat the Okkasā (? sp.) or the formal Pali form of request for forgiveness.
- 3) Then the monk leads the people in the Aham Bhanṭe... (not in Thai service).
- 4) This is followed by the Namō... & the 3 refuges. However, in contrast to the Thai way, the monk repeats the Namō... once, the people repeat it three, & the monk repeats it once again (on the tape in question the monk did not repeat it once again. The repeating of the 3 refuges is different also. The monk chants all 3, followed by the people. This is done for the 3 times.

I asked about the young ~~the~~ monk at the wat. When I asked about his ethnic group, an old layman who was present said he was Ya-y Kachin (?!) so I dropped the question. The monk's name is ~~apparently~~ Phrá' Chintōy (WR: ၵၢၢ်စိတဝိ) [? sp.]. His brother, who was a monk here before him, was named like a monk Phrá' Chittin O-phā-sō. (WR: ၵၢၢ်စိတဝိ ၵၢၢ်စိတဝိ). The present young monk was ordained as a novice in Burma. He was ordained as a monk in the Thai way at Myag Pō'n. The relationships between the 2 young monks & the old man are interesting. The first

Young monk, after leaving the order, married a niece of the old monk. When she died, he went to Myang Doon where he found a new wife. The present young monk was sponsored when ordained into the monkhood by a nephew of the old monk who lives in Myang Doon.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN NORTHERN THAI, SHAN, & SIAMESE:

Kris, Simon, La-<sup>2</sup> and I ~~was~~ discussed some custom & associated words which exist in the N. Thai, Shan, & Siamese traditions. In the Shan tradition, the people will come to present ~~a tree~~ to the monk in a wāt a tree on which are hung various gifts. ~~But~~ Traditionally, they were supposed to come & wake the monk up with a racket. The tree-gifts are called tañ to-t (Lahman's ~~tr.~~ in S. tañ to-t (Lahman's tr.) in Shan. La-<sup>2</sup> says that this is the same as tañ tō-t (တၢ်တဲဝဲ) in N. Thai. ~~The~~ ~~first~~ The first of these words is cognate with တၢ် (thān) in Siamese & the record with ~~the~~ non (thō-t). The literal meaning is 'gifts which are thrown'. The equivalent in Thai is non wāi (thō-t phā. pā.). Thus, what I thought were imported Siamese ceremonies at wāt's Dammara-wāt & Canthavawāt (see notes above) were in fact traditional Shan/Burmese ceremonies.

Kris has been particularly interested in the long banners which are found in Shan/Burmese wats because of their importance in Khyat religions. These banners are memorial for the dead & are thought to provide a way for souls to reach heaven. The symbolism is quite complex. These banners are called tañ khān (Lahman's tr.) in Shan and tug (တု) in Kammyay in this area. They are called tagundaring in Burmese.

WOMAN PEDLAR:

A Shan woman pedlar visited us today while the Lahman's were here. Simon was interested in her Shan background & began to inquire into her history. She is 44 yrs. old & claims to have been born in M<sup>2</sup>. S<sup>2</sup>ing. It is a usual ploy for Shans who have migrated to Thailand to claim that they were born in Thailand & then went to Burma. This way they are eligible for Thai citizenship. Simon, for example, claims to have been

born in Fang although he only came to Thailand for the first time about 3 years ago.]  
Woman actually from Sisong (? op.) which is on the border between the Kayah &  
Shan states. She came here shortly after WWII because of the Shan rebellion. Her  
parents were involved in lumbering prior to that time.

### Misc: MARKET:

In the afternoon we went with the Lehman's to the market area. We first  
went to a shop opposite Khun La's's house. This is ~~a~~ <sup>chemist-shop</sup> owned by Shans. Clark  
Cunningham had discovered that the shop owned a book in Shan regarding traditional  
medical practices. He had started to have it translated (with Simon as the tr.) but  
hadn't finished. Kris wanted to get the book for xeroxing. While there he ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup>  
Simon also discovered that the shop owners (there seem to be two <sup>older</sup> ~~adult~~ men involved)  
also had some Burmese 'medical' books. There he borrowed also. He also bought  
some samples of local medicines. The men would like to have the Burmese books tr. into  
Thai because they have nearly forgotten their Burmese.

We then went to Nari Sali's shop where Sheila bought some spices for making  
Burmese food. There was an Indian in the shop by the name of Patel who had just arrived  
from the Shan States 4-5 days ago. He spoke very good English. He was very unhappy about  
the situation in Burma at the moment, thus deciding to leave. He brought out a large  
supply of jewels to support himself. He also has money in New York.

We then crossed to the drug & misc. shop across ~~the way~~ from Nari Sali's shop. It's  
run by Shans. However, I had thought they were Burmese & Kris asked them if  
they were Burmese. They were very indignant at being called Burmese.

### INTERVIEW WITH KHUN PRAPHIN

This evening we went over to the house of Khun Praphin (N: P: M) who works in the  
treasury office of the Amphoe. He is a native of MÊ-HË-ŋSŋn & is himself Shan. His first  
wife was the direct descendant of the Cáo Fá. of M Hs & his da. & own mother still

live in the house of the Čao Fá. (His wife died some few years ago). He is now married to Khru. Sukhōn, a teacher at the Bōiphát Sýksá school. Krio was anxious to interview him because he is reputed to know more about the history of the Čao Fá family than anyone else. He had a mss. which he consulted in answering our questions. In the end he agreed to let us borrow the mss. to make a copy. The mss. is entitled "History of Mĕ. Hōng Sōn" & was written by Phra? Phibun bōrhūn (พระปิ่นบูรหัน).

Khru Praphin recommended that I talk with Na-i Nū. Ma-lai in order to get the history of Mĕ. Sāriag [I already interviewed this man on 18/9/67]. I asked him about Tu. ná. Mĕ. Hōng Sōn, a kū. k. sít at wá. Kithi wong since his name suggests that he is related to the Čao Fá family of Mĕ. Hōng Sōn. Praphin says that he didn't know this man before he came to Mĕ. Sāriag & doesn't know why he has this name.

7/3/68

#### INTERVIEW WITH MONKS AT THE 'SOUTHERN WAT' IN Mĕ. LA. NŌI:

This morning Krio, Simon, & I went to Mĕ. la. nōi to seek out local history of the Shans in this area. We stopped first at the 'southern wat' where we talked with two monks - the abbot & a monk from the <sup>northern</sup> Shan state (who ~~was~~ happens to come from the same town as Simon).

The abbot is a Khammyang from Mĕ. Sāriag & has lived here 10 years. He has relatives in MLN. The other monk is from Myer Mao, has lived in Thailand 4½ years and in MLN nearly 2 years. During the pathcoming I lent he will go to study at a Shan wat (Wat Dōn) in Bangkok. He has the same story as Simon about having been born in Fang & then migrated to the Shan states.

The abbot doesn't really know much about local history & suggested that we talk to a blacksmith in town who is reputed to know the history.

The wat, according to the abbot, has 3 monks (The 3rd monk is

beginning of lent, end of lent = Songkran to make merit. There have been some Kases ordained (as novices) in the wát, but there are none now.

INTERVIEW WITH BLACKSMITH AI MĒ.LA.NÓ.I:

After leaving the 'southern wát', Krisa, Simon, & I went to find the blacksmith whom the abbot had suggested know about local history. We found him working. ~~is a blacksmith~~ The following is an interview with this man, tsāng lēk ('blacksmith') tsik' ta' (Lehman's tv.) which was ~~not~~ written up by Lehman, Keyes, & Simon. [The transcription of Shan words is based on Lehman's phonemicization given following this interview.]

The informant says that the earliest time he can remember, there were 25 households on one side of the river and 30 on the other. There are now over 200 households in the village.

He says that he is 60 years old.

We asked him when the Shan people who live here came from. He answered that part of the population came from the Burma side & part from Chiangmai province. The areas in Burma where they came from include Kēngtū = Kēng Kēngtōng, Mākmaŋi, Mōng Paŋ, and Lāng khā. People came at the time of Kolan. The people who came from Chiangmai came from Bān Kāt MĒ. Wāy and Hō. Phāi ná. sá.i in ~~the~~ Co-m Thoŋ District, Chiangmai Province. The latter came about 80 years ago.

The population from Chiangmai the informant called Yōn Mōn (Yōn = 'northern Thai'; ~~mōn~~ <sup>mōn</sup> = 'smoky colored'; Yōn is the same word as Yuan). He explained that the term applies to people whom the Shan would call northern Thai and whom the Northern Thai would call Shan. They are really Shan, but ones who are in the Yuan sect. "They speak real Shan." The Yōn ~~Mōn~~ <sup>mōn</sup>, he said, contrast with other segment of the population who are called Tāitōng (ie. "Red Shan").

There is yet another Shan group, he said, the Tāi lóng [lóng is cognate with N. Thai luang], a term which Simon explained meant 'main Shan' - that is, the Shans connected with old Kosampi or the Mao Kingdom. These people (of whom Simon is one) call themselves, Simon says, Tāi māu. The group included the Yunnanese Shans.

There are only 2 people left who are really Tāi lóng. The rest of the Tāi lóng have been absorbed by the Yōn mōn and all of them call themselves Tāi - i.e. Shan. There is, in addition, one person who is Tāi lóng, a Judo teacher who has recently migrated here from Māng māu. His name is Hsara Lāu Lu. He is visiting Chiangmai at the moment.

Also in the village population, he said, there are some ly (i.e. lue or lye.) from Kēytōg. One or 2 Sikaw Kama from Bā-n Pā-māk (a nearby lowland Karen village) have married into the village and are now Shan. Khomyag has also married into the village and become Shan. At this point, he indicated a young man, whose he said is his mā's husband, as an example of a Khomyag become Shan. Keyes asked this man when he was from and he answered Amphō. Hōt. Keyes asked him how long he had been here and he answered a year. In responding to the insinuation that he was now Shan, he didn't reply by just sort of snorted. There are 2 or 3 people in the village, the blacksmith said, who are of Tōngsū (Tōnghsu, in Shan) descent who are by now Shan. Even the Tōngsū who were identified as such spoke Shan but they spoke with a Tōngsū accent.

Our informant's father was from ~~Lāi khā~~ Lāi khā and his mother was from Kēytōg. They were married before they came here.

When the tsau fā (chāo fá.) of Lāi khā and Mōl kma-i were fighting, the winner would burn the villages of the enemy. Thus, the informant said, the ordinary villagers had to flee. Some of those who fled here died on the way. Refugees from the Shan States were permitted by the King of

Chiangmai to settle in the Fá. Há-m area of Chiangmai.

In response to the question of whether there were Khommyang in Mĕ.la.nōi when the Shans arrived, the informant answered that there were in the village called in Thai Bā-n Klay (บ้านคลอง) and in Shan Wān Kaa-ŋ. This village no longer exists (deserted); some of the inhabitants moved here and some moved to the village called in Shan Wāng Khān and Bā-n Wāng Khān (บ้านวังขอน) in Thai.

In a digression the informant said that the Karen village of Bā-n Pā.mā.k was formerly called Phamays [Keyes suggested that this is probably still the Karen name of the village.]

He said that there were no Khommyang living in what is now Mĕ.la.nōi [see above for exceptions to this statement - i.e. abbot of Southern wot & the informant's nephew-in-law.]

He said in response to a question about the Buddha image kept in the Southern temple of the village that the image was Khommyang style. It came from the cave which is near the village. There also used to be other images there - both Thai and Mandalay styles - but they have been stolen.

He said that all of the manuscripts in the cave are written in Northern Thai.

In response to the question of the routes which the Shans from the Shan states used in getting here, he gave the following:

1) Tá-to, mō to Nēai Hōi to Amphā. Myag, MHS.

2) Nōg Pā-lā-m (in ~~the~~ Mōng Ma, y) to Mĕ-la'nā (Mĕ.lā.nā.)  
from where some people went to Myag Pā.i & some to here via Amphā. Myag.

3) Mē Će directly to Khūn Yuam, MW, & Mĕ. Sāriag by 3 diverging trails (he drew a diagram in the ash). [Lehman says that Mē Će was a main teak toll station into the Salwin under Kuntawadi, that is, under Kayah control.  
See below.]

In response to a question concerning whether Mĕ-la-luay was settled by the same people as MLN, he said that it was - i.e. by Shans from the Shan states and yōn ~~mōn~~ mōn from Chiangmai. When both MLN & MU were settled, Bān Klāng was the only Khommyay village in the area. Some Shans also settled in Nōng Phāk Būng (Nōng phāk pūm) which is about 10 km. south of MLN and west of Mĕ-te. [Could this be the village of U. ၀၇၂၂ - Bān phā-pām - which is shown on the 1:50,000 map? Whatever the name of the village, it suggests a more southern settlement of Shans than MLN.]

☛ We asked about the war with the 'Red Karens'. He said yes they came down here. He also knows Salawpaw's name. He came through to attack this area through the pass at the place where the ~~Salaw~~ Pa-i river flows over into Burma into the Salween (near the Thai police post called Ná-m Phiang Din). There was a big battle at this place and the informant said that Salawpaw was very lucky there. Jim asked him why Salawpaw was lucky and the informant replied because birds didn't fly over his palace but flew around it or through it (i.e. through open spaces in the palace). [Lehman thinks that this is a metaphor suggesting that Salawpaw had nothing over his head - i.e. that he was the greatest one. He was a person of great charisma.] Local Shans under the rulers of Khūn Yuam & Mĕ-Hōng Sōn together with some Khommyay under the King of Chiangmai defeated Salawpaw on this side and chased him to Yo-ng Hwe, on the Burma side. The victors built a pagoda there which has a Khommyay inscription and the young people built a pagoda which has a staircase inside it (i.e. a hollow pagoda). He says that no Kayah have settled here and he mentioned the ones of Khūn Yuam as being the closest ones [Lehman discovered that there used to be a Kayah community in Khūn Yuam near the airport. They have long since disappeared with only a couple of old women left to bear reminder of their former presence.]

He himself has been to Loi ko, to study at Kyōng Kaaphsa, under a teacher whose name was Pinchet (?sp.). He has been to several other places in the Shan & Kayah states.

He worked in lumbering for the Bombay-Burmah Co. under Burmese supervisors. In response to a question he said that a lot of people here worked for Bombay-Burmah. B-B had 3 ~~hqs.~~ head quarters with European managers in Myag ~~Pa~~. Pa.i, Mē-Hōng Sōn, & Mē-Sāriag. There was no head quarters in Khūn Yuam but head elephant drivers lived there. People employed by the company included Shan, Kuen, and Khamu<sup>2</sup>. The Khamu<sup>2</sup> were elephant drivers and mahouts. Khamu<sup>2</sup> came over from Laos and ~~sett~~ as little boys and settle here. No Khamu<sup>2</sup> are now left in the area [actually, there are some Khamu<sup>2</sup> settled in the lowland wa<sup>2</sup> village of Bān Phē<sup>2</sup>, a suburb of Mē-Sāriag - Keyes J].

There are currently 3 people in MLN who are tattooers. Only one man goes up in the hills to tattoo Kuen - name is Hsara, Hsary Tsāi. There was also another man, now dead, who also went up into the hills - name Mū li<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>.

The following, given by the informant, are the classical titles used in MLN:

wu-n tsāu	'head monk'
wu-n tsāng	'ordinary monk'
tsāu hsary hsary	'novice'
tsāu wu-n	word used for addressing head monk
tsāu tsāng	" " " " " ordinary "
hsara,	ex-ordinary monk
<del>ts</del> hsara, lōng	ex-head monk
hsāng	ex-novice
tsāu hsara, to,	use for Phra' Khru.

He said that the name of the ancient ~~Shan~~ Thai capital, Sukhothai, is a Shan word, ~~hsyng~~ hsyng khū, ~~tāi~~ tāi which means: hsyng = 'settlement'; khū = 'moated'; tāi = 'Shan'.

The ruler of Myag Yuam was the "son" of the King of Chiangmai, according to the informant [probably does not really mean "son" but "relative" or someone sent by the King of Chiangmai.]

The ruler of Khūn Yuam at the time when Khūn M<sup>2</sup>'s father was ruling M<sup>2</sup>. Ho-g Sō'n (i.e. Kō-n Bōn), was named Phaya. Phrā<sup>2</sup> Thōy (ᠠᠨᠠᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠨ) in Thai. This was the title and name given him by the King of Chiangmai. He was Tō'g sū, but doesn't know if he was the Tō'g sū who built the first pagoda in MHS [unlikely because he was later than the time when the pagoda was built.]. He says that the ruler of Myag Yuam at this time may have been named Cāo Nō'i Hāi. Myag Pu-i was also separate.

He said that Phaya. Phrā<sup>2</sup> Thōy sent gold 'flowers' as tribute to the King of Chiangmai. At this time M<sup>2</sup> was under Myag Yuam while M<sup>2</sup>. la. lūay was under Khūn Yuam.

He said that if one did something wrong at this time i.e. if one lived under Myag Yuam, one could just walk across the border into Khūn Yuam and be free. Now if one lives anywhere in Thailand, there is no escape.

#### Shan ~~Term~~ PLACE NAMES:

Simon discovered in M<sup>2</sup>N that the Shan name for the settlement is Me-la<sup>2</sup> ō'n (where ō'n is cognate with NT ʔō'n which appears in the word la ʔō'n (ᠠᠨᠠᠨ ᠠᠨᠠᠨ), 'child') i.e. for M<sup>2</sup>. la. lūay is Me-la<sup>2</sup> lō'g. Me-la<sup>2</sup> (M<sup>2</sup>. la.) is the name of a river i.e. la<sup>2</sup> is the Shan word for lūa<sup>2</sup>. Regarding the term la<sup>2</sup> Simon says it can be found also in the Shan states. For example, one kind of Palauy located in SE part of Lashio

dist. just on the edge of the wa state (Hq. at Myosa lo-i mo, in Taa'ng Yaan Township) are called, by the Shan, Lo-i la<sup>2</sup> in polite speech and la<sup>2</sup> ki-n hó (i.e. 'Lia<sup>2</sup> eat head') in disrespectful speech.

SHAN ROMANIZATION

The following is Lehman's romanization of Shan.

Initials:

k kh ŋ (ng)  
ts hs ny  
t th n  
p ph, f m  
y r, l, w, h

Finals

vk, vng  
vt, vn  
vp, vm  
a(a), i, a liu  
ay

Vowels:

i y u  
e ɔ o  
ɛ a ɔ  
(aa)

Tones:

⊗ h ʔ  
High (tense)  $\bar{V}$   $\acute{V}$  ( $\check{V}$ )  $v^?$   
Low (lax)  $v-$   $v_$   $\check{V}$   
1  $v-$   
2  $v_$   
3  $\check{V}$   
4  $\bar{V}$   
5  $v^?$   
6  $\check{V}$  ( $\acute{V}$ )

NB: on the use of the letter "y"

as a vowel: high, back, unrounded  
(e.g. ly<sup>2</sup> (Thai lue))

as a glide: high back unrounded

{ e.g. never heard initial  
{ final as in ka-läy (khan) }

: front, high, unrounded  
(e.g. yu, (be<sub>2</sub>at, stay)

Note on "length" (on a only!): a contrasts with aa only in closed

syllables; before k, ng, t, n, p, m, i, u

never before y (back, unrounded glide)

never after initial clusters, i.e., # {w y} V (C) #

#### OTHER NOTES ON SHANS:

Kris & Simon both ~~maintain~~ are bewildered by the term giao (ḡiəu) which the Northern Thai use for Shan. They say that they have never heard the term in Burma & the Shans themselves do not use the term. The term, incidentally, is listed in no N. Thai dictionary except Purnell's where it is glossed as "Shan people" but it is listed in McFarland where it is glossed as "serpents (in general); the Shans, a tribe living in Northern Siam." When I was most recently in Bangkok, a Thai with an # Indiana PhD. in Poli Sci & who now works for USOM/Research Division, Sompon Sangchai (Sǒmphǎ:n Sǎngchǎi) said that he thought the term giao did not refer to the Shans at all - that is to the Shans as they are known from Burma.

#### KINSHIP TERMS FOR MONKS:

On the trip to Mĕ-Hō:g Sǎn, we had a number of monks with us. As I have got to be quite close to these & other monks, Sangja introduced kinship terms for Nishom's use. Thus, for the CKA who is my elder by a few years, she said NAK should call him lǎng lǎng. For a monk who is my junior, lǎng phĭ.

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#### Pǒ:i khāo sǎy:

Yesterday and today we have observed a ceremony called locally pǒ:i khāo sǎy (ḡəu iəi khāo sǎy). Pǒ:i is the N. Thai word for ~~festival~~ festival, khāo = 'rice', and sǎy is cognate with sǎngkhā - i.e. Buddhist monks. The meaning of sǎy here is similar to the central Thai word sǎngkhāthān (ḡəu sǎngkhā) - "gifts, alms, or food presented to Buddhist

monks<sup>1</sup> (McFarland, 843) usually to make merit for ~~the~~ a dead relative. Sanguan  
Chôttisûkkhârat's ~~Praphe-ni # 12<sup>2</sup> Watthanatham Myag Nyâ~~ (U-16)

Thiao Myag Nyâ # 12<sup>2</sup> Praphe-ni. Watthanatham Praphe-ni. Khô'ng Myag Nyâ  
(1702 1202 1716 1102 1202 1716 1102 1716 1202 1716 1102 1716 1202 1716 1102) [Touring the North  
and Northern Customs and Mores'] (Bangkok: Odeon Store, 2505 [1962], pp 76-77)  
has a short note on this custom which in translation is as follows:

" Besides the Ordination 'pô:i', <sup>another kind of</sup> there is a pô:i called  
pô:i khâo sâg, that is the making of merit & dedicating it to a person  
who has died in childbirth. It is believed that ~~this~~ this type of  
death comes to a person with great negative Karma (๑๐๗๑๑๑๑๑).  
The soul of such a person is unlikely to emerge from the vast cycle of  
Karma. Thus, [one] ~~make merit & dedicates it~~ must make  
merit & dedicate it to the deceased for its major effect. The offering ~~is~~ is  
~~include~~ an image of a house <sup>containing</sup> which contains a boat, <sup>belongings</sup> ~~belongings~~, and different  
[pieces] of clothing. This is taken and offered to the monks [who are]  
requested to dedicate the merit made from this offering [to the dead] thus  
allowing ~~the~~ [the deceased] to be ~~set~~ freed from the Karmic depths."

In the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> we visited the house of Mrs. Kiag Mâni-lôt  
(๑๗๑ ๑๗๑ ๑๗๑ ๑๗๑) who was the sponsor of the ceremony in order to make  
merit for her late husband, ~~so~~ Police Sgt. Sât (๑๗๑๑๑), & one of  
her children, Bamruy (๑๗๑๑), who died in childhood. ~~she~~ She invited  
us to the celebration by offering us a candle in a silver ~~token~~ <sup>receiving</sup> the  
candle indicated our willingness to attend). The invitation was ~~accepted~~ <sup>concluded</sup>  
in the terms that she would like to invite us to join in making merit. We  
also talked to Mrs. Kiag's father, Police Maj. Sgt. Bamphôp  
(๑๗๑๑ ๑๗๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑๑). We were told that today was a day of preparation

and that the actual ceremony would be on the 10<sup>th</sup> at 7 in the morning. As we were planning to attend another ceremony during the day on the 9<sup>th</sup>, we did not see any of the preparations or what else went on. However, this morning we heard that guests had been fed during the day & entertained with sp. music (trad. southern music.)

All informants we talked to agreed that the ceremony <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ with purpose the making of merit for the deceased, though it was not specified that the deceased need have died in childhood (as was obviously not the case in the ceremony being described).

The offering was a small house, complete to the details of corrugated iron roofing, windows, veranda, etc. The house was big enough that a person could climb up & sit inside of it. In N.T. This house is called a tyan n'oi (โถงน้อย). In this case, the house had two 'rooms' because 2 souls were involved. They were filled with everyday household objects: mattresses (2), mosquito nets (2), blankets, clothing, mirrors, pillows, plates, eating utensils, spittoon <sup>bucket</sup>, calendars, etc. The interior was also decorated with paper flowers, garlands, and streamers. In each of the rooms were photographs of the two ~~participants~~ deceased for whom the ceremony was being held. This morning there were also 3 'ritual' objects in the house: (1) a monk's alms bowl, ~~at~~ the significance of which I did not gather; (2) an object called a tug, and (3) a metal tray filled with ash. ~~the~~

The tug is generically of the same class as the snam taam khor, although it is much smaller, being about 1½' high. The ~~more~~ ~~formal~~ longer name for it is tuang tek (โถงเหล็ก) ~~(โถงเหล็ก)~~ ~~or tuang tek~~ (โถงเหล็ก) - ie 'iron banner' or tuang tek (โถงเหล็ก) - 'golden banner'. The top of the tug in this ceremony was ~~was~~ a representation of a lotus made from tin. Hanging from the rim of the tug were a number of symbolic objects including a 'boat', 'paddle', 'raft', 'pole for propelling a raft', and 7 pieces of wood of the same shape. Some of the latter had pieces of metal inside & some other things. The symbolism of the boat & raft is that the spirits of the dead might need ~~to~~ a craft to go across the river dividing hell from heaven (This was Sarman's explanation) or to reach the home



tuy (tuy lek or tuy tong)

of the spirits (Mr. Insuan's explanation). [Saman, incidentally, says that the large banners which the Shan call tām khyān do exist in NThai temples. They are called tuy also.]

The tray of ash, Mr. Insuan explained, was used for a sort of divination.

[The Mr. Insuan being referred to in the description <sup>is</sup> in the description of the ordination of novices which follows is a native of M Suring, married to a girl woman from B. Chaphay. He is now a court official, but was once a monk at Wat Benā in Bangkok <sup>is</sup> acts as a senior layman in MS. He is very knowledgeable about local customs.]

This morning we arrived about 7:00 a.m. We were ushered into an upstairs room where there were six monks. <sup>of the house - upstairs & down -</sup> All of the rooms had been made ready to receive guests by removal of their normal objects - mattresses, etc., which were put under cloths <sup>is</sup> by being laid with mats. Guests were in all rooms. Most of the guests were middle aged and older <sup>is</sup> women predominated.

The room in which the monks were in was also (Must be an odd no. of monks <sup>is</sup> be at least 5.

Shortly after we arrived another monk came. The monks present were the abbot of Wat Si-bunruey, the abbot of Wat Sitthimongkol, the abbot from Wat Co-m Co-y, <sup>is</sup> monks

from Wats Chaiyathā-p, Kittiwong, & Cōng Sūng (an old monk). The 7<sup>th</sup> monk was ~~also~~  
also from Wát Si-bunryag. Also present in the room was a lay religious practitioner,  
Aca'n Nentan (๑๑๑๑๑ ๑๑๑๑๑) [Aca'n is the functional equivalent mō in the  
NEJ. ¶

In this room were also a set of offerings consisting of 6 buckets filled with various items &  
3 basins filled with similar things. These are called locally kūai sāg (๑๑๑๑๑).  
One of the wash basins contained the following: a coconut still in its outer husk, a 'money  
tree' tied together with candles, incense, & flowers & wrapped at the bottom with banana leaves,  
banana leaf 'baisY.' (or something that looked like a baisY.), 2 paper cylinders containing  
something I couldn't see, a bag of milled rice, bottle of fish sauce, tin of milk, soap, cookies,  
tinned fish, candles, home-made cigs., bunches of gartee.

The ceremony began with the aca'n chanting announcing about the making of merit  
for the persons who have died. Asking that the persons who have died to come and receive  
the merit from the relative sponsoring the ceremony.

Then the monks were presented with their breakfast. First 2 trays of food & 2 glasses  
were presented to the senior monks. This Mr. Insuen said was the fa'n khān khāo (๑๑๑๑๑),  
i.e. 'presentation of food' (lit. 'offering - tray - rice') in memory of the sponsor's dead parents.  
[I wonder, however, if it went for the 2 deceased for whom the ceremony was being held]. Then  
one monk poured the water as trūat nā'm to send the merit to the dead & to inform the ~~off~~  
sponsor's parents spirits of the ceremony so that they can come & express their satisfaction.

After this formal presenting of food, the monks sat around low tables & ate. During  
their breakfast, the aca'n chanted.

After breakfast 3 monks gave simultaneous sermons. The abbot of the SY-bunryag  
~~abbot~~ gave ~~the~~ a sermon in one half of the little house (the sponsor's husband's side) & the abbot  
of Wát Sittimongkhon gave a sermon in the other half of the little house (the sponsor's child's  
side). The abbot of Wát Cōm Cĕng gave a sermon in the upper room. All sermons were  
in W. Thai & all the merit received from these sermons was dedicated to the deceased.

When the sermons were over, all of the monks returned upstairs where they were presented with the offerings. Each man's 6 monks represented, the 6 were present received a 'bucket' offering. The 7th monk, who was also from Wat Si-bunryay, received an envelope of money. The 3 monks who gave sermons each received the 'basin' offerings as well. After the offerings were made, the monks chanted the triat nam to send the merit to the dead.

The monks then left & the people began to disperse. We went outside to take pictures of the 'little house.' Mr. Insuan said that the house will be presented to Wat Si-bunryay. The house will be kept there 3 or 7 days, then it will be broken up & its parts will be used for other things. Later I asked the CKA what is done with the things that put inside the house since not all (especially the clothes) can be used by monks. He said that these things will be given away to ka-kai-wat or to poor people. He commented that he still had a set of women's clothes in the wat which he hadn't been able to give away.

On the house there was a placard which read

นางสาวเมตตา มณีโชติ ๑ กิ่ง ร้อย น้อม

๑๑

ส.ท. กิ่ง ร้อย น้อม ๑๑ = ๑.๖.๖๖๖๖๖๖๖๖

๑๑ น้อม น้อม ๑๑

To:

Mrs. Kiang Mani. Lat Dedicates this House

to

Plus Sgt. Sat Mani. Lat and dekchai Bunray Mani. Lat

who Have Passed Away

talked

Yesterday, Mr. Insuan also ~~talked~~ about this ceremony. He said that it is similar to the ceremony of the Chinese called kongtek (กงเต็ก) in which many objects are made in paper for the use of the deceased & then burned at a ceremony. He thinks that the poi khao sang is a custom of Mahayana origin which came into

this area via Kengtung. The CKA says that the Karen have a similar custom, but they put jewelry in the kind in the offering. However, they only make a temporary present of the gifts to the monks & then come & reclaim the objects.

The ceremony was over by 9:30 in the morning today. It is commonly held in the 6<sup>th</sup> lunar month, northern reckoning. ~~It can be~~ But it can be, according to Insuan, held anytime except during Lent. Not everyone does it, but only those who can afford it. There were at least 2 others on the same day on the opp. shore which the CKA attended.

PO: I LU:K KĒ:O:

Today & yesterday we have also been involved in ceremonies surrounding the ordination of one monk & 2 novices from Bā-n Khapuang - a Northern Thai village south of MĒ. Saring about 2 miles on the opposite side of the river. Most of the explanation of this ceremony came from Mr. Insuan who was present.

The name of this ceremony in NT is po:i lū:k kĒ:o (ປອ:ປຸກ ກື້:ອ) - ~~the~~ lit. 'the ceremony of the precious (or jeweled) child'. Sanghan (op.cit. pp. 74-76) gives the following description of this ceremony (as told by me):

" ~~Besides~~ Among the po:i or festivals, there is besides the po:i lūng, a 'little' po:i - namely the ~~po:i~~ merit-making po:i of ordination into the clergy which in the north is called po:i būat lū:k kĒ:o (ປອ:ປຸກ ປຸກ ກື້:ອ) ['festival of ordaining the precious child']. In this ceremony if the person who arranges it has a good status (i.e. is wealthy enough), he will perhaps build a temporary pavilion (which in the north is called phā:n) in front of his house and decorate it with offerings and the 'Eight Requisites' (ຂ້າງ ກິດ໌ ອົງ ອັດ ຈັດ ຈັດ ຈັດ ຈັດ). In this ceremony, the ~~decorations~~ preparation of the decoration takes place <sup>in the south</sup> one day before. This day is called a wan sūkdip (ວັນ ສຸກດິບ) ['ripe day']. [On this day] there are various entertainments for the people who join in the rejoicing, (in the north, [these guests] are called ka:n ma: ho:m (ກາ:ນ ມາ: ພອມ) [~~the~~ can't find ho:m listed in any dict.]) such as like: & so: myay. However today,

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There has likely been progress in some places and there is short music to listen to also.

" On this day of preparations, neither called po:i k'ay or po:i no:i, there is the food preparation to look after and many buffalo and cattle to ~~the~~ butcher because in some places the usual number of guests ~~expected~~ is in the thousands. People in the rural areas have many connections & thus are likely to know each other well. When they have a merit-making ceremony, they then spread the news widely. Otherwise it will be believed that they do not love & respect one another. Therefore, looking after the guests is a major undertaking. The cooks will work until they are exhausted. But the feeding of guests takes place only during the day. For po:i k'ay festivals there must be feeding of the priests in the morning as well, besides that, there will be feeding of guests at the time of monk's morning and mid-day meals. After that time there will be no feeding of food other than drinks such as orange juice and betel, m'ay, & cigarettes which are ~~usually~~ normally available for guests in the North.

" In this ceremony when the day of preparations is finished, the following day there will be the ordination of the west. Usually, it is popular to have the ordination in the morning. The tham khwan n'uk (๓๖๖๖๖๖๖๖) [ 'calling of the khwan of the novice' ] of the south also exists in the north & is called no'g khwan lu:k ke'o (๓๖๖๖๖๖๖๖๖๖) which is the calling of the khwan of the novice himself by having for which there is a ba:i si (๖๖๖๖๖) and an A'ca'n (namely, [a man from among] the group of n'ain (๖๖๖๖๖) [N.I.] or thit (๖๖๖๖๖๖๖๖) [C.I.] who have left the monkhood. As for people who have been

and left, they are called 'Nō:i' (HōV). For example, a person whose name is Bun ma. would be called Nō:i Bun ma. Who is the person skilled in calling the khwān to come to the ceremony by chanting [lit. 'rhythmically reading'] for it to hear. There is reference, as in the South, to the merit of the father & mother [of the novice]. "

For ~~another~~<sup>a</sup> description of an ordination ceremony in another part of the North see Kingshill, 1965:102-109.

We arrived in B. Khapuang about 10:30<sup>on the 9th.</sup> The festivities were taking place at the house of Luḡ Nō:i Wē. (Lō HōV Hō) who was the ~~the~~ arranger of the ceremony. [lit. this person is called 'the owner' of the ceremony - mōvōvōk - cāo khōng gōn] When ~~the~~ we arrived the novitiates (2 would-be novices or 1 would-be monk) were not around. It was explained that they were at Wāt Nām Dīp from where the procession would come. This explains why we passed so many people carrying drums, gifts, etc. in the opposite direction as we were coming into the village. Since there was no activity going on when we arrived, I took the opportunity to ask some questions about the ceremony.

Mr. Insuan explained that in Shan this ceremony is called sǎy log (sǎy is the Shan word for novice). In this ceremony, the novitiates will ride on horses. The actual ordination will take place at Wāt Kittiwong since the ceremony for ordaining a monk must be held in a bōt & must be conducted by a monk qualified to ordain, neither of which exist in the nearby wats of Nām Dīp, Hāi Wō:k or Khapuang.

~~The events~~ Next to Luḡ Nō:i Wē's house had been erected a pavilion covering a raised platform. In front of this platform was a table. On the platform were ~~three~~ four clerical beds, ~~with~~ each with an assortment of offerings. One of these beds was for the monk-to-be, <sup>two</sup> ~~one~~ for the novices, & one for the Buddha. On these beds were placed highly decorated pillows, mats, paper flowers in vases, water jugs, mattresses also highly decorated, some money trees. <sup>at least</sup> One of them <sup>was</sup> ~~there~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ priest's blanket,

a cloth sack containing scriptures, a monk's fan, the "8 requisites" (called kh'ng buet ~~is~~ -  $\text{kh'ng buet}$  - in N.T.), lacquered  $\text{phan}$   $\dot{\epsilon}$  bed  $\text{box}$ , 2 bundles of reeds/branches called  $\text{sä.lida}$ . ( $\text{sa.li da}$ ) on which white cloth is placed, 'lotus flowers' in representational form made of woven bamboo used for  $\text{wäi-ing}$ , other flowers made of wax, a mattress called  $\text{atsana}$ . ( $\text{at.sana}$ ) on which preaching is done. Also on each bed were white cloths to be used in the ceremony  $\dot{\epsilon}$  candles  $\dot{\epsilon}$  incense.

On the table in front of the platform there were the following: a money tree stuck in a water jug, 2 trees decorated respectively with 'gold' leaves  $\dot{\epsilon}$  with 'silver' leaves (there are called  $\text{dök mai thong}$  -  $\dot{\epsilon}$   $\text{dök mai gong}$  and  $\text{dök mai sä.li kham}$  -  $\dot{\epsilon}$   $\text{dök mai sä.li gon}$  - in N.T. They represent the Bodhi tree), 1 large golden-colored Buddha image modeled on the Emerald Buddha, 1 Buddha image in the form of the Naga protecting Buddha, one wooden image in Chiangsien style made recently in Chiangmai, 1 ~~new~~ image of a monk (not Khru.ka. si. wichai), two small black-ware vases containing artificial flowers, 1  $\text{bat}$   $\dot{\epsilon}$  1 silver  $\text{kan}$  in which the guests place money to help in this merit-making.

Mr. Insuan said that this is the time of the year for ordinations  $\dot{\epsilon}$  penenary rites.

A group of older men were seated on the platform with the beds. There were two benches near the table where higher status guests sat. Still under the pavilion on mats sat many other guests while other guests were in the nearby house. Petty merchants were set-up around the place with people milling about (some flirtation). A  $\text{so}$  group was performing on the veranda of the house.

I noticed ~~in the~~ that next to the pavilion was ~~the~~ a temporary shrine at which offerings are made to the gods of the four directions  $\dot{\epsilon}$  to those of heaven

earth (cf. notes for 30/11/67). The shrine is called, according to Insuan, tã.o tã.g.sì. (ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ) [see notes of 30/11/67 for etymology]. He said that offerings are made to these the-wada in order to have them come & help insure that all goes well with the ceremony. Insuan, together with Nein Wentan whom I met at the pai khao say, gave me the following list of the-wada propitiated at this shrine:

EAST: ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ (Tã.o thát ta lá tha)

WEST: " ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ (Tã.o wí pak)

NORTH: " ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ (" Ku we:n)

SOUTH: " ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ (" Wí rún lá ha?)

TOP: ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ (Phá: In)

BOTTOM: ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ (Mê. thó lá ni.)

These names differ somewhat from those obtained before (30/11/67) & are more similar to those given in Da:í Nê:t's dictionary.

The ceremony even had been ~~performed prior to our arrival~~ ~~either in the morning or the night before.~~ Mr. Insuan says that these divinities are propitiated especially at the times of housebuilding & ordinations. The person who was in charge of the ceremony would be called in N.T. za.cán (ᩉ᩠ᩅᩢᩃ᩠ᩅ).

We were served lunch consisting of a kg. of ~~it~~ ph.ú.ú.ú. with glutinous rice. It was interesting to note that glutinous rice was served because this makes the village seem much more khomyay than other ~~with~~ lowland Thai villages in the area.

After lunch the procession began. We met it as it was coming into the village. The 3 novitiates were riding horses (really ponies) which in turn were being controlled by 4 young men. A fifth young man held a ~~parasol~~ decorated umbrella over the head of the novitiates. ~~In front~~ In front of the procession were older men carrying phan with gifts on them. The procession entered vít B. Khapueg

(This was interesting since the wihān has its main entrance on the opposite side as the entrance to wat grounds. Thus, on entering the wat one is faced not with the front entrance of the wihān but with the back end. The reason for this is that the Buddha images in the wihān must always face East. ~~Since the~~ <sup>However,</sup> ~~the~~ path from which one enters the wat is on the ~~left~~ <sup>left</sup> West, ~~the~~) The procession circled once about the wihān, towards the ~~right~~ <sup>left</sup> from the point of view of the gate of the wat, ~~but towards~~ and also if one were facing the front of the wihān (this not the 'correct' direction for circling - see below). Then the procession approached the khūtī. The novitiates were carried off their mounts & up into the khūtī. Here they knelt before a lone monk, presented him the offerings which the older men were carrying, and received the monk's blessing. <sup>'begged his pardon' (Uṣṣā 207 - khō.sā.mā.)</sup> (They had apparently done the same thing in Wát Hūai Wōk & ~~perhaps~~ in Wát Nā'om Dīp). The novitiates were carried back to their mounts & then the whole procession circled the wihān once again in the same direction, left the wat & moved towards the house of the sponsor.

However, before reaching the house, the procession stopped somewhere & the novitiates were given their lunch. About an hour later, the procession did arrive at the house. ~~They were carried to the platform & then they sat for a while (not upon the beds but upon the platform (covered with mats)). They were given drinks & panned (it was a very hot afternoon). Then they were carried back to their houses, & the procession went to a śū. The procession paraded through the pavilion & coins & popped rice were thrown in front of ~~the~~ the novitiates. Then they were carried to the platform & there they sat for a while (not upon the beds but upon mats placed on the platform). They were given drinks & panned (it was a very hot afternoon). Then they were carried back to their houses.~~

The procession then went to a suburb village of B. Dong when they went to the shrine of the village tutelary spirit, the Chāoniyay. The procession circled the shrine once & then drew up in front of it. The novitiates did not enter the

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structure but an old man ("who could be any old man") entered in parental vases with long leaves. This same custom had taken place before at the B. Khapuang shrine.

The procession returned & the novitiates apparently went to rest. I took the opportunity to ask about what else was to occur. I was told that in the early evening, there will be the ceremony of 'calling the khwān' - tham khwān nêk (๓๓ ๖๖ ๓๓) in Thai & • hōy khwān (๕๕ ๖๖ ๖๖). This ceremony will be performed by an acān hōy khwān (๕๕) ๕๕ ๖๖ ๖๖). After this ceremony, the novitiates will go to 'beg forgiveness' from various (๖๖ ๕๕) from various elders. The elders will respond by 'tying the wrists' (๖๖ ๖๖) of the novitiates. The elders will also give the novitiates some small change. These are customs of respect.

During the evening there will be a special form of so music called so. kep nōk ('songs of collecting birds'). Trad. so music has been going on all day.

Tomorrow morning there will be a procession from Khapuang to Wat Kittiwong where the ordination will take place. It is expected the procession will reach the wat about 12:30 - 1:00 p.m.

The attendants of the novitiates must be male. They are usually not married, but they can be.

Sometime of the 4 p.m. The novitiates came back to the pavilion & we thought the calling of the khwān was about to take place. However, instead, a new form of entertainment (apparently the so. kep nōk) began. We listened to this for a while & then left.

Today we went to Wat Kittiwong at about 12:30 only to discover that the would-be monk had passed out & was now ill (at first they thought he had died). Sangya, who was with us, said that perhaps he didn't have sufficient hūn to enter the monkhood. But he was revived & the ceremony did take place in the afternoon. I asked <sup>the CKA</sup> how many monks would be present at the ordination. He said

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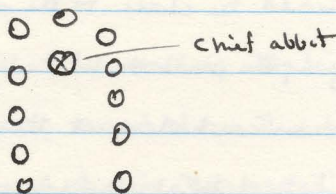
that there would be 10. There must be at least 5, but in Lip-county towns there are usually 10. In Bangkok there are usually 25. He gave me the following names of groups of monks:

- |   |                  |         |
|---|------------------|---------|
| 1. $\text{pan} \check{c}a \text{ phik kh} \check{u}$  | pan čà phik khù  | 5 monks |
| 2. $\text{thá sà phik kh} \check{u}$                  | thá sà phik khù  | 10 "    |
| 3. $\text{pan} \check{c}a \text{ wi. sà t} \check{i}$ | pan čà wi. sà tì | 25 "    |

The procession from B. Khapuang arrived at the temple gates at about 3:45 after having moved through the downtown area of M.S. The procession entered the wát and circled the bo:t once to the left. It was then explained to the leaders of the procession ~~that~~ by a young monk from ~~the~~ Kitti.wong that this was the wrong direction. [He explained to me later that circling to the left is connected with funerary customs.] The procession then turned and circled to the right. They only made one circle, although they should have done so 3 times, because, someone in the procession said, the wind had come up and was blowing dust in everyone's eyes.

The procession stopped in front of the bo:t and the novitiates were lifted off their paup and carried inside the bldg. A number of men entered the bo:t, while most of the women crowded on the porch outside.

The novitiates moved to the left hand side of the bo:t (as one faces the image). In the ~~center~~ back-center of the bo:t <sup>in front of the altar</sup> were the clergy. There were actually 12 monks, ranged as follows:



On the right hand side of the bo:t were placed the robes for the novitiates and the monk's paup. Slightly off of center-left were ranged 11 coconuts all with sandals

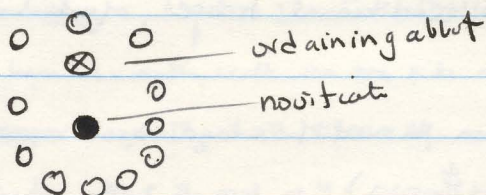
in the tops of them.

The ~~next~~ first act of the ceremony was the change of the novitiates from their 'beautiful' clothes into <sup>the</sup> white robes of a candidate. The make-up was removed from their faces & they were made ready for the following events which would transform them into members of the Order.

The details of its ordination were not recorded, ~~but~~ (see Wells, 1960: 135-137) because my tape recorder is out of order. But I did make the following observations:

- 1) the two novices were received before the new-monk, the littler/youngest novice seemingly taking a subordinate position to that of the elder
- 2) All 3 were given their robes, and the new-monk his bowl, from a layman or laymen before approaching the monks. These were not donned, however, until they had first been presented to the ordaining abbot; then returned to the novitiates. One inner robe was ~~to~~ placed over the head of the novitiates by the monks; then the novitiates withdrew to the right hand side of the boit to finish changing into his robes.
- 3) The CKA who was the ordaining abbot instructed each of the novitiates in Thai.
- 4) After the monk-to-be had changed into his yellow robes he ~~withdrew~~ received his alms bowl from the ordaining monk; then withdrew to the doorway of the boit. At this point, the service took a far more sacred aura. No layman was allowed to sit anywhere in the boit where he would be closer to the altar than any of the monks. The questioning of the monk-to-be about his fulfilling the necessary qualification was conducted at the doorway. Then the monk-to-be stood on a white cloth at the doorway.
- 5) After the questioning monks had performed their duty & reported to the ordaining monk, the monk-to-be was called forward. The lower monks then moved so that the novitiates was

entirely surrounded:



6) Nobody in the lay audience wai-ed during the service, thus suggesting that the ritual was entirely that of the clergy & that the ~~only~~ laity were only on-lookers, not participants. The only exception was the truat nam.

7) The truat nam at the end of the service ~~was~~ was performed by the new monk now sitting with the rest of the clergy:



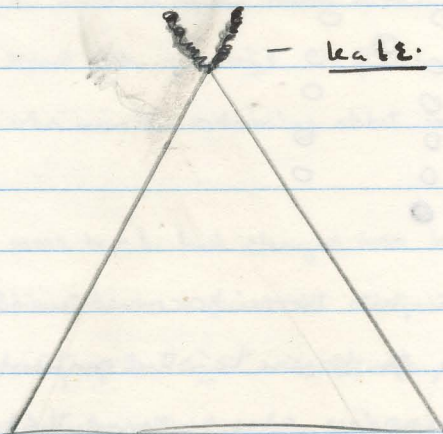
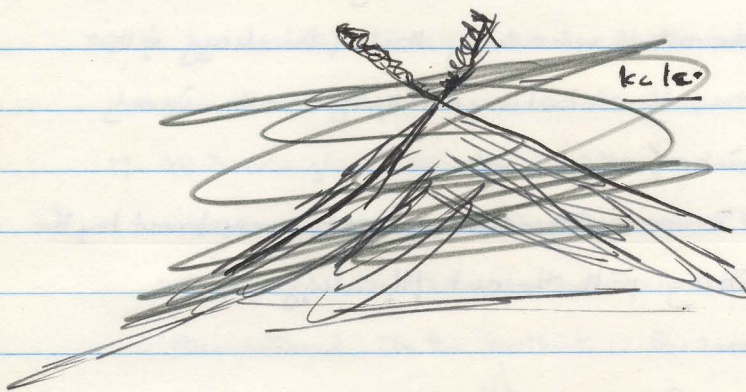
The laity did wai, but the merit accrued was solely that of the new monk & thus he alone to dispense to other sentient beings. (I did not notice if the 2 new novices also performed the truat nam but I think not.

8) After the official end of the service, the laity lined up outside the boat & the <sup>new</sup> monks & novices moved down the line. The people placed coins in the monk's alms bowl & in the novice's bags. Thus, the first act as a new monk (and novice) was to provide the laity with an opportunity to make merit by giving to the clergy.

TRADITIONAL HOUSE STYLE:

Yesterday, in B. Khapuang Mr. Insuan explained to me the meaning of certain parts of the traditional house, of which there were several examples in B. Khapuang.

The ~~primitives~~ <sup>gables</sup> on the roof of a thatched house are called locally ka le. (ก่าเล) (in Thai pān lom (บ้านลม)).



Above the door of the bedroom in such a house is a carved wooden-panel called hām nōn (หำนโนน) (วิธนะ or วิธนะ or วิธนะ) - hām is testicles & nōn prob. is cognate with Thai phāyom (พายน), 'unfolded'. (Nai Mî-t's dict. gives the gloss 'article brought to life by magician's incantation'). [I have discovered from other sources that this panel symbolize 'maleness' & the ~~power~~ dominance of maleness in a household.]

These trad. houses are not straight up & down in line, but slant in slightly from the roof to the base. The shape thus made with the roof, <sup>on the</sup> ~~gives~~ ~~the~~ outer edge of the house is called locally hũ: cáng (ฮũ ค่าง) - i.e. 'buffalo's ear'. ~~the~~ Since the ~~interior~~ main inner room has its outer wall on one side most of the outer edge of the bedg., there is ~~diff. in~~ symmetry on the two edges. However, the inner wall also slants in. A board protrudes past the end of the inner room, creating a small alcove. This is called fã: lap nung (ฝ้า ลัพ นุง) since young girls sit ~~listening~~ leaning against that board.

From the raised platform and extending into the inner room there is one round plank which divides the platform & bedroom into two parts. This board is called pê:n tã:g (ปีน ต่าง) - 'board - stomach'. On the East side - near the outer wall of this board - is the area of the adults whereas the West side near the interior of the house is for children.

The board which runs along the raised platform is called hũm (ฮũม). On the lower part is the work area, while the platform area is the living area.

In trad. houses there are no windows in the inner room.

INSUAN thinks that the slanting shape of the house may symbolize a conch.

#### KARENS IN B. KHAPUANG:

There were 3 Karens at the festivities in B. Dong. They had accompanied a Khon myay ~~the~~ petty merchant & were helping her (carrying water, etc.).

#### COCONUT WATER:

When in B. Khaphang we were given glasses of coconut water. This led Insuan to explain that coconut water is the purest (U'ĩ'ĩ'ĩ'ĩ') water there is (prob because it has never been exposed to the elements or to human hands.) when a person dies, his face is bathed with coconut water so that he might be reborn with a pure heart.

SHAN IN NORTHERN THAI WATS:

Mr. Insuan explained that the old name for Wát Sĭ-bunryag was wát má:k ke:g (มั่วกเค็ง) - má:k ke:g apparently is a form of tamarind (it isn't listed in Ma: Mě:t's dict. but it may be a Shan word). He says it was a Shan wat in which Northern Thai texts were studied.

Wáts Sĭ-bunryag & Uthaya-rom are physically connected, but the former is now a NT wat while the latter is Shan. If one has been a novice in the former, his lay title is ná:i, but if in the latter sǎ:g (มั่ว) - i.e. tsāng. (A re-ex-mune in NT is called ná:n - น่าน).

12/3/68

CONVERSATION WITH YOUNG MONK AT WAT KITTAWONG:

This evening I went over to Wát Kittawong to talk with the Phrá Khrá. However, he hadn't yet returned from a ~~tribe~~ trip to the tribal development center, so I talked with a young monk while I waited.

This monk, Phrá: Mǎhǎ: A.t A.sāphō. (มั่ว-มั่ว) ๑๗ ๑๗ (มั่ว) has the following official characteristics (from the short information given in the list of the Thammá-ca-rík monks): ๑๗. (มั่ว-มั่ว) ๑๗, ๒๗. (มั่ว-มั่ว) ๑๗, ๒๗ years old, monk for 3 Lenten periods.

He told me that he was born in the suburb of M.S. that lies across the river. When he finished P4 schooling, his parents strongly recommended he become a novice because he was a 'naughty child' (มั่ว-มั่ว). He was a novice for 6 years. When he turned 20, he didn't want to become a monk, <sup>because it wasn't sǎ:nk,</sup> but his parents said that they hoped he would become a monk for at least one Lent. After he had been in one Lent, they suggested that he stay in one more Lent. Now he doesn't know how long he will remain in the monkhood. He obviously looks on it as a way to obtain an education that he didn't get in the secular world.

He has studied in Mě: Hō:g Sǎ:n at two different wats (but doesn't read Shan although he can now speak it) & in Lamphun.

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

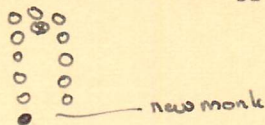
Written March, 1968

Field Notes / Mae Sariang  
Original hand-written version

19 March 1968  
Page 38 of 73

Ordination: End of Ritual

"The truat na:m at the end of service was performed by the new monk now sitting with the rest of the clergy as follows:



During the truat na:m, the laity wai-ed. This was the only point in the ritual at which they did this, thus indicating that they were only on-lookers, not participants. The truat ~~na:m~~ na:m performed by the new monk symbolized that the merit accrued was that of the new monk and only he could dispense it to other sentient beings."

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written March, 1968

Field Notes/Mae Sariang

10 March 1968

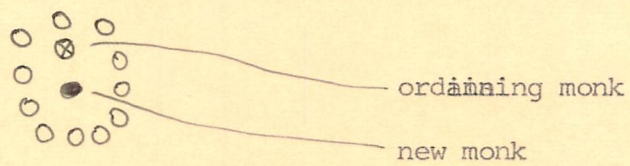
~~Original hand-written version~~

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Ordination: Ordination of Monk

"After the monk-to-be had changed into his yellow robe, he received his alms bowl from the ordaining monk and then withdrew to the doorway of the bò:t. At this point, the service took <sup>on</sup> a far more sacred aura. No layman was allowed to sit anywhere in the bò:t where he would be closer to the altar than any of the monks. The questioning of the monk-to-be about his filling the necessary qualifications was conducted at the doorway. There the monk-to-be stood on a white cloth at the doorway.

"After ~~the~~ the questioning monks had performed their duty and reported to the ordaining monk, the monk-~~to-be~~ to-be was called forward. The lower monks then moved so that the novice was entirely surrounded:



Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written March, 1968

Field Original hand-written version

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Ordination: Entertainment Provided

[Throughout the day before the ordination, there was entertainment provided at the house of the sponsor. Mostly, this entertainment was traditional sq: music.] "During the evening there will be a special form of sq: music called sq: kèp nók ('songs of collecting birds')...."



Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written March, 1968

Original hand-written version

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Ordination: Changing of Robes

"All three [candidates] were given their robes, and the new monk his bowl, from a layman or laymen before approaching the monks [after they had changed into white]. ~~They~~ [They did not change into their clerical robes]..., however until they had first been presented to the ordaining abbot and then returned to the novitiate [?]. One inner robe was placed over the head of the novitiate by the monks and then the novitiate withdrew to the right-hand side of the bò:t to finish changing their robes. "

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written March, 1968

Original hand-written version

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Ordination: Ordination of Novices.

"The first act of the ceremony was the change of the [candidates] from their 'beautiful' clothes into the white robes of a candidate. The make-up was removed from their faces and they were made ready for following events which would transform them into members of the Order."

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Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand  
Field Notes, Mae Sariang  
~~Original hand-written version~~

Written March, 1968  
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Ordination: First Alms-giving after Ordination

"After the end of the [ordination ritual], the laity lined up outside the bò:t and the new monk and novices moved down ~~the~~ past them, ~~making a~~  
~~line~~ <sup>the new monk</sup> the new monk wearing the alms-bowl  
strapped across his shoulder [A northern Thai custom] and the novices  
wearing their shoulder bags]. The people placed coins in the monk's  
bowl and the novices' bags. Thus, the first act as a new monk and  
as a new novice was to provide the laity with an opportunity to make merit  
by giving to the clergy."

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12/3/68

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has the following official characteristics (from the short information given in the list of the Thammá-ca-rík monks): นร. (นร: ๒๗๑) ๑๗๑, ๒๗. (นร: ๒๗๑) ๑๗๑, 24 years old, monk for 3 Lenten periods.

He told me that he was born in the suburb of M.S. that lies across the river. When he finished P4 schooling, his parents strongly recommended he become a novice because he was a 'naughty child' (โง่). He was a novice for 6 years. When he turned 20, he didn't want to become a monk, <sup>because it wasn't sǎ:nk,</sup> but his parents said that they hoped he would become a monk for at least one Lent. After he had been in one Lent, they suggested that he stay in one more Lent. Now he doesn't know how long he will remain in the monkhood. He obviously looks on it as a way to obtain an education that he didn't get in the secular world.

He has studied in Má: Hō:g Sō:n at two different wats (but doesn't read Shan although he can now speak it) & in Lamphun.

This is his second year as a Thammācārik monk. He only speaks a few words of Karen.  
I noticed a number of 'temple boys' (khañōm - veṭṭay - in N.T.) in the wāt.  
I asked this monk about them. He said that there were 11 of them, all attending secular schools  
in town. They are all khomyay & come from villages ~~are~~ outside the town.

He was complaining about the lack of knowledge people in the villages have about local  
customs & gave as an example the wrong circling of the hōt by the villagers from  
Khapuay (see above).

He obviously admires the CKA greatly, referring several times to his ability to  
organize things, to keep the ~~long~~ khañōm in line, ~~to~~ his knowledge of local customs, etc.

#### Talk with THE CKA:

The CKA arrived about 9:00 & we talked for a little.

He said that the ceremonies connected with the erection of a che-di at ~~the~~  
the lowland Karen village will take place on the 18-21<sup>st</sup> of this month. At least one  
Karen novice will be ordained in ~~the~~ connection with the ceremonies [It will be  
interesting to see what customs are followed in this case].

He mentioned that there will be a major sāngkhō<sup>2</sup> ceremony during Sāngkram.  
The saturay will be dedicated at the wāt & then taken to be left at least 3 'corners'  
in town: (1) in front of Wāt Suphanrangsy, (2) at the place where the bridge goes  
across to D. Thūy lēy, & (3) near the District office.

I asked him about the meaning of lkhō<sup>2</sup> (lkhō<sup>2</sup> in Thai). He suggested that  
people believe it to have some sort of ~~auto~~ animate character which can be scared, beaten,  
etc.

15/3/68

#### Thammācārik Program:

Today I helped take the monks connected with the Thammācārik program  
up into the mts. I returned a number of things in connection with the program  
during the day.

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carik (ဝါဒီ), incidently, means, according to McFarland, 'one who goes from place to place; a wayfaring man; a pilgrim' and accordid to Hcas 'to travel, wander (often in reference to the Buddha)'. Given this etymology, Thammacarik would seem to mean something like the 'Dharma as carried by wandering monks.'

There are 4 'centers' (ကျွဲ) where there are 'groups' (ကျွဲ) of Thammacarik monks in MÊ-Sariang. They are all in T. MÊ-Sariang & are also 'centers' under the jure in the program of the Tribal Development & Welfare Center at MÊ-Hô. These centers, with the group no. & ethnic identity are as follows:

Bân MÊ. Phz. Kûng (U. ၁၁၂၁၁၁၁၁၁၁)	Group # 4	Plwo Karen
" MÊ. Rít (U. ၁၁၂၁၁၁၁)	" " 5	S'kau Karen
" MÊ. Čá.g (U. ၁၁၂၁၁၁၁)	" " 6	Plwo Karen
" Hûai Kûng (U. ၁၁၂၁၁၁၁)	" " 7	S'kau Karen.

According to the list of monk-participants, the following information can be obtained about the monks:

a) From A.MÊ. Sariang:

1) Phrá É.lá. Kittiya-ro. (ကျွဲ-ဝါဒီကျွဲကျွဲ) from Wat Uthaya-rom

- Age 57, Monk for 8 years, No clerical degree.
- Group 4
- According to the CKA, this monk is Karen (living in a Shan wát). The CKA does not know when he came from. Noticed lacerations on his head as well as other parts of his body.

2) Phrá? Sý-nuan Khán-ti-sá-ro. (ကျွဲ-ဝါဒီကျွဲကျွဲ) from Wat Ching-tai-p Ná-m D-ó

- Age 29, Monk for 9 years, ကျွဲကျွဲကျွဲ
- Group 5



## B) From MHS excluding M.S.

1) Phrá Sompom itsàro. (พราสมปอม อิศโร)

- from Wát Pho-tha-ra-m (โพธธาม), Khūn Yuam

- Age ~~25~~ 25, Monk 5 lent, คธ. ๑๗

- Group 4

- Prob. Shan

2) Phrá Niyom Pāphātsāro. (พราเนียม ปาฬาสโร)

- from Wát Coj Kham (จกขาม), Ampho-myay, MHS

- Age 26, Monk 6 lent, คธ. ๑๗

- Group 4

- Prob. Shan

## C) From Ban Lok - Tamburi:

1) Phrá Mahā Nipham Sūmē-thā sū. (พรามหา นิพนธ์ สุเมธโส)

- Wát Māhān phā-ra-m (มหาพนธธาม), Bangkok

- Age 24, Monk 3 lent, ปธ. 4, คธ. ๑๗

- Group 4

2) Phrá Mānk Nū-phēt<sup>Mā-phān</sup> a Sīrī-wāt-thā ko. (พราแมน นุพนธ์ อสิริวัดธากอ) <sup>สิริวัดธากอ</sup>

- Wát Phā-kēo (โพกโธ), Tamburi

- Age 25, Monk 5 lent, ปธ. 4, คธ. ๑๗

- Group 4

3) Phrá Mahā Bunsū. Sānti-kā ro. (พรามหา บุนสุ สันติการ)

- Wát Thā-phā-dā-ra-m (ธาดธาม), Bangkok

- Age 26, Monk 6 lent, ปธ. 4, คธ. ๑๗

- Group 5

4) Phrá Mǎhǎ Thǎy sǎo Sǐ-hǎr át ěno. (พระมหาเถรสังฆะสีหะรัตโน)

- Wát Prácha-sét thǎ-tham (วัดประจักษ์ศิลปาคม), Bangkok

- Age 24, Monk 3 lents, ฐ. 4, ๕. ๑๗

- Group 5

5) Phrá Mǎhǎ Āphīrom A-nantho. (พระมหาอภิธรรมอนันโท)

- Wát Cháná sǎg khraim (วัดจันทน์สารไคร้), Bangkok

- Age 30, Monk 10 lents, ฐ. 4, ๕. ๑๗

- Group 6

6) Phrá Mǎhǎ Bunnāik Khě-maj karo. (พระมหาบุญไค้เกษมจักร)

- Wát Khǎn (วัดขัน) ๕๖๓๖

- Age 25, Monk 5 lents, ฐ. 4, ๕. ๑๗

- Group 6

7) Phrá Mǎhǎ Wí-rōt Me-tātilo. (พระมหาวิโรตเมตติโล) Phǎy-tsǎy (พ่ายไซย)

- Wát Fǎy (วัดฝาย), Thamburi (Northburi)

- Age 31, Monk 10 lents, ฐ. 4, ๕. ๑๗

- Group 7

8) Phrá Mǎhǎ Sǎiwǎng? (พระมหาไสวง?)

- Wát Rǎit pho-thǎy (วัดไร่โพธิ์ไทย)

- Age 28, Monk 5 lents, ฐ. 4, ๕. ๑๗

- Group 7

D) MEO NOVICES:

1) Sǎm-mǎ-ne-n Sǎk-sǐ. Sē-thǎo (สมมะเนน สักสี. เซ่เต้า) (วัดสมณะ)

- Wát Bencámá bǎp hǎt, Bangkok

- Age 17, ๕. ๑๗

- Group 5

- Orig. from Wǎ-n

2) Sāmmānēn Sāvāy Sē. Sō.g<sup>(?)</sup> (Sat. ๑๑๑๑ ๑๑๑๑ (๑๑๑))

- Wat Bonchānā bī phī, Bangkok

- Age 14, Kō. ๑๑

- Group 7

- Orig. from Nān

### Summary:

Mē-Surīāy (lead. Mē. ๑๑.๑๑.๑๑)	8 monks
Mē. Hō.g Sō.n (lead. Mē-Surīāy)	2 "
Bangkok - Tamburi	8 "
Meo Navies	2 novices
Total	20

In addition each group had with them a khānōm from M.S. (3 from Wat Kittiwong) who get a token pay for their services.

I took part of the supplies & monks for D. Huai Kūy.

### LUA? VILLAGERS & THE KHAN. BA. KHĀO

Today I met 4 Lua? villagers (incl. 2 teenage boys) from B. Dong & Wat Kittiwong. They told me that they were on their way to Chiang mai to find the khru. ba. khāo. I asked why. They said they were going to offer alms to him. One boy, who answered me, said that he has never been to Chiang mai before. They are either going with some Karens or Khams on looking for the khru. ba. khāo as well.

### FEARS OF THE HEAD OF THE TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT CENTER:

While at the tribal development center, I overheard the head tell the CIA about running into a wandering monk near Huai Kūy. He suspected that he really wasn't a monk because (1) he didn't have a registration book,

(2) He first said he was from one wát in Chiang mai & then changed his story & said that he was from another wát, and (3) he was going about giving free injections to the Karens. The head said he suspects that he really is a communist.

I noticed, incidentally, that all of the officials who work at the center carry guns. They didn't used to carry guns - or at least they were not conspicuous when I was first there 6 months ago or so.

### B. HUI KUNG:

The Karen village of B. Hui Kung (which is very accessible to the main MS-Hoi road) has a notable 'development leader' in a young man of about 20 who has planted large gardens, & built fences to keep out pigs, etc. He has been to Lamphun & dresses like a Thai.

According to one informant asked by the CIA, the headman of this village is addicted to opium. Meas come through selling opium, but none is grown by villagers themselves. Karens seem more addicted to opium than Lue?

### PO-I KHÃO SANG

I saw Mr. Insuan today & asked him about the deaths of the two people for whom the po-i khão sang was held on the 10th. He said that the husband had died of a disease which the young boy had fallen into a well and drowned. He said that it isn't necessary for a person to have died an unnatural death for such a ceremony to be held.

On the way out of town, I noticed another one of these ceremonies being held in a house near Wat Co-m Loi.

### KAREN SUICIDE:

In looking through my pictures taken on the trip to the hills, some Ban Dong villagers pointed out that one of the 3 young Karen suicides who had paid for

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me had committed suicide in a pact with her lover. (According to Pote such suicides of lovers are quite common among Karens).

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### 'CONFIRMATIONS' AS BUDDHISTS FOR TRIBAL CHILDREN:

In reading through Wells' Thai Buddhism I discovered a description of the ceremony called phūtthāma-mākā? (พุกหม่ามาคะ) which was held for students in B. Pā.pā. & B. Jang when were Thai. According to Wells (1960: 254-5) this ceremony is a 'confirmation' ceremony in which young people declare themselves to be avowed Buddhists.

The Confirmation Ceremony is for young students who are prepared to declare themselves Buddhamamaka or avowed Buddhists. The ceremony dates from the 1920's and had its origin in an earlier rite in which students vowed adherence to Buddhism before going ~~to study~~ to study. (op.cit., p. 2115)

### CEREMONY OF RAISING A CHE-DI. IN A LOWLAND KAREN VILLAGE:

Today I received an invitation from a Lūk-sit of Wat Kittiwong inviting me to a ceremony connected with raising a che-di. in the lowland Karen villages Mē-tō-p nŷa & Mē-tō-p klāng (2 villages, one che-di.). The following is a translation of the invitation:

SCHEDULE OF THE MERIT-MAKING  
CROWN  
[OF] RAISING THE ~~OF~~ OF A CHE-DI. AND ORDINATION  
OF HILL TRIBE CHILDREN

+

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[IN THE] KAREN VILLAGES OF MÊ-TÒ-P NŶA AND MÊ-TÒ-P KLANG  
TAMBON BÂN KÀIT, AMPHĀ. MÊ-SĀRIANG,  
CĀNGWAT MÊ-HŌNG SŌIN

- - - - -

Because we in MÊ-tò-p nŷa & MÊ-tò-p klang villages in Tambon Bân Kàit have a deep faith in Buddhism and [because in] these villages there is no village wat, [we] have pooled our strength and wills to build a village Che-di. as a place in which to worship. [This has been done] with the permission of the Cáo Kháná: Amphā. MÊ-Sāriang. Now that the building is completed, we are prepared to raise the <sup>crown</sup> ~~top~~ of the che-di. & to have the customary ~~festival~~ festival according to the following schedule:

18 March 1968 (5<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing of the moon, 4<sup>th</sup> lunar month, southern reckoning)

9.00 a.m. Procession bringing the <sup>crown</sup> ~~top~~ of the che-di from Bân Pá-māk to Wát Kittiwong.

3.00 p.m. Procession of the <sup>crown</sup> ~~top~~ of the che-di. & 4 lú:k kĕo (sā:y lō:y) \* along the various streets in the Sanitary district [i.e. MÊ-Sāriang town & environs] followed by the arranging of a festival at Wát Kittiwong. In the evening there will be a movie & so-yay (movies) [Karen singing].

\* Lú:k kĕo (လူကဲ) is the Northern Thai word for those who are to be ordained as novices. sā:y lō:y (ဆဲးလေး) is the Thai ~~proper~~ spelling of Shan word (in Thai ~~transliteration~~ transcription) for the same thing.

19 March 1968

9.00 a.m. Procession of the top of the Che-di to Mē-tā-p  
nyā Village.

7.30 p.m. Movie showing.

20 March 1968

9.00 a.m. Ceremony of raising the crown of the Che-di.

9 monks will chant the 'Auspicious Victory' (อัฐมวาร)  
Gatha.

7.00 p.m. There will be a Natana Thai sermon concerning the

Thammá cū ká ká pā wá t r á t o n (ธรรมจักรกัปปะวัตถ์ตัน)

Sutra; the Thammá phūttha-phī s ē k (ธรรมพุทธะภิเษก)

There will also be the customary chanting at the opening of  
festivities and a movie.21 March 1968 (8<sup>th</sup> Day of the Waning of the Moon, 4<sup>th</sup> Month southern reckoning)9.00 a.m. There will be the ordination of the Karen children and the  
presentation of alms at the Che-di. A sermon will end  
the ceremony.Therefore we should like to invite all Buddhists to join in this joyful  
merit-making with us faithful at the various places mentioned.

Signed: M. Kri-cho. (หมื่นศรี 1930)

" Suái t à ? (" สวあい )

" Phá? k à. (" ฟะคะ )

" Phye-ka hē. (" ฟะคะหะ )

" Mō-dī? (" มอดี )

" Kō-hz. (" กอฮ )

In the name  
of the faithful  
at Mē-tā-p nyā  
& Mē-tā-p tā-i  
Villages -  
Sponsors

Dòri KHĀO SĀNG AT B. PHĒ<sup>2</sup>:

Yesterday a young boy came to invite us to a Dòri khào sǎng to be held at ~~the~~ a house in the village of B. PHĒ<sup>2</sup> - the suburb village of M. S. which is mainly of ~~Lu<sup>2</sup>~~ whose population is mainly of Lu<sup>2</sup> background. The boy presented us with an unlit candle in tendering an invitation. This is the customary way of extending invitations to privately-sponsored ceremonies in this area.

The ceremony was being held for the father of one Na:y Bin (NŌUŌ) at whose home the ceremony was being held, her mother, and her sister. The father died about a year ago, the mother nearly 10 years ago, & the sister sometime in between. Na:y Bin & her husband, Na:i Thao (NŌUŌŌ) were not the only sponsors. Also included were ~~some~~ of Na:y Bin's siblings, among whom according to Lu<sup>2</sup> who knows the family, are Na:i Tīm (NŌUŌŌŌ), Na:y Pa. (NŌUŌŌ), and Na:i Ān (NŌUŌŌŌŌ). At the home opposite, food was being prepared & so I assume this household was also included. It is the household of the elder brother of the deceased man.

According to this elder brother, he and/or his brother moved down from Bā:n Pā:pĕ over 20 years ago. However, they still have <sup>kin</sup> connections with Bā:n Pā:pĕ. One of the elder brother's daughters has married back into B. Pā:pĕ. It was quite striking to see her in Lu<sup>2</sup> costume & her sister, who has married down in the valley, in khomnyag dress. There were also some young Lu<sup>2</sup> girls present who the elder brother said were his lĕ:n (either granddaughters or nieces).

There was another man present whom I took to be the sponsor. His name however, Lamvāt Nā<sup>2</sup> Lamphun, suggested that he is not of Lu<sup>2</sup> origin. I asked Lu<sup>2</sup> about this & she thinks that he may be a respected person who was asked to be the main sponsor because he is respected by the principals.

The other main participants of the ceremony were an acān & 5 monks. The chief monk was the abbot of wāt cōm Cōng and it was to this wāt that the 'little house' would be presented.

Finally, in attendance were the large number of guests & a few lĕ:n wāt

who would carry the presents given to the monks back to their respective wats.

Yesterday, there was some sort of festivities, hông khòk, & so music. La said the mother of Mr. Wichian attended yesterday because people from this family at one time worked for the Om Za.ri shop (thus confirming an earlier story that Luc used to work at this shop).

When we arrived at the home, we noticed a large number sand che di, with paper 'flaps' (which crepe paper) planted in them, at the entrance to the gate of the home grounds. As we entered ~~we~~ we (Jane & I) were given a local 'cigarette' & a drink of hotel each.

We arrived in the midst of the request for & receiving the presents (including the namo) during which the a. ca. n acted as Reader & the abbot of Om Ca. y was the giver. The chief layman / a. ca. n then chanted something, repeated by the lay principals, which a man held a khùn with khryang bu. cha. in the wai position. This was the formal presentation of the 'alms' at the ceremony. This was followed by a long chant by the monks. During this time, there was scurrying about to arrange the food to be given the monks.

When the chant was done, 2 trays of food were taken and placed at the foot of the two mattresses in the 'little house'. Then the a. ca. n led the laity in presenting the food to the monks (in Northern Thai). During the time that the monks were eating, the a. ca. n chanted in N. T. (name as in the ceremony at the of Na. y. Kōg's .

During the meal, I took note of the various <sup>artefacts</sup> ~~artefacts~~ involved in the ceremony. The 'small house' was located in front of the stairway & had a double roof. In the house were the following (not a complete listing): 2 mattresses (laid out), 2 pillows, 2 mosquito nets, 2 blankets, buckets, pinto, metal set, water vases. The 'ceremonial' objects in the room included a bait & a red lacquered phan on which was placed khryang bu. cha. & a sermon script. However, there was no fan.

In the house itself, the monks were seated under the interior 'house altar' & on the raised platform of the house. N<sup>o</sup> by, & also to the side of the house near

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Reiling was a table on which was placed a Buddha image, 2 lighted candles in candle sticks, 2 vases of flowers, Between this table & the monks, leaning against the side wall of the house & on the floor, was a picture of the deceased father. A string was wound around the picture, around the Buddha image, & then passed to the 'alley' ~~on the~~ placed in the sand chedi. From there to the ~~the~~ eave of the 'little house'. There remained a ball of string left, next to the picture, which was later used by the monks.

In the low corner of the veranda near the table were the 'buckets' containing the offerings for the monks present.

When the monks had finished with their meal (the acarin stopped chanting before this point), the meal table & dishes were taken away & the offerings were placed in front of them. Also, plates with tin cups of 'water' (a nam som pa'i?) on them were also placed in front of each monk. Two lay people, I believe the owner & wife of the owner of the house, also had dishes with cups of 'water' in front of them. The monks then chanted the trai phon & trai nam. I noticed on this occasion, as on others, that the monks do not chant these chants in unison but each proceeds at his own speed, some finishing before the others. The abbot of Co-m Cey & the 2nd monk were the last to finish in this case.

Then the ball of string was unravelled further & passed along to each monk. The monks chanted, followed by a short chant by the acarin, & then another short chant by monks during which string rewound. Then, the 3rd monk (whom I believe to be from Wat Si-bun-nyay) said that the formal invitation for a sermon should be made & the acarin did so. This completed, the abbot went into the 'little house' to deliver a sermon, 3 monks began delivering sermons in the main hall, & the 5th monk departed. When the abbot of Co-m Cey finished below, he came back upstairs & delivered another sermon there. Again, the sermonizing was not in unison, but each monk was reading from separate texts. At the ends of all these sermons there was again the trai nam to send the merit made to the deceased.

Again each monk performed this part separately. This brought the ceremony to an official end. It was followed by feeding of the guests & there would perhaps be some music during the rest of the day & the evening.

During the meal, which again had the 4 'happy' dishes - cỳ-t ~~phét~~ (yam mapng) (kə:ŋcỳ.t), phét (phrək d z:ŋ), man (kə:ŋ haŋle.), & práo (práo) - as well as green vegetables (cabbage, cucumbers, etc) - I asked about the cost of the ceremony. Mr. Cơmát Nà Lamphư.a said that it cost  $\$3,700$  & that the 'little house' alone cost about  $\$200$  (materials). 7 relatives joined in sponsoring the ceremony. Another man said that these ceremonies can sometimes cost as much as  $\$20,000$ .

### THE ROLE OF B. PHÉ? IN LÚA? - THAI RELATIONS:

I reflected today while at the ceremony described above on the role of B. Phé? (or the same could be said for B. Thàng Pháo) in LÚA? - THAI RELATIONS.

There are apparently many households which have kin connections into LÚA? villages in the hills & Khomnyang or LÚA? - Khomnyang villages in the lowlands. These connections, plus connections provided by contacts with one's natal village, make possible learning about KM culture in the lowlands by upland LÚA?. ~~It is~~ LÚA? relatives who attend such ceremonies as we witnessed today now are more familiar with Khomnyang customs. Over time, many LÚA? must learn (but rarely practice) the role of a KM. If they decide to move into the lowlands, the transition from LÚA? to Khomnyang is not great. No such channel into Khomnyang society & culture exists for the Karen, although B. Pơng does have some characteristics for the Karen that B. Phé? has for the LÚA?.

BUDHIST CEREMONIES IN KAREN VILLAGES:

Beginning on the 18<sup>th</sup> & continuing to yesterday, I have been involved in the ceremony of raising the crown of a chū-di. & the ordination of novices sponsored by villagers in the Karen communities of Bân Mē-tō-p n̄ya & B. Mē-tō-p klay.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> villagers processed to Mē-Sariag, bringing with them the 'crown' of the boys who were to be ordained. Orig. the idea was that 4 boys & an older man would all be ordained, but only the boys came to town for the procession (and in the end the older man didn't get ordained). The procession included not only people from Mē-tō-p but also a number, including the HM & his wife, from the Karen B. Phó? (Dk.kho.).

The procession arrived in MS about 12:00. At about 3:00 p.m. they were served a meal by some people in the congregation of Wát Kittiwong. Before the meal the CKA had got some of them to record s̄p-yang (170 vts.) - i.e. Karen singing.

~~At about 4 p.m. the Karen began a procession.~~ After the meal the 4 boys (novices to be) were dressed in the Burmese costume typical here. The costume was provided by Wát Kittiwong. Then <sup>beginning</sup> about 4 p.m., the Karens with the chū-di crown of the kik-kéi on the backs of 4 Karen men, began the procession around town. It wasn't a very big procession & was looked down on by some of the Thai monks. The procession went first to the ~~house~~ shrine of the cāo myan (fate lay spirit of the town). They were told that it was the custom in Thai/Shan traditions to inform the cāo myan of the forthcoming ordination of novices. (The shrine, incidently, was locked & a neighbor woman also looks after <sup>the shrine</sup> things came to unlock it. I was told that the shrine is kept locked because of the various costumes that are kept inside of it).

~~On the 19<sup>th</sup>, 11~~ On the evening of the 18<sup>th</sup> there was a celebration at Wát Kittiwong which consisted primarily of movies plus some more Karen singing.

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, the procession returned to Mē-tō-p n̄ya. In the afternoon I drove out some of the monks & equipment in Pete's Land Rover. This was quite a drive over almost roads - taking about 2 hours to go 14 km. (but only

an hour & a half back). The route passed through B. Thâ. Khâm, B. Sôphân (both NT villages), B. Phé', B. MÊ. Hân (both Karen villages), & B. MÊ. Tôp (NT village) before reaching B. MÊ. Tôp klây & B. MÊ. Tôp nýa. There are shorter routes, but not ones traversible by a car. It is interesting to note how lowland Karen villages are interspersed with KM villages.

I returned to town on the evening of the 19<sup>th</sup> & then drove another group of monks & novices out early on the morning of the 20<sup>th</sup>. We arrived a little after 8 pm because it was planned that the procession up to the chedi would take place at 9 pm. However, all morning was taken up by a procession from house to house where the inhabitants of each household would tie the wrists of the novices-to-be (This custom, which the CKA says is Shan, was introduced by the CKA to the Karen). In addition to tying wrists, the various householders also presented the novices-to-be with small bits of money in order to help in the merit-making.

Two villages are involved in the sponsoring of the ceremony - MÊ. Tôp nýa & MÊ. Tôp klây. The hill on which the chedi has been built is between the two villages, although slightly closer to MÊ. Tôp klây. At the foot of the hill, in a clearing, had been erected a temp. shelter where food was made & guests were served. The monks, however, were not served here but in the teachers' house in MÊ. Tôp nýa where they were staying (this being vacation, the two female teachers at the school had returned to MS). Lunch was served in these two places & then many Karen men retired to MÊ. Tôp klây where they drank large quantities of liquor.

By mid-afternoon, the CKA finally led the monks & some of his entourage to MÊ. Tôp klây to spur on events a bit. The procession with the lûk kzió was finally got underway & we (the monks & myself) preceded ~~them~~ it up the hill.

On top of the hill, an area had been cleared. The chedi was in the middle, completed except for the 'crown'. A scaffolding was on the chedi so that people could climb up to place the 'crown'. A fence surrounded the chedi. (temp.) & the chedi rested on a brick foundation. To the north of the chedi

was a raised covered platform made of bamboo ~~pl~~ thatch which served as a sa-la during the ceremony. In front of the che-di, ~~is~~ this pavilion was a covered area where people would sit during the event (it wasn't high enough to stand up under even for people shorter than myself).

(The whole afternoon was spoiled by the fact that the hillside was on fire - a consequence of smoldering fires in the area - ~~is~~ we all breathed smoke for the time we were on the hill. I am sure that this was reason I came down with an acute bronchitis attack on return to M.S.)

When the procession reached the top of the mt., ~~the whole~~ all of the Karens (but not, so far as I could see, ~~any~~ any of the visiting KM) - including the wik ka on the shoulders of several men - circled the che-di - not once, or even thrice, but many times. While doing so, they sang a special so which the CKA says is used especially for occasions involving a che-di. (or tha-it).

~~After the procession~~ During the procession ~~is~~ after it (~~is~~ in part all during the proceedings) people would go up ~~is~~ wai tha-it - with candles, incense, flowers - or would throw ~~hot~~ naim nja (so pa-i water) or popped rice on the che-di while walking around it inside the fence.

When the procession was over, the monk who lives normally (at least for the last year) at the che-di in the Kama village of B. Pa. Maik Maik Hain went up on the platform with 2 laymen to help place the 'crown'. (This monk, whom I haven't mentioned before is a very interesting person. He was born in Kengtung state, is a Shan who speaks fluent Chinese, ~~is~~ served in the Chinese army in Southern China during WWII. He was living in Chiangrai before he came here.) In raising the crown, it was taken apart into 4 parts (3 layers plus the 'tube' that passes through the middle of the crown ~~is~~ sets in the top of the che-di). To the bottom portion was attached a long white rope which was passed over the platform to the other side. Many people ceremonially pulled on the rope to 'lift' the crown to the top, though actually it was carried up the stairway. When <sup>the lower part of</sup> the crown was placed, the monks below chanted. Then the monk

and the two laymen fixed in place the remaining parts of the 'crown'. This was done with wires. When this was finished, the monk descended & the laymen dismantled the scaffolding (I believe that both of these laymen were KM).

When the crown stood on top of the naked chedi, ~~the monks led the people in 'worshipping the chedi' & then~~ the CKA gave a short sermon. In essence he said that the chedi was just a symbol & that people don't worship bricks. Rather they worship the Buddha, the Sa. Dharma, & the Sangha & chedis are just symbols for helping them remember these things. The CKA spoke in NT & his remarks were translated into Karen by the AM of B. Pa'. Then, the CKA led the people 'dedicating' in ~~worshipping~~ the chedi with 3 circles around the chedi & then ~~which~~ during which the people knelt & repeated the words of dedication which the CKA gave. Then the people, lead by the monks, circled the chedi 3 times. This time everyone, Karen & KM, joined in the ~~circled~~ circumambulation.

After this most people left the mountain top & went down below to eat, drink, watch movies, etc. A few ~~of~~ people, in the main female Khomyag & older male KM, stayed up on the mt. where there was an evening sermon (in Khomyag). These people, & the monks who gave the sermon (as well as some novices) spent the night on the mt. Just before we descended, an old Karen man from B. Pa. Maik (M<sup>2</sup>. H<sup>2</sup>.a) came & requested to take the 3 precepts from the CKA which he gave him.

On the morning of the 21<sup>st</sup> the monks arose before 5 a.m. & went up the mt. where I followed them. They knelt in front of the chedi & chanted for a long time - this was almost a private, clerical, ceremony with only a few lay onlookers. This was followed by the presentation of food to the chedi (given to the CKA by some lay KM) during which the CKA 'chanted' in Northern Thai. He was followed by some Karen women who came to present special desserts to the chedi.

Although all the monks but the one from the chedi at B. Pa. Maik went back down the hill after the chanting to eat breakfast (I also stayed on the mount), many people started

arriving. The novices to be were carried up & deposited in the pavilion (they, like the remaining monks, were served their morning meal here). A large number of Khonmyan (and/or Shans) had also joined the group who had spent the night on the mt. Many of these were vendors of small foodstuffs, some were pilgrims, & some both.

One other thing had happened before the monks went downhill for breakfast - they placed a yellow robe on the chedi - in the middle part.

During the time that I was waiting for the morning ceremonies to begin again, I took note of the inscription on the chedi: 18 276. J. 2510 - 18 March, 1967 (I am not certain whether this was a mistake or whether the chedi has been complete for a year & only this year was the crown placed).

People kept arriving in great numbers, but by now they were mainly Karen. In fact every lowland Karen village in the area & several upland villages had representation. Some brought decorated 'presents', the most conspicuous of which were those from B. Mĕ-tia & B. Mĕ-hain. Each new group of people would make offerings of khrogyabucha and/or deserts to the chedi & would circle it in procession.

About 9:00 or 9:30, the monks having returned, the ordination ceremony got underway. The <sup>elder</sup> man who had planned to enter had spent the previous evening in a drunken orgy & declined to follow through with his plans to be ordained. One of the new novices is the son of the head man of B. Phĕ? (the one, I believe, who lives at the Christian hostel while studying in MS). None of them plan to remain in longer than a few days - probably 3 days. They will spend their time on the mt. (I have wondered how they will really learn anything about being a novice since there will be no monks staying with them to teach them. The CKA invited them to come & spend several weeks at a wat in town or in Mĕ-Tsip, but there was no enthusiasm for this idea.) [I have recordings of the whole ordination ceremony.]

After the ordination ceremony, the monks were given their mid-day meals & then ~~led~~ led the people in touring ~~the~~ around the chedi for a final 3 times.

During this time, a group of Karens planted a pole on which there was a 'flag'.

at the SW corner of the chedi. The pole was highly decorated. The CKA calls this pole a săo tui (ส้อตวย) - lit. 'pole-flag'. There was already a pole, with minimal carving, at the SE corner of the chedi. This he also called a săo tui. He says that they are associated with chedis, but I didn't get much more explanation.

After this the people left the mt. (all except the novices & the one monk from B. Pā. Māik who volunteered to spend the first night with them) & were served a noon meal in the pavilion at the foot of the mt. This ended the ~~cer~~ events & we left for home shortly thereafter.

During the course of my stay in M̄-t̄-p n̄iā I was able to ask, with the help of the CKA, some questions about the village, about lowland Karens, etc. The following is what I learned.

#### KAREN NOVICE: P̄-m̄-ā

There is a permanent novice from Wat Kittiwong who is a Karen (or, as he says, lū-k kariog). He was born in M̄-t̄-Hān, finished PH there, & has now been a novice for several years. He acted as the CKA's interpreter during these events.

#### LOCAL HISTORY:

We started asking m̄-dī? & one of the other local sponsors of the ceremony about local history. They said that M̄-t̄-Hān was the oldest lowland Karen village & that the ~~etc.~~ ~~was~~ there had been built over 30 yrs. ago. When we started asking more questions, they had called over 2 old women who were reputedly the oldest people in the village. They both claimed to be 80, having been born in the same year, but they didn't look that old. One of them had a son present who said he was 44. Thus, I doubt if the women were over 70. Both women said they were born in the village & that their parents had lived here. ~~where~~ ~~their~~ ~~parents~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~born,~~ they didn't know. They also said that B. P̄-H̄? (Phetkhu) existed when they were young. When they could first remember there were 30 households in a single village of M̄-t̄-p n̄iā. Later it split into 2 villages -

Mê.tôp kla:g é MÊ.tôp nÿa. They said that P. MÊ.Hân, B.Pà.Mâik, é B.PHÉ? (Phzkhô.) existed when they were young. Originally, the Kauen lived in the hills, but none has known how long they have lived on the plains or where they came from.

CURRENT DEMOGRAPHY OF B.MÊ.TÔP NÿA é KLANG:

According to the CIA, when he inquired a year ago there were 17 households in MÊ.tôp kla:g é, 35 in MÊ.tôp nÿa. Now, according to Mòdi?, there are 17 in MTK é, 33 in MTN. 2 households have moved away from the latter, one to Khün Yam é, one to B.Pô:g. No new households have been created by marriages or family division. Last year there were 15 households in MTN which were Christian (Baptist). This year there are 14 since one Christian household moved to B. Pô:g. There is one Christian household in MTK, the same as last year. There is a Christian church in MTN. (Thus, 30% of the 2 villages together is Christian with 42% of MTN is Christian). The Kauen name for MTN is something like ~~metoklo~~ metoklo - where klo means the same as nÿa - i.e. 'north'. (The Christian component reminds me that a week ago the Baptists held an annual conf. of Kauen Christians in MTN.)

RELATIONS BETWEEN KHOMMYANG é KAENS:

One informant said that there were Kaens who had moved into MÊ.tôp, the Khommyang village. One Kauen girl in MTK married a Khommyang boy. They still live in MTK é, the girl wears Kauen dress. In response to a question by the CIA, Mòdi? said that it was not against the phÿ. 'to marry for KM é Kauen to marry. He then went on to say that the 'spirits are under Buddha'.

~~How~~ Buddhism é KAENS:

Villagers said that this is the 4<sup>th</sup> time that attempts have been made to erect the ché:di. Always before there were only 3-4 people who wanted to build the ché:di, but never could enough money be raised. Now enough money has been raised. The six people listed on the official announcement (Messrs. Kri:cha, Sínai tÿ?, Phá?kè:,

Phy.kà hē, Mō.dī<sup>2</sup>, ē Lā.hz.) were the largest donors ē the main sponsors (one of their number has since died). For example, Phá.kē. ~~gave~~ Laho (only 30 years old) gave 660 ฿, Mō.dī<sup>2</sup> gave ฿400, etc. The total orig. donations (i.e. given prior to the beginning of the ceremony) was ฿2,350. The total needed for the cost of the chedi was ฿3,000+ ē in addition there was the cost of the celebration of the ordination. Each of these 6 (or rather, now 5) men will receive a title (from Burmese) indicating their sponsorship of the erecting of the chedi. The title, as written in Thai, is khō.tā<sup>2</sup>kū<sup>2</sup> (kō-vā=π).

In this village, the title notwithstanding, the Karens follow the Khommyay form of Buddhism because the nearest temple ē monks are in Mē.tōp, a 1 km village. In B.Phē<sup>c</sup>, B.Mē.Hān, ē, B.Pā.māk, however, they follow the Shan way because the wat at Mē.Hān, which these people attend, used to have a Shan resident monk who had come from Wat Uthayaron in MS.

I asked when villagers here learned about the customs associated with the ~~chedi~~ the ordination of novices. The answer was that the sponsors had gone to an aca.n in Mē.tōp (i.e. a 1 km) to find out about the customs connected with ordination since they never had an ordination before. The CKA introduced the custom of processing to each household when householders tied the wrists of the novices-to-be. This custom in turn was borrowed from the Shan/Burmese trad.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF ONE KAREN VILLAGER:

Mō.dī<sup>2</sup>, one of the Karen sponsors of the ceremony, was so obviously fluent in 1 km (ē even in Thai), without the usual Karen accent, that the CKA asked him about his background. He was born in B.Pā.māk (Mē.Hān). He then studied in Mē.Hān when he lived at Wat Mē.Hān for 3 years. He then lived at Wat Sophān for 2 years while he continued his studies ē at Wat Cōy Khum in MS for less than a year. Although he has never been ordained, he is very familiar with the basic religious customs. He studied through to

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Mathayom 5 but failed in the exam, ran away & never returned to school.  
He married a girl in this village & settled down here.

Economics in MĪN & MĪK:

I asked if anyone in these villages works for the Phansarit Co. The answer was yes, ~~but I didn't get any further details.~~ There are 10 elephants in the village, some of which are hired out to the Phansarit Co. Elephants are owned by both Christians and Buddhists. One man, Phá' kē. (the young sponsor of the ceremony) bought <sup>a small</sup> elephant on his own (with his own capital) for ฿22,000 from Riayson, the owner of the MS market. Most elephants, however, are owned by several people or are inherited from people's parents.

KAREN VILLAGES IN T. BĀN KĀT:

I asked for all the names of Karen villages in Tambon Bān Kāt:

- 1) B. Phá mō. tō. (U. ၂၈-၂၀၀၀) - under B. Sōphān
- 2) B. Phē' (U. ၂၂၇၃) - separate admin. entity
- 3) B. Mē. Hān (U. ၂၂၇၂) - " " "
- 4) B. Pā. Mā. k Mē. Hān (U. ၂၂၇၂၇၂၇၂) - under B. Sōphān
- 5) B. Mē. tōp nya (U. ၂၂၇၂၀၀၂၂၇၂) - under B. Mē. tōp
- 6) " " " Klay (U. " " ၂၂၇၂) - " " " "
- 7) " ~~၂၂၇၂၇၂၇၂~~ Khūn Mē. Tōp (U. ၂၂၇၂၇၂၇၂) - " " " "
- 8) " Mē. tūa (U. ၂၂၇၂၇၂) - " " " "
- 9) " Mē. kōng (U. ၂၂၇၂၇၂) - " " " "
- 10) " Mē. (S.) (U. ၂၂၇၂၇၂) - " " " "
- 11) " Mē. Kō' (U. ၂၂၇၂၇၂) - under B. Mē. tōp

VILLAGE TUTELARY SPIRIT:

One informant said that the name of the village tutelary spirit was something like sipade. There is a <sup>annual</sup> ~~special~~ ceremony for this spirit in the 9<sup>th</sup> lunar month (Northern reckoning) & it is worshipped with flowers, candles, incense & sometimes chicken meat.

KAREN VILLAGE OF KHŪN MĒ. TĀ-P :

We interviewed an informant who came from the village of Khŭn MĒ. TĀ-P (၇၂၀၁၁၂၀၁၀). <sup>NT</sup> Khŭn in ~~the~~ means 'source' & is not the title of a person as it is in Central or NE Thai. So the meaning of the name of this village is 'the village that is situated at the source of the MĒ. TĀ-P stream'. This is an upland village with no paddy fields (entirely dependent on swiddening). There is no school in the village & the informant, a man in his late 20's or early 30's, spoke no Thai at all. It is located about 8 km. from North of MĒ. TĀ-P n'ya. There are 24 households in the village, none of which are Christian. The Phrasit Road passes near the village.

NORTHERN THAI CUSTOM:

The CKA said that in the sōg khō ceremony, the satuag is taken & left at a 'crossroads' on the ceremony's over. This crossroads, he said, is called ta.g khō.i (၀၅၅၀၁၀၀)

~~Local~~ LŪA? & LOCAL WATS & OTHER INFORMATION ON LOCAL HISTORY:

The CKA said that the wat in B. Thŭy Lē.g, which is called wat Khŭn khog (၀၅၅၀၁၀၀), used to be LŪA?. He said that the images in this wat are of Chiang s'ei or Chiangmai style. In Kō.g Kō.i there is the remains (layabnich) of what was prob. an old wat. Villagers call this a 'LŪA?' wat - rather amusingly since the village is still LŪA?. In B. N'ō.m D'p, the <sup>old</sup> chedi there is ~~called~~

thought to be on the site of an old wat which is called วัดท่ากม - wat  
thât kham. It may also have been lúa.

In B. Thung Phrao there ~~was~~ the remnants of an unfinished wat.  
which was supposedly under construction at a time when there was an idea of moving  
Muang Yuam to that area. This move never took place & the wat was never  
finished.

In the present-day Karen village of M<sup>ê</sup>-Ng<sup>è</sup>? (น้ำใจ) which is  
located on the Salween, a repertoire for Buddha scriptures was found & several  
books in Thai were also found. This leads the CKM to think that the village might  
formerly have been a Khommyag village. I suggested that the KM may have  
fled from the ~~the~~ Red Karen or Shan invasions in the last century.

Someone remembered that the date on the wat at M<sup>ê</sup>-H<sup>ân</sup> was suná-  
sakkhāra.t 1297 which is equivalent to BE 2478 & AD 1935.

#### Talk with Mr. Insuan Duangphōng

Today Mr. Insuan Duangphōng came to visit me & to volunteer to be  
my 'assistant' (he had heard Paman was quitting). He has helped me considerably in  
~~the~~ explaining ceremonies & would make an ideal ant. if I didn't feel somewhat  
~~was~~ worried about the fact that he is so much older & of ~~less~~ much status to make  
being my 'assistant' ludicrous. He was formerly employed by the court & is  
now ant. mgr. of the Thai Saimat Life Ins. co. He was elected to the  
prov. assembly in the recent election. In the end I said that I would  
certainly like him to be my 'teacher' but not my ant.

We talked a little about local history & ethnic settlements. He said that  
B<sup>ên</sup> Khapuang was settled by people moving out from MS. H<sup>2</sup> & D. S<sup>ô</sup>ph<sup>ân</sup>, &  
B. th<sup>â</sup>. kh<sup>ân</sup> are all Khommyag villages. The orig. name of B. L<sup>ôn</sup> C<sup>ây</sup> was B.  
M<sup>ê</sup>-S<sup>âr</sup>iang, but the name was changed after the change of the name of Muang  
Yuam. Khommyag moved into this area from Chiangmai & from Ph<sup>r</sup>é.

He thinks the word -hă'n in Sôphă'n is M̄. Hă'n may come from the word thăhă'n, 'soldier', & may suggest settlement by ex-soldiers. He says that people in B. Hui Siy, although now Khommyag, still speak with a Lua' accent.

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VISIT FROM PROF. JOHN CADY:

Last evening we were surprised when Prof. & Mrs. John Cady arrived on a short visit. Prof. Cady is currently visiting Prof. at Thammasat & was making a trip up here. He visited George P. in Chiang Mai & Lah Say, Pen's wife; he became both an old student of his at Jackson College where he taught before the war. He told us that Lah Say has been married 3 times (her Christian name is Marita & her maiden name was Zan). Her second husband was the head of the Karen liberation movement & was assassinated.

Prof. Cady wrote the section in the ITRAF handbook on the Karens. He says that he believes that the P'wo Karens were called 'Mon' Karens in Burma & that the S'kaw Karen were called 'Burmese' Karen because of their association, but that the S'kaw Karen were <sup>really</sup> ~~very~~ <sup>very</sup> much a people unto themselves.

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ORDINATION OF NOVICES AT WAT OMMARAWÂT:

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> & especially on the 23<sup>rd</sup> ceremonies were held at Wat Ommara-wât in conjunction with the ordination of 5 novices into the order. I did not attend because I was too ill. But I did gather a few bits of information about what occurred.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, there was a procession to the wat in the morning. The novices-to-be were then dressed & 'decorated'. During the day, the novices were taken to houses of elders for 'waist-tying'. In the evening there was a procession around the wat. The novices-to-be rode on horses & the Burmese were the played.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> the actual ordination took place. In the morning there was the feeding of the monks & preparations of the ordination took place in the afternoon. I do know that Thai forms, rather than Burmese forms were used for part of the ordination service.

Today there was a <sup>final</sup> Pinalend to the ordination celebrations (3 days after the ordination). This service I attended. The main purpose was merit-making with the new monks involved. For this a monk from <sup>Sung</sup> was invited to give a sermon in Shan & the entire service was in the Burmese style even though there were 2 'Thai' monks present [I recorded entire service except for initial request by layman at beginning of ceremony]. I noticed that the new monks were wearing black 'prayer' beads around their necks. The congregation held small paper pendants or flags when holding their hands in the wai position.

#### "TROUBLE" IN THE AREA:

For sometime now we have been getting the feeling of fear among people here which springs partially from the Vietnamese war & partially from the trouble with the Meo in other parts of the North. In the past few days there have been even more rumors of actual incidents in the area.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> June saw large numbers of police down town in the morning. We heard that they were on their way to investigate the presence of a moving band of "100 Communists" who were somewhere between Myag Phoon & M<sup>2</sup>-la-lay. On the 24<sup>th</sup> Rachel Schlatter reported that she had heard that these reports were unfounded & that in fact there were only "10 hunters". Then today I heard that there were 100 men & they were Ho. Chinese in an opium caravan. What the truth is, we don't yet know.

The CIA had told me that the ISPP was very unhappy about Meo moving into the area of MS to plant opium & had warned them if they planted again, they would come up & cut down the crop. Apparently, someone among us officials had

the Meo they had permission & had collected taxes from them. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> we saw a group of Meo in the hotel café with some police & later heard that they had been arrested for something to do with opium & were taken to Chiangmai. Whether they were the same Meo, I don't know.

I have also learned that the annual 'Summer Festival' which was scheduled for the end of the month has been cancelled by the P.O. who is afraid of trouble (shooting, robbery, maybe Communists) if it were to be held. Such is the temper of the times.

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#### CONFIDENCE GAME IN THE HILLS:

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of April, I received a note from P. K., who was staying in the Kaeo village of Ballalong Nogi (~~12~~ k'k'hi), which asked me to telegraph BPP headquarters in Mae Rim & to talk with the BPP commandant here regarding the appearance of 4 men in the village who claimed to be Border Patrol Police from Bangkok. These men were, to quote Pete, "taking" the names of all men between thirty & and forty, ~~and~~ supposedly for military registration and are requiring each to pay 40 baht immediately. One claims to be a doctor and offers to sell shots for 20 baht." Pete wanted the BPP to confirm if these men were really bonafide & if not to attempt to apprehend them for impersonating government officials.

The message was carried by a villager from B. Mae Um Long Nogi. He arrived here very early in the morning, having travelled the better part of the night. I took him to <sup>the</sup> BPP camp ~~at~~ where we talked with the commandant. Between my translation of Pete's note & information obtained from interviewing the Kaeo villager, the commandant decided that the men in the hills were impostors. He ordered 5 of his men to go up into the hills in search of them.

Today Pete came down & I learned something of what happened (also added to by Benny & Paul Zinke who were with Pete). The 4 men had visited several