

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written between December 1 and December 31, 1967.

Field notes in this document were primarily written in Amphoe Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son Province (Changwat Mae Hong Son), Thailand. This document is preceded by field notes written in Mae Sariang in November 1967 and is followed by notes written in Mae Sariang in January 1968.

Mae Sariang

December 1, 1967

Thôt phāpā by Phanasit Company¹

Today the Phanasit Company sponsored a *thôt phāpā* ceremony at Wat Canthamawāt (Wat Mandalay) – a Burmese wat. Although Thōng-ôn (ทองอ่อน), the manager of the company, had already presented a Kathin at this wat, at Wat Cong Sūng, and Wat Cong Kham, this event was being sponsored by the company as a whole (at Thōng-ôn's instigation). The purpose is to raise money to complete the bldg. of the new *wihān*,

All of the employees were asked to contribute. Yesterday I saw the process of collecting contributions at the tobacco station. Čit mentioned to a subordinate that the collecting and 'accounting' must be done. Actually, the tobacco workers and workmen on the buildings contributed very little – a total of ฿70 (฿2-3 per head) from everyone except the officials. Čit said "it won't reach ฿200" from this station and the southern station (in B. Phāphā). But everyone gave something.

Thōng-ôn says that the Karen employees have been particularly generous in donations. Some Karens have given 100-200 baht and totally for all 300+ Karen employees and for other Karens who work as contract labor of elephants the sum arrived approaches 3-6,000 baht. The Headman of B. Māē Hān who contracts elephant work with the company and his brother, a town

¹ Charles F. Keyes's tape recordings of Burmese music performances and *thôt phāpā* ceremonies and held on December 1, 1967 are located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.19 EC, and 2001-2.20 EC. The original tapes are titled, "Tape Number 12, 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 transcription of the recordings are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

Karen who is the father of the wife of Nāi Wichian (see below), each gave ฿500 "because they like to make merit". Thông-ôn said that even the "Protestants" (i.e. Baptists) from Māē Tia village who work for the company gave several hundred baht. In the evening, several town groups joined in giving to the event. [2/12/67 – Čit says that the total donations may reach ฿ 10,000.]

At about 11:00 various groups of people collected at the Phanasit Company to prepare things for the evening ceremony. Male employees were making food in huge cauldrons owned by the company and were also making the frame of the 'money tree'. Women were on the 2nd floor of the company bldg. making paper decorations and the 'branches' of the money tree. I noted that a number of these women were not wives of Phanasit employees. Thông-ôn said that these were women who belong to the congregation of Wat Mandalay and/or "like to make merit."

At noon, a meal was served to those working (men and women) and to a group of Karen employees who had arrived to bring their donations. In the evening, another meal was served to employees (Karen and non-Karens) who came to participate.

Actually, there were only about 8-10 Karens present in the evening. They included the HM of Māē Hān and others from Māē Hān or a neighboring village. They seemed to be elders of a sort. Two or three carried silver *phan* with *khriang būchā* and bottles of water for the *truat nām* ceremony.

At the Phanasit Company during the evening, the Burmese orchestra played and several men danced in the 'Burmese' style. Čit said that all of the dancers as well as a number of orchestra members were Mon.

There were a few high-status guests – the new head of the area forestry division (ປາໂນ
ເຮືອ) who had just arrived a week ago and his wife, a *palat amphoe*, and at the wat, the manager of the Government Savings Bank and his wife.

At about 8:30-9:00 a procession arrived from Čôm Čāēng with another 'money tree'. Then about 9:30, the procession began from the Phanasit Company. It went down M.S. Road about 1/0 of the way to our house, turned down a side street and returned on Lāēng Phanit Rd. Then it picked up two smaller processions, also with 'money trees' which were composed of

townspeople. The whole procession went up Lāēng Phanit to Wai Süksā Rd where it turned left. It turned left again off of Wai Süksā back onto M.S. Rd. Then it proceeded directly to the Wat.

The actual ceremony was brief – no more than 15-20 min. Only one monk was present, the Burmese abbot's. Several members of the congregation (all male), including several Karens, went up on the platform behind the monk where the altar was and lit candles in front of it. Also, a number of the congregation, again including several Karens, gave their water to the monks for the *truat nām* instead of pouring it themselves. The water was poured into a single glass which the monk poured during the chant. The whole service was in the Burmese style. I noted that Thông-ôn and several of the Karens seemed to know the Burmese style of chanting.

At the wat we met an old woman who says her father was Mon and her mother Khonmüang. She speaks Kammüang, Thai, Mon, and Burmese. When asked by the other women present how she learned Burmese, she said that the war most traders used to cane from a Burma rather than from the Thai side and one picked up Burmese in the market. [Thus, suggesting that once Burmese was the trader lang. in Mae Sariang.]

Interview with Thông-ôn Manager of Phanasit

At noontime, Jane and I had a long talk of Thông-ôn, the manager of the Phanasit Company. From him I gained considerable idea of the personalities involved in the commercial life of Mae Sariang.

The presence of the headman of Māē Hān, who was said by women present to be the uncle of Nai Wichian, the owner of the Ômārī store, led me to discover the following, presented schematically.

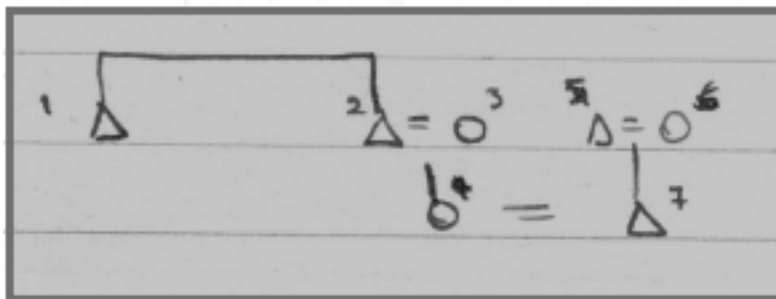


Illustration of kinship structure of important businesspeople in Mae Sariang

1. Kāē Wôn or Wong [Sīwichai] (แก้วร or วงศ์ [ศรีวิชัย]) – headman (แก้วบ้าน) of B. Māē Hān.
[The first spelling of the name comes from the list of village headmen in the District office.] He is a S'kaw Karen whose name used to be Tuwa (?sp.). He is a very wealthy man, owner of many lowland rice fields and of elephants who are contracted to the Phanasit Company. He has the reputation for being a very devoted Buddhist.
2. Sawā (Karen name, sp.?) – very wealthy town Karen who has a store across from the company. Started with elephants as basic capital. Was very Thai-ized. Also has reputation as devoted Buddhist. Currently unwell because he was in an auto accident.
3. Name? - Shan wife of Sawā
4. Name? - Daughter of 2 and 3 – now runs Ômārī shop. Does not speak Karen – "is Khonmüang".
5. Name? - Hainanese Chinese
6. Name? - Shan [note not Lua as originally thought]
7. Wichian Ômārī (วิเชียร อ้อมอารี) - owner of shop and other enterprises – visited Hainan when boy – "understands Chinese but doesn't speak it."

I also asked Thông-ôn about 'mines' (เหมืองแร่) in Mae Sariang. He says that there are 6 owned by the following people:

1. Sombat (the owner of the hotel) – owns 2 and has requested to open another one but has not yet done so. – Teochiu Chinese.
2. Wichian – owns 1. (see above)
3. Thian (man who recently died) – owned one. Hainanese Chinese. Not a local person. Originally a government civil servant, but had much money and opened mine. Wife and younger brother now managing mine.
4. Thian Ying Kēng (นายเทียนยิงแกง) – owns one. Hô Chinese.
5. Phanasit Company owns one.

Most ore is brought out by boats. No roads into the mines.

Thông-ôn's own family is "Burmese" by his identification, (Sanga says that father was half-Burmese, half-Mon and Father was Burmese). However, he speaks very little Burmese, but

does speak Thai and NT fluently.

Mae Sariang

December 2, 1967

Thôt phāpā at Wat Kittiwong²

Today was the *thôt phāpā* by the group from Bangkok. Jane and I went to the welcoming ceremonies at the wat. The group arrived about 3:30 – they were welcomed by *sô* music and *fôn lep* and *fôn kam bōē khong* dancing. The speeches were made and the gifts brought into the *sālā* Thai.

At both the Welcoming Ceremony and evening affairs, few elite types were present because of competing demands. The Amphoe sponsored a football game (locals vs. group from CM) in the afternoon and dance music (Regional Govt. Savings Bank Orchestra) in the evening. In order to raise money for an X-ray machine at the health station. As the tickets to these events were expensive (฿50 for both), only those who could afford it went.

In the evening there were movies, more dancing by the 'Salwin Butterfly,' music by the Burmese orchestra, and music by the group from Bangkok. Although I didn't stay for the whole affair, Sanga said that the presentation had not taken place by midnight.

Mae Sariang

December 4, 1967

Missionaries

I noticed a *farang* moving into a house next to the telegraph station on M.S. Road. Later I had a chance to ask the Coates about him. Apparently, he is Mr. Hudsbeth, currently of Hôt. Pat Coates said that they were moving over here because (1) they hadn't had much success evangelizing in Hôt (they have been there for 10 years) and (2) because there were now more P'wo Karen (with whom the Hudsbeth's work) on this side of the mountains.

There is now quite a complement of missionaries here: (1) Baptists working with S'kaw Karen and running the hospital include the Coates, a single woman doctor, and a single woman nurse; (2) the New Tribes Mission working with, the Lua include the Shlaters and a single woman nurse living in M.S. are 2 single men living in Kông Lôi; (3) the Overseas Missionary Fellowship working with P'wo Karen includes the Hudsbeth's; and (4) the Catholics working

² Invitations to this event and translations are located in the Charles F. Keyes's November 1967 field notes.

with the S'kaw Karen include Father Milko. We have also heard from Larry Judd and from the Coats that the Church of Christ in Thailand (Presbyterian will be stationing a missionary family here beginning in March/April.

Mae Sariang

December 5, 1967

King's Birthday Celebrations

Today was the King's (official) birthday and the officials in town, plus a few others, met at the District Assembly Hall to hold a celebration in honor of the King. On a platform were nine (I believe) monks (no novices). Senior monk was the monk from Wat Sībunrūang (the Cao Khana Čangwat having gone to Bangkok) and next to him was the abbot of Wat Sithi Mongkhon. Also represented were Wat Chaiyalāp, Kittiwong, and Ommarāwāt (plus several monks I did not know). On the floor of the hall were armchairs (front two), hardback chairs, and benches. Women (almost exclusively, if not entirely school teachers) sat on the right (as one faced the stage) and men on the left. A few male officials (those who could afford it) were dressed in formal uniform (white jacket, black trousers) while the rest of male officials were in the usual khaki and military uniforms and the women primarily, but not completely, in navy blue skirts and white blouses (the "uniform" of the teacher). Intermingled among the officials were several men (no more than half a dozen) in suits. These included Nāi Than, the lawyer, a father of a teacher (who is, according to Mark, aiming for the Provincial Assembly), and several others I didn't know. In the front row were the Nāi Amphoe, the assistant Nāi Amphoe (chief assistant), the deputy Public Prosecutor, the Chief judge, the chief forestry officer, the first judge, and the Public Prosecutor. Conspicuously absent were the chief of police and such town notables as Wichian, Thōng-ôn, and Sombat. Students in uniform stood outside the back entrance.

The ceremony: The Nāi Amphoe first lit the candles on the *tomū* (which were placed next to a picture of the King) on the stage. Then an official whom I didn't know came forward and requested the precepts. Everyone stood in *wai* position and received the five precepts from the chief monk. Then the monks chanted a very long chant (which changed pace during one part). [I noted, incidentally, that the monk from Wat Ommarāwāt was able to chant this whole ceremony which was in Thai style.] During the chanting the chief monk first lit a three candle candelabra (what he did with it, I couldn't see) and then a sacred thread was first attached to the picture of the king and then passed along from monk to monk. Before the chanting was finished, the sacred

thread was passed back, being rolled up as it was passed, to the head monk.

After the chanting was finished, during which the audience had sat, for the most part in the *wai* position [exception: a Muslim teacher, one other official in the front area, and all of the junior officials], the monks retired backstage where they were fed a noon meal by a few very high officials. When they had finished eating, the monks resumed their position. Then the Nāi Amphoe gave a speech which he read from a sheet of paper. This finished, the national anthem was played on a tape recorder simultaneously with another chant by the monks. At the start of the national anthem, the audience stood up and at its finish, they all shouted *chaiyō* three times, raising their right arms each time. Then 9 people, including Mark Anderson, presented gifts to the monks. This finished the monks chanted *truat nām* (with only the Nāi Amphoe pouring water) and *hai phon*.

Mark Anderson, with whom we sat, said the ceremony was much less impressive than last year when many more people showed up and some officials even wore ceremonial swords.

After the ceremony was over, about 20 to two dozen of the most senior officials adjourned to the house of the Public Prosecutor. There they had their pictures taken by myself and the daughter of the P.P. After which, they relaxed and ate an informal 'sukiyaki' lunch with beer, and whiskey (several people were very drunk). The Nāi Amphoe, however, did not stay, claiming he had business at Māē Lā Luang. During the course of this affair, a young local girl, whom I think to be a local prostitute, joined the group. A couple of men played up to her, even putting their arms about her.

During the event, I had a chance to talk with several officials. The new Public Prosecutor, who has been here three months, was transferred from Buriram. He is a native of Amphoe Selaphum, C. Roi-et. The new Palat Amphoe Thō is a commander in the Navy. According to Mark he was once liaison between the Thai and American marines. He was most recently in Roi-et where he had been posted in 2506 and knows Mr. Charoen who had been Palat Amphoe Thō in MK, when he lived there. He has been here 6 months (same as the Nāi Amphoe).

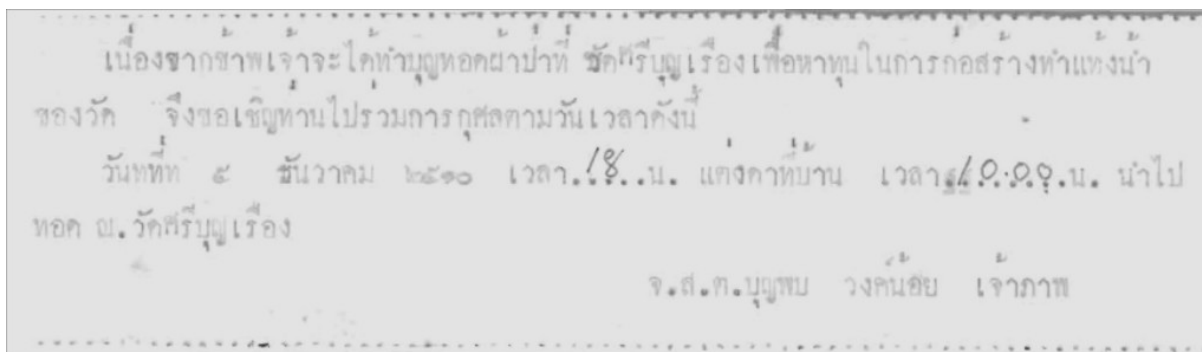
The new Chief of the Border Police (whose 3 stars Mark says indicates a Captain) was transferred here about a month ago from Chiang Mai. He says that he is head of the police for all Mae Hong Son province.

Finally, the lawyer says that although he won't run for the Prov. Assembly, he plans to run for the National Assembly.

Thôt phāpā at Wat Sībunrüang

This morning we received an invitation to attend a *thôt phāpā* ceremony at Wat Sībunrüang. It read as follows (typewritten):

Document: Invitation to Attend *Thôt phāpā* at Wat Sībunrüang



Translation of Invitation to Attend *Thôt phāpā* at Wat Sībunrüang

“Owing to the fact that I will be making merit by *Thôt phāpā* at Wat Sībunrüang in order to find capital for building a Wat water tank, I would like to invite you to join in making merit on the following day at these times:

5th December 1967 6 p.m. decoration [of the offering] at home 10 p.m. take [the offering] to present at Wat Sībunrüang.

(Signed) Police Sergeant Maj. Bunphop Wangnôl Sponsor”

We gave ฿10 donation but didn't attend.

Visit to Mô Thawan's Garden

In the evening Čit took Jane and me to Mô Thawan's 'garden' where we were given a tour and then 'refreshments' in a lovely little cottage on the edge of the rice fields. During the course of the conversation I learned that Nitiyai, the “Miss Mae Sariang,” who represented both the district and province in the ‘Miss Thailand’ contest is a Muslim. Her mother, according to Mô Thawan's wife is Hô Chinese and her father Indian. They are separated or divorced.

I also learned that some of 'the rice fields in the town are owned by absentee landlords who rent the land out.

Samān

Jane learned from Samān, my assistant, that he had relatives in Mae Hong Son. Two are prison guards (ผู้คุม) and one is a teacher. Samān himself has spent several months in MHS when he went there to take the exam for being a policeman (he failed).

Mae Sariang

December 6, 1967

A Thai-ized Karen

This afternoon we were visited by a young man, whose family background is S'kaw Karen, who wanted to know if I was interested in hiring him as an assistant. He had worked for Dave Marlowe for a while and heard from Samān that I wanted an assistant who could speak Karen. His name is Chātrī Khankāēo (ชาติรี ชันแก้ว) and lives two doors down from the Christian hospital. His family is Christian.

He says that his father is a clerk in the Court. He has 6 brothers and sisters, 1 of whom is a midwife, another an Interior clerk (in the district office?), and the others still students. He himself studied too, but did not complete, M6 – partially in govt. schools in Chiang Mai. He has visited MHS (where he met Lehman's but didn't work there. He has been out of school for 8 years and has been working primarily in construction (roads mainly). He speaks fluent Central Thai and claims to know Northern Thai and some Shan.

He says that most Karen Christians in town live around the hospital.

Karen Problems

Mark Anderson said today that Sergeant Tawat of Border Patrol Police who was one of few BPP who could speak Karen was transferred to the civil police in Chachoengsao because of something to do with George Po. Mark said he learned this from Rudisôn, his roommate, who is reportedly a "spy" on officials in regards to smuggling.

Mae Sariang

December 10, 1967

Murder of Sombat

Upon returning from a brief trip to Chiang Mai last night, we learned that Sombat had been murdered in front of his hotel on the evening of the 5th. In the Chiang Mai newspaper,

Khonmüang (คนเมือง) for the 15th of December (pages 7 and 26), the following account of the shooting occurred (translated from Thai):

OWNER OF MINE ATTACKED IN HOTEL

SON ENTERS TO HELP, GRABS GUN, CHASES AFTER CRIMINAL

Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son

On the 5th of this month at about 7:00 p.m. Nāi Sombat or Sīangī Čūwatthanakun (นายสมบัติ หรือ เสี่ยหัง ชูวัฒนกุล), aged 38, owner of Māk Taphao Forest (ป่าหมากตะเภา) wolfram and lead mine, Mae Sariang District, Mae Hong Son province, was standing smoking a cigarette in front of the "Sombat" hotel, 158 Wīang Mai Road, Mae Sariang, which is his own hotel.

At that time, three men entered asking for Nāi Sombat. When they met Nāi Sombat, one evildoer drew a revolver from a holster, thrust it in Nāi Sombat's right side, and fired a shot. The bullet tore into the heart [causing] immediate death.

During the shooting, Pui Čūwatthanakun (ปุย ชูวัฒนกุล), aged 14, son of Nāi Sombat was sitting in the hotel and saw the whole occurrence. Thus, he ran into a room, grabbed his father's 38 revolver, and ran out shooting at the evildoers. But the shots fell short and the evildoers fled from the hotel.

At the same moment, Policeman Pradit Panyāphūn (ประดิษฐ์ ปัญญาพูล), patrolman on duty happened accidentally [on the scene] and gave chase to the evildoers. He leaped upon one of them and got him in a neck lock. But the evildoer shook him off, pulled a knife, and stabbed Policeman Pradit in the back. He had a violent appearance. Then the evildoer fled.

Later Police 1st Lt. Thōng `Utharācit (ร.ต.ท.ทอง อุทราจิตร์) divisional commander, Mae Sariang district provincial police station, promptly went to corroborate [the events] and to [order] an autopsy. According to the assumptions of the police chief, this [incident] is likely to be mixed up with the mine concession and [with the fact that] Nāi Sombat had registered as a candidate from Mae Sariang (no. 15) for the Mae Sariang

provincial assembly.

He was popular in trade circles and good society.

In any event, the chief of the police is going to follow [the investigation] of this mysterious shooting to its conclusion.

The *Bangkok Post* also carried a garbled version of the story on the front page of its December 12th issue.

CANDIDATE KILLED

The December 23 municipal election in Thailand have apparently cost their first life, police reported here last night.

The slaying of wealthy Mae Hong Son province businessman Sombat Čūwatthanakun, shot dead in front of his house in Mae Sariang town Friday, had been reported earlier, but first reports failed to mention he was a candidate for his local town council.

Police are investigating the possibility, a police source said, that local politics may have been connected with the shooting.

The rumors we have heard is that Sombat's killers were 'hired guns' and were young men. Two suspects were arrested a few days later at Māē Lā Nôi and according to Bob Coates, police had their eye on a third, but hadn't arrested him. Also, while not discounting political motives, people were inclined to think that his business venture provided the reason for the murder.

Mae Sariang

December 15, 1967

Visiting to Bān Phā Phā and B. Mai

Today I drove the VW down the Phanasit lumber road to the South as far as Bān Mai (บ้านใหม่). Čit Mô Thawan, his wife Sôn, and two of their teenage children (one male, studying at a school in Lampang, where his grandparents live and one female, studying at a Nun's school in Chiang Mai).

We stopped first at the tobacco drying station near Wat Čôm Thôn and then at the other station nearer B. Phāphā. At the latter, nursery fields were being planted by Phanasit employees.

From the tobacco station, there is a branch road, currently under construction, which travels West. Mō Thawan says that eventually this road will be built to the Salwin, although not this year. The Phanasit Co. owns a caterpillar tractor (called a *rot krēt* in Thai) which is used for making the roads. They also employ elephants for moving the logs into the river for the bridges. The first bridge is about 3 km. outside of Mae Sariang. It is reached by passing through a Phanasit camp where Phanasit trucks and vehicles obtain gas. Although other vehicles than those belonging to the Phanasit Co. and villagers use this road, it is nonetheless private with a gate across the entrance to the first bridge in the Phanasit Co. The main road is about 50 km. long, leading to the Phanasit mine. The road also is used by lumber trucks which pick up teak logs from drying areas where they have been dragged by elephants. Thus, the road serves the purposes of the tobacco, lumbering and mining interests of the co. The road is almost exclusively through forested area, probably as a result of its being private. Small side roads lead off into various villages along the way. The first bridge is across the Mae Sariang River, while the 2nd, on the new road, is across the Māē Yuam River.

We did meet a few other vehicles on the main road. In B. Phāphā we met a C.T.O. truck with Chiang Mai license plates which was being used by Nāi Wichān. In B. Mai we ran into a Phanasit truck carrying sacks of ore and a landrover with Lampāng license plates.

In B. Phāphā Čit took me to meet the headmaster, a relatively young man, whom he thought could help me in my investigations. At the house of the headmaster was another teacher, the headmaster of a school in a lowland Karen village some 6 km. or so away. I will report the talk with this last teacher first.

B. Māē Thalu (บ้านแม่ทะลุ)

It is located In Tambon Māē Yuam and contains only Karen. I wasn't very successful in trying to get the precise identity of these Karens for the teacher was led into explanation of Karen identity as follows: Hill Karen refer to lowland Karen as Yāng dōi (ยางดอย) – i.e. 'mountain Karen' and themselves as Yāng bān (ยางบ้าน) – 'village Karen.' Lowland Karen use the reverse designation (!).

I asked about the religion of the people In B. Māē Thalu. The headmaster said that it is a

'mixture' of Buddhism, Brahmanism and spirit worship. However, when Čit asked specifically about the Brahmanism aspect, he found that they don't revere Siva, etc. so I am uncertain why the Brahmanism designation is used.

There are two teachers at this school, both of whom are apparently Khonmüang. Neither speak Karen and the headmaster says that it is difficult in the first two years when the students know very little Thai of any kind. But by the 3rd grade, the students are fairly good at Thai. The students, of which there are 48, apparently are all from the village. No Khonmüang or Lua attending the school. The school was founded in 1964.

School at Bān Phā Phā

The headmaster of B. Phāphā school says that all the students at the school are Khonmüang (with the slight modification mentioned below). The school was founded in 1933. It has 6 teachers.

Interview with Old Woman

The headmaster of B. Phāphā took us to talk with an old woman whom he said could answer my questions about the history of the village. This woman, Māēthao Sā (แม่เต่าสา) claimed to be over 50 years old.

In addition to her age, she was also an excellent informant for two other reasons: (1) she was the elder sister of a famous monk who was head of the local wat and (2) she is a member of the family which has traditionally been responsible for care of the communal spirits.

I asked about the age of the village. She said she had no idea, but when pressed she said that her grandparents had lived here. When I ask if this village formerly had people besides Khonmüang living here, she said that the village was formerly Lua.

This led me to ask about the preservation of Lua customs. She said that every 3 years, the villagers must offer a pig to the rice spirit known as *čao nāi* (เจ้านาย) which lives in a *hōphī* (หอผี). Each year the people feed the spirit at the *hōphī*. However, if the spirit ever wishes to communicate with the villagers, it will come down and possess a male member of the household in which the old woman lives. The spirit can only possess someone in this household because

they are its descendants. It is propitiated especially at 'new year' (*wan song krān*) at both the shrine and at the house. There is another spirit, again of Lua provenance (?) known as *sūawat* (เสื่อวัด). In B. Phāphā this spirit is said to possess no shrine, but lives in the forest near the wat. If a person moves into the village, he must take flowers, incense, and candles and *wai sūawat*.

If a person is leaving the village more or less permanently he is supposed to take the same offerings and *wai čao nāi*. At 'new year's' (*song krān*) there is the ceremony of *tam hua*, ceremonial bathing of heads.

I asked about practitioners connected with these spirits. Formerly, the woman said, there used to be two mediums (called *tī nang* – ที่นั่ง - lit., 'seats' in the local language) who were called *phayā hua sūa* (พญาหัวเสื่อ) and *čao sāēn hān* (เจ้าแสนหาญ). Now only the former exists. There also exist two people who can invite the spirit called locally *tang khao* (ตั้งข้าว).

Some historical miscellany that she recalled included the fact that formerly Māē Yuam flowed much closer to the village. She also said that the wat used to be located in a different place than at present and that the bōt. (Interestingly called by the mere formal term *ubōsot* – อุโบสถ – in the local lang. is still in the old place (although recently reconstructed). The transfer took place when the woman was about 10 years old. She doesn't have any idea when the old wat was built.

I asked about the story I had heard about *yāng dāēng* attacking villages in this area about 150 yrs. ago. She confirmed the story saying that the attack had occurred before she was born. She said that when Māē Khatuan was attacked, people from this village fled.

She then gave me the history of liar brother, the famous Phra Khrū Banyāworawat (พระครูบรรชาขวารวัด). He was the 2nd of 4 children (3 boys, 1 girl), all of whom (except the old woman) now dead. He was ordained at 15-16 as a novice and at 20 as a monk. He was a monk 68 yrs. (thus making him 88 when he died). The old woman said that he never (really rarely) left the wat and was a *lūk sit wat*. However, after being ordained, entered his parental home again. Even when his parents died, he didn't enter the house but wait for the corpses at the cremation grounds. He would only go elsewhere when invited and he did found Wat Sithimongkhon in Mae

Sariang town. He never went to Chiang Mai.

He was very revered by Karen who used to throng to the wat for 'New year's (*Songkrān*). They came to *tamhua*. They once, at his request, brought in many teak logs which were used to build a large school in the village. At least 2 Karens, free Bān Māē Lamā (บ้านแม่ละมา) were ordained as novices under him.

He also made small votive tablets (the kind people wear around their neck) which he distributed. I received one of these In the wat. The temple presently has 4 monks and many novices (the village is approaching 400 households In size).

Visit to 'Sights' of B. Phāphā

After leaving the old woman, we paid a visit to the various 'sights' of B. Phāphā. First we went to the wat, having seen the woods where the *sūa wat* lives before. We went into the wat and looked at a collection of 'natural' stone phenomena in strange shapes which are 'worshiped' here. I have seen several others of these stones, worn away in strange shapes, which are kept as being of some 'sacred' significance by people in M.S. (Mô Thawan, the lawyer) and in nearby villages (B. Nām Dip). We also went into the *kuthi* to see a picture of the Phra khrū and to get one of the stone amulets that he made (or had made under his direction).

Then we went into the forest to see the *bōt*, a very small structure which was surrounded by weeds. Although it had only recently been built (within the last 10 yrs), It was built on the sit of the much older *bōt*.

Finally, we climbed up the hill above the village, known *dōi phālai* (ดอยผาไหล). This name lit. means 'hill (or mountain) of the flowing stones.' There is at the top of the hill a big ditch, or erosion cut, which gives the hill its name. The village's name, which means 'the village-stone-split/new,' is associated with this hill.

Bān Mai

After leaving B. Phāphā, we took the headmaster end travelled on to B. Mai (บ้านใหม่) where we stopped at the house of the headmaster of B. Mai school. This HM is originally from Mae Sariang. He invited over two old men to answer my questions.

The first, Nāi Kurā Suksasamton (นายสุราษฎร์สมตน์), a man 76, was Headman of the village until 2 years ago. He was born in A. Hot and come to this village about 40-50 years ago to sell things. He married and settled down here. He was HM from 1931 to about 1965 (34 years).

He says the village was originally Lua. Its original name was Bān Sān Puloei (บ้านसानปู่ย). But in the time of Čao Nôi Khamkông (เจ้าน้อยคำทอง), as he is locally called, ruler of Chiang Mai Shans (not Yāng dāēng) attacked the village and burned it down. When it was rebuilt, it took its new name indicating the fire which had destroyed the village.

At this juncture another old man joined us who said that he was 55 years old. He said that the village was founded as B. Mai before his birth – i.e. at least over 100 years ago. He says that B. Māē Khatuan used to be Shan, but now there are none left.

He says that the village still retains some Lua customs and they still feed some Lua spirits. Before marriage, for example, there must be a [bride price] of 3 rupees (แบบ / แดบ as it is locally called) placed on the back of a pig (which is also part of the bride price) and one bottle of Issuer. He said that this custom was special to Bān Mai. After a marriage ceremony, *miang* is taken and distributed to all villagers.

The following major spirits exist in the villages (1) *čao nāi* (เจ้านาย) which lives in a *sān čao* (ศาลเจ้า); (2) *süawat* (เสื่อวัด) and (3) *mit bān* (มิตรบ้าน). The latter is 'fed' at weddings while the 2nd is fed at wat ceremonies.

After lunch at the teacher's house (we brought our own), I asked the teacher a few things about local custom.

After marriage a man comes to live in his wife's parents household. They continue to live there until they build their own house – an indefinite period of time later. The last daughter remains with parents until their death, but the others *yāēk khrôpkhrua* (แยกครอบครัว) lit. 'to go apart [from] the family.'

Inheritance of land is equal amongst all children regardless of sex.

Ceremony of Presenting Paddy Offering at Wat Čôm Thông³

Several days ago a man came while I was out to extend an invitation to attend a ceremony of 'presenting paddy alms' (ตักบาตรข้าวสาร) at Wat Čôm Thông. This is not an annual ceremony, but one held especially to raise money for building a new *wihān* at the wat. The man inviting us left behind a sack, with the schedule of events, etc. painted on it, in which the offering was to be placed, an envelope (inside the sack) in which monetary donations could be made, a picture of Phra Khrū Sīwichai (the standard picture), the famous monk, of Chiang Mai, and a printed 'sermon' (?) or *khāo* (คำว) – lit. 'poetical composition' in N. Thai (but in C. Thai script) on the "Four Noble Truths." Sanga gave one baht for the picture and we later donated 3 liters of rice and 50 baht at the ceremony itself.

The following are translations of the first two of these items:

(1) Translation of Schedule of Events, etc. on Sack

Side I:

DISTRIBUTING OF MERIT [through] SUBSCRIBING FOR
BUDDHIST TEMPLE FUND

Presentation of Paddy Offerings and 'Great Life' Sermon [Vessantara] at Wat
Čôm Thông, Mae Sariang District, Mae Hong Son Province

May merit come to each generous Buddhist.

Wat Čôm Thông, one of the oldest wats in Mae Sariang, had since its beginning a *vihāra*. Bat over 10 years ago it burned down, leaving only those remains we see today. For this reason the abbot and all members of the Wat Čôm Thông temple committee have decided to erect a new *vihāra* to replace the old one. However since the wat yet lacks funds for the construction, it was decided to [arrange] for merit-making of paddy alms-giving and the 'Greet Life' Sermon in order to find tee income for building a new *vihāra*.

³ Charles F. Keyes's tape recording of the *tak bāt khāo sān* ตักบาตรข้าวสาร ceremony held at Wat Čôm Thông on December 16, 1967 is located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference number 2001-2.18 EC. The original tape is titled, "Tape Number 11, Side 2." The recording has also been digitized. An index and partial transcription of the recordings are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

The schedule of events [associated with this merit-making] is as follows:

- On the 14th of December, 1967 – that is, the 13th day of the waning of the moon in the 3rd lunar month (northern reckoning) – the opening day of the festival, the 'Great Life' Sermon [will be preached] throughout the day. In the evening, a movie will be shown [on the wat grounds].
- On the 15th of December, 1967, there will be the sermon and movie as day before. In addition, this will be the day for receiving the paddy offerings from those who will join in this merit-making.
- On the 16th of December, 1967 – that is, the 15th day of the waning of the moon in the 3rd lunar month (northern reckoning) – the presenting of paddy also will occur at 9:30 a.m. [At this presentation] nine monks will chant and when finished there will be a sermon. At 11 a.m. there will be the presentation of a noon meal for the clergy and the presentation of paddy for the *čēdī*. The monks will chant their formal gratitude at the end of the ceremony.

Therefore, [we would like] to inform and to invite every generous person to join in making-merit lay presenting paddy alms and listening to the 'Great Life' sermon at the time and place which has been spoken of [above].

[signed]

Abbot Inthā Tēsnanarō	Chairman
Mr. Kēo Inta	Committee member
Mr. Tō Niyom	" "
Mr. Pankham Talaha	" "

Wat Committee of Wat Čôm Thông Sponsors

Also on this side, in the left-hand corner opposite of the names the sponsors, was an ecclesiastical stamp superimposed in the following printing:

“This has been approved by Phra Khrū Anusônsātkīat
District Abbot Stamped [with] the regular [symbol].”

Finally, there was also a picture of the abbot of the wat on the sacks.

Side II:

SACK TO BE FILLED WITH PADDY

As part of the capital for building a *vihāra* at Wat Čôm Thông Mae Sariang District, Mae Hong Son Province

Name _____

Address _____

No. of liters of paddy intended as offering _____

May the merit [thus made] be dedicated to _____ who has already passed away.

May results of this merit bring happiness and prosperity to me and my family.

(Filled, [holds] 3 liters)

[at bottom, gives name of printer in Chiang Mai]

(2) Offering envelope:

Additional Envelope for Making-merit at [the ceremonies of] presenting paddy aims and 'Great Life' Sermon [held to raise capital] for building a *vihāra* at Wat Čôm Thông Mae Sariang District, Mae Hong Son Province.

Name _____

Address _____

Amount of donation _____ baht

This envelope also bears the superimposed stamp of Wat Čôm Thông (It shows two čēdī).

We didn't attend the ceremonies of the 14th and 15th. However, Sanga, who climbed up the mountain to the wat on the 14th, said that nothing was happening on that day. We did attend (i.e. Jane and I), along with Čit and Samān, on the morning of the 3rd day (the 16th).

The ceremony did not get underway until after 10:30 because so few people had arrived to take part. Even then very few people, compared to other major ceremonies, were present. Those that were, were mainly from B. Čôm Čāēng, B. Thung Phrāo, directly below the wat. However, many more donations came (including many from B. Phā Phā which I had seen the day before) from people who didn't attend the ceremony.

According to the 'program' there should have been 9 monks present at the ceremony.

However, afterwards Samān and I could remember only 8, including the abbot of Wat Sitthimôngkhôn (1st monk), the abbot of Wat Ćôm Ćāēng (2nd monk), and monks from Wats B. Mai, Sāēng Thôg, Sībunrūang, Chaiyalāp, and Kittiwong as well as the abbot from Wat Ćôm Thôg. There were also present, but not participating in the chanting, one or more novices from Wat Ćôm Thôg. Note, there was no representatives from any of the Burmese or Shan wats.

[I tape recorded the ceremony and Samān transcribed it. A detailed version of the ceremony will appear later.]

The monks were fed during the ceremony, after which the people present also ate. The food was made by the villagers from the villages below the wat.

While at the ceremony, I observed several other things not directly related to the ceremony proper:

(1) Karen and Lua Presence at Wat Ćôm Thôg

In one of the *sālā* at the back of the wat, one end has been crudely partitioned off. Here resides an old hill Karen who says that he has been living there for 10 years (?). He speaks N. Thai well. He said he came because he was not well.

At the ceremony itself there were a number of Lua from the villages, below. Ćit, in overhearing some of these Lua speak Lua, remarked how similar it is so Môn (which he knows since he is originally a Môn).

After the ceremony of presenting paddy alms was over, some Lua from Ćôm Ćāēng sponsored a gift-giving to the monks in honor of the dead. The offering was more elaborate than others I have seen and included such things as a *hāp* stick, a mattress, and other utensils as well as food.

(2) Abbot from Sitthimôngkhôn

I mentioned to the abbot from Wat Sitthimôngkhôn that I had heard that the Phra Khrū from Wat B. Phāphā had founded Wat Sitthimôngkhôn. He said this was true and that he himself was from B. Phāpha.

He called the shrine in the wat grounds at Ćôm Thôg, the shrine for *sūawat*. Ćit mentioned that yesterday the teacher in B. Phāphā had said that there was no shrine for the spirit, but that it lived in the forest near the wat. The abbot said that the spirit without a shrine should be

called *süabān*.

(3) Old City of Mae Sariang

Standing in the wat ground, one can overlook a large portion of the Yuam valley. Čit and Samān pointed to a site, further down the Yuam river, which they said was the old site of the town. It was moved because the location wasn't good (flooding?). Apparently, one can still see remnants of a wat there.

The Kamnan of T. Bān Kāt

This afternoon the *kamnan* of T. Bān Kāt (in which we live) visited us. He came to solicit a donation from us to buy food for feeding a large group of monks and novices at Wat Sībunrüang on the 20th of this month. He said that there would be 120 monks and novices present because they would be coming from all over the district to take the annual *naktham* exams. They will be here for four days. For each of the days, various tambon near town will arrange to feed the monks. The 20th is the day for T. Bān Kāt to feed the clergy.

He requests monetary donations, or, if a family be too poor, donations of rice. The food will be prepared in the evening of the 19th and morning of the 20th at B. Dông school. The food will be taken to the wat for the 11:00 meal (the monks will still go out on their normal rounds in the morning).

I asked the *Kamnan*, whose name is Lüam Suwannalop or Suwannawop (นายเหลื่อมสุวรรณลพ/สุวรรณวพ), about himself. He is a Central Thai, born in Chaināt, who has lived in Mae Sariang for 30 years. He came here as a government, civil servant, although not in the police. He married a local girl. He left government, service and became a trader. He has been *Kamnan* for 22 years.

Old Names for Northern Cities

Čit was over this afternoon and in looking at an issue of he noticed some works which led him to give me the olden names of some northern cities:

หริภุชชัย / Hariphunchai = ลำพูน / Lamphūn

เขลางค์นคร / Khēlāng Nakhôn = ลำปาง / Lampāng

ไชยนารายณ์ / Chainārāi = เชียงราย / Chīang Rāi/

โกศัย / Kōsai = แพร่ / Phrāē

เวียงพิงค์ / Wīang Phing = เชียงใหม่ / Chiang Mai

Mae Sariang

December 17, 1967

Miscellaneous

Čit gave me the following misc. information today in connection with questions I asked:

- The Kamnan of Mae Sariang is from Ayutthaya.
- A policeman has been arrested in connection with Sombat's death.
- I have been noticing ox carts travelling by all during the day and into the evening for the last few days. Čit says farmers are bringing the rents into the landlords who live in the city. Čit says that 80 per cent of the land in the vicinity of Mae Sariang is farmed by those who do not own it.

Môn

This evening talked at length with Sanga and Phan (our servants) about Mon. Phan's native language is Môn (Sanga kids her about how her Thai is not 'clear'), she is from a village near Kanchanaburi, and in Ratburi, Nakhon Pathom, and Phetburi as well. Paklat, near Bangkok, seems to be a center for Môn's and Môn Buddhism.

Mae Sariang

December 18, 1967

P'wo Karen

Ever since we returned from the N.E., we have been plagued by a Karen man who has come to beg money or to sell us things (food, Karen handicraft, orchids, etc.). Today he visited us while Pete and Sally were here and we interviewed him (Pete doing most of the interviewing). He says he lives in Bān Hūai Pakāt (Bān Hūai phak kāt?), as it is known in Thai or Thia La (?), as it known in Karen [name, according to district records, is B. Hūai plākang บ้านห้วยปลาทิ้ง]. It is

located in Amphoe and Tambon Mae Sariang, about 6 hours walk from Mü Hô. It has about 30 households. Village No. 36.

In trying to ascertain his ethnic identity he calls himself in N. Thai *njāng bān*, and in Karen *shin* – that is, what we call P'wo. What we call S'kaw he calls *njāng pā* in N. Thai and *shia* in Karen.

The village in which he lives, he claims, comprises descendants of Lua mixed with P'wo Karen. They still worship some Lua spirits. He specifically mentioned *phī lamang* and said, in answer to Pete's questions, that they worshipped two other Lua spirits as well.

The village is entirely animistic. A school building was built this year, but no teacher yet. A teacher will come from Mae Sariang. No police or BPP have visited the village, but district officers have visited.

The headman is called *kū* ('headman') *ngoem* in Thai and *kōi* in Karen [โทะเจเจิน according to district records]. This man receives a government stipend.

Mae Sariang

December 19, 1967

Dinner with Dr. Binnah Sawyer and Miss Peggy Smith

This evening we had Dr. Binnah Sawyer and Miss Peggy Smith, a Baptist nurse, over for dinner. Binnah had spent 9 years as a Dr. in a Baptist hospital in Moulmein. Peggy had been born in Burma, returned to the States for her education, and returned to Burma as a missionary-nurse in 1949. Both left Burma in 1965 in consequence of the rescinding of all Protestant missionary visas by the Burmese government. (There are still some Catholic priests and nuns in Burma.)

Peggy had been most recently in Kengtung, Eastern Shan States. She commented that the biggest celebration of the year in Kengtung was the Thai King's Birthday celebration sponsored by the Thai consulate. She also said that the Thai consulate building (or chancery?) was rented from an ex-Saw Bwa of Kengtung who is now in exile in Chiang Mai where he runs the Tada silver shop [Kris Lehman says that he isn't really an ex-Baw Bwa, but just a younger son of a former Shan prince]. She also mentioned in passing meeting a monk trained in Thailand [Kris L. says that the people of Kengtung are primarily Khün or Lue, the former of which use the same sacerdotal writing as the northern Thai and as contrasted with the Shan elsewhere].

The mention of monks led me to ask if monks ever came to missionary hospitals in

Burma or here. Binnah said that there was a monk in Moulmein who finally left the monkhood because he couldn't be both monk and patient. He was in the hosp. below the maternity ward and was cared for by nurses. In Kengtung, Peggy said, the chief abbot was once treated in the missionary hospital, but he brought along novices to act as nurses. The royal family of Kengtung paid for his bills. Binnah said a couple of monks have been to the hospital – a fact which surprised me since it would require their being touched by a woman – i.e. Binnah.

Mae Sariang

December 20, 1967

Feeding the Monks at Wat Sībunrurang

This morning we helped people in B. Pông take food to present to the clergy who had gathered at Wat Sībunrurang for the *naktham* examination (the Dist. abbot said that about 30 clergy were present). The group that appeared at the wat included the B. Pông schoolteachers, a few other residents of B. Pông, and a few elderly people (mainly women). Not more than 20-25 lay people gathered at the wat.

The presentation was relatively simple, with the laity requesting the precepts, receiving them, and then led by a leader, making the declaration of presentation. The monks then ate (they were seated at low tables and, in the case of novices, on the floor, in order of rank – at least roughly so). When they had finished eating, they chanted the *haiphôn* and then the laity ate.

Teacher from Karen Village of Māē Tōp

One of the young women assisting at the *liang phra* was a school teacher who teaches in the lowland Karen village of Māē Tōp. There are 2 teachers at the school (both female and Khonmuang). The inhabitants of the village are wet rice farmers. Some speak Kammüang. Part are Christian and part Buddhist. The school has existed for 2 years.

Wat Sībunrurang

Wat Sībunrurang is a very interesting wat in that it is built in the Burmese style even though it is a Northern Thai wat. The Dist. Abbot says that the people in the neighborhood of the wat were Burmese/Shan and wanted a Burmese style wat. The *bōt* has a date on it of 2482 (1939) and none of the buildings look very old although the *chēdī*'s also in Burmese style, look much older. The wat is by far the largest in town with many clerical residences, *sālā*, etc.

Inside the building which in Burmese-type wats serves as both a *wihān* and a clerical residence, there are 3 large Buddha images in white plaster (?). The central one is from Burma, according to the District Abbot, and is in the Burmese style. The 2 other ones were made by an artisan in Mae Sariang (still living) and show Thai influence (length of ears, eyebrows, etc.). These were pointed out to me by the District Abbot.

Death of Sombat: Translation of Newspaper Article

Khonmüang, the newspaper from Chiang Mai, has more on the Sombat murder in today's edition (20 Dec. 1967). The following is a translation of the story as taken from pp. 1 and 44 of the newspaper:

MAE HONG SON POLICE NCO ARRESTED CHARGED WITH HIRING KILLERS TO MURDER MINE OWNER

A police NCO was arrested and charged in the murder of "Siangi." [He is] accused of having hired the killers. A gun found in his house [was taken] as evidence.

The case [concerns] Nāi Sombat or Siangi Chūwatthanākun, aged 38, owner of the Māktaphao forest wolfram and lead mine in Mae Sariang district, Mae Hong Son province, [who] was shot dead by three criminals in front of the Sombat hotel on the Chāng Mai highway, Mae Sariang – his hotel. When the three culprits were fleeing from the hotel, Pui Chūwatthanākun, aged 14, son of Nāi Sombat, shot after them but without success. The criminals were fleeing easily when patrolman Pradit Porinyāphūn appeared on the scene. He jumped on one criminal and got him in a neck lock. But the criminal stabbed patrolman Pradit who was seriously wounded. These events occurred on the 5th of this month at about 7 p.m.

Later the head of the Mae Sariang provincial police station arrested two suspects – Nāi Somboon Sombat and Nāi Prasit Pengcai, residents of Phrae province – when they were trying to flee across the border into Burma.

Later news is that on the 12th of this month Police Maj. Khanit Winitkhētkhamnuan (พ.ต.ต. กณิศ วินิจเขตคำนวน), chief of the Mae Hong Son provincial police, together with 1st Lt. Krasāē Siriwanalōt (ร.ต.ต. กระแสร์ ศิริวรรณเลิศ) obtained a

clue that Corporal Thawī Supanyā, head of the police station in Māēlānōi sub-district was the person who had hired Nāi Sombūn, Nāi Pradit and their followers who fled to kill Nāi Sombat (Siangi).

Thus, the police chief placed Corporal Thawī Supanyā under supervision and simultaneously searched Corporal Thawī's house. A revolver and a knife with dried blood on the tip of the blade were found secreted in the house.

Furthermore, patrolman Pradit who had been stabbed by one of the criminals was able to point to Nāi Sombūn and Nāi Pradit and to confirm that they were the criminals concerned.

When the person in charge of the investigation has questioned the suspects, he will continue to search for the criminal still at large.

The major cause in this case seems to be connected with trade.

Mae Sariang

December 22, 1967

Honoring of Abbot of Wat Sībunrūang for Being Raised to *Phra Khrū* Status

At Wat Sībunrūang on the 20th, the dist. abbot told me that the abbot of Wat Sībunrūang had recently been raised to the status of Phra Khrū (พระครู) and had just returned from Bangkok when he had been presented with his fan and certificate by the Supreme Patriarch. The district abbot said that there were only 250 monks of the same level of Phra Khrū. (I don't quite understand the different levels) in the whole kingdom. The district abbot said that a celebration would be held to honor the abbot of Wat Sībunrūang and later he distributed the following announcement of the celebration:

กำหนดการ
ฉลองสัญญาบัตรพัชยศ พระครูอนุศาสน์ปญญาทร
เจ้าคณะตำบลแม่สะเรียง เขต 1
วัดศรีบุญเรือง อำเภอแม่สะเรียง

ด้วยพระครูปลัดก้าน้อย อัครกัญญโณ เจ้าอาวาสวัดศรีบุญเรือง เจ้าคณะตำบลเขต 1 ซึ่งเป็นพระเถระผู้ใหญ่องค์หนึ่งในอำเภอแม่สะเรียง ได้รับพระราชทานสมณศักดิ์พัชยศเป็นพระครูสัญญาบัตรที่ "พระครูอนุศาสน์ - ปญญาทร" ในวันเฉลิมพระชนมพรรษา ที่ 5 ธันวาคม 2510 นับว่าเป็นเกียรติและสิริมงคลแก่วงการคณะสงฆ์และศรัทธาประชาชนในอำเภอแม่สะเรียงทั่วไป ดังนั้นทางคณะสงฆ์ร่วมด้วยข้าราชการฝ่ายบ้านเมืองและกรรมการบริหารวัดศรีบุญเรืองตลอดถึงคณะศิษยานุศิษย์ในพระคุณท่าน จึงใคร่ร่วมกันจัดงานฉลองสัญญาบัตรพัชยศขึ้น ตามหมายกำหนดการดังนี้

วันที่ 22 ธันวาคม 2510

วันที่ 22 ธันวาคม 2510

เวลา 16.00 น. ตั้งขบวนแห่สัญญาบัตรพัชยศที่วัดศรีบุญเรือง แล้วเคลื่อนขบวนแห่ไปตามถนนสายต่างๆ แล้วนำกลับมายังฉลองสมโภช ณ วัดศรีบุญเรือง 1 คืน

เวลา 19.30 น. พระสงฆ์ 9 รูป เจริญพระพุทธมนต์

เวลา 20.00 น. มีการแสดงพระธรรมเทศนา 1 กัณฑ์ แสดงโดยพระธรรมโมลี เจ้าคณะภาค 7 วัดพระธาตุทัญญูชัย จังหวัดลำพูน

เวลา 21.00 น. ฉายภาพยนตร์เรื่อง และการแสดงดนตรีบนเวที

วันที่ 23 ธันวาคม 2510

เวลา 10.00 น. เริ่มพิธี นายอำเภอแม่สะเรียงอานสัญญาบัตร พระสงฆ์วัดคัชฌิมมงคลคณาจารย์ของวัดพระครูประศาสน์ปญญาทร แล้วถวายภัตตาหารเพลแด่พระสงฆ์ ถวายเครื่องไทยทาน พระสงฆ์อนุโมทนา เป็นเสร็จพิธี.

จึงขอเชิญชวนท่านสาธุชนชาวอำเภอแม่สะเรียงทั้งหลายไปร่วมแถมมุทิตาจิตในการฉลองสัญญาบัตรพัชยศของพระครูอนุศาสน์ปญญาทรในครั้งนี้ ตามหมายกำหนดการดังกล่าวไว้โดยทั่วกัน.

คณะสงฆ์แม่สะเรียง
นายอำเภอแม่สะเรียง
กรรมการและศรัทธา วัดศรีบุญเรือง
คณะศิษยานุศิษย์ทุกหมู่

Translation of Schedule of *Phra Khrū* Status Celebration for Abbot of Wat Sībunrūang

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

CELEBRATION [In honor of the] CERTIFICATE OF CONFERRED RANK SIGNED
BY THE KING AND FAN INDICATING RANK OF
PHRA KHRŪ ANUSĀT PUNYĀ THŌN
ABBOT OF TAMBON MAE SARIANG DISTRICT, AREA 1
WAT SĪ BUN RŪANG, MAE SARIANG DISTRICT

Because Phrā Khrū Palat Kham Nōi Akkhapunyō (พระครูปลัดค่าน้อย อัครบุญ โญ),

Abbot of Wat Sī Bunrūang and Tambon Abbot, Area 1, is a high Phra Thēra in Mae Sariang District, he had conferred upon him the status and the insignia-fan of Phra Khrū Sanyābat (พระครูสัญญาบัตร) that is, the Phra Khrū rank which is conferred in a certificate signed by the King with the name "Phra Khrū Anusāt Punyā Thôn" on the King's birthday, 5 December 1967. We believe that this is great honor for the *Sangha* and lay people in Mae Sariang district as well. Therefore, the [local] *Sangha* together with the local government officials and the Wat committee of Wat Sī Bun Rūang and including his disciples/students have organized a celebration to honor the monk [with status as evidenced in] the certificate of conferred rank signed by the king and the insignia-fan with the following events:

December 22, 1967

4:00 p.m. Organizing a procession of the certificate and fan at Wat Sī Bunrūang. Then, procession along various streets. Then, return to the Wat for evening of celebration.

7:30 p.m. Chanting by nine monks.

8:00 p.m. Sermon by Phra Tham Mōlī, Abbot of Region 7, from Wat Phra Thāt Hari Phūnchai, Lamphun Province.

9:00 p.m. Narrative movie and stage show (music).

December 23, 1967

10:00 a.m. Beginning of ceremony. The District officer will read the certificate. The *Sangha* will chant the "Auspicious Victory" (ชัยมงคล) *Gatha*. Gifts will be

presented to Phra Khrū Prasāt Punyā Thôn (พระครูประศาสน์บุญญาทร). Then the clergy will be presented their noon meal. Alms will be presented the clergy will change their formal gratitude, and the ceremony will end.

Thus, all the good people (สาธุชน) of Mae Sariang are invited to join in rejoicing together in this celebration (in honor) of the royal certificate and insignia-fan of Phra Khrū Anusāt Punyā Thôn to the schedule of events spoken of (above).

(Signed)

Mae Sariang *Sangha*

District Officer of Mae Sariang Committee and Congregation of Wat Sī
Bun Rūang

All disciples and students

The visit of the regional abbot made the celebration particularly auspicious. This monk was passing through Mae Sariang on his way back from Mae Hong Son where he had been to arrange for the cremation of the late provincial abbot.

We observed the procession which included *fônlep* dancers and people dressed in their best, the Burmese orchestra, and a Thai musical group (percussion), and a truck carrying the certificate and fan. No monks took part in the procession.

In the evening Mark Anderson, Sanga, Phan and I went to the wat. There was a large crowd, including a large number of people in the building where the ceremony took place. However, this latter congregation consisted, in large-part, of middle-aged and older women and an equal smattering of young unmarried girls in their finery (the swains were waiting below) and middle-aged and older men. There were also a few children.

I saw few high-station lay people although the main assistant district officer and his wife arrived during the regional abbot's sermon.

The new Phra Khrū sat in a chair to the left (from the point of view of one facing the monks) of the monks. In between the Phra Khrū and the 9 monks was a *to' mū* holding the certificate and fan. The regional abbot and district abbot did not sit with the "nine" monks. But when the time for the sermon came, the district abbot introduced the regional abbot and the latter

took his seat in the sermon chair. The regional abbot talked for more than one hour (which he timed with a traveling alarm clock which he carried in his bag). I couldn't understand the sermon, because I couldn't hear it – there being so much noise from the people outside.

The Sangha in Mae Hong Son

The abbot of Wat Sī Bun Rūang is not the only monk of Phra Khrū status in Mae Hong Son. According to a work listing all of the high ranking monks and all of the Wats in the kingdom (โป่งจันทสานนท์, comp., ทำเนียบพระสมณศักดิ์และทำเนียบวัดต่างๆทั่วราชอาณาจักร พ.ศ.2509. พระนคร : สำนักงาน “นุสรณ์”, 2509, pp.25-122), there were five monks listed as *phra khrū sanyābat* (พระครูสัญญาบัตร) in Mae Hong Son Province in 1966:

- 1) พระครูศรีวราจารย์ (คำอ้าย) [Phra Khrū Sīlawarācān (Kham Āi)] who was said in the list of Phra Khrū to be living in Wat Krung Čēdī (วัดกรุงเจดีย์) Müang District, Mae Hong Son and in the list of wats in Mae Hong Son Province as living in Wat Dôn Cēdī (วัดดอนเจดีย์), Müang District. This monk is a Phra Khrū chan ‘ēk (พระครูชั้นเอก) and the district abbot (เจ้าคณะอำเภอ) of Müang District. He was raised to this Phra Khrū status in 1956.
- 2) พระครูโสภณสวัสดิการ (สวัสดิ์) [Phrakhrū Sōphanasawat (Sawat)] who said in the list of Phra Khrū to be living in Wat Pōng (วัดโป่ง) Pāi District, Mae Hong Son. In the list of wats in Mae Hong Son Province, he was said to be living in Wat Luang, place unspecified. He is Phra Khrū Chan ‘ēk and is district Abbot of Pāi District. He was raised to this Phra Khrū status in 1959.
- 3) พระครูอนุสรณ์ศาสนการ (ทาน) [Phra Khrū Anusōnsātsanakān (Thān)] who was said in the listing of Phra Khrū and the listing of wats in Mae Hong Son Province to be living in Wat Muai Tô (วัดมวยต่อ) Khan Yuam District, Mae Hong Son. He is district abbot of Khun Yuam Dist. He was raised to this Phra Khrū status in 1954.

- 4) พระครูอนุสุตศาสนจักร์ (กระจำง) [Phra Khrū Anusutsātsanačak (Kra'čāng)] who was said in the listing of Phra Khrū to be living in Wat Čông Kham (วัดจองคำ), Müang District, Mae Hong Son. In the listing of Wats in Mae Hong Son there is no Wat Čông Kham, although there is a Tambon Čông Khan, and this monk is not listed as an abbot of any other wat. He was raised to this status in 1950.
- 5) พระครูอนันตศาสนคุณ (อนันต์) [Phrakhrū Anantasātsanakhun (Anan)] who was said in the listing of Phra Khrū to be living in Wat Čông Klāng (วัดจงกลาง) Müang District, Mae Hong Son. In the listing of wats in Mae Hong Son there is no Wat Čông Klāng and this monk is not listed as an abbot of any other wat. He was raised to this status in 1955.

In addition to these five (not all of whom may still be alive), the Dist. abbot of Mae Sariang was raised to Phra Khrū status in 1966.

According to McFarland's dictionary (p.183), Phra Khrū is defined as "the title for a Buddhist monk who serves in the capacity of a teacher or counselor." Wells (*Thai Buddhism*, p. 184) says there are twenty sub-divisions of the Phra Khrū status, but does not elaborate. He also says (p.184): "In considering ecclesiastical rank, the monks may be divided roughly into two groups – those with the title of Phra Krū (Guru) and higher, and those below this level. This division is not wholly arbitrary because all the monks with the rank of Phra Krū or higher receive from the king a *rajadinanama* [ราชาทินนาม – *rāčhāthinnanām*] or royal Pali name when promoted from a lower grade."

Finally, he says (p. 185) "Monks of Phra Krū grade have various duties such as heads of provincial committees (Provincial Abbots), as abbots, as staff members, or as teachers."

The book listing all high-ranking monks and wats in the kingdom (ปี 2509: 249-252) provides the following additional information on Mae Hong Son province:

List of wats in Mae Hong Son province, from the book, โปรง 2509: 249-252

Amphoe Müang	อ. เมือง	wats
Tambon Čong Kham	จองคำ	7
Tambon Pangmū	ปางหมู	5
Tambon Mōkchampāē	หมอกจำแป่	5
Tambon Pāimaphā	ปายมะผา	1
Tambon Phābōng	ผาบ่อง	3
Tambon Huai Prōng	ห้วยโปรง	5
Total		26
Amphoe Pāi	อ. ปาย	
Tambon Wiang Tai	เวียงใต้	4
Tambon Thung Yāo	ทุ่งยาว	5
Tambon Wiang Nūa	เวียงเหนือ	3
Tambon Māēchī	แม่ชี	2
Tambon Māē Nā Tōng	แม่नाเต็ง	5
Total		19
Amphoe Khun Yuam	อ. ขุนยวม	
Tambon Khun Yuam	ขุนยวม	3
Tambon Māē Ngao	แม่เงา	1
Tambon Müang Pōn	เมืองปอน	3
Tambon Māē Lā Luang	แม่ลาหลวง	3
Total		10
Amphoe Mae Sariang	อ. แม่สะเรียง	
Tambon Mae Sariang	แม่สะเรียง	9
Tambon Bān Kāt	บ้านกาศ	5
Tambon Māē Lā Nōi	แม่ลาน้อย	2
Tambon Māē Kha'tuan	แม่คะตวน	2
Tambon Māē Yuam	แม่ยวม	4
Tambon Māē Khong	แม่คง	1
Total		23
TOTAL WATS IN PROV.		78

The following is the more complete data on wats and abbots in Amphoe Mae Sariang.

Wat		Tambon	Abbot	
Kittiwong	กิตติวงศ์	Mae Sariang	Phra Athikān Tham	พระอธิการธรรม
Sībunrūang	ศรีบุญเรือง	Mae Sariang	Phra Khamnōi	พระค่าน้อย
Ām Čāēng	จอมแจ้ง	Mae Sariang	Phra Duang Kham	พระด้วงคำ
Čantharāwat	จันทราวาศ	Mae Sariang	Phra Yāmika	พระอย่ามิกะ
Utthayārom	อุทธยารมณ	Mae Sariang	Phra Sanē	พระเสนห์
Suphannarangsī	สุพรรณรังษี	Mae Sariang	Phra Mō	พระหมอ
Sitthimongkhon	สีทิมมงคล	Mae Sariang	Čao Athikān Sīthon	เจ้าอธิการศรีทน
Sāēnthōng	แสนทอง	Mae Sariang	Phra Buntan	พระบุญตัน
Āmthōng	จอมทอง	Mae Sariang	Phra Čan	พระจันทร์
Chaiyalāp	ชัยลาก	Bān Kāt	Phra Mahā Kāēo	พระมหาแก้ว
Omarāwāt	อมราวาศ	Bān Kāt	Phra Khüntōng	พระขึ้นตอง
Sophānnūa	สหหารเหนือ	Bān Kāt	Phra Ming	พระมิ่ง
Māē tōp	แม่ต้อบ	Bān Kāt	Phra Ōt	พระไธด
Thāpāpum	ท่าป่าปุม	Bān Kāt	Phra Kham	พระคำ
Wō Hān Khun	โหวหารคุณ	Māē lā Nōi	Phra Čan	พระจันทร์
Māē Lā Nōi	แม่ลาน้อย	Māē lā Nōi	Phra Kunna	พระกุนนะ
Phā Phā	พาป่า	Māē Kha' Tuan	Phra Bō	พระเบอะ
Bān Mai	บ้านใหม่	Māē Kha' Tuan	Phra Bunmā	พระบุญมา
Māē La Tuan	แม่ละตวน	Māē Yuam	Phra Som	พระสม
Nām Dip	น้ำดิบ	Māē Yuam	Phra Athikān Čanthip	พระอธิการจันทร์ ทิพย์
Kapāng Tai	กะปางใต้	Māē Yuam	Phra Insuan	พระอินสวร
Thung Phāēm	ทุ่งแพม	Māē Yuam	Phra Prāp	พระปราบ
Thung Lāēng	ทุ่งเลี้ยง	Māē Khong	Phra Bunthā	พระบุญทา

Mae Sariang

December 23, 1967

George Po

Today we went to Chiang Mai to spend the Christmas Holidays with friends there. In the evening, George Po, who has moved to CM, came over to Pete's for a visit.

He said that he was a friend of Sombat and had offered to let Sombat stay at his house (No. 7, Soi 9 Čaran Prathēt Rd.) when he came to Chiang Mai. He said that Sombat's death was due to "money and power". He was also more specific in alluding to gambling debts owed Sombat. He gave a description of Sombat's death which was word for word that of the *Khonmüang* story.

In connection with Sombat's death, George said that he himself had to move from Mae Sariang because things were getting too dangerous for him there.

We got talking about types of Karen. He said that Tôngsu. (Taungthu) are very closely related to the P'wo with little differences in language. However, the Tôngsu have a writing system developed in Buddhist monasteries whereas the P'wo have one developed by Christian missionaries (both scripts employ Burmese characters). The Tôngsu are very often Buddhists. In Burma, the Tôngsu are called Pao. He said that the young abbot of wat Ommarāwāt is actually a P'wo even though he identifies as Tôngsu. (Pete says Bonny says the same thing).

Mae Sariang

December 27, 1967

Monument on Road to Mae Sariang

Several times on travel to and from Mae Sariang, I have noticed a monument between KM 25 and 26 on the Mae Sariang - Hôt Road. Today I stopped and read the inscription. It was a memorial to a group of employee of a local company who had been killed in a car accident at that spot in 1958.

Mae Sariang

December 28, 1967

Border Police School in Bān Dong

Today I was visited by two BPP school teachers who came to extend the invitation mentioned previously by the District Abbot, to trek up to Bān Dong for a celebration in honor of the opening of a new school in Bān Dong. For the celebration, there will be five monks, two other BPP officials, maybe someone from the Amphoe office and several others. The schedule of

events as given to me by the Chief BPP teacher is as follows:

- January 9th: Travel to Māē Lā Nôi
- January 10th: Leave Māē Lā Nôi; climb to Bān Dong (บ้านดง)
- January 11th: Bān Dong - no activities
- January 12th: Beginning of ceremony, During the day there will be performances by children and hill people. In the evening, there will be *ramwong* and a movie.
- January 13th: During day, performance by children. In evening, *ramwong*, a movie, something called *sôidāo* (สอยดาว) – lit. 'gathering stars', and religious and official ceremonies.
- January 14th: During day, performance of children and "Dance of Plenty" (ฟ้อนดาบ) by hill people. In the evening, *ramwong*, a movie *sôidāo* – throughout the night.
- End of celebration.

The BPP headmaster for Bān Dong, whose name is Sanan Singsuwan (พลฯ สนั่น สิงห์สุวรรณ) organized this festival to bring monks and officials into a hill village. In this case, the village of Bān Dong is a Lua village. He says that there are people in the village who don't know what a Buddhist monk looks like. The District Abbot, with his strong interest in the mission to the tribes, is going to be one of the attending monks. He also plans to spend 10 - 20 days visiting their tribal (Karen and Lua) villages in the area.

Bān Dong is administratively in Māē Lā Nôi sub-district, although it is thought of as having a Mae Sariang school. The school has two BPP teachers – Sanan and Prasāt Anumērāngkūn (พลฯ ประสาท อนุเมธราชกูร) – and one government teacher – Choetdēt Wanāsathit (เชิดเดช วนาสถิตย์), I shall refer to these teachers as 1, 2, and 3. Numbers 1 and 2 were my visitors.

Number 3 is a Karen, his father coming from B. Huai Phung and his mother from another Karen village. Both are teachers and Christian. He is also Christian, but Number 2 said that in Bān Dong his Christianity had disappeared (หายไปแล้ว). He not only speaks Karen and

Thai, but also Lua.

Numbers 1 and 2 are both married, but their families live in M. S. and not in the hills. Number 1 is originally from Chiang Mai and has been here in Mae Sariang over three years. No. 2 is originally from Chachoengsao and has been here two years. No. 1 originally spent three months in B. Pa school before transferring to Bān Dong. No. 2 has been in Bān Dong since arriving in Mae Sariang. No. 1 says he speaks Lua fairly well and No. 2 says he speaks it a bit but finds it difficult.

The school has existed in Bān Dong for three years, so there has not yet been any graduates. The students come from Bān Dong and a few from B. La-‘up. There are no Karens in the school. The official name of the school is *R.R. chāidāēn bamrung thi. 64* (ร.ร.ชายแดน บำรุง ที่ 64) i.e., Border Police School Number 64.

In becoming a BPP teacher the BPP officer volunteers. He is then sent to a seminar on teaching for 1-1/2 to 2 months before being sent out to the school. He uses the Minister of Education curriculum except for one initial book in learning to read which has been designed especially for tribal peoples. It apparently under-stresses tones and initial consonant characters. Both teachers think it is difficult teaching tribal people.

Bān Dong has one Christian family (it used to have two). No. 2 spoke highly of Don Schlater's prowess in speaking Lua, but No. 1, however, was very interested in the fact that I was reported to be a Buddhist. He was anxious to invite the monks to the hills to let the Lua (who often claim to be Buddhists according to No. 2) come into contact with Buddhist monks.

Mae Sariang

December 30, 1967

Gathering of the Mae Sariang American Community

About a week ago, Weaver Gim, the American Consul in Chiang Mai had paid a visit on the Coates' to inform them that Leonard Unger, the American Ambassador to Thailand, and his wife would be visiting Mae Sariang for an hour or two on the 30th. The Ambassador wished to meet all the Americans in town and so Pat invited the Schlatters (New Tribes Mission), the Hudsbeths (OMF Mission who have recently moved, to M.S. from Hot), Binnah Sawyer (A.B. mission doctor), Peggy Smith (A.B. mission nurse), Mark Anderson (Peace Corps volunteer), and ourselves to come to the Coates' house at a little after 12:00 to have desert (the Ambassador, Consul and party were to eat a picnic lunch on the way). This was the first full gathering of the

American "community" in Mae Sariang, although Bob Coates, Don Schlater and two of the Schlater children were away. The ambassador, his wife, Weaver Gin, (American Consul in Chiang Mai), his wife, and the head of USIS in Chiang Mai did arrive at about 1:15, stayed for only an hour, and then were taken to the airport where they were picked up by an Air America plane and flown to Mae Hong Son.

Missionary Work in Mae Sariang

Prior to the arrival of the Ambassador, I had a talk with Ed Hudsbeth about his work with the P'wo Karen. He has been working in Thailand 12 years, and although he has had assistance on and off from others, he currently is the only OMF missionary working with P'wo Karen (there is an ABM missionary working with the P'wo in Kanchanaburi).

Although there is a literature in P'wo Karen using Burmese script and although he originally used the Burmese script for P'wo in his work, he now employs a Thai script (which he devised, partially with the help of Bill Smalley). There were several reasons why he abandoned the Burmese script for Thai script. (1) There is only a 60 percent overlap in vocabulary between P'wo as it is spoken in Thailand and P'wo in Burma; (2) There are phonetic differences; (3) The syntax of Thai P'wo is much closer to Thai S'kaw than it is to Burmese P'wo. Consequently, learning the Burmese script for P'wo would not immediately make it possible for a Thai P'wo to read Burmese P'wo literature. In fact it would take almost as long as learning another language.

I asked about the old P'wo Christian group in Chiang Rai/Lampang. He said that these P'wo were converted by S'kaw evangelists and thus know Christianity through the S'kaw literature. He said that Metta (the local pastor here), his brother Khrū Sant who works in the Siam Commercial Bank in Chiang Mai and most of the other evangelists in the S'kaw church are actually P'wo; but they don't know the P'wo literature.

I told Mrs. Schlater about the one Lua student in the secondary school who had put down his nationality as "Lua". She commented, "The Lawa didn't have any pride in their own people until we taught them to be literate."

Cockfights

This morning Čit took me to the cockfights which are held every Sunday in Mae Sariang. This is a very masculine affair which draws mainly lower class and lower middle class Thai. I wasn't aware of anybody being 'tribal'. The fights continue for as long as there are pairs to fight. There is considerable rough humor, gambling, and drunkenness associated with the fights.

Karen Working for Thai

For the past week or so, 2 Karens now have been working for our landlady – getting the courtyard clean in preparation for Lā's wedding on the 3rd of January. Mark Anderson commented that a number of Karens work for shops in town, doing very menial tasks for very low pay. Bob Coates thinks that a large number of Karens who work around town or beg at the wats are opium addicts. In any event, there does seem to be among both Thai and Karen a belief that the Karen are in something of a servile position to the Thai.

Funeral

Today we attended the cremation of an old (89) woman who lived in the Phanasit compound. She had once worked for the Bombay-Burma Co. (she had lived here since the age of 47) and in the last 15 or so years she had been paid a 'pension' of B130/month from the Phanasit Co. She apparently had no close relatives living in Mae Sariang and so people at the Phanasit Co. took it upon themselves to arrange for the cremation which took place less than 24 hours after her death.

We observed the cremation from the point at which the procession passed our house on the way to the communal cremation grounds on the Mae Hong Son highway. At the grounds, the catafalque was set down and some of the decorations (paper flower wreaths) were taken and hung on a nearby tree. The casket was opened and the corpse's face was bathed with coconut water. White cloth, hanging along this catafalque, was lowered. Then 5 priests came forward and chanted (what Čit called *bangsakun*) over the corpse, took the white cloths, and returned to town. Then some men piled wood under the casket and poured kerosene on it. A woman made a small fire and each one present was handed a bunch of kindling and/or a packet of incense. Each person lit these from the small fire, took them to the pyre, *wai*-ed with them, and then threw

them onto the fire. The kerosene lit the pyre easily and the burning didn't take very long. Some of the woman's personal effects were burnt with her.

One young man who seemed to be more closely connected with the women than the others had a long skein of cotton thread wound around his neck. He mentioned that it had something to do with *phī*, but I didn't quite gather what.