

July 2, 1968

Talk with Čáo Kháná' Amphə:

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

Yesterday, there was an ordination ceremony in Chiang Mai for some hill tribes people (Lahu, Məo, Karen, and Hô:), at least some of whom came from Do:i Chiang Da:o. Before the ordination, there was a procession around town.

I mentioned to the CKA that I had been reading a book about Burmese religion (Spiro's Burmese Supernaturalism) and wondered if some of the same phenomena existed in Thailand. In particular, I asked about 'witchcraft'. He said that there are people who are skilled in making potions which can be injurious to others. They are called, locally, mǎ:ya:fê:t (หมอยาแฝด ) [I can't find a meaning for in any Northern Thai dictionary]. There are also people who can manipulate spirits for their own ends. One of the most powerful spirits to be so manipulated is the Phǐ: kanjak (ผีกะยัน ) [ is defined in Nai Mē:t's dictionary as "a spirit believed to dwell in the body and eats bowels" and is equivalent to the Thai ผีโอบ ; ยัน is the word for 'giant'.] which is supposed to live at Wát Sē:n Tho:ŋ. There are practitioners in Mae Sariang who can use supernatural power to injure other people, particularly unfaithful lovers (thus, witchcraft) and there are others who can manipulate supernatural power for good ends - such as helping a person without a lover.

As we passed the Sahawit Company camp, about 17 kilometers from town, the CKA pointed out to me a garden area which he said was being cultivated by two families of immigrant Meo. They produce food to sell to the Sahawit personnel. One of the families has sent their son to the Sahawit school in Mē:la:Nó:i.

July 2, 1968

2

Thô:t Phâ: Pà: at Wát Sítthimongkhon:

Today the tobacco section of the Phanasit Company (Cit's section) sponsored a Thô:t phâ: Pà: at Wát Sítthimongkhon. In the afternoon there was a procession about town, the highlight of it being a group of fô:nlép dancers from Chiang Mai (six jub). After the procession there was feasting and drinking at the Phanasit Company. Then the ceremony was held beginning about 8:45 - 9:00.

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

July 3, 1968

Candidates for Provincial Assembly:

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

- 1. นายตัน บำรุงกิจ (Mr. Tan Bumrun Kit)
  - Owner of the Mae Sariang Ice Factory and a shop in town (Sāhāmīt Bamrun Kit).
  - Lives in Mae Sariang.
  - Chinese.
  - Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'.
  - Elected.
  
- 2. นายอุดม มณีวงษา (Mr. Udom Máhā:wāna:)
  - Owner of the Nakhō:m Mài Lumber Mill.
  - Lives in Chiang Mai.
  - Thai
  - Elected.
  
- 3. นายอินสวรรค์ ฐานเมือง (Mr. Insuan Duan Phō:ṅ)
  - Assistant Manager of the Mae Sariang Branch of the Thai Sāmūt (Insurance) Company. Formerly a clerk in the court.
  - Lives in Mae Sariang.
  - Khonmuan.
  - Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'.
  - Elected.

July 3, 1968

2

- 4. ส.ต.ท. สว่าง บัวชัย (Police Captain Sàràt Baayen)
  - Owner of Sàràt Pha:nít Store and former Police Corporal.
  - Mae Sariang
  - Khonmuan.
  - Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'.
  - Elected.
- 5. นายฉัตรศักดิ์ ศรีวิชัย (เศรษฐ์) (Mr. Cìràsàk Sǐ:wíchai [Khru: Kháná])
  - Owner of Sǐ:wíchai Lumber Mill.
  - Mae Sariang.
  - Karen (actually half-Karen, half-Shan or Northern Thai - uncle is headman of Mē: Hǎ:n).
  - Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'.
- 6. นายวิชา นบ เชียงใหม่ (Mr. Wicha: Ná' Chiammai)
  - Owner of mine in Mae Sariang.
  - Chiang Mai
  - Khonmuan.
  - Elected.
- 7. นายทิพย์ บุญลือ (Mr. Thip Bunly:)
  - Headman of B. Húai Wó:k
  - B. Húai Wó:k.
  - Khonmuan.
  - Elected.

July 3, 1968

3

- 8: จำเริญการ ๒๕๖๕๗ (Sgt. Ník Sĕ:nsùk)
  - Mechanic and owner of Ník Bòrika:n.
  - Mae Sariang.
  - Thai.
  - Is a native of C. Cantháburi: who has settled in Mae Sariang.
  - Elected.
- 9. นายสีระอาน ๑๖๖๖๖ (Mr. Sǎ'ǎ:t Khongdɛ:ŋ)
  - Formerly a teacher at Mĕ:la:Nŏ:i.
  - Mĕ:la:Nŏ:i.
  - Khonmuan.
- 10. นายมูล กำมาลา (Mr. Ma:n Khamona:la:ŋ)
  - Former village headman.
  - B. Khápuan.
  - Khonmuan.
- 11. นายล้วน สุวรรณลพ (Mr. Lúan Suwǎnmálop)
  - Retired amphə: official.
  - Mae Sariang.
  - Thai.
  - Moved here from outside the North a long time ago.
  - Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'.
- 12. นายโพธิ์ ชูชูไพร (Mr. Pho: Khuan chu:phrai)
  - Owner of Na:i Pho: Lumber Mill.
  - B. Mĕ:Tĕa.
  - Karen Christian.
  - Was more-or-less the 'Christian' candidate

July 3, 1968

4

13. นายสง สุทธิวิวัฒน์ (Mr. Sōng Tho:nsirwát)  
- Owner of new restaurant.  
- Mae Sariang  
- Khonmuan.  
- Moved here from Lampun.
14. นายสนั่น ไตรวัฒน์กุล (Mr. Sànnān To:wátnákan)  
- Formerly a 'Doctor'.  
- Chiang Mai.  
- Thai.
15. นายเวียงศิริ ของศิริสวัสดิ์ (Mr. Riangsǎ:n Tho:ngsàwát)  
- Owner of market and Phimtho:ng Lumber Mill.  
- Mae Sariang.  
- Chinese/Khonmuan (parents Chinese)  
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'.  
- From one of the economically most important families in Mae Sariang.
16. นายคำพันธ์ กะพันธ์ไชย (Mr. Khampan Thánanchai)  
- Assistant to Kamnan of T. Mē: Yuam  
- B. Ná:m Díp  
- Khonmuan.
17. นายผลัด มาพันธ์ไชย (Mr. Lá: Mǎhǎ:chai)  
- Also Assistant to Kaman of T. Mē: Yuam.  
- B. Ná:m Díp.  
- Khonmuan.
18. นายอานนท์ กิ่งอำพน (Mr. A:non Kantha:phà: )  
- ?  
- Lamphun  
- Khonmuan

July 3, 1968

5

19. นายสงของ สิทธิสารัง (Mr. Sà:n'v:ŋ Sírí'a:ŋ)  
- Former Assistant District Officer.  
- Mae Sariang.  
- Khonmyan.
20. นายไฉ พวงแก้ว (Mr. Cai Phuan Kê:o)  
- ? (farmer ?)  
- B. Húai Wó:k  
- Khonmyan
21. นายอรุณ กัษณาสีมา (Mr. Arun Kanthásí:ma:)  
- ?  
- Mâ:la:Nó:i  
- Khonmyan
22. นายวิชัย มยุรศิริ (Mr. Wíchai Mayu:nsí: / Maya:rásí:)  
- Supervisor of Mae Sariang Electrical Plant.  
- Mae Sariang  
- Shan / Mon
23. นายเปรม เอกสัมพันธ์  
- ?  
- B. Phǎ:Phà:  
- Khonmyan  
- Former member of Provincial Assembly.
24. นายถวิล สายคำ (Mr. Thàwĩn Sǎ:ikham)  
- ?  
- Mae Sariang  
- Mò:n  
- Former member of Provincial Assembly.  
- Member of 'Mae Sariang Development Group'.

July 3, 1968

6

25. นายทอง ณ เชียงใหม่ (Mr. Tho:n Nǎ' Chiangmai)  
- Formerly a teacher.  
- Has settled in Chiang Mai.  
- Khonmuan
26. นายเชษฐา อุตสาหกรรม (Mr. Rǎan Uppawan)  
- ?  
- B. Kǎ:n Kǎ:i  
- Khonmuan
27. นายอินทร์ อุตสาหกรรม (Mr. Inrót Uppawan)  
- ?  
- B. Kǎ:n Kǎ:i  
- Khonmuan
28. นายสมันต์ ชูวัฒภูมิ (Mr. Sǎmbat Chu:wáttháku:n)  
- Owner of hotel, mines, trucking firm, shops, etc.  
- Mae Sariang  
- Chinese.  
- Murdered before the election.



July 5, 1968

Preparation for the Ordination of Monks at Wát Kittiwong:

This morning Khun Cít brought over an invitation from Phô: líaŋ Tho:ŋ'ô:n to attend the ordination of two young men tomorrow at Wát Kittiwong. One of the young men is being sponsored by Tho:ŋ'ô:n and it was his formal invitation we received. Translated, the invitation reads as follows:

Mr. Riangsàk Waidi: ( ริ่งสะกั๊วไวดี้ )  
Has Requested Permission to Undertake the Higher Ordination  
at Phatthasīma: [the name of the ordination hall]  
Wát Kittiwong      Tambon Mae Sariang      Amphø: Mae Sariang  
Caŋwàt Mae Høng Søn  
On the Sixth of July, 1968  
at 9:00 A.M.  
  
If any of my actions, whether of the body, of speech, or of the  
mind, have intentionally or unintentionally offended any of you,  
may I please be forgiven them.

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

In the evening the ceremony of 'calling the khwǎn' ( Hô:ŋ khwǎn - หื้อจ้งจ้ง ) was held at the same place. When I arrived at about 7:00 P.M., the two aspirants were still dressed in lay clothes, although their heads had been shaven. About 15 minutes later, they withdrew to a back room where they changed into the white robes of the nâ:k or novitiate.

July 5, 1968

2

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

July 5, 1968

3

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

The ceremony began with the two nâ:k seating themselves in front of the ba:isĩ:, facing the entrance, and the a:ca:n seating himself on the opposite side of the ba:isĩ: facing the nâ:k.

First the a:ca:n raised, in a wâi position, the phan with popped rice and khrujan bu:cha:. Then he moved the ba:isĩ: nearer the nâ:k and strung pieces of the cotton thread from the ba:isĩ: to the novitiates right arms. The novitiates in turn extended their right arms and took hold of the phan on which the ba:isĩ: was placed. Later in the ceremony, the nâ:k ceased gripping the phan and held onto the cotton thread.

The a:ca:n began to chant, taking a string during the chant and drawing it continuously over the ba:isĩ:, and then ending by blowing on the string and dropping it on the ba:isĩ:. He then chanted for a long time, stopping occasionally to blow on the ba:isĩ: and once to take a drink of water. This ended, he raised the ba:isĩ: in a wâi position and moved it closer to the nâ:k.

Then begins the string-tying - mâtmy:. ( မိၵ်းမိၵ်း ).

The a:ca:n took some cotton thread and moved himself in front of the nâ:k on his right. The nâ:k wâi-ed him, and then the a:ca:n tied first his right wrists and then his left, chanting during the ceremony, and blowing on

July 5, 1968

4

the wrist when finished. Both a:ca:n and nâ:k wâi-ed each other at the end. The same ceremony was repeated for the second nâ:k. When the a:ca:n finished, other people beginning with close relatives came to mâtmy: also. Some repeated a formula while tying the wrists, some did not. Most tied both wrists. A few blew on the thread at the end.

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

The nâ:k will spend the night here.

#### Buddhist Lent:

Tuesday (the 15th day of the waxing of the moon of the 10th month northern reckoning) is celebrated as the 'beginning of Lent' in the north and the following day (the 1st day of the waning of the moon, 10th month) is the first day of Lent. In the local language, the word for Lent is pha'să: (according to No:i Mê:t, พื๋อ) - a word closer to the Pali Wassā.

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

July 6, 1968

Ordination of Monks at Wát Kittiwong:

This morning the ordination of the two monks, for whom the hó:ŋ Khũan nâ:k described above was performed, took place at Wát Kittiwong. I arrived at the Phanasit Company a little after 8:00 A.M. to find that the nâ:k and the gifts had already gone to the wát.

At the wát, the gifts had been placed in the khúti and the nâ:k were sitting in their white robes in front of the gifts, but not on the raised platform. They were facing the altar. Shortly before 9:00 A.M., the nâ:k came out of the khúti, followed by some relatives and Tho:ŋ'ò:n as sponsor carrying the robes, bò:t, candles in glasses filled with rice (instead of candles in coconuts), and other of the things to be used in the ceremony. This small party of no more than 15-20 people circled the bò:t three times. Then the two nâ:k came to the northeastern sě:ma:. Here the two took khŕjaŋ bu:cha: and wái-ed the sě:ma: and then repeating something too softly to be heard they placed the khŕjaŋ bu:cha: on the sě:ma:. The group then moved to the front of the bò:t and as they were climbing the stairs, Tho:ŋ'ò:n (and others ?) ~~threw~~ popped rice and coins in the air towards the front of the bò:t. Small boys (and some not so small) scrambled for the coins.

This procession around the bò:t was the only procession held in association with this ordination. The monks-to-be were not dressed as lú:k kê:o and they neither rode horses (or bicycles) nor were they carried piggy back as was the case in other ordinations we have seen.

Inside the bò:t, the two nâ:k krà:ped before the Buddha three times in front center and then moved to back center where they took up the usual sitting position for inside sacred buildings.

July 6, 1968

2

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

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

Altar

Abbot of  
Wat Sittimongkhon

Nê:t

Two monks, each second in these respective rows, were to play special roles - Phrá Nê:t from Wát Kittiwong and the abbot of Wát Sittimongkhon.

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

July 6, 1968

3

With the CKA's arrival, the ceremony proper began. First, the two nâ:k turned and taking positions side by side faced two older men sitting in the northern part of back center. First, Tho:ŋ'ḍ:n was one of these men, but he relinquished his position to another man who may have been the father of one of the nâ:k. This man didn't seem to know how to kneel properly or what to do and had to be guided by others. These two men took the monks' robes off of their ceremonial containers and presented them to the nâ:k. The nâ:k then took the robes and holding them across their arms which were in a wâi position, they crawled on their knees towards the CKA. They also took the first of the five (each) candles - in glass filled with rice... These were passed by the monks to the CKA.

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

The next part was the changing of robes. First, the nâ:k removed their upper garments and the CKA placed the clerical 'jacket' on them. Then he gave them the rest of the robes which they took, crawled backwards until out of the circle of monks. Then they stood up and moved to a corner of the front part of the bò:t where with the help of two of the monks and a lay ex-monk (Insuan), they changed their white robes for yellow ones.

They came back to the center of the bò:t and knelt down just outside the circle of monks. Here Phrá:Nê:t and the abbot of Wát Sithimongkhon came and knelt in front of them. From there, the two nâ:k received the precepts to be kept by novices, before which they presented the two officiating monks with candles/glasses. After which the two monks returned to their place in the chapter.

July 6, 1968

4

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

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

The alms bowls were then hung across their shoulders and the two, carrying yet another candle/glass, crawled forward into the circle once again. When they were before the CKA, they krà:p-ed three times. They presented the candles before krà:ping. They chanted something, followed by the CKA chanting.

At this point, some laymen took part of the white robes and placed them at the doorway of the bò:t.

Phrá Nê:t and the abbot of Sítthimongkhon chanted something and then the two aspirants withdrew, again crawling backwards until they were outside the circle. They then stood in the doorway of the bò:t. Nê:t and abbot of Sítthimongkhon chanted towards each other, then moved in front of the CKA, krà:ped three times, and withdrew to the doorway. Here they proceeded to follow the ritual questioning, in Pali, of each aspirant in turn as to his qualifications for the monkhood. The two monks then returned to the circle, krà:ped the CKA once, and resumed their positions. These two monks chanted their report, followed by all monks chanting something. Then abbot of Sítthimongkhon chanted and the two aspirants came forward and krà:ped three times before the CKA.

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

July 6, 1968

5

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

[Insuan said the two officiating monks are called kammáwa:ca:ca:n ( กรมมหาดิน ) and anúsa:wána:ca:n ( อธิการบดี ). Phrá Nê:t played the latter role, while the abbot of Sítthimongkhon (whose name is Sǐ:tho:n) played the latter. Sǐ:tho:n is also qualified as an ordaining-abbot.]

The two monks then took up another chant during which all monks again put their hands in a wái position. When this chant ended, the two aspirants krà:ped three times and then handed their bà:t to nearby monks who placed them in front of the CKA. The CKA gave a short explanation for the aspirants about what was to follow, and then launched into a Pali chant. The aspirants chanted something in return and then krà:ped three times. They then withdrew and took their places at the end of the two rows of monks; the circle row having opened. All monks turned and krà:ped three times and the ceremony was over.

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

July 6, 1968

6

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

- 1) request and receiving of precepts.
- 2) presentation of gifts to ordaining monks.
- 3) presentation of noon meal for monks.
- 4) first sermon by one of the monks (sermon - ànsǒngbùat).
- 5) feeding of lay guests.
- 6) blessing and trúa:tná:m by monks.

Several things stand out from this ceremony.

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

"Wasteful" Merit-Making:

Before the ordination began, I was sitting and talking with Tho:ŋ'ò:n. He noticed the 'little house' which had been a part of the po:i khâosǎŋ ceremony sponsored by the Súriyá family (see above June 14, 1968 and June 16, 1968). He said what a waste to spend money on building such a

July 6, 1968

7

useless object. The several hundred bà:t spent could have been much better used in buying repairs for a să:la: or something similar.

Local Officials:

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

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

Lenten Candles:

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

One group that has undertaken the making and presenting of lenten candles is the Boriphat Sŭksă: school. A few days ago they distributed a mimeographed sheet describing their intentions:

July 6, 1968

8

"Bòríphàt Sỳksǎ:" School

28 June, 1968

To all respected Buddhists:

The "Bòríphàt Sỳksǎ:" School has made arrangements to mold lenten candles in accord with the annual custom in order to present them in worship of the Buddha at different wáts at the Beginning of Lent. The "Bòríphàt Sỳksǎ:" School intends to use its own labor to mold three candles in order to present them to Wát Kittiwong, Wát Sǐ:bunryaṅ, and Wát Sítthimongkhon. Therefore, we should like to invite all Buddhists to join in contributing the requisite things [i.e., wax] for making these candles and to take these requisites to present at any of the wáts or at the "Bòríphàt Sỳksǎ:" School (Khru: Kittí Puranawít). For any individual or group who intends to mold candles in order to take to present at other wáts which have not been named and wishes to have the school mold them for them, please make arrangements on or before July 3, 1968.

This has been sent for general knowledge.

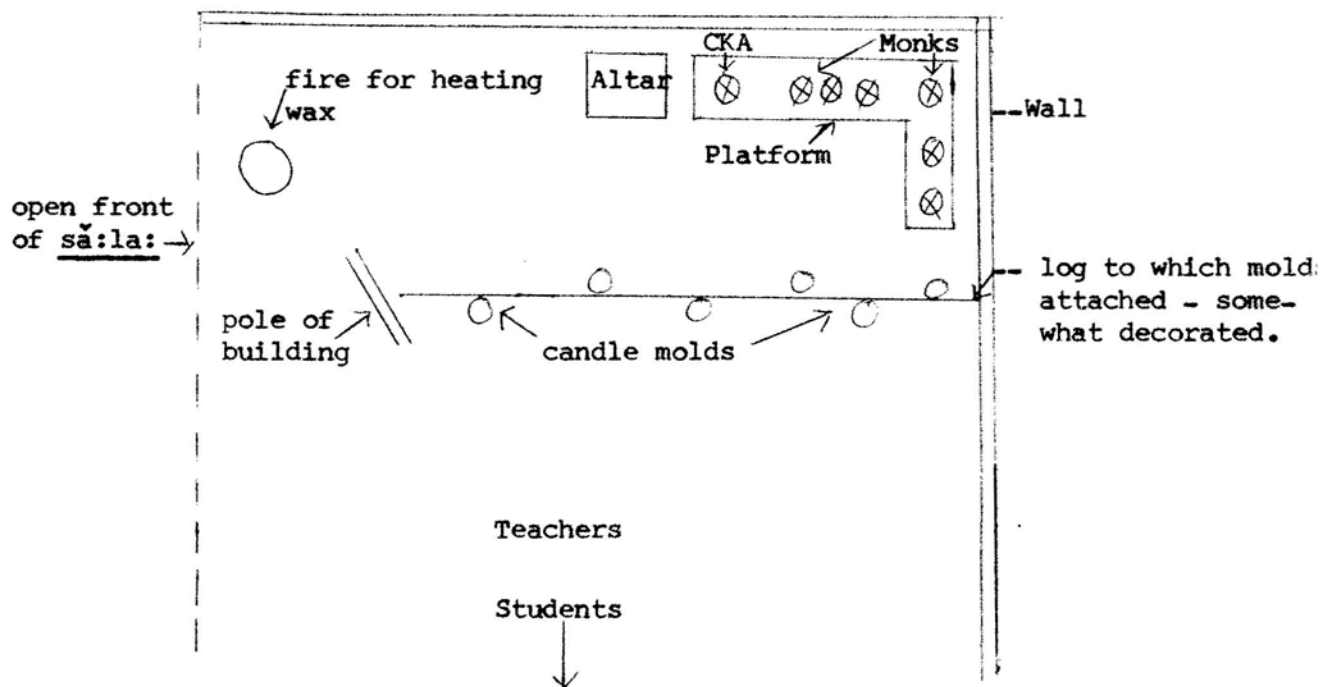
Bòríphàt Sỳksǎ: School

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

July 6, 1968

9

Today the ceremony of molding the candles performed by the students and teachers of the Bòríphàt Sùksă: School was held at Wát Kittiwong. It was held in one of the long să:la: at the wát. Six candles were to be made. The arrangement was as follows:



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

The ceremony went as follows:

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

July 6, 1968

10

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

The chanting ended before all of the students had poured.

- 3) Short extemporaneous 'talk' by CKA.
- 4) Hâiphon

Another Ordination at Wát Kittiwong:

At 3:00 an ordination for monks and novices from B. Thâ: Khâ:m was held at Wát Kittiwong. I didn't attend.

# นายเรียงศักดิ์ ไหวดี

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Original scanned version Page 24 of 64 notes

ขอกราบลาอุบสมบท

ณ พัทธสีมา วัดกิตติวงศ์ ตำบลแม่สะเรียง

อำเภอแม่สะเรียง จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

ในวันเสาร์ ที่ 6 กรกฎาคม 2511

เวลา.....๐๙:๐๐.....น.

กรรมใดที่ข้าพเจ้าได้ล่วงเกินท่านทั้งต่อหน้าและลับหลัง ด้วยกายกรรม

วจีกรรม มโนกรรมก็ดี ขอได้โปรดอโหสิกรรมนั้นแก่ข้าพเจ้าด้วย



# ไอ้อนิจจัง

ไอ้อนิจจัง ทุกข์ขบเมียน ตัวกัมบาปเสียน บ่เมียนบ่หาย สังสารวัฏ เวียนผัดเกิดตาย เพราะกลืนบ่  
 ภาย เหมือนข้งในหม้อ กิเลสกาม เข้ามาบ่อกบ่อ ถึงรูคอบั่น กิเลสสองตัว สังมัลลัน บรูเงื่อนตันปายทาง  
 กัณบ่เอาพร้า เข้ามาตากวาง ก็บ่พบทางมืองค์แปดเจ้า พระธรรมคำสอน แห่งพระจอมเกล้า บ่ได้เลือกเอา  
 วรรณะ เป็นญิงเป็นจายเป็นสมณะ ล้วนแต่เจ้าบุญมี ธรรมของพระพุทธ แผ่รัศมี กัณบุญเรามี มันถึงจะได้  
 อเมริกาอยู่ไกลใจไกล น้อมดวงทัยสูรับ เราเป็นคนไทย อย่าใต้อากัฬ บรู้งักกัณโยบว คิดไปดีแต่ ปุณตีใคร่หัว  
 กบเผ่าเก่าบว โบราณว่าอัน แม่เผ่งอยู่ไกล ยังไหลสอตกัน มาจมดวงคอกไม้ พระธรรมคำสอน ควรจักเรียนไว้  
 หือเป็นที่บ่องตัวเรา กัณคัจฉิตแล้ว บ่ได้หมองเหงา จักเป็นสเกา ข้ามไปผั่งหน้า อย่าได้ลืมหิว พวกเราเจ้าข้า  
 จงรีบเร่งพ้ออย่าช้า หือรีบเตรียมขวาน ขอบกมิตพร้า เพื่อถางถากหญ้าทวยไป การปฏิบัตินั้น บ่เหลือวิสัย  
 ก่อยกกระทำไป มันถึงจะได้ ฝรั่งเศสยังปฏิบัติได้ เราเป็นคนไทยแท้ๆ บ่เป็นทาสไฟ คนใดแท้แล้  
 สังมัลลันแก้หลายราย ว่าการกัณ ลุกหลานกัหลาย ขอหือสบาย ก่อไปก็ได้อัน มันมาตาย ก่อนยังบ่ใช้  
 จักขาดทุนไปเปล่าว้าง แม่เป็นสาวจี นารีแม่ร้าง ยังตายขาดเสียงววยว่า ปฏิบัติเทอะ มันบ่สูญหาย  
 จักเป็นไม้ฟาย ข้ามไปผั่งหน้า ขอกราบไหว้สา กุณพระเจ้าข้า เป็นกรุณายังล้ำ เหมือนคังเม็คฝน ตกลงจากฟ้า  
 อ่านบับได้สันใจ ธรรมของพระพุทธ ยิ่งคดียิ่งใส ปฏิบัติไป ยิ่งใสแจ่มแจ้ง บ่อได้มุสา วาจากล่าวแกล้ง  
 หือปฏิบัติไปก่อนเทอะ เรียนกัณมีฐาน อาจารย์เบือเลอะ มีอยู่ทั่วห้องเวียงพิงค์ อารามใหญ่นั้น คือวัดพระสิงห์  
 วัดเมืองมางพิง บ่หลวงป่ากว้าง แผลววัดพระยีน ลำพูนเขตกว้าง แผลวเมืองลำปางม่อนเมาะ ชื่อม่อนจำศีล  
 สังมัลลันเพราะ ตั้งอยู่หน้าบนคอย กัณใคร่รู้แท้ หือหมั้นเรียนถาม ฟ้าเบ่งธรรม คำสอนพระเจ้า มีหลายนาหลิบชั้น  
 หือคิดค้นไปยาว ปฏิบัติเทอะ ทั้งบ่าวและสาว อย่าลวงเดิงคราว เมื่อยามแก่เฒ่า กัณมันมาตาย เมื่อยังหนุ่มหน้า  
 จักปุกที่นเราเปล่าว้าง เขิญท่านทั้งหลาย พ่อหม้ายแม่ร้าง หืออยู่สร้างศีลธรรม กัณใคร่พันทุกข์ บ่ถ้าไฟจำ  
 คนใดกระทำ คนนั้นก็ได้อัน องค์พระสถิตา พุทธาที่ไหว้ ไต่เทศนาบอกไว้ บัจจัตติ อย่าได้คาคแก้ว  
 รัแต่เจ้าตนเดียว เมื่อเราเดือดร้อน ในอกเป็นเปลว เราทุกขคนเดียว บ่ใช่กาเจ้า ซ้ำมีลูกหลาน มาปานคนเฒ่า  
 บ่ได้บรืเทาสว่างทุกข์ ห่วงลูกห่วงหลานหัวชนกัชุก จุกบ่ได้คืนวัน กัณแจ่งรุ่งเช้า ลูกหลานกัหัววัน บ่ฝอกอยมัน  
 ก้อคบได้ ไอ้อนิจจัง ปุณสังเวชไบ้ เมื่อใดนออาจพัน ทุกในสงสาร สังมัลลัน บรูเงื่อนตันปายทาง  
 บ่อเอาธรรมผ่านเข้าหัวใจ บรู้งทางไป ยิ่งไกลแสนคือ บ่แสวงหาไปมายองยื่อ ไกลจอยวอยชอกฟ้า ปฏิบัติธรรม  
 บ่ควรเนิ่นช้า เร่งรีบเข้าเร็วไว เมื่อมรณะเข้ามาเดใจ จะเอาอันใดออกมาต่อต้าน ตำรวจทหาร บ่กลัวผ่านย่าน  
 ได้ซ่อมทุกวันค้ำเข้า ปฏิบัติธรรม เหมือนกันนั้นเร้า อย่างทหารเผ่าเวรยาม ตัวสตินี้เป็นนายทหาร รักษาทหาร  
 ทั้งทกนัเจ้า หือก้อรักษา ฟาธ้อยู่เผ่า ตนตัวเองเราเค่งคัก คนร้ายคนดี ตรวจคุนแน่ชัด จักกร่วมเข้าภายใน  
 ขะโมยผู้ร้าย รอคเข้าเดใจ พระภูวนันทนอยู่บ่ได้ จักเกิดโมโห โกรธาเทือกใหม่ โทษาในเร้าร้อน บ่มีสติ  
 เป็นไม้เป็นค้อน แสนโศกซ้อนกายา หือระวังไว้ ทางหูทางตา ทางลิ้นกายา หูตาปากตำน ขาปบุญกุศล  
 หากมีหลายตำน เข้าหทวารที่นี้ พระพุทธองค์ ทรงสอนกล่าวชี้ หกประตูนี้เนอนาย กัณรักษาไว้ทางใจและกาย  
 มีความสบายวุ่นวายกัน้อย องค์พระสถิตา พุทธายอดสร้อย ได้สอนเรามาอย่างนี้ หือก้อรักษา หูตาปากลิ้น  
 อย่าได้ฟูฟู่ป็นหลายลาย สังสารวัฏ เวียนผัดเกิดตาย จะไปอาบายก็เพราะขันธห้า หือรีบเตรียมตัว พวกเราเจ้าข้า  
 เมื่อมรณากอครัด ห็นอนิจจัง ทุกข์แน่ชัด บังเกิดกั้วยปัญญา ที่เราเริ่มริ ทุกข์อนัตตา บ่ใช่ปัญญา ตัวแท้เนอเจ้า  
 ใคร่หันตัวจริง ทำตามองค์แห่ง้า จักหันตัวในแน่ชัด เกิดแก่เจ็บตาย หมั้นเที่ยงคัก ตั้งอยู่บ่อได้เมินนาน  
 ปฏิบัติเทอะ สติบรูฐาน ตัวมกัคาศานจักบังเกิดขึ้น พระธรรมคำสอน บ่ใช่ของคั้น ปฏิบัติไปจึงรู้ ทั้งรูปและนาม  
 ไฟไฟก็รู้ ทุกผู้กัญจาย ในนาที่นี้เกิดแก่เจ็บตาย จะบรรยายอ่านบับได้ ไอ้อนิจจัง ทุกข์แท้ไบ้ บ่มีวันใด

เมียนโคมุก โลกมาบังธรรม สมมุติบังวิมุต บ่สว่างแจ้งเห็นเงา บัญหาหนึ่งนั้น ผมบังภูเขา ยากแท้เนื้อเรา  
เป็นสังจะอัน ภูเขาอันหลวง เส้นผมมากักกัน บ่หือหันคอยม่อนนั้น บัญหานี้หา มีหลายหลิบชั้น หือกิกสอด  
คินเนอนาย รูปนามนี้และ เกิดแก่เจ็บตาย บ่มีสบายทีไหนเล่าเจ้า ผมหงอกเต็มหัวว่าตัวบ่เฒ่า รูปร่างงามเราอยู่แท้  
กันั้นว่าเมียตาย เป็นหม้ายแท้ ว่ายังบ่เฒ่าใสงาม มีหนึ่งแล้วใครแอมแอมสาม กิเลสสคาม มาบังท้อหุ้ม  
แอมมีลูกหลานว่าผอบักุม เพราะใจรูมเมาร่างแก้ว แอมมีเข้าของไร่นาก็แล้ว บ่เหมือนน้องแก้วบุญดวง ค้นหา  
นี้และกองทุกใหญ่หลวง มาหนงหนีมทรวงหนักใจบ่น้อย กันั้นกรรมยังมี ไต่เลี้ยงลูกน้อย ซ้ำก้อยอยู่ตวยแอมซ้ำ  
ไอ้อนิจจำ ปุณสังเวชล้า มาฆ่าอืดอันวาจา ว่าเจ้าลูกรัก นายหลับสองตา กันั้นเม่นายมาก้อยตื่นเนอเจ้า บ่กิดถึงหา  
หมาขบพรหมบ่เฒ่า ลืมไปกว่าแท้ อริยะสัจจ ทุกข์เนแท้ บ่อาจพ้นได้สักคน เราเกิดบ่พบ มิจนาทิกฐี  
นับว่าบุญมีหันธรรมพระเจ้า จุงตั้งจิตใจบ่หือหม่นเศร้า ปฏิบัติเอาพันทุกข์ ไปเซาะหาไหน โลกบ่มีทุก กัสศ  
เสียงหันบ่บุญ อองค์พระเทศน์ไว้ ล้วนอนัตตา ต้องใช้บุญญา จะหันดีแจ้ง เชิญท่านทั้งหลาย ญิงจายหนุ่มเฒ่า  
ฟังก่อนชอยายค่าวจ้อย ผมบ่เป็นหนาน ผมบ่เป็นน้อย กิดแต่ถ้อยกลอนโย เกี่ยวกับธรรมมันคินิสัย อยู่กิดไป  
จิตใจบ่เศร้า ขอกราบไหว้สา วันทากัมเกล้า พระเจ้าพระธรรมสังฆะ กันั้นว่าผิดผอน ขอการะวะยกโทษหืออภัย  
ชะนะกุดก่ยนแล.

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พระสังหารพิมพ์ ถนนสามล้าน ซอย ๑ เชียงใหม่ นายประทวน สักคันทวนชัย ผู้พิมพ์โฆษณา

คำวอธิบายสั้นๆของคำ

คำว (คำย่อ) NT poetical comment

อธิบายสั้นๆ "the sublime truth" - i.e., the 4 great truths: (1) that sorrow ever attends (transmigration) existence; (2) that the cause of sorrow lies in the passions or desires; (3) that cessation of sorrow can be procured by the extinction of desire; (4) that desire can be extinguished by wisdom.

ของคำ True; pity; PS, that it runs through a set of existences, transmigration

July 8, 1968

Ordination of Lúa' as Novice:

I learned today from the CKA that an ordination ceremony was held yesterday at Wát Cò:m Cê:ŋ in which a Lúa' boy from B. Châ:ŋ Mô: became a novice. Apparently many villagers were down for the ceremony.

Bun Eng Case:

Today Benny visited us and we learned more about the story of his adopted son, Bun Eng. Bun Eng was sent to Mê: Hă:n to teach instead of the Tho:ŋ Sàwàt school. However, he wrote both the teacher in Mae Hông Sôn with whom he had stayed when taking the exam and the Governor. The governor sent a telegram to the District Officer asking for reasons why Bun Eng has been transferred and the teacher wrote Bun Eng advising him not to quit - at least until the Governor had had a chance to do something.

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

July 10, 1968

Lenten Customs:

Today and yesterday have been filled with events relating to the beginning of lent - wan khào pùrim phansă: or Wan khào phansă: ( วันเข้าพรรษา or วันเข้าพรรษา ) in Thai, and wan khào pha'să: ( วันเข้าพรรษา ) in Northern Thai. Customs varied slightly from temple to temple and I couldn't observe all and will thus describe only those which I observed or learned about. In addition, there were some general customs which united the town.

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

From about 7:00 A.M. on people began congregating to make the morning offerings of food. The ceremony was held in the khúti which was filled with people, including young people and such important personages as the Nai Amphə:, the head of the airport, etc. This day is one of the three biggest holidays of the year, along with the End of Lent ceremonies and Songkra:n, and people here fill the temples like Christians at Christmas and Easter. The morning ceremony included the usual request and receiving of precepts. Then, while the monks chanted (suatmon), people tà:kbà:t, placing prepared foods in dishes on a side table, and rice in bà:t placed on a larger table. After the chanting, the a:ca:n led the congregation in the formal presenting of food, laymen taking the bà:t and presenting them. This was followed by a 'request for sermon' (by the a:ca:n) and then a sermon, in Thai (the subject was the 'First Sermon' preached by Buddha), by the CKA. With the hâiphon and truatná:m, the ceremony ended.

July 10, 1968

2

At noon, after the monks noon meal, the ceremony of sòrná:m phrá thâ:t was held, followed by an afternoon of Northern Thai sermons.

In the evening at Wát Kittiwong and Wát Sí:bunryaṅ, there was a wianthian in association with the celebration of à:tsă:lâhâbu:cha:. This holiday, although with older antecedents, was introduced by the Thai government only a few years ago (I think ten) and is celebrated only at the wáts of the late CKA and the present CKA. Only a small number of people attended at either wát because of rain storms that had continued throughout the day (we ourselves did not attend).

A more traditional custom was followed by the young people's association of Wát Chaiyalâ:p which a hè:dò:k ( ๒๖๙๑๐๗ ), taking flowers in special arrangements to present to every wát.

At Wát Ommára:wâ:t, and perhaps at other wáts as well, there were some fireworks set off in the evening.

Many old people took the eight precepts and spent the night in the wát. The most popular wats in this regard were Wát Sí:bunryaṅ and Wát Sùphānraṅsí. The latter, which I visited this morning, had 29 people staying at it. Wát Ommára:wâ:t had ten.

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

I then returned to Wát Ommára:wâ:t where I participated in a merit-making ceremony called in Shan că:ká' (it would be spelled in Thai script ๒๖๙๑๐๗). The CKA says that this ceremony is often sponsored during lent on the day following wanphrá'. It consists of presenting special food and other offerings to monks and usually hearing a sermon. At Wát Ommára:wâ:t,

July 10, 1968

3

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

For the ceremony, the sponsor had invited seven monks from Wáts Sùphānraŋsĩ:, Uthaya:rom, Ommāra:wā:t, Chaiyalā:p, and Šĩ:bunryaŋ (four 'Shan' monks, three Northern Thai monks). With the invitation to the monks, went an invitation to the respective wáts. Thus, those who attended, besides the sponsor and those he had invited, included primarily the old people who had spent the night before in the wáts in question.

The service followed the Burmese form, with a layleader beginning with a 'chant' in Shan and including a Shan sermon by the abbot of Wát Uthaya:rom. This is the third sermon I have heard this monk give and each time he has given the sermon from memory rather than reading from a ba:ila:n. The CKA says that it is the Shan custom to give sermons from memory.

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

In the afternoon and evening there were processions in which the decorated lanten candles were taken and presented to the wáts so selected to be recipients. These hè:thán were staged by the Bòríphàt Sỳksǎ: school, the Tho:ŋsawat school,

July 10, 1968

4

the young people's association of Wát Kittiwong, the young people's association of Wát Chaiyalâ:p and perhaps by other groups. At least one hê:dɔ:k was held by the same postal official who had sponsored the ceremony at Wát Ommára:wâ:t.

There was a major display of fireworks and some music at Wát Ommára:wâ:t in the evening and a general spirit of gaiety and festivity seemed to pervade the town.

July 11, 1968

Household Acts of Faith:

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

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

Imang sùpaphayan chanasam pannang sālīnang

Ōthanang uthanang warang phutthatsa pūchemi

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

Sēsaṅ mangkhalang yācāmi

After both formulas, one should krā:p three times.

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

July 13, 1968

Visit of Headman of Bâ:n Mê: Ngé?

Today the headman of the Karen village of Mê: Ngé? - Pho: So: ( ) was in Mae Sariang and visited the CKA. He came to bring his son to leave with the Kamnan of T. Mê: Khong in B. Thung lê:η so that the boy can go to Thai school.

Old Buddha Images:

Co: Mui, the Karen who had led us to the cave where we found the manuscripts had said that there were over ten Buddha images in the cave, but that they had all been taken away by people working for the Phanasit Company. He had led these people to the cave and they had told him that they were taking the images to give to the CKA. However, they never came, and the CKA was annoyed at people using his name to obtain the images. A couple of days ago, a person living in B. Khapuang brought five images and a votive image to the CKA for him to see. This person said that a relative had left the images with him and would come back to get them later in order to sell them. The CKA said that he would keep the images until the owner returned, since he suspects that three of the images are from the cave. (He planned to confront the owner of the images with his story that the images were being obtained for the CKA.)

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

July 13, 1968

2

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

[I have taken photographs of these three images.]

I brought back myself the base of a clay sitting image, only the legs and bottom torso remaining had been painted gold and probably wasn't any more than 3 1/2 to 4 inches high.

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

He also has a small bronze image in what he thinks is Chiangsǎ:n style found in the same cave near Mê:la:Nô:i as the large image now kept in the 'Southern Wát' in Mê:la:Nô:i.

#### Historical Reference Points:

The CKA and I were discussing the place names mentioned in the manuscripts. He thinks that one of them may refer to a crossing on the Salwin known today as kò:ŋ kó' ( <sup>ᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀ</sup>ᵀᵀᵀᵀᵀ ).

July 13, 1968

3

Neolithic Remains in Mae Sariang:

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

The following is an outline of the shouldered axe:

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

Sally Kunstadter has found a couple of stone tools in the Karen village of MÊ: Umlong NÓ:i (Le Kho Khi).

July 14, 1968

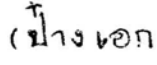
Remarks on Cave Find:

I took over from Wát Kittiwong the broken Buddha image and the 'stand' for the image which we found in the Mê: Ngê' cave. He says that the image is in Northern Thai style.

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

paŋ 'i:k 'anní:

phá ka:wílá sã:ŋ

The CKA said that the word paŋ 'i:k today is pã:ŋ 'è:k (  ) in the local language. It means 'the base and backdrop on which a Buddha is placed'. The meaning of the inscription is thus:

'This stand [for a Buddha image] Phrá' Ka:wílá made  
[literally, 'built'].'

From internal evidence in the manuscripts, it seems that phrá' (phá') here means 'monk' not 'novice'.

The CKA says that the boxes in which the manuscripts were kept are called hí:p tham in the local language. The fancy open-sided container in which images are placed is called a tangkə:.

Artifacts of Historical Interest in Wát Kittiwong:

My discussion with the CKA led him to take me around the Wát showing me articles of historical significance kept in the wát. There are two hí:p tham which were found at thã:trafàng in a cave and brought to Mae Sariang more than thirty years ago. There had apparently been

July 14, 1968

2

manuscripts in the boxes, but they were, so the story goes, in suchbad shape that they were not kept. These boxes are now filled with ba:ila:n which belongs to Wát Kittiwong. The CKA said that he once went through these manuscripts and discovered that they were all less than 100 years old. He says that there is only one which has historical information - "Kòtmǎ:i Phrá' Cáo Manra:i" (กฎกฎหมายพระเจ้ามังราย ) - i.e. 'The Laws of King Menrai'.

These two boxes are kept in the bò:t. Another hǐ:p tham is kept in a sǎ:la:. This one came from a cave near Mē:la:Nó:i. No books came with it either. The CKA said that a former Nai Amphø: took many things from that cave. This box is also filled with ba:ila:n from Wát Kittiwong - ones that haven't been looked through (we hope to do so).

In the bò:t there is a preaching platform which is over 100 years old.

He also showed me a number of Buddha images kept in the wát. One, a bronze Chiangsǎ:n Buddha, he said came from an old wát which used to be on the grounds of the forestry office (formerly part of Bombay-Burmah's holdings). Several images in the wát have come from there - including two beautiful sitting Buddhas. There are two images in Shan style made of pressed flowers (but not the buakhěm type). There are also several lesser Burmese images in the wát. In the khúti he showed me several images of the buakhěm type, some mqn, some Shan, some Burmese. He also showed me a piece of gold work (very small) which was up in what he called wiangmài in B. Thú:n Phrá:o. There used to be a wát there [Cít says that there is indication of a wát having been located just south of the tobacco drying station.]

July 14, 1968

3

He also showed me the equipment for tatooining. The medicine used for tatooining varies according to the 'power' desired - protecting strength, etc. One type of ya: from Burma was in the form of a Buddha image. The CKA used to taooin but now turns down people who ask.

July 17, 1968

Cave Information:

The CKA says that the local name of the cave in which the manuscripts were found is the 'Red Cloth Cave' ( ถ้ำผ้าสีแดง ). The double roofed pedestal for a Buddha image which is locally called tangk: ( ถัง ) is called a pràdit thă:n phráphútthárû:p ( ประดิษฐานพระพุทธรูป ) in Thai. He estimates that the one in the cave was about 50 c.m. wide in both directions and about 125 cm. high. He estimates the hi:ptham were about 60 cm. wide, 80 cm. long, and 100 cm. high.

July 21, 1968

Lfang Phrá for Nicholas' Second Birthday:

Today we sponsored a líá:ŋ phrá in order to make merit for Nicholas on his second birthday.

Preparations:

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

July 21, 1968

2

บัตรเชิญหมฺน

ขออาราธนาพระคุณเจ้าในวัดนี้ จำนวน ----- รูป ไปเจริญ  
พระพุทธรูป ๒๒๕ แห่ง วัดตากหารพล เพื่อในงานทำบุญวันเกิดลูกชาย  
ณ บ้านเลขที่ 27 ถนนแม่สะเรียง ตำบลบ้านกาศ อำเภอแม่สะเรียง  
กำหนดวันที่ 21 เดือน กรกฎาคม ๒511 เวลา 10.00 น.

----- เจ้าภาพ

หมายบุญ - มีอรัญ - ส่งด้วย

INVITATION

[I] humbly invite ----- monks from this wát to go to chant some sacred words and partake of a midday meal on the occasion of making merit for my son's birthday at House No. 27, Mae Sariang Road, Tambon Bâ:n Kà:t, Amphø: Mae Sariang on the 21st of July at 10:00 A.M.

----- Sponsor

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

Là:~:, my assistant, prepared the flowers, leaves, candles, and incense (3) which are wrapped in a banana leaf and used as a traditional offering when extending an invitation to a monk. Such are called sũaidò:k (สอญ๓๓๓). I then stuck a signed, typed invitation in each of them and about five days ago took them around to each of the wáts from which I wished to invite monks (one invites a wát, not specific monks). The CKA had forewarned me not to mix Northern Thai and Shan/Burmese monks since they chant differently. An

July 21, 1968

3

exception is the abbot of Wát Ommára:wâ:t who can chant Thai style. I invited the following wáts (with the monk who came written in parenthesis):

- 1) Wát Kittiwong - two monks - (CKA and Phra Nê:t)
- 2) Wát Sítthimongkhon - one monk - (abbot)
- 3) Wát Sǐ:BunRyañ - one monk - (young monk - a Máhá:)
- 4) Wát Co:m Cê:ŋ - one monk - (abbot)
- 5) Wát Ommára:wâ:t - one monk - (abbot)
- 6) Wát Chaiyálâ:p - one monk - (abbot)

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

We borrowed many of the needed accoutrements for the ceremony from Wáts Kittiwong (large number of items), Sítthimongkhon (tó'mù:), and Ommára:wâ:t (tables and cloths) as well as borrowing dishes, etc. from Mrs. Sě:n, our landlady and next door neighbor. I was somewhat amused to find that Wát Kittiwong even has a receipt book for use by people who borrow things - but it makes . Wáts often have things that no private person would own but might have occasion to use (the CKA told me once that the catholic father even borrows things from Wát Kittiwong to use for Christmas).

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

July 21, 1968

4

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

Čít and M<sup>3</sup>: Thaw ǔ:n came over last night to help arrange things. They said that we must have a sǎ:i sǐn (holly thread) around the house since it was to be a tham bun bâ:n ceremony. The CKA had lent us a ball of 9-strand (the "9" is auspicious) thread to use in the ceremony, and today Čít made more thread to tie around the house at the end of this ball. The string went north (on the right hand side of the door) and returned from the opposite direction to the altar. Here it was wrapped three times around the Buddha image and then three times around the bà:t ná:mmon (Insuan was

July 21, 1968

5

the one who insisted on the wrapping three times around the bà:t ná:mmon.  
On the Altar, besides the image, were two vases of flowers, two candle sticks with candles, and an incense holder with three unlit sticks. The remaining ball of string was placed next to the seat where the head monk would sit.

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

- for the head monk, a wash basin filled with khâ:o sǎ:n, a coconut, incense, candles, an envelope with ฿ 100, fruit, canned foods, etc.
- for the other monks, an envelope with ฿ 75 each and a sǎi dō:k.
- In front of each of the monks seats was placed a tray on which a pack of cigarettes, mían and matches had been placed

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

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

#### The Ceremony:

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

- 1) wâiphrá led by Insuan.
- 2) khǒ:sǐn by Insuan
- 3) namo and sǐn led by CKA
- 4) 'chant' by Insuan
- 5) Sùatmon by monks, started by individual chant by Phrá'Nê:t -  
During sùatmon - holding of sǎ:i sǐn and making of 'holy water'.
- 6) presentation of food to monks

July 21, 1968

6

- 7) presentation of 'offerings' to monks - NAK helped me 'lift' the offering for the CKA. I placed the other offerings (súai dò:k and envelope with money) in monk's
- 8) truat ná:m (I poured water from a glass into a silver khăn) - given by CKA
- 9) nâiphon by all monks
- 10) CKA 'tied' NAK's wrists (mátmy). All monks chanted during act - both wrists.
- 11) CKA sprinkled 'holy water' on NAK - all monks chanting
- 12) CKA sprinkled 'holy water' on Jane and myself - all monks chanting - end of ceremony
- 13) After taking monks home, returned and 'entertained' guests.

The 'holy water' ( အံ့ၵ်းၵ်းၵ်းၵ်းၵ်းၵ်း ) was made during the súatmon by the CKA holding a lighted, special, candle over the bà:t ná:m mon in which had been placed water and dried ( ) sǎmpo:i pods. The drippings of wax dropped into the water and in the end the CKA doused the candle in the water. The water was sprinkled with a bunch of leaves (certain, special ones).

บัตรบันทึก

ขออาราธนาพระคุณเจ้าในวัดนี้ จำนวน.....รูป ไปเจริญพระพุทธรูปและฉัตร  
ทหารพล เนื่องในงานทำบุญ...วิ.ห.เกิด.อุ.ร.ว.ค.....ณ บ้านเลข  
ที่..27...ถนน..แจ้งวัฒนะ...ตำบล...บ้านลาด...อำเภอ..แจ้งวัฒนะ..  
กำหนดวันที่..21..เดือน..สิงหาคม...พ.ศ. ๒๕๑๑ เวลา..10:00...น.

.....เจ้าภาพ.

หมายเหตุ- มีรถรับ-ส่งด้วย.

July 22, 1968

Information on Mê:la:Nó:i

Today the CKA let me copy some statistics which he in turn had copied in the office of the Mê:la:Nó:i subdistrict.

Tambon Mê:la:Nó:i	6051 people	16 villages ( <u>mù:bâ:n</u> )
" Mê:la:Lŭaŋ	6201 people	21 villages
Total	12,252 people	37 vilages

Tambon Mê:la:Nó:i	1201 families ( <u>khro:p khrea</u> )
" Mê:la:Lŭaŋ	1028 families

Tambon Mê:la:Nó:i	400 square kilometers
" Mê:la:Lŭaŋ	324 square kilometers
Total	724 square kilometers

The CKA says that the head of a subdistrict ( กึ่งอำเภอ ) is not called a na:i amphə: kiŋ or the equivalent.

July 26, 1968

(159)

Local Customs:

The CKA was today talking with an employee of the district office who had come to arrange a po:i khão sǎŋ ceremony. It was interesting to observe the interaction because it revealed how the monks serve to mediate the cultural tradition of which people are a part. The amphə: employee had come to consult about the proper form of the announcement of the ceremony to be held on the year anniversary of the death of the relative for whom the ceremony was being held. The CKA first changed the <sup>[492]</sup>hour of the morning meal from 7:00 to 7:30. Then, in talking about the meaning of the ceremony, I commented that in N.E., ceremonies for the dead were not held during lent (except cremations). The CKA said this wasn't the case in Mae Sariang, but then turned to suggest to the amphə: employee that it would be better to hold the ceremony in the 12th lunar month (Northern Thai reckoning) rather than in the 11th as scheduled. Phrá Nĕ:t came in at this point and added his agreement that the 12th month would be better. The 12th month, the CKA explained to me, is most suitable for ceremonies making merit for the dead, probably because it is the 'last' month of the lunar cycle (but not of the Thai year). He went on to explain that the full moon, wan phrá, of the 12th month brings masses of people to the wáts to make merit for the dead.

Karens and Buddhism:

The CKA said today that a number of Karens from Pà: Mǎ:k and vicinity had come to the wát for Wan Phrá' this week. He said that Karens in this village have taken it upon themselves to cease work on wan phrá'. I asked if they now kept normal wan phrá' instead of the aberrant date stemming, apparently, from either the khru:ba:khǎ:o or the phā:khǎ:onó:i (the young Karen in A. Thā: Sǒ:ŋ Ya:ŋ). He said that all but a few now keep the regular wan phrá'. <sup>[492]</sup>

July 27, 1968

Late Abbot of Bâ:n Phă: Phâ:

The CKA left Insuan and I to look through a book of photographs which the CKA has. In it was the picture of a special 4-cornered cloth, called, literally, a 'ceiling' cloth (ผ้าพาดฟ้า), which was raised on four poles above the pyre containing the remains of the late famous abbot of Wát Phă: Phâ: (The monk's last formal name was Phra: Khru: Panya: wóráwát - พระครูปัญญาวรรวát - and locally as Khru:ba: wát phă: phâ:). This cloth is raised only at the funerals of monks and is local custom common to Northern Thai, Shan and Burmese.

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

The monk was cremated on Mâ:kkhá bu:cha: (3rd month) in 1963 because Mâ:kkhábu:cha: was a very auspicious day.

Language:

I overheard the CKA and Insuan speaking with the abbot of the Northern wát in Mê:la:Nó:i in which they used the word sŭŋ or sŭ:ŋ to refer to a monk's eating. The northern Thai word is sǎn and the Siamese word chǎn.

July 28, 1968

Bun Eng:

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

Northern Thai Kinship Terminology;

Some time ago I provided my assistant, Saman, with a kinship schedule written in Thai for him to use in compiling Northern Thai terms which are used in Mae Sariang. I had planned to go over the list with him and to record him, but he left my service before I was able to do so. I here have written the terminology reversing the form and putting the local word first and its glosses second. Transliteration is based in part on Hope and Purnell (1962).

(      used for 'high short fall' tone)

1. Consanguineal Kin Terms:

pô: ( <sup>๒</sup> พ่อ )	father
mê: ( แม่ )	mother
pô:ñi (lǔang) [ พ่อ <sup>๒</sup> อัย ( พ่ออัย )]	father's father, mother's father
mê:ñi (lǔang) [ แม่ <sup>๒</sup> อัย ( แม่อัย )]	father's mother, mother's mother

July 28, 1968

2

pô:mô:n ( พ่อหม่อม )

father's father's father, father's  
mother's father, mother's father's  
father, mother's mother's father

Mê:mô:n ( แม่หม่อม )

father's father's mother, father's  
mother's mother, mother's father's  
mother, mother's mother's mother

pô:kă:n ( พ่อท้าว )

[pô:ă:i ( พ่อชาย )]

father's elder brother, mother's  
elder brother, [Pa el Br]

mê:kă:n ( แม่ท้าว )

[mê:ă:i ( แม่ช้อย )]

father's elder sister, mother's  
elder sister [Pa el Si]

ă: ( อา )

father's young sister

nă: ( น้า )

mother's young sister

pô:lŭan ( พ่อหลวง )

father's father's elder brother,  
father's mother's elder brother,  
mother's father's elder brother,  
mother's mother's elder brother

mê:lŭan ( แม่หลวง )

father's father's elder sister,  
father's mother's elder sister,  
mother's father's elder sister,  
mother's mother's elder sister

pô:pù: ( พ่อปู่ )

father's father's young brother,  
father's mother's young brother,  
mother's father's young brother,  
mother's mother's young brother.

mê:njâ: ( แม่ย่า or ย่า )

father's father's young sister,  
father's mother's young sister,  
mother's father's young sister,  
mother's mother's young sister.

July 28, 1968

3

'a:i ( <sup>๒</sup> อ้าย )	elder brother, children of father's sibling if older than one [?]
pf: ( <sup>๒</sup> พี่ )	elder sister
nó:ŋ ( <sup>๒</sup> น้อง )	young sibling, children of father's sibling if younger than one [?]
lú:k ( ลูก )	children (of either sex)
lú:k ǎ:i ( ลูก <sup>๒</sup> อ้าย )	eldest child (of either sex)
lú:k ɛ:i ( ลูก <sup>๒</sup> อ้าย )	middle child (of either sex)
lú:k lâ: ( ลูก <sup>๒</sup> หล้า )	youngest child (of either sex)
lǎ:n ( หลาน )	children's children

2. Affinal terms:

mia ( <sup>๒</sup> เมีย )	wife
pkúa ( <sup>๒</sup> ภรรยา )	husband
pf:lua ( <sup>๒</sup> พี่สาว )	eldest brother's wife
nó:ŋ njíŋ ( <sup>๒</sup> น้องหญิง )	Young brother's wife
pf:ca:i ( <sup>๒</sup> พี่ชาย )	eldest sister's husband
nó:ŋ ca:i ( <sup>๒</sup> น้องชาย )	young sister's husband
lú:k njíŋ ( <sup>๒</sup> ลูกหญิง )	son's wife
lú:k ca:i ( <sup>๒</sup> ลูกชาย )	daughter's husband
pô:mia ( <sup>๒</sup> พ่อเมีย )	wife's father
mê:mia ( <sup>๒</sup> แม่เมีย )	wife's mother
pô:phúa ( <sup>๒</sup> พ่อผัว )	husband's father
mê:phúa ( <sup>๒</sup> แม่ผัว )	husband's mother
ǎ:i ( <sup>๒</sup> อ้าย )	wife of eldest brother, husband of eldest
pf: ( <sup>๒</sup> พี่ )	wife of eldest husband of eldest sister

July 28, 1968

4

nô:ŋ ( <sup>u</sup> น้อง )	wife of youngest sibling, husband of youngest sibling
pô:thão ( <sup>u</sup> พ่อหม่า )	child's stepfather
mê:thão ( <sup>u</sup> แม่หม่า )	child's stepmother
mê:kă:ŋ ( <sup>u</sup> แม่กำ )	father of eldest brother's wife, mother of eldest brother's wife
ŋi:i lua ( <sup>u</sup> ชายลัว )	father of young brother's wife
pô:kă:ŋ ( <sup>u</sup> พ่อกำ )	father of eldest sister's husband
nă:ca:i ( <sup>u</sup> ชาย )	father of young sister's husband
nă:lua ( <sup>u</sup> ชายลัว )	mother of young brotherswife
pî:ca:i ( <sup>u</sup> พี่ชาย )	mother of eldest sister's husband
nô:ŋ ca:i ( <sup>u</sup> น้องชาย )	mother of young sister's husband

A Karen Buddhist:

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

	ในภาษาพื้นเมืองเรียกว่า	ป้อ
พ่อ	"....."	แม่
แม่	"....."	พ่ออัย (หลวง) [จิ้ง]
พ่อของพ่อ	"....."	แม่อัย (หลวง) "
แม่ของแม่	"....."	ป้ออัย (หลวง) "
พ่อของแม่	"....."	แม่อัย (หลวง) "
แม่ของแม่	"....."	ป้อหมอน
พ่อของพ่อของพ่อ	"....."	แม่หมอน
แม่ของพ่อของพ่อ	"....."	ป้อหมอน
พ่อของแม่ของพ่อ	"....."	แม่หมอน
แม่ของแม่ของพ่อ	"....."	ป้อหมอน
พ่อของพ่อของแม่	"....."	แม่หมอน
แม่ของพ่อของแม่	"....."	ป้อหมอน
พ่อของแม่ของแม่	"....."	แม่หมอน
แม่ของแม่ของแม่	"....."	

ตั้งแต่พ่อของพ่อและแม่ขึ้นไปเรียกว่าหมอนทั้งนั้น

\* provided by Sarman Prasert, ~~was~~ my assistant in M.S.  
See notebook for 28/7/68 for more information.



พี่ชาย	ในภาษาพื้นเมืองเรียกว่า	อ้าย (อ้าย)
พี่สาว	"....."	ปี่
น้องชาย	"....."	น้อง
น้องสาว	"....."	น้อง
ลูกชายของพี่ของพ่อ		
ลูกสาวของพี่ของพ่อ		
ลูกชายของน้องของพ่อ		
ลูกสาวของน้องของพ่อ		
ลูกสาวของน้องของพ่อ		
ลูกชายของพี่ของพ่อ		
ลูกสาวของพี่ของพ่อ		
ลูกชายของน้องของแม่		
ลูกสาวของน้องของแม่		
ลูกสาวของพี่ของพ่อ	ถ้าอายุแก่กว่าเรียกว่าอ้าย	อ่อนกว่าเรียกว่าน้อง
ลูกชายของพี่ของพ่อ	"....."	"....."

หมายเหตุ เรียกอย่างนี้ตลอดไม่ได้แบ่งเป็นอย่างอื่น.

what Samran was trying to say here (confirmed by Lu's.) is that children of ego's parents' siblings (whether their siblings be older or younger than ego's parents) are called อ้าว (อ้าว) if older than ego and ห้อง if younger than ego. Sex is not indicated.

สามีของพี่สาวของแม่      ในภาษาพื้นเมืองเรียกว่า      พี่จาย  
สามีของน้องสาวของแม่      "....."      น้องจาย

หมายเหตุ      ถ้าเป็นที่ใหญ่ของพ่อหรือแม่ เขาเรียกว่า ป่ออ้าย-แม่เอ้ย

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ลูกชายคนแรก</li> <li>ลูกหญิงคนแรก</li> <li>ลูกชายของพี่</li> <li>ลูกหญิงของพี่</li> <li>ลูกชายของน้อง</li> <li>ลูกหญิงของพี่</li> <li>ลูกชายของน้อง</li> <li>ลูกหญิงของน้อง</li> </ul>	<p>ในภาษาพื้นเมือง เรียกว่าลูกอ้ายถ้าตกลงมา เรียกลูกเอ้ยคนสุดท้าย เรียกลูกหล่</p> <p>".....เอ้ย..... หล่า</p>
	<p>ในภาษาพื้นเมืองเรียกว่า      หลาน</p>

What Saman is saying here is that:-

- el Ch (regardless of sex)      - ลูกอ้าว (ลูกอ้าว)
- middle Ch ( " " " )      - ลูกเอ้ย (ลูกเอ้ย)
- yo Ch ( " " " )      - ลูกน้า



น้ำขุ่นที่ป่าของแม่  
" " ห้อยป่า " "

หินทรายพื้นเมืองเรือกอ  
" " " " "

ป่า  
ห้อยป่า

July 30, 1968

[495]

Cremation of Lungta:

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

The procession was quite typical of others we have seen in Mae Sariang. At the head of the procession was a man striking the special type of bell-shaped gong that is only used, outside of the wáts, when the monks and novices process out to receive their morning alms and when there is a cremation (Sulak says this gong is of Mahāyāna origin and people here identify it with the Shan/Burmese tradition). Following the gong was a man carrying a pole<sup>[496]</sup> to which was attached a special "thong" with "three tails" and top half symbolically shaped to indicate a human being (this item has, I believe, been described and discussed by Phya Anuman somewhere) and a 'sack' filled with offerings of food for the deceased provided by the dead man's relatives. Both thong and sack were made of plain white cloth. Behind this came several men carrying long bamboo poles. Mō: Thāwō:n indicated that these were for poking the fire, but they were subsequently cut up and used, at least in part, as containers for water which the monks poured in their chanting. Behind these came the cortege itself - a wagon containing the coffin inside a decorated structure. The wagon was pulled by women and pushed by men. Also, helping to pull the wagon, and in front of the wagon, were a group of 'temporary novices' who were relatives of the deceased and had been ordained especially for the cremation (such novices usually remain in the yellow robes for only a few hours and rarely for more than a day or so).<sup>[497]</sup>

July 30, 1968

2

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

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

As preparations were being made, I noted the people who had come to attend. Although Lung Ta: was a poor man, his cremation brought out a very large crowd. Most prominent was Tho:η 'o:n, the head of the Phanasit Company, the head of the regional forestry department, and other high personnel of the [447] Phanasit Company - all testifying to Lung Ta:'s long connection with the forestry industry. Moreover, the fact that he was born in Mae Sariang some 60+ years ago (65 ?) and has lived all of his life here accounted for a good portion of the 'locals' who were in attendance. There were probably at least 200 people present.

The preparations included taking off the supra structure above the casket, draping white cloths from the casket, and placing candles, sūaido:k, and bamboo tubes next to the cloths all around the casket which was still on the wagon. Some women (relatives) distributed the ceremonial 'lighters' (consisting of paper bows, three sticks of incense, and treated wood which burns easily) to each person present (someone also distributed mīaη and cigarettes to guests).

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

This was followed by the monks coming. There were, I believe, seven monks. Each took hold of one of the white cloths and chanted in unison (or almost in unison since some of the monks were from Thai/~~B~~urmesese wats). Then they pulled [447]

July 30, 1968

3

[497]

off the cloth and handed it to a layman who in turn folded up the cloth and put it in the monk's bags. The monks then individually poured water from the bamboo tubes onto the ground, chanting as they did (this, Insuan explained to me, was to 'send' the merit to the deceased).

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

Each person who threw a taper on the fire, wái-ed beforehand. The Casket was made of teak, and cost B/400.

#### Monks in Mae Sariang:

This evening I visited the CKA. He said that there have been only six monks in Mae Sariang district who have been of the phrá'khru: sānya:bùt

( ๗๕๗ ๗๕๗๗๗๗๗๗ )

) station:

- 1) Phrá Khru: Anúsǒ:nsàtsána:kè:t (wát Kittiwong)
- 2) Phrá Khru: Anúsǒ:nsà:tsána:kè:t (late CKA who lived at Wát Sǐ:bunryaŋ.
- 3) the late abbot of B. Phǎ: Phà:
- 4) the late abbot of Wát Co:m Cê:ŋ
- 5) himself
- 6) the present abbot of Wát Sǐ:bunryaŋ.

Between the years 1962 - 1965, five monks were cremated including numbers 2, 3, and 4 in the above list, the abbot of Wát Chaiyálâ:p and the abbot of Wát Sàphānraŋsǐ:.

[498]

July 30, 1968

4

A Strange Occurrence:

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