

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

**Written between November 1 and November 30, 1967.**

Field notes in this document were primarily written in Mahasarakham Province (Changwat Maha Sarakham) and in Amphoe Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son Province (Changwat Mae Hong Son), Thailand. The first days' notes were written during a trip to Central Thailand. This document is preceded by field notes written in Mae Sariang in October 1967 and is followed by notes written in Mae Sariang in November 1967.

### **Nakhorn Pathom**

**November 5, 1967**

#### *Thôt Kathin* in Nakhon Pathom Province

Today Sangha invited us to go to a *thôt kathin* at a famous wat in Nakhon Pathom province. To reach the wat we had to travel by boat from a landing an hour's drive away from Bangkok. The route wound through the canal of the Central Plains. It took us over an hour to reach Wat Wēluwanārām, Amphoe Bāng Lēn, Changwat Nakhon Pathom (วัดเวฬุวนาราม อ.บางเลน จ. นครปฐม). This wat has a high reputation because its former abbot, Phrakhrū Wimon Khunākān (Luang Phô Suk Pachōtō) [พระครูวิมลคุณากร (หลวงพ่อสุก ปชโชโต)] was named for his healing powers as well as his ability to get things built. The present abbot, Phrakhrū Sathāphon Phutthamon (Luang Phô Samniang Yūsathāphon) [พระครูสถาพรพุทธมนต์ (หลวงพ่อสำเนียงอยู่สถาพร)] has carried on in the same tradition.

We arrived as the ceremony was in progress but we were in time to help present the robes and offerings. The wat very large with a number of buildings and the *kathin* was being used to raise money to complete yet another building – a large school, which apparently is for orphans.

The ceremony was held in a building which had a statue of the old abbot (covered with gold leaf) in the back and a *thāt* containing a relic of the Buddha in the middle. The abbot sat on a dais in front of the *thāt*.

After the ceremony was over people queued up to be blessed by the abbot. He took a pen-looking object and scratched around on the head and palms of males (for females an assistant,

non-monk held the pen which the abbot moved). He also placed gold leaf on the forehead and the palms of the people (again using an intermediary in the case of females). People who were so blessed usually put an offering in the *bōt* near the abbot, although he made no request that people do so. Jane Nicholas and I were all blessed (I gave a donation of 50 baht), also Sangha and the woman who had come with us. Another person who was blessed was the nephew of Phanit Yupho, also an employee of the Pine Arts department who had recently been in an accident and had lost several fingers on his right hand. The abbot massaged the hand, blew on it, and said holy words over it – I think more to reduce the swelling than to bring back the lost members.

Another monk in this wat referred to the abbot as *khṛū bā* (គ្រូហា). Most come from very distant places to be ordained here. I also saw a number of nuns about.

The abbot also gave me a cloth written, in Khmer script, a picture of the old abbot (flanked by two small pictures of himself), an amulet for each of us (Nicholas, Jane and myself).

People were also making offerings, presenting candles, flowers, and incense and placing gold leaf on the statue of the old abbot.

## **Bān Nōng Tūn**

**November 6, 1967**

### **Trip to Bān Nōng Tūn**

We left this morning from Bangkok on our way to Mahasarakham and Bān Nōng Tūn. We stopped in Khorat where we noticed the burned-out area of the town where a fire had just occurred a few days before. We also were tremendously struck by the impact of the presence of American troops – bars, hamburger shops, super markets, bungalow brothel: and higher prices generally. (We used to buy silk here for 33 baht a yard but it is now at its cheapest 55 baht a yard.)

On arriving in Bān Nōng Tūn we found Mr. Ngao did indeed have a new two-story house store and on property which used to hold the rundown former store of the family who moved out of Bān Nōng Tūn just before our departure in 1964. The property on which Mr. Ngao built his new store house used to belong to Hōi Lāē. In fact, Hōi Lāē's father was cremated on the property, Mr. Ngao pointed out the spot. And other people believe it is haunted by the spirit of that man, but Mr. Ngao does not believe this. Mr. Ngao says that the house store cost him 20,000 baht to build and he had to buy the lumber in Amphoe Sahatsakān, Changwat Kalasin, which borders on Changwat Sakorn Nakhorn. He says that in this district everyone is afraid of

communists.

Phra Mahā Seng was also in the village to help with the *kathin*. He was so liked at Wat Phōsī in Mahasarakham that he was asked to return from Bangkok where he was studying.

### **Bān Nōng Tūn**

**November 7, 1967**

#### **New Village of Bān Khwāo Nōi**

I discovered that the *khum* of *Khum Nōng Khwāo Nōi* has been made into a separate village of Bān Khwāo Nōi. Mr. Phon, the headman of Bān Nōng Tūn, requested of a district officer that Bān Khwāo Nōi be made into a separate village with its own headman. Phon also said that he will request that *Khum Lao* be made into a separate village as well. After Bān Khwāo Nōi was made a village there was an election for headman. According to Mr. Ngao only one person stood for election – Nāi Som the brother of Mr. Phon. Mr. Phonmā would have like to have stood for the election as well but he is a good friend of Mr. Som and so did not stand. Mr. Ngao does not understand why Mr. Phon requested that Bān Khwāo Nōi be made in to a separate village. It has no institutions other than the political structure and the people still attend Bān Nōng Tūn wat and school.

### **Bān Nōng Tūn and Northeast**

**November 8, 1967**

#### **Trip to Roi-Et to Buy *Kathin* Offerings**

This morning Jane and I went to Roi-Et with Phra Mahā Sēng, Mr. Ngao, Headman Phon, Mr. Lāē, Mr. Tāp, and one other to buy the offering the *kathin* ceremony. Mr. Lāē, Mr. Tāp and the one other man are all temple “stewards” (*sārawat* สารวัตร). The *kathin* offerings to be purchased were referred to as *kriiang kathin* (เครื่องกฐิน). We went to a Chinese shop (which is a branch of the E-Hong Company in Mahasarakham). The merchant calculated the price of the things which we bought was over 700 baht but after some extremely hard bargaining the price of 560 baht was agreed upon. He also threw in some extra paper for decorations, and gave rubber sandals to all the villagers, cigarettes to Phra Mahā Sēng, and boxes of matches to everyone. He also made a contribution of 25 baht towards to *kathin* to make merit for himself. Amusingly, this amount was promptly used by our group to cover part of the cost of our breakfast (which included a bottle of whiskey for the villagers). One sensed that the villagers were being

pragmatic while the Chinese shopkeeper was being hypocritical. As one villager said about the donation, “he gave the money because the price of the goods was only a little cheap,” [that is, was not really the best price he could have given]. He also bought a few other items at the Chinese shop where Mr. Ngao always trades. Mr. Ngao bought a silver *phāsin* belt for Nuan for 55 baht (asking price 100 baht). I am continually amazed at the hard bargaining which villagers enter into – particularly compared with the very nominal offer we made.

### Meeting with Mr. Wichian

Last evening we decided it would be very nice if Mr. Wichian could be invited to attend the *kathin* as well, since the villagers think so highly of him. In fact, Mr. Phon indicated that the community development workers had got worse since Wichian left. The present one, although he has been on the job for several months, has yet to be seen by Mr. Phon. After talking about Mr. Wichian for some time we decided that we should try to find him in Amphoe Sēlāphum, Changwat Roi-Et where he is presently working.

This morning we stopped at Mr. Wichian’s parental house just outside of Roi-Et to find directions to Mr. Wichian when we got to Selaphum. Although his mother had since died, his sister still lives in the same village. We discovered through her that Mr. Wichian was currently in Roi-Et for several days and could be found at the provincial office. After we had bought the *kathin* goods we went to the provincial office and at the Community Development office we found Wichian. We spent about 45 minutes talking with him.

He is now community development district advisor in Selaphum (same job that Khun Sawai had in Amphoe Müang, Mahasarakham, when we were here before). He likes his job there because it is closer to home than was Nong Khai where he last worked. He also says that the social and economic conditions in Selaphum are about the same as Tambon Khwāo.

He raised the question of communism because he felt that he had not answered a question about communism I had written in a letter. He said that the situation in Thailand is not like the Vietnamese war because the Thai have Buddhism, the King, and their old customs which they don’t want to change for communism. Such people who join the movement are motivated by offers of a high military position, money, a tractor, or other such things. However, they often get discouraged in the forest. This discouragement has occurred especially because the communists promised to take over the country by 1957. He praised the district officer of Amphoe Loeng Nok

Thā (who I had mentioned in consequence of Don Mitchell's report) who he said had captured or caused to defect more than 600 communists terrorists. In Selaphum, which is designated as a security sensitive area, there have been no deaths caused by terrorists, but the leader of the movement is supposedly hiding out in the forest of the northeast part of this district.

#### Miscellaneous Information on Bān Nông Tūn

Miss Hôm, who had an illegitimate baby by Mr. Samôn (now married to a daughter of Mrs. Beng) has had a second child, but still has no husband.

Mr. Sao, whose wife died when we were in the village before seems to have gotten poorer and sicklier. His home is physically reduced to size and according to Mr. Ngao he has sold all of his land. One of his children is now living and working in another house. He is definitely in poor health as evidenced by the huge ulcer on his foot. Mr. Ngao's reaction is that if Mr. Sao worked he wouldn't be poor. Mr. Ngao quite often says of some person that he would like to be rich or would like to go around but he doesn't like to work hard. With Mr. Ngao, however he hardly ever stops working.

Ngao himself has bought 90 *rai* of paddy land in Tambon Nông Kung which he has a tenant farm for him but he thinks he will sell the land because it does not yield enough profit and because the crop has been poor this year.

#### Teachers' College

I took Jane into town this evening to stay with Mr. Chuanphit (she will stay there tomorrow, and tomorrow night as well). We had dinner at Mrs. Chuanphit's restaurant with Dr. Sāiyut, the new headmaster and a Ph.D. from Rutgers in Public Administration (B.A. from England. M.A. from Rutgers) and two other teachers, including one woman who had studied in New Zealand and a young Fine Arts teacher who lives with Dr. Sāiyut. One major portion of the conversation centered around studying abroad. Mrs. Chuanphit would like to study in America also (her husband has just gotten an FAO grant to visit irrigation projects and dams in southern Europe and Israel). I can't help but feel that chances of anti-western attitudes recede when so much of the elite including those as low down as teachers in a provincial teachers college have a wish to study in the West, but then such contacts must also breed contempt.

## Mahasarakham

November 9, 1967

### Thôt Kathin and Other Places

There are a fantastic number of *thôt kathin* ceremonies being held at the same time in Mahasarakham. Yesterday there was one at Nông Kung today there is one at the smaller Wat Bân Khwāo. On the 11<sup>th</sup> the changwat will hold one, on the 12<sup>th</sup>, the same day as ours; the Kamnan Bân Khwāo will sponsor one. The teachers' college in the district will hold one also on the 12<sup>th</sup>. Also on the same day Mrs. Chuanphit's husband is sponsoring one in a village in Kalasin. Two people from Bân Nông Tün have or will sponsor a *kathin*, Phô Sīhā and Nāi Phonmā. We passed literally dozens of *kathin* processions on our way down from the north and up to the northeast. The *kathin* is unquestionably a major merit-making endeavor, but even more important is its social significance – the strengthening or establishing of bonds between individuals or communities which may be very far apart.

### Government Officials in Mahasarakham

We went to the district office with Mr. Ngao and Mr. Phon today because they had to get permission to set off fireworks during the *kathin* ceremony. While we were there Jane and I met the District Educational Officer. He was born in Amphoe Kosum Phisai but this is his first post in Mahasarakham. He was first a teacher in Kalasin and then studied at Prasamit where, he received a B.A. in educational administration and then he became an educational official. He was in Mahasarakham only a short time before returning to Bangkok for a period of nine months to study at AUA. He says he stands a fairly good chance of winning a scholarship to study in America. He says that like Jane and myself, he prefers living in the countryside to living in the city.

Next I met the chief assistant district officers (ปลัดอำเภอโท) who was also a native of Mahasarakham province. His most recent post prior to Mahasarakham was in Amphoe Nông Hān (อำเภอหนองหาร), C. Udon (he knew Tom Lux).

The district officer wasn't present but was in C. Loei where he had gone to offer himself as a candidate for the provincial assembly election. He has been here for about one year. The old Nāi Amphoe whom we knew when we were hers before (Phin) is now living in Bangkok.

There is also a new governor who has been here only a few days. The old governor, who

arrived just before we left, has been transferred to the north, later learned, to Lamphun. The new governor was formerly an assistant governor here. Mrs. Chuanphit says that the government officials are not sad to see- the old governor go because he was not well liked (we didn't like him either, too stand-offish and superior).

I had lunch with. Khrū Sanit (formerly a teacher at Bān Nōng Tūn) and Khrū Seng (formerly a teacher at Lak Muang School and one of the first people we met in Mahasarakham) as well as with Mr. Ngao and Mr. Phon. Sanit now works as a clerk in the district educational office here and acts as a *mô cītyā* on the side. Khrū Seng is the district agricultural officer. Seng had studied before our last stay at the agricultural school at Māē Chō near Chiang Mai.

### Wat Phō Sī (วัดโพธิ์ศรี)

We stopped at Wat Phō Sī to pick up Phra Mahā Seng. He insisted that I meet the abbot of the wat (whom he referred to as Luang Phō). I thought that the abbot was rather an aloof person. He seemed a little intimidating since his eyes do not quite focus. Mr. Ngao says that he has a reputation for construction work. At the moment a new *kuthi* is under construction and earlier this year a new gate was completed.

### A community development worker from Tambon Ban Khwāo

While at Wat Phō Sī, Mr. Phon introduced me to the community development worker for Tambon Khwāo who for some reason was in the wat grounds. This is the worker that Mr. Phon said he had not seen since he began work in Tambon Khwāo some six or seven months ago. Although the worker did say he had been there, that he had been in Bān Nōng Tūn. Before working in Tambon Khwāo he had been working in Tambon Khōk kō another tambon in Amphoe Muang, Mahasarakham. I was not impressed with him but I may be pre-judging him. At the present he is encouraging gardening at the corner of the roads to Bān Khwāo and Bān Nōng Tūn (there is a tremendous garden expansion here made by Bān Khwāo people but also by some people from Bān Nōng Tūn on land allocated by the district officer). He is also working on the improvement of the roads from the main highway to Bān Nōng Tūn to B. Nōng Kung.

### Folk Opera

There is now a folk opera association in Mahasarakham (as according to Mr. Wichian

there is also in Selaphum). Bān Nōng Tūn villagers hired the troupe for our *kathin* through the association. On the way back to the village we stopped at the association's office to pick up a picture of the troupe that will be performing. This particular group is very popular in Bān Nōng Tūn.

### Religion

I talked with Phra Mahā Seng about the title *khṛūbā* (ครูบา). In the local language this means teacher.

Phra Mahā Seng says that all 10 or 11 wats in Mahasarakham town give sermons in Central Thai and not in Northeastern Thai.

### Bān Nōng Tūn

November 10, 1967

### Religion

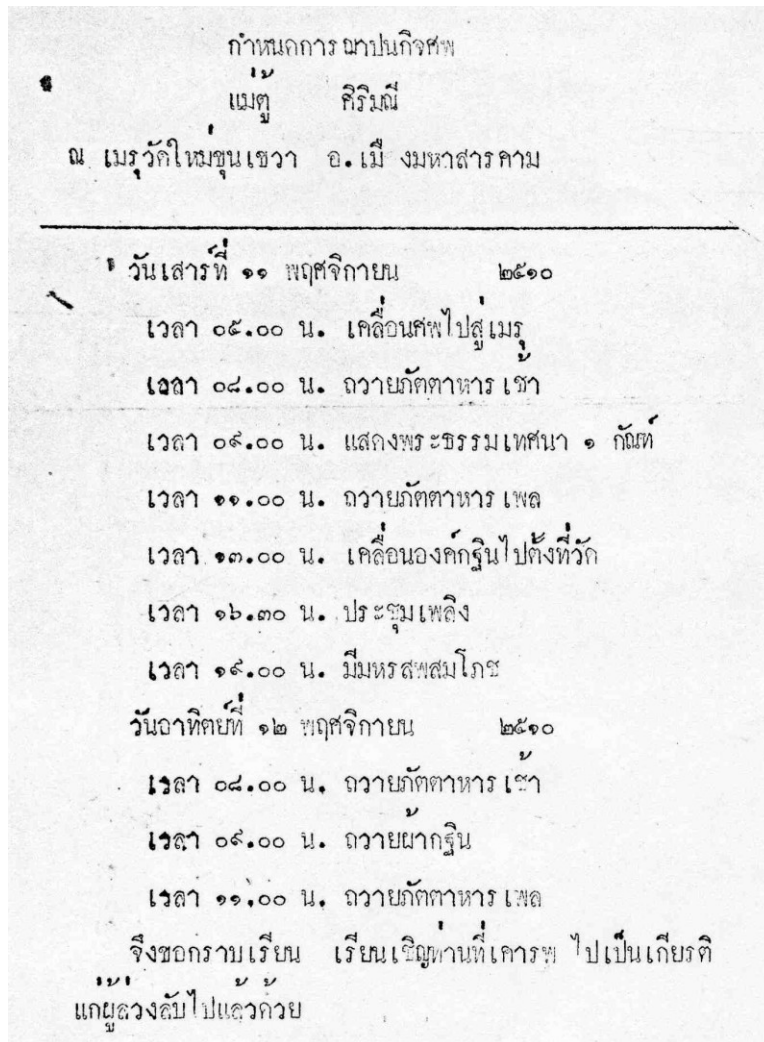
Today we went to town to buy some accessories for the ceremony that were not available from Wat Phō Sī (which, incidentally, is having a *kathin* on the 11th), Mr. Cheunchai took me first to Wat Prachābamrung (วัดประชามรุง), the only 'forest wat' in Amphoe Muang and the seat of the provincial abbot (*ĉao khana changwat* (เจ้าคณะจังหวัด)) of the Thammayut sect. [According to a list of monks and wats in the country in 1956 there were 6 Thammayut wats in changwat Mahasarakham.] We interrupted, unwittingly, the abbot in the midst of his meditation, but he was quite friendly and struck me as a very intelligent man. From him, or rather from his wat, we borrowed two ceremonial umbrellas and three double-layered lacquered *phan* (made, interestingly, in Chiang Mai) to be used in presenting the *kathin* robes. Although I cannot remember the exact number, the abbot said that there were over 20 novices in this wat.

We forgot to ask for the flowered covers which are used in conjunction with the *phan* and so we went to Wat Aphisit (วัดอภิสิต) which is the seat of the Mahānikāi provincial abbot. This old man, he said he was 72, is extremely friendly and was quite interested in my sponsoring a *kathin*. He expressed a great desire to attend the ceremony, because he said it was an historical occasion, the first time a Westerner has sponsored a *kathin* in Mahasarakham. However it turned out that he had been asked to present the ceremony at the *kathin* sponsored by the teachers

college on the same day as our *kathin* so I didn't expect that he would be able to attend.

Thôt kathin and Funerary Rites in Bān Kwāo

Today I received an invitation (along with most of the other “notables” in Bān Nōng Tūn) to attend the combined *thôt kathin* and funerary rites being held in memory of the mother of the Kamnan. The following is the invitation and its translation.



นายสุทธา	ศิริมณี	บุตร
นายทองอินทร์	ศิริมณี	บุตร
ร.ต.อ. เต็ม	คำวิเชียร	หลาน
นายประสงค์	นางสมหวัง	สุขเกษม บุตร
นายอวยชัย	สุขเกษม	หลาน
นายเกิด	นางทองคำ	พินิตนาถ หลาน
พร้อมภรรยา		เป็นเจ้าภาพ

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS FOR THE CREMATION OF  
MOTHER TŪ SIRIMANĪ  
AT THE FUNERAL PYRE AT WAT MAI, KHUN KHWAO AMPHOE  
MUANG, MAHASARAKHAM

Saturday, the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1967

5:00 a.m.: Move the corpse to the funeral pyre

8:00 a.m.: Presentation of breakfast to the monks

9:00 a.m.: Sermon

11:00 a.m.: Presentation of midday meal to the monks

1:00 p.m.: Moving of the *kathin* offering to be decorated at the wat

4:30 p.m.: Cremation

7:00 p.m.: Entertainment and feast

Sunday, the 12<sup>th</sup> of November 1967

8:00 a.m.: Presentation of breakfast to the monks

9:00 a.m.: Presentation of the *kathin* robes

11:00 a.m.: Presentation of the midday meal to the monks

Thus we would like to inform and invite all whom we respect to come to pay honor to the deceased.

Signed

Mr. [Kamnan] Phutthā Sirimani, Son Mr. Thōng'in Sirimanī, Son

Air Force 2nd Lt. Tern Karawithian, Grandson

Mr. Prasong and Mrs. Somwang Sukkasēn. Children

Mr. Uaichai Sukkasēn. Grandson

Mr. Koet and Mrs. Thōngnāk Phanitnāphan, Grandchildren together with other relatives as sponsors

### Preparations for Our *Kathin*

The villagers have been building a stage for the *môlammū* performance and a covered platform for the ceremony in the open area across from Mr. Ngao's house. To build these structures it was necessary to cut some trees from the forest. However, as cutting timber is illegal, the villagers sent the monks from the wat and Phra Mahā Seng to cut the timber (then the villagers would drag it in).

The villagers have also made and decorated a *hō kathin* – that is, a structure in which the *kathin* gifts are carried. This is exactly like the ones we saw made in the village when we lived here before. However, I had not realized at that time that the wooden platforms of the *hō kathin* are used afterwards as a bed for the monks.

Other villagers had made the ceremony of brooms which are carried in the *kathin* procession. Khrū Bunthiang with the help of other villagers lit a *khōm lom* (โคมลม), and a *khōm fai* (โคมไฟ). Mr. Ngao had bought the ingredients for large firecrackers (more the size of bombs) and taken these to be made by people at the nearby leprosarium. People there and others in Bān Nōng Tūn have also made the fireworks known as *talai* (ตะไล) which sail and spin in the air when they have been lit (Mr. Ngao also bought a supply of firecrackers).

In the evening from about 8:30 to 9:00 p.m. until the wee hours of the morning women and girls, flanked by unmarried boys gathered in Mr. Ngao's shop to make paper flowers, streamers, and other decorations. The three women school teachers also made paper flowers at their own homes.

### Visit of Mr. Wichian

Mr. Wichian and his wife drove over on his motorcycle from Selaphum (several hours

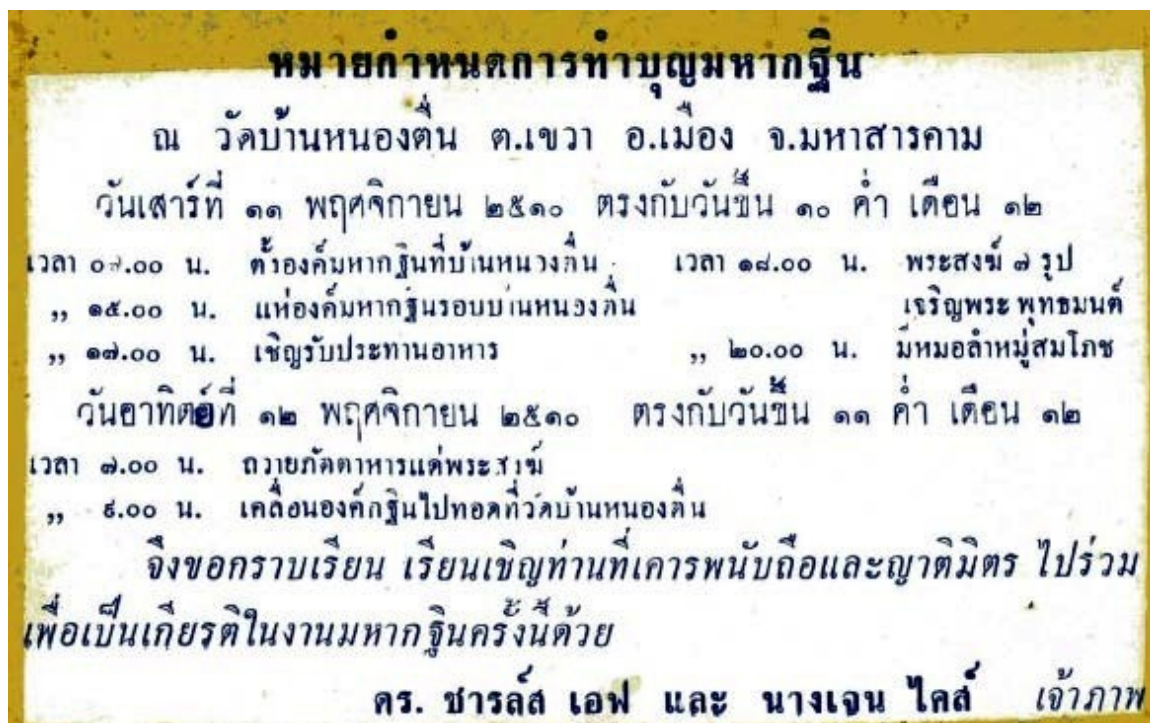
drive). Unfortunately, due to commitments in Selaphum (other *kathin*) they could not stay for our *kathin*, but only stayed for supper. Mr. Wichian expressed a sentiment which I myself had made before. He said that he had just begun to establish good relations with the people of Selaphum and if he didn't return for the *kathin* and weddings there he would endanger those relations. Mr. Wichian gave 50 baht for the *kathin*, explaining that it was the custom of those invited to contribute something towards the event.

**Ban Nông Tün**

**November 11, 1967**

Thôt Kathin which We Sponsored<sup>1</sup>

Today and tomorrow are the two days of the *thôt kathin* which we arranged to sponsor. A couple of days ago, with the help of Phra Mahā Seng, I had printed 100 cards announcing the event which I distribute to friends in Bān Khwāo and Mahasarakham. A copy of the card and its translation follow:



<sup>1</sup> Charles F. Keyes’s tape recordings of the *thôt kathin* ceremonies and *môlam* performances held in Ban Nông Tün on November 11 - 12, 1967 are located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.12 EC, 2001-2.13 EC, and 2001-2.14 EC. The original tapes are titled, “Tape Number 6, Sides 1 and 2,” “Tape Number 7, Sides 1 and 2,” and “Tape Number 8, Sides 1 and 2.” The recordings have also been digitized. An index and partial Thai transcript of the recordings are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS OF A *MAHĀ KATHIN*<sup>2</sup>  
AT WAT BĀN NÔNG TŪN, TAMBON KHWĀO, AMPHOE MUANG  
CHANGWAT MAHASARAKHAM

Saturday, the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 1967; equivalent to the 10<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing of the moon, 12<sup>th</sup> lunar month

- 9:00 a.m. Preparation of the *kathin* offering in Bān Nông Tūn  
3:00 p.m. Procession of the *kathin* offering around Bān Nông Tūn  
5:00 p.m. Invitation to share a meal  
6:00 p.m. Chanting by seven monks  
8:00 p.m. *Môlammū* entertainment

Sunday, the 12<sup>th</sup> of November 1967; equivalent to the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing of the moon, 12<sup>th</sup> lunar month

- 7:00 a.m. Presentation of breakfast for the clergy  
9:00 a.m. Taking of the *kathin* offering and presentation at Wat Bān Nông Tūn

Thus we would like to inform and invite all our friends and relatives whom we respect to pay us the honor of joining together in a *mahā kathin* celebration.

[Signed]

Dr. Charles F. and Mrs. Jane Keyes, Sponsors.

---

The day did not begin auspiciously for it rained throughout the morning. By mid afternoon it began to clear and it appeared as though we would be able to hold the evening celebration. However, the platform on which the presentation was to take place was so wet that the bunting (brought from another *kathin* ceremony celebration in B. Dôn Dū) was so bedraggled that it was decided to hold the religious events in the *sālā wat*. Also the afternoon session was

---

<sup>2</sup> The *mahā kathin* (มหากฐิน) or ‘great *kathin*’ is a *kathin* ceremony sponsored by one person. A *kathin sāmakhī* (กฐินสามัคคี) is one sponsored by a group of people and a *čūla kathin* (จุฬะกฐิน) or ‘lesser *kathin*’ is one in which the robes are made from raw cotton in a single 24-hour period and presented to the monks in the same period.

cancelled.

Although we were the sponsors of the ceremony and provided the central gifts and money for the entertainment, and part of the food, many other people also contributed to the event, thus simultaneously gaining merit and showing their friendship for us. I already alluded to some of this. The villagers in general provided most of the labor for the event and nearly every household (if not every household) token gave a token monetary contribution of 50 satang or up to 10 baht. Mr. Ngao as our host and 'local arrangements' person provided roost of the subsidiary foodstuffs (vegetables, spices etc.). Phra Mahā Seng recruited a large number of cooks from the neighborhood around Wat Phō Sī who freely help make the feed for both Saturday night and Sunday morning as well as bringing their own utensils. Also we borrowed a large number of things, chairs, altar, Buddha images, vases, candlesticks, etc. through Phra Mahā Seng at Wat Phō Sī. Bunchuai Atthakôn, the Lord Mayor of Mahasarakham, donated the use of a projector, generator, and screen and film to use as part of the entertainment. Finally all of the guests who came, our friends from Tambon Khwāo, Mahasarakham, and some elderly women from town who go from one merit-making event to another. All made monetary contributions.

As Wat Bān Nōng Tūn has only two resident monks and one novice clergy had to be recruited from elsewhere to make up the full complement necessary for the ceremonies. Two monks came from Wat Bān Dôn Dū and four or five or maybe more came from Wat Phōsī. As it turned out these were not the only clergy present.

In the afternoon Mr. Chūnchai, his wife, and several, if not all his children, M.L. Kingkōi, the air force officer who manages the Mahasarakham radio station (a new thing since our last stay), his wife, daughter and servant came out to see if they could help. Unfortunately, Mr. Ngao, Phra Mahā Seng, and I had all gone to town to pick up the novice, the movie equipment and things from Wat Phō Sī. Jane says that things were a little formal and the group stayed only a short time. They could not stay for the evening because of a major wedding in town.

Although the procession was cancelled (or rather postponed until the next morning) the *khōm fai* was set off. As evening approached there were few outsiders and no important guests. Many villagers were disappointed as they had been when they found that we had brought no important guests from Bangkok or other Westerners with us. Just before supper Khrū Orawan and Khun Phaitūn from Bān Khwāo did arrive but they were the only ones amongst our friends. Policeman Seng (headman Phon's brother in Mahasarakham), Policeman Piam, another ex-

villager now living in Mukdahan and all the Bān Nōng Tūn teachers excepting Bunthiang who had commitments elsewhere were also present but they did not constitute a group of VIPs the villagers were hoping for. Still the preparations around the movie screen and folk opera stage and the feast had attracted a large number of villagers from Bān Nōng Tūn and neighboring villages and this growing crowd brought a festive appearance to the scene in front of Mr. Ngao's house.

After we had eaten a variety of pork dishes (a pig had been slaughtered and another was held in reserve if more guests arrived). We went to the wat where we were to hear the evening chanting. Just before the chanting was to begin an automobile arrived in the wat grounds. Much to our surprise and pleasure it contained the changwat abbot of both the Thammayut and Mahānikāi sects and another Phra Maha from the Thammayut Wat (they were driven by the son of the owner of the E. Hong company in Mahasarakham in his father's car.) With the arrival of these monks the other clergy present moved to the background. The three monks performed the evening chant. Afterwards the provincial abbot of Mahānikāi sect gave a talk to us and to the villagers declaring his interest in this unusual occasion. [I recorded part of this evening service, but the batteries were so bad, the recording is very bad indeed.] The monks left right after the ceremony was over because they said they were afraid the roads to Bān Nōng Tūn could become very slippery in the rain. We felt that whatever else happened, the ceremony had been made by their presence.

After the monks left the entertainment occurred. First there were the movies which were a potpourri of American westerns, Laurel and Hardy, news features and a political advertisement for Bunchuai showing him in several of his duties in Mahasarakham. The folk opera did not get under way until about 9:00 p.m. and lasted until 5:00 a.m. the next morning (although we went to bed about midnight). The story of the folk opera that was presented was *Čôrakē*.

## List of Items Collected in Ban Nông Tũn that are Going to the Burke Museum

[NB. Not in original notes. Charles F. Keyes asked residents of Ban Nông Tũn to collect artifacts that were made by villagers. These were later donated to the Burke Museum at the University of Washington and are part of Accession 1970-13. On November 11, 1967, Mr. Ngao read the list of items out loud into Keyes's tape recorder.<sup>3</sup>]

### Ban Nông Tũn

November 12, 1967

#### Our Kathin (continued)

This morning's activities began with the feeding of the monks and novices in the *sālā wat* which was preceded by the usual morning chant (recorded). After the monks had eaten we ourselves were given food (the morning's food also making use of the pork from the pig slaughtered the night before). After breakfast Mr. Ngao and Mr. Phon organized a *kathin* procession since the one the day before had been cancelled. As we were getting organized Mr. Cheunchai with his wife and three children drove up with M.L. Kingkôi. They also joined the procession.

The procession moved from *Khum Wat* to *Khum Nôn* to *Khum Nôn Khwao Nôi* (B. Khwao Nôi) to *Khum Wat* to *Khum Yai* to *Khum Pā Hāt* back to *Khum Yai* and then to the wat. While we were returning to *Khum Yai* the last time we were joined by Bunchuai Atthākôn, his wife, his son and his daughter-in-law as well as a New Zealander visiting the Atthākôn's and several other people from the municipal office, thus fulfilling the villager's desire for high-status guests. Shortly thereafter Mrs. Chuanphit and Khun Nūkun also arrived.

The procession entered the wat, processed three times around the *sālā* with villagers in front carrying the 'brooms' and sweeping the way. The various dignitaries had taken most of the *kathin* gifts and were carrying them in the procession. After completing the third cycle the whole congregation moved up into the *sālā*. The inside of the *sālā* is arranged something as follows:

---

<sup>3</sup> Charles F. Keyes's tape recordings of Mr. Ngao reading the list of items donated to the Burke Museum is located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.37 EC. The original tape is titled, "Tape Number 23, Side 1." The recording has also been digitized. An index and Thai transcript of the recording are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

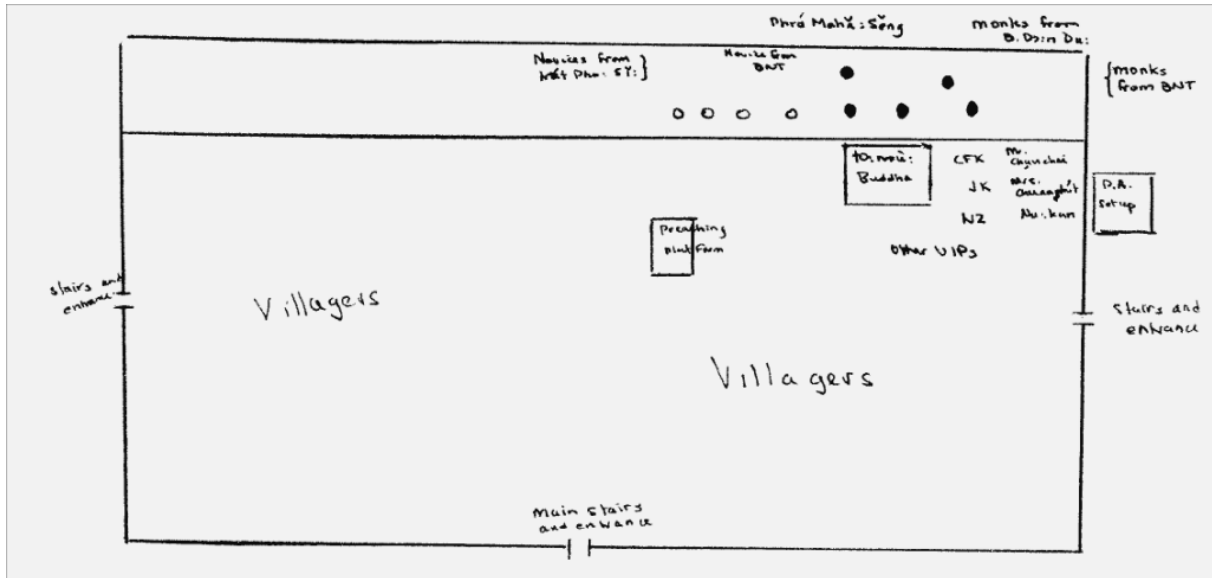


Illustration of the arrangement of the *sālā* during a *kathin* ceremony in Ban Nōng Tūn

Mr. Cheunchai acted as lay leader. The service began with Mr. Cheunchai's requesting the Precepts. The monks then led the congregation in the *Namō*, the taking of the refuge, in the Triple Gems, and the Precepts. Mr. Cheunchai then led the congregation in the formal presentation of the *kathin* (as the sponsor of the *kathin*, I should have made this presentation, but not knowing the correct formula, Mr. Cheunchai acted in my stead.) This was followed by brief sermons by each of the two monks from Bān Nōng Tūn (they had memorized them and sped through them very rapidly and nervously). Then, with Mr. Cheunchai announcing, the gifts were presented to the monks. Jane and I were first (and made a second offering of the 'money tree' as part of our 3,000 baht offering) and then all of the dignitaries were invited to make presentations, including the man from New Zealand.

After the offerings were over, Mr. Bunchuai gave a speech which was part in honor of the occasion and part straight politicking, for he plans to run not only for the municipal council (for which villagers can't vote) but also for the provincial council and the National Assembly (both for which the villagers are eligible to vote). [In talking with Mr. Bunchuai yesterday I learned that there are about 60 candidates for the 15 positions on the municipal council. Mr. Bunchuai said that since elections had not been held for over 10 years, everyone wants to run. The municipal council will choose the lord mayor – he is not elected directly. Mr. Cheunchai says that a person can hold several elected offices simultaneously – like in France. He also said that

Mr. Bunchuai's son is also running for the municipal council.]

After the speech the monks' noon meal was presented and the villagers rushed out to slaughter another pig to prepare food for the distinguished guests. Much to our pleasure everyone stayed around for the feast.

The rest of the afternoon was spent in returning things to town.

### Social Mobility in Bān Nōng Tūn

During the course of our stay in Bān Nōng Tūn we were able to get several bits of information about social mobility out of Bān Nōng Tūn. As far as Mr. Ngao knows only three ex-villagers have ever left the village permanently for positions in a non-rural society: Phra Mahā Seng, Tamruat Sing and Tamruat Piam. The latter two left also by way of the monkhood, rising to the status of Phra Mahā and then converting their status into lay police positions at a time when it was still possible to do so. Phra Mahā Seng and Tamruat Sing are brothers and friends of a former headman who is also the present headman, headman Phon's father. Piam claims to be the son of an ex-headman also. Mr. Ngao said that Piam's parents no longer live in Bān Nōng Tūn.

At the time when we were living in the village two villagers were pursuing 'higher education': Bunsuk (ບຸນສຸກ) and a son of the assistant headman Chāi. Both completed *Mathayom* 6 (*Mathayom Sūksā* 3 in the new system). The son of Chāi is now back living in Bān Nōng Tūn, farming and occasionally working for Mr. Ngao. Bunsuk no longer lives in the village, but he just happened to be visiting there when we were there.

Since we last saw him Bunsuk moved to Bangkok (where Mr. Ngao thought he still was) and then to Udôn where he lived for 8 or 9 months before moving to his present residence in the rural area of A. Kumphawapi, changwat Udorn. While in Bangkok he applied to work for Firestone and several other jobs, but was unsuccessful because he had not sufficiently prepared to take the examinations. He tried studying for *Mathayom* 8 in his spare times, but since his parents were dead he didn't have enough money to continue his studies. "I have to work for money to study and then I don't have time to study." He says that he truly wants to "Progress," but it is difficult to do. In Udon he worked as a mechanic. He then went to A. Kumphawapi where there is good land for raising corn. He is going to marry a girl from there (17 years old) and buy up land in that district which he says is cheap, and plant corn.

I asked Bunthiang, the headmaster, if any Bān Nōng Tūn students were pursuing their education beyond the Prathom 4 level offered in Bān Nōng Tūn. He was as disdainful as ever about the capabilities of Bān Nōng Tūn's children, but he did say that 2 or 3 were studying in the primary grades (P 5-7) in the B. Khwao School.

Nôi , my ex-assistant who married a girl from a nearby village has moved to an area near Mukdahan where he heard it is easier to find land, but apparently he was not so successful, because he recently returned to Bān Nōng Tūn to find odd jobs in order to pick up some money before returning to Mukdahan. He helped Mr. Ngao begin digging well in the back. Mr. Ngao said that Nôi had commented about the communists in Mukdahan. Nôi's sister, who has more or less permanently settled in Vientiane, was visiting Bān Nōng Tūn while we were there.

### **Chiang Mai**

**November 17, 1967**

#### **Lôi Krathong in Chiang Mai**

Because of a car breakdown we didn't get back to Mae Sariang in time for a big *kathin* there on the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>, thus we decided to stay in Chiang Mai for *Lôi Krathong*. Yesterday people floated small, individual *krathong* on the river and in moats and lit masses of little coconut oil lamps and lanterns around their houses. Today was the parade of the big *krathong* (which are not floated) to the town. With literally thousands of others we saw the parade. There were also numerous festivals in school and wats around the city but we didn't attend any.

### **Mae Sariang**

**November 20, 1967**

[Note: Returned to Mae Sariang on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November]

#### **Teaching of Christianity at Hospital**

This morning Jane went up to the hospital to consult the doctor about a tetanus shot for Nicholas. While she was sitting on the veranda waiting her turn she heard a young Thai Christian (the early Thai Christian in Mae Sariang) give a sermon in Northern Thai to the waiting patients. Jane said that the sermon giver was dressed in a shirt and tie and seemed very *riap rôi*. The audience consisted mainly of Karen and a smattering of Thai. The sermon was in Northern Thai. The sermon giver made two main points: (1) the justice of Christ and (2) the decline of Thai morals. The first point stressed that Christ does not show favorite to the high status and rich over

the low status and poor so that a Karen is just as important as a Thai. In relation to the secure point he said that there had been a decline in Thai morals (politeness particularly) in recent period and that Christianity stressed these values, the old values.

Visit of the Princess Mother to the Tribal Development Center

According to Mark Anderson the Princess Mother paid a visit to the Tribal Development Center at Māē Hô 20 kilometers from here on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November. This is a part of a series of visits to each place (compare *Bangkok Post*, 11/11/67 and *Khonmüang*, 15/11/67 for pictures of visit to other places). At Māē Hô she addressed the assembled Karens and gave them presents.

Sanga’s Family

In the group of Bangkok people who came up for the *kathin* at Mae Sariang the old woman who lives in the same compound as Sanga in Bangkok called Yāi (ຍາຍ) – that is, mother’s mother by most of the people in the household. Yāi came back from Chiang Mai to Mae Sariang for a few days visit. Her presence here led Jane to inquire the family of Sanga.

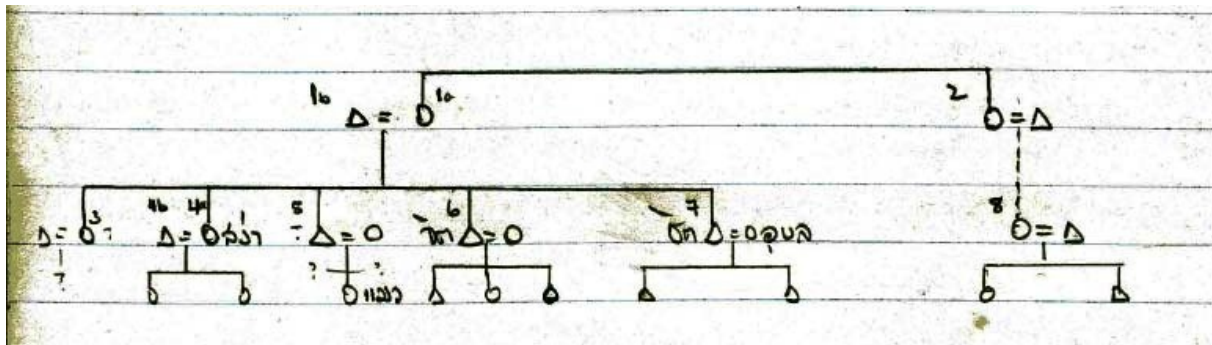


Illustration of kinship structure of Sangha’s family

Sanga's parents (1a and 1b) died in the same year in the 1940’s when Sanga was in her twenties and Čit was still school boy. The women of the household now call grandmother (Yāi) (No. 2) came to live in the household to take care of a younger children and Sanga’s own children. (She had married and given birth to her daughters.) At that time the father of Mēo, Sanga’s next brother, was a soldier (he fought in the Siamese-Franco War) and sent fifty baht a month home, a good proportion of his salary. Sanga herself sent 20 baht a month home from her job as a servant in a Danish household. Yāi herself had been a servant for *farangs* and had

travelled and worked for *farang* families in Japan and New Zealand. She also made a trip to Burma at one time where she had no trouble because she speaks Mon (the whole family is Mon). Yāi adopted a Chinese girl (No. 8), age 6, who had been abandoned by her parents. This woman was the mother of Kop and lives in the compound. She is spoken of by Sanga as a good person even though, she is Chinese. Sanga's husband worked first at the Printing Works at the *Bangkok Post*. His brother-in-law is an Englishman. After this job he worked at job connected with establishing gas pumps all over Thailand.

### Mae Sariang

November 22, 1967

#### Talk with the Nāi Amphoe

I visited the Nāi Amphoe today in his office. He also invited one of his assistants in to answer some of my questions. The Nāi Amphoe is preparing for provincial elections which will be held in January. Registration of the candidates will take place from the 30th of November to the 15<sup>th</sup> of December. The Nāi Amphoe is planning a series of meetings in various tambons to explain to the populous and particularly the tribal people the meaning of the elections (and of democracy).

I asked about the big *thôt kathin* at Wat Sībunrüang, and at Wat Kittiwong. The Nāi Amphoe guessed that there were about 120 people, tribal people, at the one at Wat Sībunrüang. At the one at Wat Kittiwong, the assistant guessed that there were over 200. According to the Nāi Amphoe district officials carried invitations to the ceremonies to every village. The “tribal dancers” at the Kittiwong kathin came from B. Māē Tia (บ้านแม่เตี้ย), B. Phae (บ้านแพะ), and B. Pā Pāē (บ้านป่าเป๋).

I asked the assistant about land registration. We talked by each other considerably mainly because I didn't know the proper questions, but as I gathered there are three types of “registration”: (1) *bai cōng* (ใบจอง) or “reservation form” which indicates that a person has laid out a stake to some plot of land, (2) *nangsü samkhan 2* (หนังสือสำคัญ – 2น2 .ส.) and (3) *nangsü samkhan 3* (หนังสือสำคัญ 3 .ส.น – 3). Both of the latter being titles of sort. According to the assistant lane in the hills is at most recognized by the first type of “registration,” and this is a

recent occurrence.

### Health Facilities in Mae Sariang

After leaving the amphoe office Samān, my new assistant and I went to the health center hospital (*süksālā*) to get information on health facilities in Mae Sariang. We talked with the nurse there. She gave us the following information.

### HEALTH CENTERS IN AMPHOE MAE SARIANG

#### First Class Health Centers

Town, Tambon Mae Sariang (บ้านในเวียง ต.แม่สะเรียง .)

#### Second Class Health Centers

B. Phāphā, T. Māē Khatuan (บ้านผาผา ต.แม่คะตวน .)

B. Māē Lānōi, T. Māē Lānōi (บ้านแม่ลาน้อย ต.แม่ลาน้อย.)

B. Māē Lāluang, T. Māē Lāluang (บ้านแม่ลาหลวง ต.แม่ลาหลวง.)

#### Midwifery Stations

B. Kōng Kōi, T. Kōng Kōi (บ้านกองก่อย ต.กองก่อย)

B. Nām Dip, T. Māē Yuam (บ้านน้ำดิบ ต.แม่ยาม)

B. Thung Lāēng, T. Māē Khong (บ้านทุ่งเลี้ยง ต.แม่คง)

B. Sophān, T. Bān Kāt (บ้านสหหาร ต.บ้านกาศ)

At the first class health station there is one doctor (the second doctor was transferred and hasn't been replaced), three nurses and two midwives. The nurse said the people from the center did go out to service some 'tribal villages' but she mentioned only Čôm Čāēng and B. Phae as examples.

The second class health centers have one midwife and one health officer. The midwifery stations have only one midwife (who does do more than act as a midwife, however).

## Mae Sariang

November 23, 1967

### Education in Amphoe Mae Sariang

This morning Samān and I went to the district office to see if we could get some records on education in Amphoe Mae Sariang. We first talked to the assistant educational officer, Mr. Prasāt Sangsut (นายประศาสน์ สังสุต) who was a native of Mae Sariang. He was first a teacher and has lived in the district most of his life except for 2 years in Chiang Mai. He also worked for a time as a teacher in one of the mines. The educational officer, Mr. Thōng' in Chaowaprayūn (นายทองอินทร์ เขาวนัประยูร) I know from other sources that he has been here for a long time. The assistant provided us with the information in the following table.

I asked the assistant educational officer about how a Border patrol Police school is transformed into a government school. He answered that it occurs when the school meets the conditions of being a government school (all the students live within 2 kilometers of the school, etc.). There is cooperation between amphoe and Border Patrol Police in some cases in Mae Sariang. An example we found was in B. Mae Salāp (บ้านแม่สะลาบ) where one teacher is from the Border Patrol Police and the other is from the district office. There is one more Border Police school in Mae Lā Nōi. The following table is a summary of educational statistics for the district.

Also in this table there is some other information as follows: there are 5 wats in the amphoe with 75 *phra phiksu*. There are 44 clerical residents. The total population of the amphoe is 38,614. Information was also given on teachers' organizations. The number of members of the Khrurusaphā (ครูสภา) organization is 176. The number that belongs to the organization identified only by the initials Chō Phō Dō (พช.ด) is 145.

List of Schools in Mae Sariang

NAME AND LOCATION OF SCHOOL	TYPE OF SCHOOL	# students	# teachers	Explanation
Boriphat Süksā (ร.ร. บริพัตรศึกษา)	Lower middle (มัธยมศึกษาตอนต้น)	305	16	These 3 schools are physically adjacent and known collectively as Mae Sariang School.
Māē Sariang (ร.ร. แม่สะเรียง)	Upper elementary (ประถมปลาย)	257	12	
Thôngsawat Witthayākhān (ร.ร. ทองสวัสดิ์วิทยาคาร)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	666	23	
B. Côm Cǎēng (ร.ร. บ้านจอมแจ้ง)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	200	6	
B. Thung Phrāo (ร.ร. บ้านทุ่งพร้าว)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	161	4	
B.P.P. School No.48 (ร.ร.ต.ช.ค. บำรุงที่ 48) / B. Pā Pāē (บ้านป่าแป๋)	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	28	2	Both teachers B.P.P.
B. Pōng Teacher's Day 1961 (ร.ร. บ้านโป่งวันครู 2504)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	204	8	
B. Phamôlô (ร.ร. บ้านพะมอลอ) / B. Pōng (บ้านโป่ง)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	30	2	1 teacher is Karen
B. Thākhām (ร.ร. บ้านท่าข้าม)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	85	3	
B. Sophān (ร.ร. บ้านสบหาร)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	142	5	
B. Huai Luang (ร.ร. บ้านห้วยหลวง)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	25	2	
B. Phae (ร.ร. บ้านแพะ)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	36	2	
B. Māē Hān (ร.ร. บ้านแม่หาร)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	43	2	
B. Māē Tôp (ร.ร. บ้านแม่ต๋อบ)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	24	2	

B. Māē Nūa (ร.ร. บ้านแม่ตอพบเหนือ)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	35	2	
B. Thā Phāpum (ร.ร. บ้านท่าผาปู่)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	66	2	
B. Māē Tia (ร.ร.บ้านแม่เตี้ย)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	45	2	1 teacher is Karen
B. Sao Hin (ร.ร. บ้านเสาหิน)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	48	1	Formerly a BPP school
B. Sī Mūn Müang (ร.ร. บ้านศรีมูลเมือง)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	132	5	
BPP School No. 47 (ร.ร.ต.ช.ด.บำรุงที่ 47) / B. Māē Salāp	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	14	2	1 teacher from BPP, 1 teacher from Amphoe
B. Khapuang (ร.ร. บ้านกะปวง)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	191	7	
B. Thung Phāēm (ร.ร. บ้านทุ่งแพม)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	98	2	
B. Huai Sāi (ร.ร. บ้านห้วยทราย)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	53	2	
B. Nām Dip (ร.ร. บ้านน้ำดิบ)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	138	6	
B. Huai Sing (ร.ร. บ้านห้วยสิงห์)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	61	2	
B. Māē Kōng Pāē (ร.ร. บ้านแม่กองแป)	Govt. elementary (ประชาบาล)	29	1	
BPP School (B. Čô Ū) (ร.ร.ต.ช.ด.บำรุง(บ้านจ่ออุ))	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	53	2	
B. Kōng Kōi (ร.ร. บ้านกองก่อ)	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	68	2	
B. Čāng Mō (ร.ร. บ้านช้างหม้อ)	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	51	1	

B. Māē Thalu (ร.ร. บ้านแม่ทะลุ)	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	48	2	
B. Māē Khatuan (ร.ร. บ้านแม่กะตวน)	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	75	3	
B. Phā Phā (ร.ร. บ้านผาผ่า)	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	236	6	
B. Mai (บ้านใหม่)	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	52	2	
B. Māē Kô (บ้านแม่เกาะ)	BPP school (ร.ร. ตระเวนชายแดน)	27	1	

Type of School	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers			No. of Students			Custodians	Edu. Comm.	School Patrons	Boy Scouts			Explanation
		M	F	T	M	F	T				Gro ups	Leade rs	Com m.	
Government (ประชากร)	29	63	52	115	1707	1319	3056	8	145	-	8	22	123	
Upper Primary (ร.ร. มัธยมสามัญ)	1	4	8	12	164	93	257	2	-	-	1	4	48	End of Primary (ประถมปลาย)
Lower Middle (ร.ร. มัธยมสามัญ)	1	7	9	16	189	116	305	3	-	-	1	6	180	
Total	31	75	69	144	2040	1542	3582	13	145	-	13	32	370	

Cremation of a Manager of a Mine

This morning Jane, Nick, Samān and I went over to Wat Pā Hiao. At first we only saw the old priest but then the young priest came in. He, along with the District Abbot and other monks, has spent about 5 days at one of the mines where wolfram is mined to officiate at the cremation of the manager of the mine. The monks just returned yesterday.

Educational Survey

Samān and I spent about an hour tailing with the headmaster of the Bôriphat Sūksā School arranging to give the educational survey. We will probably do so at the beginning of the next month when school reopens.

*Thôt Phāpā* at Wat Pā Hiao (Wat Ommarāwāt)<sup>4</sup>

This evening about 8:00 p.m. we heard the sounds of Burmese music and discovered a procession arriving at the wat opposite. A *thôt phāpā* (ทอดผ้าป่า) was being held there sponsored by Mō Amphon Chūwatthakun (หมออำพร ชูวัฒนกุล) and Mō čityā, wife of Sombat, manageress of the Sombat store (she is northern Thai) and by Pā Khamlāēng Nanthasombūn (ป่าคำเหลง นันทสมบุญ), a local parishioner.

This ceremony was spiced as before by Burmese music played before and after the local orchestra. The main part of the ceremony consisted of the young weak leading the congregation in some Burmese style chants and of giving a sermon in Burmese. The ceremony ended with the *Hai phôn* given in Burmese style by the young monk, the old monk and the visiting elder monk from Wat Čông Sūng.

---

<sup>4</sup> Charles F. Keyes's tape recording of the *Thôt Phāpā* ceremony and Burmese music performance at Wat Pā Hiao (Wat Ommarāwāt) on November 24, 1967 is located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.15 EC. The original tape is titled, "Tape Number 9, Sides 1 and 2." The recording has also been digitized. An index of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

As we discovered when Jane tried to sit with the congregation, in this wat it is strictly segregated by sex and adults, the men sitting forward, the women behind. I noticed that most of the older members of the congregation knew the Bernese style chant, while the younger (20 and 20 and under) did not seem to know them. The young monk says that only part of the congregation, made up primarily of *Tôngsū*, Burmese, and Shan, understood the sermon. It is now interesting to note that the *raison d'être* for the ceremony comes from the Central Thai. [I later found out that this was not true.] The sermon was Northern Thai, and the service in Burmese, again signifying the mixing of traditions in Mae Sariang.

[I recorded the whole service.]

### **Mae Sariang**

**November 25, 1967**

#### **George Po**

Mark Anderson says that George Po has moved to Chiang Mai and is living on the same street as Pete and Sally.

#### **Visit of the Town Spirit**

Since I visited the rundown house of the town spirit some weeks ago the people in the neighborhood of this building raised enough money for the construction of a new 'house'. The building (or rather buildings consisted of a small *sālā* type building and a small structure in which flowers and incense and candles are placed) was finished on November 9, 1967 and today the buildings were dedicated. The spirits invited to move in to them.

When I arrived at the wat around 11:00 there were monks in the *sālā*. They chanted something I didn't hear, were fed their noon meal and then the District Abbot sprinkled holy water around the crowd. This finished, the monks (which included the abbot of Wat Čôm Čāēng, the District Abbot, among others) departed.

After the departure of the monks the people began calling for the spirit to descend and manifest himself by entering (*khāo song* เข้าวรทรง) and possessing a person. Čit, who was with me, said that the old medium was dead and none of her relatives were around so the spirit 'could have to choose a new vehicle (literally called *mā* ม้า 'horse' in Thai). We waited around for quite a while listening to traditional Northern music (several flutes called pi) and a male and female

singer being played in the background and talking to the male custodians, older men whom I have seen at the wats before. By 12:45 no one had become possessed and we returned home.

About 4:00 Čit and I returned to find a middle-aged woman, not from town, but from the opposite shore, was in a state of possession. According to some people in the area the woman had been possessed first about 3:30, but by another spirit not by the town spirit. By the time we arrived, however, the first spirit had left her and the town spirit had entered. She was in the *sālā* dressed in a sarong, headcloth and shoulder cloth (made available inside the *sālā*). She was alternatively shouting explanations, wandering around the room, and blessing (through blessing on them) such things as water, cigarettes, incense, medicines, etc. While observing the scene the spirit left her and she was possessed by another spirit. When we finally left about 5:15 she was still in a state of possession (I have recorded with difficulty, some of her statements while in trance).

The name of the shrine as I noted on a sign by the gate is *sān čao phō müang luang* (ศาลเจ้าพ่อเมืองหลวง) and the name of the town spirit is *čao phō mü lek* (เจ้าพ่อมือเหล็ก) – literally, ‘father-iron-hard hand-spirit.’

## **Mae Sariang**

**November 29, 1967**

### **Interview with Čao Khana Amphoe**

Today I visited with the Čao Khana Amphoe and talked with him about the following topics.

#### **1. Visit to Müang Rāē (a mine)**

The Čao Khana Amphoe has recently returned (along with several other local monks – see above) from one of the *müang rāē* in the south of the amphoe. Contrary to what I had understood earlier the visit was not for the purpose of a cremation of the manager (although the manager had recently died) out for an annual merit-making ceremony held at the mine.

The manager of this mine, according to the Čao Khana Amphoe, had originally come to the district as a government official and then had found this mine. He died several weeks ago in a hospital in Chiang Mai. Although he was only a young man (37) he was a very heavy drinker (“he drank liquor like water”) and died of *dap khāēng* (ตับแข็ง) (literally ‘hard liver’) – i.e.,

sclerosis of the liver. The Čao Khana Amphoe had gone to the cremation in Chiang Mai the day after the End of Lent. [Actually not the cremation, but the funerary rites.] The Čao Khana Amphoe truly regrets his death and says that they were good friends and the same age. He says that his wife and younger brother are now managing the mine.

The Čao Khana Amphoe said that at the mine there are about 200 Karen workmen, “but not our Karen, Karen from Burma.” I mentioned about the rumor I had heard (from Bob Coates, I believe). Wolfram is brought over from Burma by Free Karens and re-exported as having been mined in Mae Sariang. The Čao Khana Amphoe said that this might be the case, but he didn’t know.

## 2. Ceremony at Wat Pā Hiao after Lent

I asked about the ceremony I had observed at Wat Pā Hiao (see notes for November 22-23, 1967). The Čao Khana Amphoe said that the ceremony was called *tān tian heng* (ตามเตียนหึ่ง). He said that *heng* is a Shan word, which I believe if I understood correctly, means ‘winding around.’ The ceremony itself is a Shan ceremony. I asked about *singtō* which he says is usually called *tō*. He says that it has the face and features of a bird, the horns of deer, the body of a lion. It is of Shan origin and is related to the *kinaree*.

## 3. *Thôt kathin* by group from Bangkok

The Čao Khana Amphoe said that only 14 Lua showed up, all from Bān Pā Pāē at the ceremony of the *thôt kathin* sponsored by the people from Bangkok. The reason for this was the Lua were harvesting at this time. The Karens, on the other hand, since they were those who lived in the lowlands, were along the roads, could be brought in by ear and returned the next day without any loss of time in the fields.

In the procession, in addition to the *singtō* and tribal peoples, were some Shan from Māē Lā Nôi. One aspect of the Shan presentation was the dance by “*Nāng nok*” (นางนก), literally, “Mrs. Bird,” which the Čao Khana Amphoe says represents a peacock (*nok yūng*; นกยูง). Also there was another type of Shan dance called *fôn kam boe kong* (ฟ้อนกำเบือก) which the Čao

Khana Amphoe translated into Thai as *fôn phīsüa sālāwin* (ฟ้อนผีเสื้อสาละวิน), literally ‘dance of the butterfly of the Salwin.’

He gave me copies of the schedule of events for this *thôt kathin* ceremony (see below).

#### 4. Town Spirits

I said that I had been set the *sān čao* on Saturday and had seen the Čao Khana Amphoe there and that I wanted to ask him about the ceremony and about the town spirits.

He said that the financing for building the new *sān čao* had come in part from the townspeople in the neighborhood who had raised 2,900 baht and in part from the Phanasit Company which had provided the wood and the carpenters. A *kamnan* from Tambon Mae Sariang had been behind the scheme (he was, in fact, talking with the Čao Khana Amphoe when I arrived).

The Čao Khana Amphoe said that there are actually seven spirits who inhabit the place. He could only remember 5 of them.

1. *čao phô mü lek* (เจ้าพ่อมือเหล็ก)
2. *čao phô pāēng lao dēt* (เจ้าพ่อเป้งเหล้าเดช)
3. *čao phô ya* (เจ้าพ่อยะ)
4. *čao phô sô bot* (เจ้าพ่อสอบ)
5. *čao phô müang luang* (เจ้าพ่อเมืองหลวง)

When he was a boy during World War II the *čao khana amphoe* remembers the spirit used to come down and possess the old medium and balk at length. He said that Mae Sariang was bombed during the war (there had been some soldiers here) and that (I didn't quite understand what followed) the spirit had either predicted the bombing or had come in consequence of the bombing. He said that the spirit (i.e., the medium) used to drink a bottle of liquor at one swig and that the people fed the spirit with meat from slaughtered buffalo and cattle. I mentioned that Kraisri Nimmanchemin had written that the town spirit of Chiang Mai was formerly a Lua spirit. The Čao Khana Amphoe said that it was true that the original inhabitants here were Lua, but he didn't know whether the spirits were Lua or not. However, he agreed that the type of ceremony

for feeding the spirit (buffalo sacrifice and liquor) sounded like Lua customs. He said that the police arrested the spirit (i.e. the medium in state of possession) because the spirit frightens people and demands sacrifices. Apparently, in consequence, the spirit said it was going to live at Bān Khapuāng. The Čao Khana Amphoe has seen a person possessed by the spirit in that village.

The old medium is now dead and none of her relatives are living here. Now people said that the spirit is old and wants to make merit, thus now only flowers, candles, incense, and *khanom* are given in offering. On the day of the ceremony two different people were possessed. The one I saw, who was from across the river, and another woman from town. He said that the first person had a sick husband who was possessed in an effort to help her husband. This was not the case of the second medium.

The people invited the monk for a *liang phra* on the morning of the dedication.

#### 5. Thôt Phā Phā at Wat Kittiwong and Wat Phā Phā

On the second of December a group of artists and students (more than 60) from Bangkok are coming to sponsor a *thôt phā phā* at Wat Kittiwong. On the third they will go to Bān Phā Phā and on the 4th they will sponsor a *thôt phā phā* there. One of the artists, Kāēo Čanthararāt (แก้วจันทร์ราษฎร์) is a native of Bān Phā Phā and a graduate of the Boriphāt Sūksā School in Mae Sariang. The Čao Khana Amphoe gave me an announcement of the schedule of events (see below).

#### 6. Local Practitioners

I asked if there were *mô phī*, etc, in Mae Sariang. He answered (as I expected) that there were, but I didn't get a list of titles or names. However, he did say that tae “calling of the spirit” in the local language is *hông khwan* (ฮ้องขวัญ).

#### Lawyer's Family

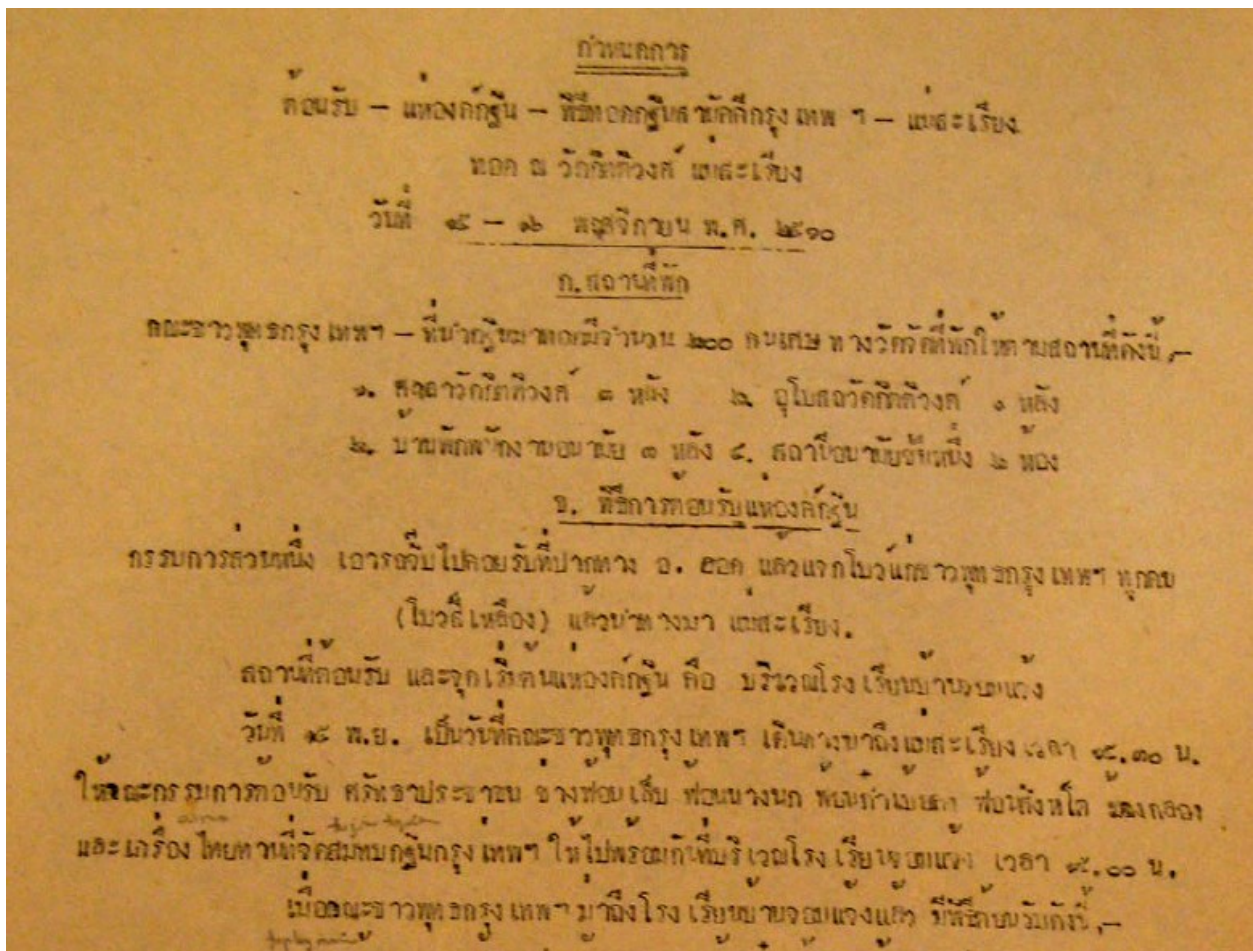
This morning Jane visited the lawyer's family in attempt to trace down the special silver bowl which we were interested in buying. This afternoon we both returned to conclude the deal. From the visits we gathered the following information on the lawyer's family. The old father,

who lives at the shop house as well, is originally a Chiang Mai man who was a soldier in both the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> World Wars. He once came to work in Mae Sariang and ended up settling here. The lawyer is an only son and has studied in Bangkok. The wife of the lawyer is from Anghong.

The Big Kathin at Wat Kittiwong

The Čao Khana Amphoe gave me three sheets relating to the big *kathin* at Wat Kittiwong. The first was a description of events, the second the order of the welcoming procession, and the third, the list of places where the guests were to stay. I include copies of all three and translations of the first two (the third is of no interest).

(Document 1)



- บรรณารักษ์ กองคลัง ฟ้อนเดี่ยว ฟ้อนนางนก ฟ้อนกำเมอลง ฟ้อนสิงห์โต  
 - กรรมการต้อนรับส่วนหนึ่ง ข้าราชการส่วนหนึ่งที่หัวหน้าคณะปฏิบัติกรุงเทพฯ และผู้ไปรับที่วัดป่าสุทธาวาส  
 - นายอำเภอเมืองสระบุรี ประชากรที่ต้อนรับฝ่ายภิกษุสงฆ์ ถวายคณาธิปไตยถวายบังคม  
 - หัวหน้าคณะชาวพุทธกรุงเทพฯ กิตติคุณ  
 - แคว้นช่างกลุณี เจ้าอาวาสแห่ง แคว้นไท่ไปต ขณอิน เวียงใต้ โดยช่วย เจ้าคุณแม่แก้วพวงมณี  
 โดยช่วย เจ้าคุณช่วยศึกษา แล้วเจ้าคุณกิตติคุณ  
 - ตั้งองค์ปฐมฉลอง ณ ปราสาทศาลาไทย ในบริเวณด้านวัดกิตติวงศ์ กิตติคุณเจ้าอาวาสแห่ง  
 การแสดงของชาวเขาเผ่ากระเหรี่ยง เขาค้อ ฌายภาพยนตร์เรื่อง "ด"  
 - เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. เฝียงอาหารค่ำ ณ หอประชุมอำเภอเมืองสระบุรี  
 - เวลา ๑๘.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๘ รูป เจริญพุทธมนต์.  
 ก. พิธีทอดกฐิน  
 วันที่ ๑๖ พ.ย. ทางกัณวินเพ็ญเดือน ๑๒ (เดือนยี่ เป็ง) เป็นวันทำบุญทอดกฐินสามัคคี  
 เวลา ๑๗.๐๐ น. เฝียงอาหารค่ำชาวพุทธกรุงเทพฯ เสริฐเจ้าอาวาสกฐิน  
 วัฒนา - ประชากรในพิธีกฐินว่า บูชาพระรัตนตรัย รัตนศีล ๘ และกฐินนำคำถวายกฐิน  
 - พระสงฆ์ทำกฐินแล้วนำไปกราบ ในพระอุโบสถ เสริฐเจ้าอาวาสขานรับประภาคาร  
 - ประชากรชาวพุทธกรุงเทพฯ ถวายปราศรัยกับประชากรที่มาร่วมพิธี แล้วเวลา ๑๘  
 กฐินสันนิษฐานกฐิน ถวายบริวารกฐิน พระสงฆ์ ๘ รูปในพระอุโบสถเป็นเสริฐพิธี  
 - เมื่อเสริฐพิธีแล้วชาวพุทธกรุงเทพฯ เก็บทางกลับเขาเวียงใต้ แคว้นแจ่มของแคว้นเขา  
 เผ่ากระเหรี่ยงที่ศูนย์พัฒนาชาวเขาแม่เหาะ และมาทวยกุง.-  
 ขอเชิญชวนชาวพุทธเมืองสระบุรี ไปเที่ยวชม - ทำบุญกฐินร่วมกับ คณะชาวพุทธกรุงเทพฯ ในวัน ไท่หัวกัน

Translation of Document 1

SCHEDULE

Welcome—*Kathin* Procession—Ceremony of Presenting *Kathin Sāmmakkhī*  
 Bangkok—Mae Sariang at Wat Kittiwong, Mae Sariang  
 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> November 2510 (1967)

-----

A. Rest Places

The 200+ members of the Buddhist group from Bangkok who are bringing the *kathin* will stay at the following places:

1. 3 *Sālā* at Wat Kittiwong
2. 3 guest houses for health officers
3. *Ubōsot* at Wat Kittiwong [for monks and laymen only]
4. 2 rooms of the first class health station

#### B. Ceremony of Welcoming the *Kathin* Procession

A committee will travel by jeep to await the procession at the turn-off in Amphoe Hôt. There they will distribute yellow identification badges [literally bows] to the members of the procession and lead the procession to Mae Sariang.

The place of welcoming and the place of the beginning of the procession [in Mae Sariang] will be on the grounds of the B. Čôm Čāēng School.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of November the Bangkok Buddhist group will arrive in Mae Sariang at 3:30 p.m. The welcoming committee, the lay leaders, the *fônlep*, *fōnnāng nok*, *fôn kam bāē khong*, and *fôn singtō* dancers, the gong and drum players, and the *kathin* offerings from Bangkok will join together on the grounds of B. Čôm Čāēng at 3:00 p.m.

When the Bangkok Buddhist group reaches B. Čôm Čāēng, there will be the following ceremony of welcome:

- Gong and drum player, and *fônlep*, *fôn nāng nok*, *fôn kam bāē khon*, and *fôn singtō* dancers
- A committee will present garlands to the head of the *kathin* procession and to others for whom the honor is appropriate
- The District Officer of Mae Sariang, chairman of the lay welcoming committee, will make an address expressing pleasure in welcoming [the *kathin* group]
- The leader of the Bangkok Buddhist group will respond
- Then there will be a procession along Wiang Mai road, then turn left and enter Lāēn Phanit Road, turn left [again] into Wai Süksā road and then enter Wat Kittiwong
- Arrange the *kathin* offerings at the *sālāthai* ceremonial pavilion in the grounds of Wat Kittiwong. In the evening there will be a stage show [including] presentations by Karen and Lua hill tribe groups, a narrative film, etc.
- 6:00 p.m. Dinner at the Mae Sariang district auditorium
- 7:00 p.m. Evening chant by nine monks

### C. Ceremony of Presenting the *Kathin*

The 16<sup>th</sup> of November, the full moon of the twelfth month (second month [Northern reckoning]) is the day of the *kathin sāmakkhī*.

- 7:00 a.m. Once the Bangkok group has been fed *khāo tom* the ceremony of presenting the *kathin* will begin. The chairman of the ceremony will lead [those present] in worshipping the Triple Gems, receiving the Five Precepts and making the formal presentation of the *kathin* cloth.
- The clergy having recessed the *kathin* in the *ubōsot* will return to the ceremony at the pavilion
- The chairman of the Bangkok Buddhist group will present greetings to the local inhabitants who have assisted in the ceremony. Then the abbot will give a blessing for the *kathin* revenue and the clergy will chant their gratitude at the end of the ceremony.
- When the ceremony is over the Bangkok group will leave for Chiang Mai, taking along with them these Karen hill tribe people who go to the Tribal Development Center at Māē Hô and B. Huai Kung.

-- -- --

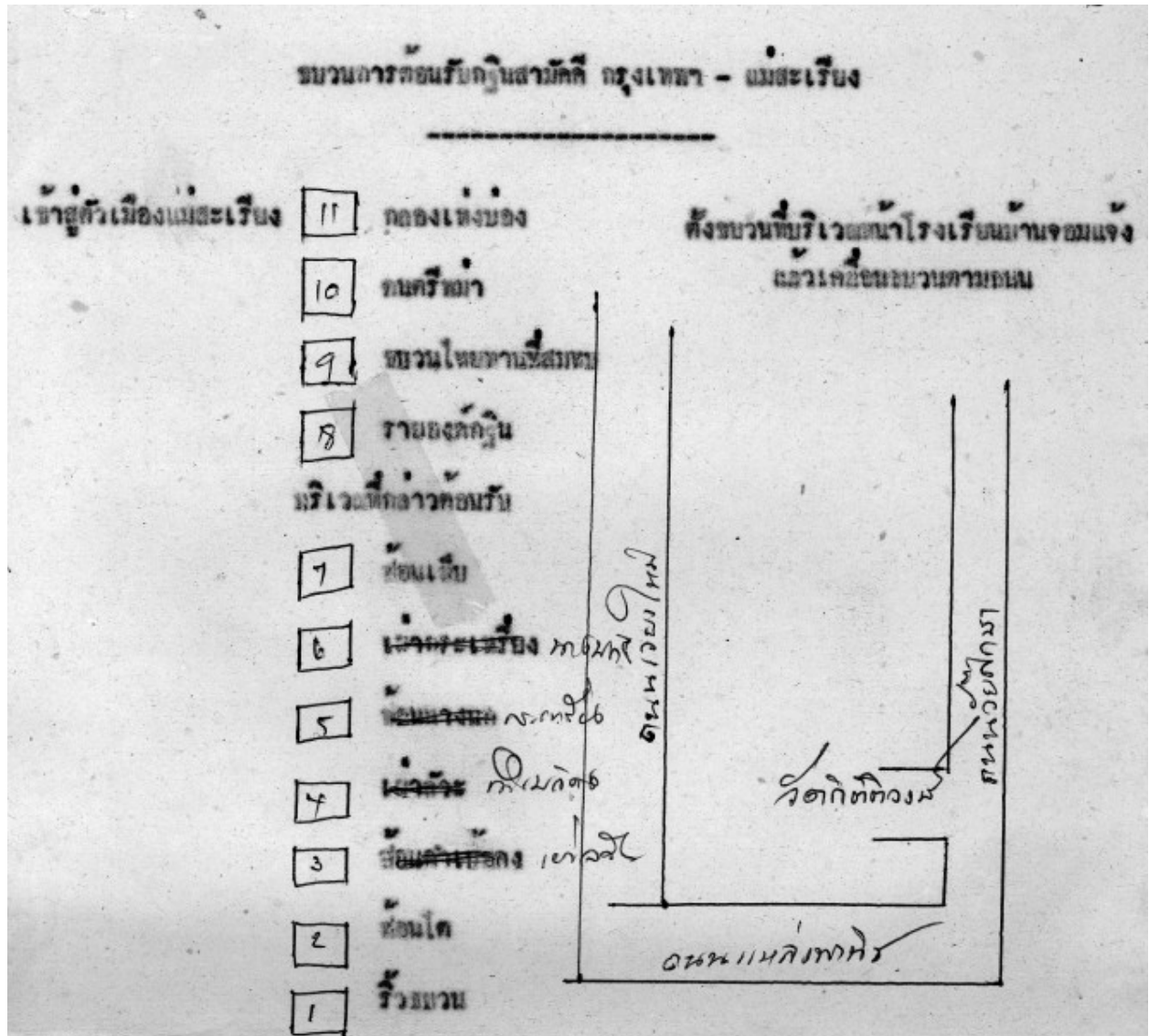
All Buddhist in Mae Sariang are invited to welcome and to join in the *thambun kathin* of this Buddhist group from Bangkok.

---

[End of Document 1]

Document 2: Procession order and map

The order of the welcoming procession was given on the other mimeographed sheet as follows (see below): (1) that line of procession (*rio khabuan* รั้วขบวน -- probably an admixture of people); (2) *tō* (i.e. *singtō*) dancer; (3) Lua; (4) *kam bāē không* dancers; (5) Karen; (6) *fōnnok* dancers; (7) *fōnlep* dancers; (8) *kathin* bearers; (9) bearers of other alms (probably local people); (10) playing of Burmese music; *heng* or *teng* (เห่ง, เห่ง) *bông* (บ่อง) drummers.



Document 3 (not translated) follows. It lists locations of lodgings of visitors.

สถานที่พักของคณะชาวพุทธกรุงเทพฯ.  
ที่มาหอกรุดินสามัคคี ณ วัดกิตติวงศ์ วันที่ ๑๕ - ๑๖ พฤศจิกายน ๒๕๑๐  
ทางวัดโคกจิกัดสถานที่พักไว้ต้อนรับ ดังนี้ คือ

วัดกิตติวงศ์

๑.	พระภิกษุ	พักที่พระอุโบสถ	จำนวน	๑๕	รูป
๒.	พระภิกษุ	พักที่กุฏิสงฆ์	จำนวน	๑๕	รูป
๓.	คฤหัสถ์ชาย	พักที่พระอุโบสถ	จำนวน	๑๕	คน
๔.	คฤหัสถ์	พักที่ศาลาจินหา กลมกม	จำนวน	๓๐	คน
๕.	คฤหัสถ์	พักที่ศาลาแม่เสาว	จำนวน	๒๕	คน
๖.	คฤหัสถ์	พักที่ศาลางามวิสัย	จำนวน	๓๐	คน
๗.	คฤหัสถ์	พักที่ศาลาเกาห้อง (ยาว)	จำนวน	๓๐	คน
			รวม	๑๖๐	คน

สถานือนามัย ชั้นหนึ่ง

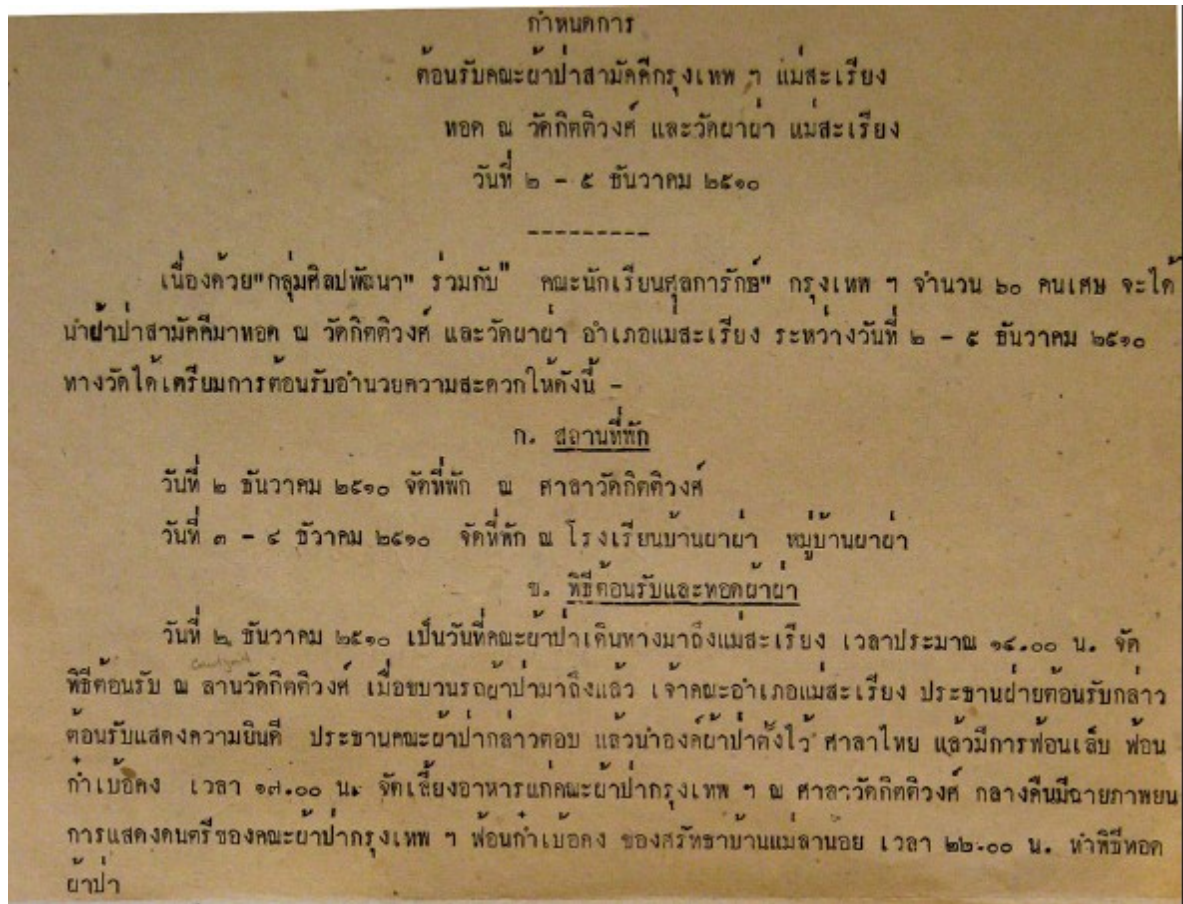
๑.	บ้านพักพนักงานอนามัย	หลังที่ ๑	จำนวน	๒๐	คน
๒.	..	หลังที่ ๒	จำนวน	๑๐	คน
๓.	..	หลังที่ ๓	จำนวน	๑๐	คน
๔.	สถานือนามัยชั้นหนึ่ง	ห้องคนไข ห้องที่ ๑	จำนวน	๒๐	คน
๕.	..	.. ห้องที่ ๒	จำนวน	๒๐	คน
๖.	บ้านพักมรียัทปาโม พนาสิทธิ์	๑ หลัง	จำนวน	๒๐	คน
			รวม	๑๐๐	คน

หมายเหตุ ในโครงการต้อนรับคฤหัสถ์ จัดสถานที่พักตามสถานที่ข้างบนนี้ เช่น มุเตื่อ หาดมอญไว้ให้ครบตามจำนวนคน ทั้งน้ำดื่ม - น้ำชา ในห้องนำ - ห้องส้วม เมื่อรถของชาวพุทธกรุงเทพฯ. มาถึงบริเวณโรงเรียนมานจอมแจ่งแล้ว ยโดยสารจะลงจากรถ เพื่อเช่าชบวนแห่ องกรุดิน ส่วนรถยนต์จำนวน ๔ คัน จะให้เช่ามาสู่ที่วังเมืองก่อน ให้เจ้าหน้าที่ฝ่ายต้อนรับติดรถยนต์คันละ ๔ คนเป็นอย่างน้อย เพื่อจัดของ เช้าที่พักไว้ล่วงหน้า และอำนวยความสะดวกให้ความสะดวกปลอดภัยแก่ชาวพุทธ กรุงเทพฯ. และสิ่งของนั้น ๆ ด้วย.

Thôt Phā Phā at Wat Kittiwong and Wat Phā Phā

The following is the program for the *thôt phā phā* to be held at Wat Kittiwong on 2<sup>nd</sup> December and Wat Phā Phā on 4<sup>th</sup> December and its translation, provided by the Čao Khana Amphoe.

Document: Program for the Thôt Phā Phā to be Held at Wat Kittiwong



วันที่ ๓ ธันวาคม ๒๕๑๐ เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. จิตต์เลี้ยงชาวคณะนิสิตกรุงเทพฯ และคณะนิสิต -  
 เดินทางโดยรถยนต์ไปยังวัดญาณฯ ที่หมู่บ้านนิสิตวัดญาณฯ มีพิธีต้อนรับดังนี้ -  
 วันที่ ๓ ธันวาคม ๒๕๑๐ เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. กรรมการต้อนรับ ศรัทธาประชาชน ข้างฟ่อน ของกลอง  
 เครื่องไทยทาน นางนง ไปพร้อมกันที่บ้านแพะ ซึ่งใช้เป็นสถานที่ต้อนรับ เมื่อขบวนรถคณะนิสิตมาถึง  
 ประชานฝ่ายต้อนรับกล่าวต้อนรับแสดงความยินดี ประธานคณะนิสิตกล่าวตอบ แล้วนำนิสิตไปยัง -  
 วัดญาณฯ กลางคืนมีการแสดงดนตรีของคณะนิสิตกรุงเทพฯ ฉายภาพนิ่งและภาพยนตร์เรื่อง ฟ่อนนางนง จุกคอก  
 ไม่เพลิง เวลา ๑๒.๐๐ น. จิตต์เลี้ยงอภิวรรณกรุงเทพฯ โรงเรียนบ้านนิสิต  
 วันที่ ๔ ธันวาคม ๒๕๑๐ คณะนิสิตกรุงเทพฯ จิตต์อาหารเช้า - เพล ดวายุพระภิกษุสามเณรวัดญาณฯ  
 และแจกเสื้อผ้า สิ่งของแก่ชาวบ้านนิสิตพักจน ปล่อยโคลนลอย กลางคืนฉายภาพยนตร์ เรื่อง การแสดงดนตรี  
 จุกคอกไม่เพลิง เวลา ๒๐.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีทอดผ้าป่าสามัคคี  
 วันที่ ๕ ธันวาคม ๒๕๑๐ เลี้ยงชาวคณะนิสิตกรุงเทพฯ และแจกข้าวหอ เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. คณะ  
 นิสิตกรุงเทพฯ เดินทางกลับเข้าเชียงใหม่  
 จึงขอเชิญชวนชาวพุทธอำเภอแม่สะเรียง ให้มาร่วมต้อนรับและร่วมทำบุญทอดผ้าป่าสามัคคี ครั้งนี้  
 ร่วมกับ " กว๊านสีลพัฒนา " และ " คณะนักเรียนสุลการวิทย์ " กรุงเทพฯ โดยทั่วกัน.

เจ้าคณะอำเภอแม่สะเรียง  
 เจ้าอาวาสวัดญาณฯ.

๒๕ พฤศจิกายน ๒๕๑๐

Translation of Program for the *Thôt Phā Phā* to be Held at Wat Kittiwong

Program

Welcome for Group Presenting PhāpāSāmmakkhī Bangkok-Mae Sariang

To be presented at Wat Kittiwong and Wat Phāphā

Mae Sariang

2-5 December, 1967

Owing to the fact that more than 60 people from the “Art Development Group” and the “Sulakārak Student Group” in Bangkok will present a *phāpā sāmakkhi* at Wat Kittiwong and Wat Phāphā in Mae Sariang district between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> of December, 1967, the wats have arranged the following welcome and accommodations.

A. Places to Stay

For the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, 1967 arrangements have been made for the *sālā* of Wat Kittiwong. For the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, 1967 arrangements have been made for Bān Phāphā School in Phāphā Village.

## B. Welcoming and Presentation of the *phāpā* Ceremony

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1967 the *phāpā* group will arrive in Mae Sariang at about 2 p.m. The welcoming ceremonies will be held in the courtyard of Wat Kittiwong. When the *phāpā* procession has arrived, the Assistant Abbot of Mae Sariang, welcoming committee chairman, will give an address expressing the happiness in welcoming [the *phāpā* group]. The chairman of the *phāpā* group will reply. Then the *phāpā* offering will be taken to be arranged at the *sālā Thai* [a partition owned by the District office] and there will be *fôn lep* and *fôn kam khong* dancing. At 5 p.m. the Bangkok *phāpā* group will be given dinner at the *sālā* of Wat Kittiwong. In the evening there will be movies, a music presentation by the Bangkok *phāpā* group and *fôn kam khong* dancing by the faithful B. Māē Lā Nôi. Then the *phāpā* will be presented at 10 p.m.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December at 7:00 a.m. a *khāotom* breakfast has been arranged for the *phāpā* group from Bangkok. Then the group will travel by motorcycle [the Čao Khana Amphoe told me that they would be using dump trucks since the road to B. Phāphā was too poor for the bus from Bangkok tours] to B. Phāphā. At Phāphā village there will be the following ceremonies:

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December at 9 a. m. the welcoming committee, the faithful, the dancers, the gong and drum players, the alms, *Nāng Nok* will be brought together which is to be used as the place of welcome. When the vehicular procession of the *phāpā* group has reached (there), the welcoming committee chairman will give a speech of welcome and the chairman of the *phāpā* group will respond. Then the *phāpā* [offering] will be taken in procession to that *phāpā*. In the evening there will be a display of music by the group from Bangkok, movies, slides, *Nāng Nok* dancing, and the lighting of fireworks. At noon the Bangkok *phāpā* group will be fed at the B. Phāphā School.

On 4th December, 1967 the Phāphā group from Bangkok will prepare and offer morning and noon meals to the monks and novices and will distribute clothes and other things to Phāphā villagers who are poverty-stricken. A *khomlōi* will be set aloft. In the evening there will be movies and a display of music and fireworks. At 9 p.m. the *phāpā sāmakkhī* ceremony will be held.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of December, 1967, the Bangkok *phāpā* group will be fed *khāotom*, and given nice packages. At 8:00 a.m., the group will depart for Chiang Mai.

All Buddhists in Mae Sariang are invited to welcome and join in this *phāpā sāmakkhī* merit-making 'with the "Art Development Group" and the "*Sulakārak* Student Group" from Bangkok.

(Signed) District Abbot of Mae Sariang

Abbot of Wat Phāphā

23 November, 1967

## Mae Sariang

November 30, 1967

### Customs Related to Erecting a New Building

This morning Čit took me to the Phanasit's tobacco curing station where there were to be some 'ceremonies' in advance of erecting 6 new curing sheds. The ceremonies consisted of three parts: (1) an offering to the 'gods' of the 4 directions, the heavens and the earth, (2) *wai khrū* by the chief carpenter, and (3) blessing of the first post put up.

#### (1) Offering to the Gods of Direction, Heaven, and Earth

An old man, Lung Nā Phuta (ลุงหนาทตะ), who had been acting as chief layman in Northern Thai ceremonies and who is employed by the Phanasit Co., officiated. He is also called *ācān*. For each of the 6 gods to be propitiated, a small banana leaf container, called *khuak* (NT; ควก according to Nāi Mēt's spelling) were filled with various pieces of *không wān*, cigs (banana leaf; ใบตอง), and betel. For the gods of the 4 directions, each offering 'plays'; for the gods of heaven, there were 4 'plays' and a black 'umbrella.' For the Earth goddess, there were none. The following is the list of the names of the Gods, the direction they represent, and the colors of the plays for each in their offering plus some additional information taken from the dictionaries.

#### A. Guardians of the Four Directions

According to Čit's rendering of the specialist's spoken term, these are called in Northern Thai ต้าวตั้งสี่ (*tāo tang sī*). According to Nāi Mēt's dictionary it is written ต้าวตั้งสี่ (*tāo tang*

sī). ต้าว or ต้าว is the same as the Thai and ท้าว (*tāo*), ‘lord;’ ตัง or ตั่ง or ตั้ง, all; and สี or สี , four. In Thai they are called จตุโลกบาล (*čatu lōk bān*) or ท้าวจตุโลก (*thāo čatulōk*).

### 1. East

According to Čit’s rendering of the spelling this would be ณะระณะ (*tha la tha*). Nāi Mēt’s dictionary lists, as the Thai name for the Lord of the East, either ท้าวชตรฐจอมภูต (*thāo thottarot čôm phūt*), or จอมคนชรรพ์ (*čôm khonthan*). The Northern Thai version I obtained is identical, although with a different spelling, with the first of these. Using Mēt’s dictionary, the first of these was the “Elephant of Indra, Chief of Ghosts/demons” while the second, according to the same source, could be defined as “chief of ‘the heavenly Gandharvas’ of the Vesa.” Mēt, pp. 176-7 says further, “He was a deity who knew and revealed the secrets of heaven and divine truths in general. His habitation is the Sky; his especial duty is to guard the Soma. He is supposed to be a good physician because [177] the Soma is considered the best medicine. He is also regarded as one of the genii who regulate the course of the sun’s horses. He follows after women and is desirous, of intercourse with them.” Alternate spellings in Thai of the first of these include ชตรฐ, ชตรัฐ, ชตรภูฐ, ชตรัฐ, ชตรางภู. The color associated with this direction was red.

### 2. South

According to Čit’s rendering of the spelling, this would be อินตา (*intā*). Nāi Mēt’s dictionary lists, as the Thai named for the lord of the South, either ท้าววิรุฬหกจอมเทวดา (*thāo wirunhok čôm thēwada*) or จอมกุมภันท์ (*čôm kumphan*). The Northern Thai version I obtained is not identifiable with either of them. Rather, it seems to refer to Indra, Thai อินทร์, อินท์, อินทรา, อินท, King of the minor deities of the Hindu pantheon and King of the lower Deva heaven” (Mēt. p. 938). McFarland’s dictionary identifies *Thāo Wirunhok* (alt.

spelled พิรุพห์ and วิรุพห์) as the guardian deity of the South. *Ām thēwadā* means “chief of the *thēwadā*” and may be the basis for the shift to Indra in the Northern Thai system. Again using McFarland, the second divinity would be definable as “the chief of the goblins.” The color associated with this direction is white.

### 3. West

According to Čit’s rendering, this would be อินตาคู้ตุน (*intātuton*). Nāi Mēt’s dictionary lists, as the Thai name for the Lord of the West, ท้าววิรุปักข์จอมนาค (*thāo wirupak čôm nāk*). The Northern Thai version is not the same, and is unidentifiable (thus far) unless its components mean (using Mēt’s dictionary) ‘Indra-Buddhist monk for B. monk or divinities.’ As is apparent from the name, *thāo wirūpak* (alt. spelled วิรุปักข์ or วิรุปลากข์) is ‘chief of the Nagas.’ No more info from McFarland. The color is blue.

### 4. North

According to Čit’s rendering, this would be กุวิรุหะ (*ku wi ru ha*). Nāi Mēt’s dictionary lists, as the Thai name, ท้าวกุเวรจอมยักข์ (*thāo kuwēn čôm yak*). The Northern Thai is the same being. McFarland (pp.41-112) gives the following information (alt. กุเปรัน *kupēran*):

“Kuvera, the son of ท้าวลัสเตียน, a character in the *Ramakian*, who became governor of Ceylon. He was son of Palastya, half-brother of Ravana, and Chief of the evil beings or spirits living in the realm of the sheds. He once reigned over Lanka and was expelled to Alaka in the Himalayas by Ravana. These two cities were both built by Viswakarma. Kuvera performed austerities for thousands of years and obtained the boon from Brahma that he should be immortal, one of the guardians deities of the world, and god of Wealth. His region is the North. Brahma also gave him the great, self-loving serial par, Pushoaks, which was stolen from him by Ravana. Kuvera is represented by a white man, deformed in body, having three legs but with only eight teeth and waited upon by the Kinnaree, but receiving no worship.” The color is black.

## B. Earth Goddess

The Earth Goddess in Northern Thai is *Mae Tholani*, and in Thai *Mae Thorani* (แม่ธรณี).

No color representation.

## C. Divinities

There was also an offering for the *thēwadā* (divinities), which had a black ‘umbrella’ and blue flags.

These offerings were placed on a tray with sheen of cotton. Another smaller tray contained containers of flowers and incense and candles.

The offerings were taken to the SE corner of the new bldg. where there was a wooden frame of the following shape and with the following referents:

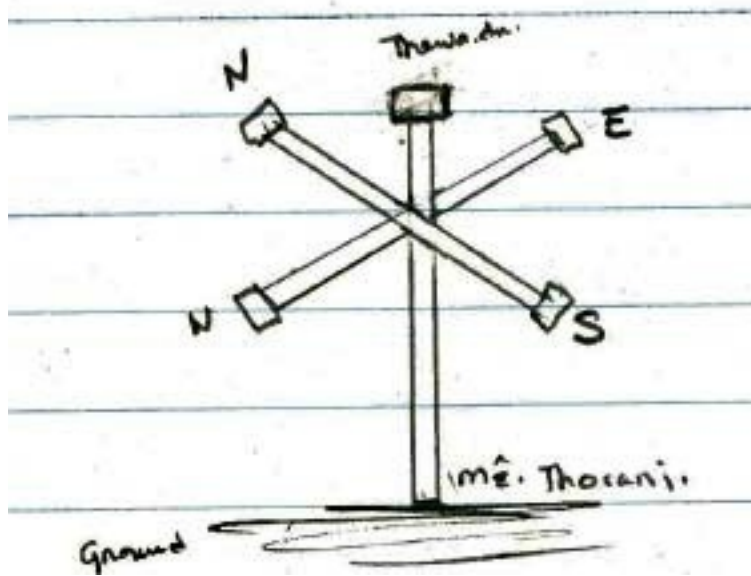


Illustration of a wooden frame with references to the four directions

The practitioner began by taking and raising the tray of offerings in a *wai*. Then he placed all the offerings in their proper places and then he took a candle, lit it, and placed it at the bottom of the frame. He then ‘worshipped’ *Mae Thorani* by reading, in what I call the style of reading formal Northern Thai in the wats, from a notebook written in N. Thai. He did the same thing for each of the other directions: (2) *Thēwadā*, (3) East, (4) South, (5) West, and (6) North.

Those worshipping, or rather propitiating the spirits of the directions, were done exclusively by Lung Nā. No one assisted him, and none of the work crew, who were busily preparing the corner posts, paid him any attention. Only in the preparation of the offerings were others involved – a young married couple who work at the tobacco store were preparing them when Lung Nā arrived.

(2) Wai Khrū by the chief carpenter

At the same time as the offerings mentioned above were being prepared, the chief carpenter was also preparing a tray of offerings to make his *wai khrū* obeisance prior to beginning the construction. On a metal tray he had placed the following; areca nuts, betel, candles, flowers, an unopened coconut, white cloth, red cloth, 1 litre of milled rice, and bananas. This was carried front the sorting shed to the curing barn. There he also placed on the tray a number of carpenter's tools: chisel, carpenter's square, plum line, and something called หลอดไม้ (*lôt mai*) – lit., 'wooden tube.' This tray of things he took over by the wall of an already constructed curing barn, knelt down, facing the wall, (lit the candles?) and held the tray in a *wai* position for a few minutes. I am not certain if he said anything. [This 'ceremony' was very brief and afterwards the bananas were eaten by those present (with no ceremonial meaning) and the coconut was used in the next 'ceremony.']

(3) Preparing the 1<sup>st</sup> Post

At this point, all of the workmen (of whom there were about 6) lifted the 1<sup>st</sup> post to be placed in the building up into a wooden 'horse.' The post chosen must be, according to Čit, the 'eastern' one – in this case it was actually the one in the SE corner. This first part is known as *sao ēk* (เสาเอก) or *sao mongkhon* (เสามงคล) – lit. 'first post' or 'auspicious post.' To the top of this post was attached the following: banana stalk, a coconut, sugar cane stalk, the flowers of the *Eugenia cumini* or Jambolan plum tree (ดอกมะพร้าว in N.T. and หว่า in Thai), bananas, Bermuda grass (หญ้าแพรก) and a skein of cotton. When this was attached, Lung Nā took a glass of *namsompōi* (น้ำส้มป่อย; either *albizzia myriophyllia* or *sapindus rarak*) [see ceremony at Wat

Kittiwong, ‘bathing the relic,’ for use of some liquid] – *nām som pōi* – and, saying some sacred words, poured it over the whole of the pole. This ended the ceremony and the pole itself was put in place. Then the workmen began in earnest to erect the building. A special lunch was held, prepared by wives and employees of the tobacco station, of *lāp*.

### Visit to Wat Čôm Thông

After observing the above ceremony, Čit took me to visit Wat Čôm Thông which overlooks the whole valley on a property above the village just across the river from Wat Saen Thông. The printed name of this wat on the board at the bottom of this hill is วัดสิริจอมทอง, not วัดศรีจอมทอง as I had written before. This is a misspelling – it should be วัดศิริจอมทอง. สิริ (*khiri*) means ‘a low hill or knoll,’ จอม (*čôm*) means ‘the highest, topmost’ or ‘chief’ and ทอง (*thông*) means ‘gold.’ The view from the ton is quite spectacular and the whole atmosphere of the wat, as Čit said, is tranquility (สงบ). We talked with the abbot (and only monk in the wat).

He said that although there are no other monks, there are 5 novices. One of these novices is the son of Lua parents, has finished P4, and is now Thai. There are also many Lua and Karen who live in villages below who come to make merit at this wat. There was apparently another monk during lent at this wat.

The monk himself is a native of B. Phāphā. He spent 3 lents in the wat in that village, 2 lents at Wat Māē Hān, and 3 lents at this wat. He is a Khonmüang.

Important ceremonies at this wat include ตักบาตรข้าวสาร (*tak bāt khāo sān*) on the 15-16<sup>th</sup> of December. At this time the เทศน์มหาชาติ (*thēt mahā chāt*) is presented. Other important ceremonies include the ‘Entering of Lent’ and the ‘Ritual Bathing of the *thāt*’ on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the waning of the moon in the 8<sup>th</sup> lunar month.

Doesn't know anything of the history of the wat, but monk knows it is over 100 years old. Čit says he thinks it is older than Wat Čôm Čaeng, but the monk thinks they were built about the same time. However, he says that the 2 *čēdīs* (in Burmese-or Shan-style) and a, now ruined, brick *wihān* were here before the wat was officially established.