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2 March 1968

บ้านเลขที่ 1/1 ต.เขวา อ.เมือง จ. มหาสารคาม

เรียนอาจารย์ไคส์และมาคาม เจนที่เคารพนับถือทราบ

เนื่องด้วยอาจารย์ไคส์ส่งเงินมาให้ผมเพื่อให้แจกการฝีมือของชาวบ้านหนองคันเป็นจำนวนเงิน 2500 บาทนั้นผมได้รับใบขนานติจากที่ทำการไปรษณีย์แล้วแต่วันที่ 22 แต่ผมยังไม่ได้รับเงินจากทางไปรษณีย์เลยเป็นคราว โชคดีมากเพราะว่าผมไม่ได้นำเอาบัตรประจำตัวไปแสดงด้วยแต่พอมาถึงวันที่ 23 ธันวาคม เวลา 17.00 น. มีคนร้ายประมาณ 8 คนมีปืนครบมือโผล่เข้ามาในบ้านของผม คนร้ายไล่ผมจนผมหนีเลือกคนองคิน ผมได้หลบไป คนร้ายไปยิงผมหลายที่แต่ยังมีบุญช่วยลูกปืนทุกนัดไม่ได้ถูกผมเลย แต่คนร้ายได้เก็บเอาของในบ้านไปหมดเงินของผมคนร้ายก็เอาหมกเซนกัน ปืนผมคนร้ายเอาด้วยตลอดทั้งเสื้อ กางเกงของผมและของนางเยาว์ของนวน ของบัวบานที่อาจารย์และมาคามเอาให้และของที่เอามาขายคนร้ายได้เก็บเอาไปทั้งหมด ส่วนตัวของผมได้ไปรักษาตัวอยู่ที่โรงพยาบาลตั้งหลายวัน แต่เดี๋ยวนี้ผมยังเจ็บนึคหนอยที่แขน แต่ผมคิดจะเขียนจดหมายส่งข่าวให้อาจารย์และมาคามทราบตั้งแต่วันแรกแล้ว ก็เขียนไม่ได้เพราะเจ็บมากพอผมหายหนอยแล้วผมจึงได้เขียนจดหมายมาเรียนให้อาจารย์ทราบผมยังโชคดี ไม่ถูกคนร้ายยิงผมตายก่อน ชาวบ้านช่วยไม่ได้มีแต่ร้องไห้เพราะว่าคนร้ายทั้ง 8 คนมีปืนทุกคน แต่ชาวบ้านไม่มีปืนเลย ถ้าชาวบ้านจะเข้ามาช่วยคนร้ายก็ยิงปืน ทุกคนกลัวตายมาลวนตำรวจตามจับได้ โส่เลยจนถึงวันนี้

ส่วนอาจารย์และมาคาม เจนและคุณนิคมคงจะสบายดีตามเคย แต่ผมเสียใจด้วยว่าวันที่อาจารย์กลับจากบ้านหนองคันถึง เชียงใหม่ ได้เกิดยางรถแตกกลางทางทำให้เสียเวลามากจนไม่มีเวลาออกกินที่แม่สะเรียงเลย ผมขอแสดงความเสียใจมาณะที่นี้ด้วย ก็ขออภัยถึงหลาย

เคารพนับถืออย่างสูง

เหงา ศำวีชา

วันที่ 2 ม.ค. 2511

ท้ายนี้ขอให้อาจารย์ไคส์และมาคาม เจน คุณนิคมขอให้สบายดีมีโชคชี่ตลอดปี 2511  
ขอให้มีแต่ความสุขความเจริญตลอดไปเถอ .

ส่วนนวนนั้นก็ถูกคนร้ายเหาะที่ซาเหมือนกัน

Letter from Mr. Ngao, dtd. 2 March 1968, reporting robbery that occurred on 28 December 1967.

11/25/79 AT 279 6/2/68

CEREMONIAL CYCLE IN MAE SARIANG

N.B.: All dates are given according to the Northern calendar — i.e., two months ahead of the lunar calendar used by the Siamese, Lao, and Shan.

Date of Ceremony	Name of Ceremony	Explanation
<p>14-15 days of waning moon &amp; 1st day of waning moon, Month I</p> <p><del>วัน 14 และ 15 ค่ำ และ วันแรม</del></p> <p>วันขึ้น 14 และ 15 ค่ำ และ วันแรม 1 ค่ำ เดือน เกียง</p>	<p>END OF LENT</p> <p>ออกพรรษา</p>	<p>On each of these days the monks are invited out to receive alms along the roads of the town. This is known as <u>takba:tko:ng</u> (ตัดบาทรง) in the local language. The first day is a day of preparations; the 2nd day is <u>wan phra</u> and the 3rd day is the official "End of Lent".</p>
<p>1st day of the waxing moon, Month I to the 15th day of waxing moon Month II</p> <p>วันแรม 1 ค่ำ เดือน เกียง - วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ เดือน ยี่</p>	<p>THO:T KATHIN</p> <p>ทอดกฐิน</p>	<p>This is new ceremony for Mae Sariang and only three wats regularly have the ceremony: Kittiwong, Si:bunryang, &amp; Canthara:wa:t. The latter is a recipient of a <u>kathin</u> presented by the Phanasit Co. [Cit says that the Phanasit Co. sponsored the first <u>tho:t kathin</u> in Mae Sariang.] This yr. some people from Bangkok sponsored the ceremony at Kittiwong and the District is sponsoring the one at Si:bunryang (the money is for a new wat school).</p>

8th day of waning moon or 15th day of waning moon, month I วันแรม 8 ค่ำ หรือ วันแรม 15 ค่ำ เดือน เกียง	PRESENTING OF LENTEN ROBES ถวายผ้าพรรษา	Local Version of <u>thô:t kàthín</u> during which both monks and Buddha images are presented with new robes
Month II เดือนยี่	SECOND MONTH CEREMONY (ประเพณี) เดือนยี่เป็ง	Usually consists of the "Great Life" Jataka sermon or the "10 Lives" Jataka sermon or some other major sermon. Not held in Shan or Burmese wats.
Month III เดือน 3	(no ceremony)	
15th day of waxing moon, Month IV วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ เดือน 4	BUN KHĀO CĪ: KHĀO LAM บุญเข้าจี่เขาลำ	Offerings of new rice. Similar to the Shan ceremony held in the 5th month.
Month V เดือน 4	TĀ:N KHĀO NJA: KŪ: ตานเข้าหมากู	A Shan ceremony of making offerings of new rice. It is held in the home where food is presented to the monks. Then the ox carts are decorated and there is a procession.
15th day of waxing moon, Month V วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ เดือน 5	MA:KHĀBU:CHA: มาขบฐา	This is also a new ceremony in the area, having been instituted by the Thai Sangha.
Month VI เดือน 6	PQ:Ī KHĀO SĀNG ปอยข่าสัง	A Ceremony for making offerings for the dead. Small boats ( <u>hva nq:i เรือหัวง</u> ) are made and one these are placed things that can be used or eaten. Monks are invited to come receive these offerings at home. The abbot said that people 'used to believe' that these offering were for the dead (like the Chinese, the abbot said). This ceremony is sometimes called <u>pq:i nq:i (ปอยหัวง)</u> in contrast to another ceremony called <u>po:i luang (ปอยหลวง)</u> also held during this month.
Month VI เดือน 6	PQ:I LUANG ปอยหลวง	Construction of <u>khūtī</u> or other large structures as way of making merit.

<p>Months VI-VII เดือน 7-8</p>	<p>ORDINATION OF MONKS &amp; NOVICES <del>SONGKRA: N (Thai New Year)</del> บวชนาค</p>	
<p>Month VII (April 13-18) เดือน 7</p>	<p>SONGKRA: N (Thai New Year) <del>สงกรานต์</del> สงกรานต์</p>	<p>13: Clean house, etc. 14: Prepare things to take to wát. In the afternoon make sand chedis in the wát. 15: Thamburat wát. In the afternoon ritually bathe the heads of one's elders. 16: Ritually bathe the head of the abbot of the wát and the Buddha image. 17-18: Ritually bathe the heads (of monks ?) in different wáts.</p>
<p>Months VIII+IX เดือน 8-9 <del>8th day waxing moon, VIII</del></p> <p>8th day waxing moon, VIII ขึ้น 8 ค่ำ เดือน 8 15th day waxing moon, VIII " 15 " " "</p> <p>8th day waning moon, VIII แรม 8 ค่ำ เดือน 8 15th " " " " " 15 " " "</p> <p>8th day waxing moon, IX ขึ้น 8 ค่ำ เดือน 9</p> <p>15 day waxing moon, IX " 15 " " "</p>	<p>RITUAL BATHING OF RELICS สงฆ์น้ำธาตุ ฯลฯ</p> <p>sǒng ná:m ǒe:di: wát oɔ:m cáe:ng สงฆ์น้ำเจดีย์วัดจอมแจ้ง sǒng ná:m phzá borómmathá:t wát kittiwong สงฆ์น้ำพระบรมธาตุ วัดกิตติวงศ์ sǒng ná:m ǒe:di: wát oɔ:m thɔ:ng สงฆ์น้ำเจดีย์ จอมทอง sǒng ná:m phráphúthabà:t thî: Thung Phá: (New shrine which is not yet well known.) สงฆ์น้ำพระพุทธรูปที่ทุ่งน้ำ sǒng ná:m ǒe:di: wát oɔ:m kitti thî: bá:n Ná:m Díp สงฆ์น้ำเจดีย์วัดจอมกิติที่ บ. น้ำคืบ</p> <p>This is at the <u>ǒe:di:</u> on the hill and not the old one at the school.</p> <p>sǒng ná:m ǒe:di; wát Thá: Khâ:m สงฆ์น้ำเจดีย์ วัดท่าข้าม &amp; sǒng ná:m phét wát sǎe:n thɔ:ng สงฆ์น้ำเพชรวัดแสนทอง</p>	

Month 10 เดือน 10		<del>XXXX</del> ORDINATION OF MONKS AND NOVICES บวชนาค	
<del>15th</del> 15th day waxing moon, X วันขึ้น 15 ค่ำ เดือน 10		BEGINNING OF LENT เข้าพรรษา	
Month XII เดือน 11		(No ceremonies)	
Months XII-I เดือน 12-1		SALA:KKAPHAT สลากภัต	
13th day waxing moon, XII	วันขึ้น 13 ค่ำ เดือน 12	Wat <del>Kittiwong</del> Sibbunruang	วัดศรีบุญเรือง 1st. wat because it used to be seat of dist. abbot.
8th day waning moon, XII	" แรม 8 " " "	Wat <del>Cam</del> Caë:ng	วัดจอมแจ้ง
15th " " " "	" " 15 " " "	Wat Chaiyala:p	วัด ชัยลาภ
8th day waxing moon, I	" ขึ้น 8 " " 1	Wat Kittiwong	วัด กิตติวงศ์
8th day waning moon, I	" แรม 8 " " "	Wat Na:m Dìp	วัด น้ำทิพย์
14th " " " "	" " 14 " " "	Wat Sòphā:n	วัดสหหาร

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Trip to M̄: H̄:η S̄:n:

On the 1st we drove up to Mae H̄ng S̄n to attend the cremation services of the late provincial abbot. We spent the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th in Mae H̄ng S̄n and returned on the 5th. On the way up we took 4 monks (CKA, CK ~~Tamban~~ from Wát S̄th̄m̄ongkhon, another monk from Wát K̄itt̄w̄ong, and the visiting Phrá' Khru: from Bangkok), our 3 servants, Wan's brother, and a girl who had requested a ride. On our return, we replaced the latter girl, Wan's brother, and the monk from Bangkok, none of whom came back with us, with Kris and Shiela Lehman and Simon, Lehman's field assistant.

Talk with Governor of Province:

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

Regarding the written literature on history and culture of the province and its inhabitants, he says that ~~there is~~ very little written. He said that there is a little in the second volume of the Collected Chronicles (the recently published versions). He was somewhat disdainful regarding Bunchuai S̄:s̄awát's writing on the hill tribes because he hasn't visited many of the places or people he writes about. (The Governor said he knew Bunchuai's father when the Governor was a Palat Amph̄: in

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Chiang Ra:i 10 years ago.) He also mentioned a mimeographed brief history of the province district to members of the King's party when they visited here. He promised to get me a copy and bring it to Mae Sariang, but I fear he will forget it.

I asked him about special programs for the hill tribes under the province. He didn't seem too clear about the "hill tribe school program" [the Provincial Education supervisor whom I talked to later said that there were special exams for those wishing to be teachers in these schools but these exams only tested knowledge covered in a M6 education. He did say, however, that the teachers were encouraged to learn tribal languages]. He did say, however, that at his insistence the Public Welfare Department had promised to establish a tribal development center at the Să:la:kla:ŋ in MÊ:Hô:ŋ Sô:n. However, although this promise had been made some time ago, the building to house the center of the personnel to staff it have not yet appeared in the province.

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

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The Governor said he was very concerned about the Meo and Lahm in the province - that is, that they might be influenced by communists. [Kris says the Governor has also told him that he is frightened by KMT forces on the border and by dissident Communist elements among the Shan liberation army.]

Shan Word:

I discovered at Mê:la:Nó:i that the word written in Thai as ฦๅ (čō:ŋ) is the Shan word for wát. Simon, Kris Lehman's assistant, says that properly <sup>phoneticized</sup> ~~ฦๅ~~, the word is kyōŋ and is from the Burmese. Apparently, a word cognate with wát also exists, but is rarely used. Kyōŋ is also a title for a person who sponsors the building of a pagoda/wát. [၁၅၄၂]

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Cremation of the Late Provincial Abbot:

The cremation of the late provincial abbot, Phrá Rá:tcháwi:rá:kə:n [ကရ-ဒါဝီဒါဝီ] (Burmese: Ya:nákhúttathe:rá' [ယုနမာ ယာနကုတ္တထေဝာဒါဝီ]), brought monks from all over the country. However, all these were certainly numerous officials and local people present at the actual cremation. The fact that the chief monks in charge of the ceremony had forbidden the Shan tradition of 'tug-o'-war' over the casket and other Shan customs, and because the Central Thai customs were not well-handled, the lay attendance was certainly less than it might have been. [၁၅၄၄]

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

- 1) He was born on 9 October, 1907 in Yásō:tho:n town, Ubon province in the Northeast.
- 2) He had a P4 secular education.
- 3) At 18 he became a novice in Yásō:tho:n.
- 4) At age 21 he was ordained as a monk in Yásō:tho:n.
- 5) Shortly there after he went to Bangkok to continue his clerical studies.
- 6) The next few years were spent in study at Wát Bencámábòphét (the Northern temple in Bangkok). By 1932 (when he was 30 years old) he had achieved ဝိပဿနာဝိပဿနာ status and passed the 5th ဝိပဿနာ of ဝိပဿနာ studies (mainly Pali language).
- 7) Between 1930 and 1934 he was a teacher of Buddhist scripture at a wát in the Bangkok area.
- 8) In 1935 he was sent as a teacher of Buddhist scriptures to a wát in Amphə: Sũ:gmé:n, cangwát Phrê:. This was his first post in the North.
- 9) In 1936, because of the lack of clerical teachers, he was sent to Mae Sariang to live at Wát Sí:bunryaṅ. [I wonder if there was a policy of sending Bangkok-trained monks to outlying regions of the country at this time.]<sup>၆၁၂</sup>

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- 10) He spent 6 years in Mae Sariang (he never was CKA here).
  - 11) In 1942 he was appointed as *Čao Kháná Čarwát* for Mae Hqng Sqn. He served in the post, living at *Wát Múaitò:*, until his death - a total of 25 years.
  - 12) He died on 21 September, 1967.

He is reputed to have strongly discouraged the practice of Shan ways in Mae Hqng Sqn and was apparently responsible for the fact that *wáts* in the northern part of the province are not within the 'Burmese group' in Thailand. [It is somewhat ironical that in consequence of his action, the "Burmese" *wáts* in Mae Sariang which has always been more of *Khonmuan* town than Mae Hqng Sqn, seem to have preserved the traditional ways more than the *wáts* in Mae Hqng Sqn.]

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

SCHEDULE OF ROYALLY ORDERED CREMATION

[for] *Phrá Râ:tcháwi:ra:ko:n* (*Burma: Ya:nákhúttathe:râ*)

*Wát Muaitò: Amphə: Muan Čarwát Mē: Hô:ŋ Sō:n*

*Phrá Râ:tcháwi:ra:ko:n*, the late *Čao Kháná Čarwát* of Mae Hqng Sqn, began his life in *Amphə: Yásō:tho:n*, *Čarwát Ubonrâ:tchátha:ni:*, was ordained as a young man, received his education in the *Winai* at the residence of Ordaining Abbot *Tha:*, *Wát Amphuan*, *Yásō:tho:n* and then moved to continue his studies at *Wát Prásâ:t bunya:wâ:t*, *Amphə: Dùsít*, Bangkok. He studied at *Wát Bencámábòphít* until he achieved *nántham'è:k* status and passed the 5th *práyô:k* of parian studies. The *Monthon* Abbot in that time arranged



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- 4 March 1968: 7:00 A.M. Presenting monks with their morning meal.  
10:00 A.M. 26 monks will chant Sàtìpàtthā:nsù:t  
( สติปัฏฐานสูตร )  
11:00 A.M. Presenting monks with their midday meal.  
1:00 P.M. Sermon.  
4:00 P.M. Please come to participate in the cremation  
and in pulling the Māhā: Baṅsākun .  
4:30 P.M. Cremation
- 5 March 1968: Feeding of the monks for morning and midday meals.

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

[Signed] Phra Khru: Sī:lāvāra:ca:n  
Acting Āo Kháná' Čangwát and Chairman  
of the Sangha side  
Mr. ĩam Kriānsīri  
Governor and Chairman of Lay Side

The actual events did not accord with this schedule completely.

[I hope to get the tapes made by the CKA to copy.]

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Myaŋ Pɔ:n (မ္ယာၵ် ပၢၣ် ):

On the way down to Mae Sariang on the 5th we stopped at Myaŋ Pɔ:n (မ္ယာၵ် ပၢၣ် ) about 10-11 kilometers south of Khũn Yuam (ကျွံ ယူမ် ) and in Amphə: Khũn Yuam. We stopped there because the CKA wished to consult with the people about a major festival to be held on the 10th-15th of this month. Kris, Simon, and I took the opportunity to try to find something about the history of the place.

History of Myaŋ Pɔ:n:

We were referred to an old man who has the title kuōŋ. This man said that the name of the village comes from the name of the Pɔ:n River, but didn't know why it was called myaŋ as it has never been the seat of a Čāo fá:. He was born here, as were his parents. His Grandparents came from Loilaem (? sp.) state, Panglom (? sp.) in the center of the Shan States.

There are a few Khonmyaŋ in the village in the southern quarter of the village. A small neighboring village in the North, Pàpaŋ (? sp.), is also N. Thai. Together with this village, Myaŋ Pɔ:n has a population of 270 households of which 250 are in Myaŋ Pɔ:n proper.

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

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Previously there were some Kayah living here, but absorbed (or driven out ?) by the Shan. But this was before his time. No Lua' live in this area. Karens (probably S<sup>a</sup>kaw) come searching for food here. Also came to make merit when invited. They come to watch people at Songkra:n but don't make offerings themselves at that time. He said that the Karens do not keep Buddha images in their houses and are still animists. The Karens from M<sup>h</sup>: S<sup>o</sup>: (? sp.) are the only Karens in the tambon - village of only 7-8 households. (Karens come to buy things in Mya<sup>n</sup> P<sup>o</sup>:n as I saw them in one of the shops. They were wearing shirts which are not quite the same as in Mae Sariang.)

I asked about tatooing in Mya<sup>n</sup> P<sup>o</sup>:n since I observed that the old man had been heavily tatooed. [Kris says that one must distinguish between the 'picture' type tatooing which is done from the waist down and sometimes on the upper trunk and the 'Gatha' tatoos which are in Shan/Burmese script and are usually on the arms. This man had both]. The informant said that when he was a young man, there was a tatooer in the village. He wandered about tatooing both Shans and Karen. However, there is noone who can do tatoos.

We left this old man and joined the CKA who had discovered an even older man to ask about local history. This second informant claimed to be 97 years old. He said that his parents were born here, but that his grandparents came from Sada<sup>w</sup> Luang (? sp.) in the northern part of the Kayah States. - Mawmai maybe. Kris asked about local Kayah and the informant said that the only Kayah in the area were those in Kh<sup>u</sup>n Yuam who still lived there when he was a young man.

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He can't remember the name of the Čáo fá: of Mae Hqng Sqn because it was beyond communications. He didn't work in lumbering, but he heard about it. He doesn't know where it was carried out.

Another informant (Youngish man) answered my questions about the school. There are 200+ students in the school and they all come from the village (not outside of it).

Interview with Old Monk at Wát Ommára:wâ:t:

After listening to a tape which I had made of a service at Wát Ommára:wâ:t in which Burmese forms were used, Kris Lehman wished to get the correct order of service in the Burmese way as compared with the Thai since they differ. Thus, we went over to the Wát. The young monk was not there, having gone back to Na:i Thian's mine. We then talked with the old monk whose name in Shan is U Phanti (? sp.) and who is known in Northern Thai as Tú?Ti?.

This monk was born in Khñ Yuam, but was ordained in Mae Sariang. He was ordained in the Thai way because the old CKA of Mae Sariang insisted that monks here follow the Thai way. (I asked if this CKA was the same person as the late CK Čangwát since he had been CKA of Mae Sariang before being CK Čangwát. But Tú?Ti? said that it was another CKA who was here before the CK Čangwát was. The late CK Čangwát also was very strict in insisting that the 'Thai' way be followed.) Tú?Ti? has lived alternatively in Mae Sariang and Khñ Yuam for 20 years, but has lived the last 6 years in Wát Ommára:wâ:t. Simon, Kris' assistant, says that the monk speaks Shan with many Kammyan words and speaks Kammyan with many Shan words.

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

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

I asked about the young monk at the wát. When I asked about his ethnic group, an old layman who was present said he was Ya:ŋ Kachin (?!) so I dropped the question. The monk's name is Phrá' Chintə:ŋ ( พรา: ชินตอง ) [? sp.]. His brother, who was a monk here before him, was named while a monk Phrá' Chítin O:phă:sö: ( พรา: ชิติน โอบาส ). The present young monk was ordained as a novice in Burma. He was ordained as a monk in the Thai way at M̄ȳaŋ Pə:n. The relationships between the two young monks

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and the old man are interesting. The first young monk, after leaving the order, married a niece of the old monk. When she died, he went to Myanmar Po:n where he found a new wife. The present young monk was sponsored when ordained into the monkhood by a nephew of the old monk who lives in Myanmar Po:n.

Comparisons between Northern Thai, Shan, and Siamese:

Kris, Simon, Lá'w: and I discussed some customs and associated words which exist in the N. Thai, Shan, and Siamese traditions. In the Shan tradition, the people will come to present to the monks in a wát a tree on which are hung various gifts. Traditionally, they were supposed to come and wake the monks up with a rocket. The tree-gifts are called tān to:t (Lehman's translation) in Shan. Lá'w: says that this is the same as ta:n tô:t (တာန်တံ) in N. Thai. The first of these words is cognate with thān (tha:n) in Siamese and the second with thô:t (thô:t). The literal meaning is 'gifts which are thrown'. The equivalent in Thai is thô:t phá:pà: (thô:t phá:pà:). Thus, what I thought were imported Siamese ceremonies at Wáts Ommára:wâ:t and Čánthára:wâ:t (see notes above) were in fact traditional Shan/Burmese ceremonies.

Kris has been particularly interested in the long banners which are found in Shan/Burmese wáts because of their importance in Kayah religion. These banners are memorials for the dead and are thought to provide a way for a soul to reach heaven. The symbolism is quite complex. These banners are called tām khōn (Lehman's translation) in Shan and tuñ (တုၤ) in kammyañ in this area. They are called tañgundaing in Burmese.

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Woman Peddler:

A Shan woman peddler visited us today while the Lehman's were here. Simon was interested in her Shan background and began to inquire into her history. She is 41 years old and claims to have been born in Mae Sariang. [It is a usual play for Shans who have migrated to Thailand to claim that they were born in Thailand and then went to Burma. This way they are eligible for Thai citizenship. Simon, for example, claims to have been born in Fang although he only came to Thailand for the first time about three years ago.] Woman actually from Siseng (? sp.) which is on the border between the Kayah and Shan States. She came here shortly after World War II because of the Shan rebellions. Her parents were involved in lumbering prior to that time.

Miscellaneous Market:

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

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

We then crossed to the drug and miscellaneous shop across from Na:i Sàk's shop. It is run by Shans. However, I had thought they were Burmese and Kris asked them if they were Burmese. They were very indignant at being called Burmese.

Interview with Khun Praphin:

This evening we went over to the house of Khun Praphin ( พระพรหม ) who works in the treasury office of the Amphə: He is a native of Mae Həng Sən and is himself a Shan. His first wife was the direct descendant of the Āo fá: of Mae Həng Sən and his daughter and mother still live in the house of the Āo fá: (His wife died some few years ago). He is now married to Khru: Sukhə:n, a teacher at the Bòríphát Sy:ksă: school. Kris was anxious to interview him because he is reputed to know more about the history of the Āo fá: family than anyone else. He had a manuscript which he consulted in answering our questions. In the end he agreed to let us borrow the manuscript to make a copy. The manuscript is entitled "History of Mae Həng Sən" and was written by Phrá' Phíbu:n bòríhă:n ( พระพิบูลย์ บ่อริหาร ).

Khun Praphin recommended that I talk with Na:i Nū: Ma:lai in order to get the history of Mae Sariang [I had already interviewed this man

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กำหนดงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ  
พระราชมิวรากร (บุญมา ญาณคุตตะเถระ)  
วัดม่วยก่อ อำเภอเมือง จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

เนื่องด้วยพระราชมิวรากร อดีตเจ้าคณะจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน มีชาติภูมิเดิมอยู่อำเภอ  
ยโสธร จังหวัดอุบลราชธานี ได้บรรพชา-อุปสมบทมาแต่เด็ก ได้รับการศึกษาอบรมธรรมวินัย  
ในสำนักพระอุปัชฌาย์ท้าวอัมพวัน อำเภอยโสธร แล้วย้ายไปศึกษาเล่าเรียนต่อที่วัดประสาธ  
บุญญาวาส อำเภอคูคต พระนคร เรียนอยู่ที่สำนักวัดเบญจมบพิตร จนสำเร็จ น.ธ. เอก และ  
เปรียญ ๕ ประโยค เจ้าคณะมณฑลในสมัยนั้น ได้จัดส่งไปเป็นครูสอนปริยัติธรรมที่วัดนิเวศ  
ศรัทธาราม อำเภอสูงเม่น จังหวัดแพร่ และวัดศรีบุญเรือง อำเภอแม่ระเรียม แล้วได้แต่งตั้ง  
ให้ดำรงตำแหน่งเจ้าคณะจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน จึงได้ย้ายมาประจำอยู่ที่วัดม่วยก่อ แต่ พ.ศ.  
๒๔๘๕-๒๕๐๐ รวมเวลา ๒๕ ปี แม่สะเรียง ๖ ปี แพร่ ๑ ปี รวมเวลาบำเพ็ญศาสนกิจอยู่  
ภาคเหนือ ๓๒ ปี นับว่าท่านได้ประพฤติปฏิบัติศาสนกิจทั้งส่วนการปกครอง การศึกษา การเผย  
แผ่ การสาธารณูปการ ให้แก่ชาวแม่ฮ่องสอนเป็นอย่างดีซึ่งรูปหนึ่ง ได้อาพาธด้วยโรคภัยไข้  
ถึงแก่กรรมภาพ เมื่อวันที่ ๒๑ กันยายน ๒๕๐๐ เวลา ๕.๓๐ น. ณ โรงพยาบาลศรีสังวาลย์  
อายุ ๖๖ ปี พรรษา ๔๖ ๗ คณะกรรมการจึงได้กำหนดงานพระราชทานเพลิงดังนี้

- วันที่ ๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๐๑ เวลา ๑๐.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๒๐ รูป สวดธรรมนิยามสูตร  
เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเพล  
เวลา ๑๖.๓๐ น. มีเทศน์ ๒ พรรมาสน์  
เวลา ๒๐.๐๐ น. สวดพระอภิธรรม
- วันที่ ๓ มีนาคม ๒๕๐๑ เวลา ๗.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเช้า  
เวลา ๑๐.๐๐ น. พระสงฆ์ ๒๐ รูป สวดอนัตตลักขณสูตร  
เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเพล  
เวลา ๑๕.๓๐ น. มีเทศน์ ๒ พรรมาสน์  
เวลา ๒๐.๐๐ น. มีสวดพระอภิธรรม
- วันที่ ๔ มีนาคม ๒๕๐๑ เวลา ๗.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเช้า  
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เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายอาหารเพล  
เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ น. มีธรรมเทศนา ๑ กัณฑ์  
เวลา ๑๖.๐๐ น. เชิญเพลิงพระราชทานมาสู่ปราสาท และขัณฑ์มหาบังสุกุล  
เวลา ๑๖.๓๐ น. พระราชทานเพลิง
- วันที่ ๕ มีนาคม ๒๕๐๑ เวลาเช้า - เพล ถวายภัตตาหาร

ในโอกาสงานบำเพ็ญพระราชทานเพลิงศพคราวนี้ จึงขอเชิญชวนบอกบุญแจ้งให้  
บรรดาศิษยานุศิษย์ ศรัทธา ข้าราชการทุกแผนก ตลอดจนประชาชนที่รู้จักคุ้นเคยเคารพนับถือ  
ในท่านเจ้าคุณ ไปร่วมกันบำเพ็ญกุศลตามวันเวลาสดเนที่ดังกล่าว โดยพร้อมเพรียงกันด้วย .

อนุมิตตามน  
พระครูสวลวรจารย์  
ผู้รักษาการเจ้าคณะจังหวัด  
ประทับที่วัดม่วยก่อ  
หมายเหตุ (หรือรูป) ป.จ. แม่ฮ่องสอน วันอังคาร-พฤหัสบดี เวลาประมาณ ๑๐.๔๐ น. ออกจาก จ. เชียงใหม่  
พระสังฆการีที่มี ถนอมถนอม ขอย ๑ เชียงใหม่ นายประทวน สักคิวนซั้ ผู้พิมพ์โฆษณา

พระครูสวลวรจารย์  
ผู้รักษาการแทนเจ้าคณะจังหวัด ประธานฝ่ายสงฆ์  
นายเอี่ยม เกรียงศิริ  
ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัด ประธานฝ่ายคฤหัสถ์

March 7, 1968

Interview with Monks at the 'Southern Wát' in Mê:la:Nó:i:

This morning Kris, Simon and I went to Mê:la:Nó:i to seek out local history of the Shans in this area. We stopped first at the 'southern wát' where we talked with two monks - the abbot and a monk from the northern Shan States (who happen to come from the same town as Simon).

The abbot is a Khonmyan from Mae Sariang and has lived here 10 years. He has relatives in Mê:la:Nó:i. The other monk is from Myan Mao, has lived in Thailand 4 1/2 years and in Mê:la:Nó:i nearly two years. During the forthcoming lent he will go to study at a Shan wát (Wát Do:n) in Bangkok. He has the same story as Simon about having been born in Fang and then migrated to the Shan States.

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

The wát, according to the abbot, has three monks (the third monk is Phrá Pǎn (  $\text{พร่ำ ปั่น}$  ) who went on the trip to B. Dong). There are four novices in the wát.

The abbot said that the sùat and thê:t in this wát are in Thai, Shan, and Khammyan forms. The wát has scriptures and sermons written in Shan, Burmese, N. Thai, and Thai.

The abbot also told the story of the name of Mê:la:Nó:i coming from the Shan word for Lúa'. He says that Lá', La:, and Lúa' are all related words.

The abbot says that the original settlers of Mê:la:Nó:i were Shan ox-cart traders. The majority who came from Shan States came during Kolan's Wars in Burma. There are also people related to Shans living in BĀ:n Kà:t Mê:Wa:ŋ (  $\text{บ้านกาด ไม้กวาด}$  ) in Co:m Tho:ŋ District, Chiang Mai (See below).

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I talked with the abbot about the Lúa' in the area. He says that there are remains of 7 old Lúa' "wáts" in the area. He also told the story about the large boulder in the M̂:la:Nó:i River which was supposed to have chased the Lúa' across the Salwin and up into the mountains. (My assistants said that this stone is called หินไล่ ลู่ว - hĩnlâi Lúa' - 'the stone [that] chased the Lúa'). He said that the stone got to the place it now is and then asked a bird, called in N. Thai nók katŭa hŭa นกก=ตัว น้กนงอก ) - literally 'gray-crested cockatoo', if it had seen the Lúa' (who were now in the mountains). It said it hadn't seen them, even though it knew that they were in the mountains. Thus, the chase stopped. The Lúa' today avoid walking pass this stone [Pete says that if they do they speak N. Thai rather than Lúa' when they pass the stone]. They also avoid eating the cockatoo.

The abbot says that in the cave near the river, (where some Buddha images were found and where the Thai-style image in this wát was found) there are some manuscripts. Some of them are in N. Thai, but others are in a language which the abbot doesn't know but thinks may be khǒ:m.

I asked the abbot if Karens come to make merit at this wát. He says that Karens from Bâ:n Pà:mà:k, a nearby lowland Karen village, come to the ceremonies at the beginning of lent, end of lent and Sŏj kra:n to make merit. There have been some Karens ordained (as novices) in this wát, but there are none now.

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Interview with Blacksmith at Mê:la:Nó:i:

After leaving the 'southern wát', Kris, Simon and I went to find the blacksmith whom the abbot had suggested knows about local history. We found him working. The following is an interview with this man, tsuāŋ lēk ('blacksmith') tsik'ta' (Lehman's translation) which was written up by Lehman, Keyes, and Simon. [The transcription of Shan words is based on Lehman's phonemicization given following this interview.]

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

He says that he is 60 years old.

We asked him where the Shan people who live here come from. He answered that part of the population came from the Burma side and part from Chiang Mai province. The areas in Burma where they came from include Kēŋtōŋ, Mōkma\_i, Mōŋ Pā\_n, and Lāāŋ khē. People came at the time of Kolan. The people who came from Chiang Mai came from Bā:n Kà:t Mē: Wa:ŋ and Hō:phǎi ná: sá:i in Co:m Tho:ŋ District, Chiang Mai Province. The latter came about 80 years ago.

The population from Chiang Mai the informant called Yōn Mō\_n (Yōn - 'northern Thai'; mōn - 'smoky colored'; Yōn is the same word as Yuan). He explained that the term applies to people whom the Shan would call Northern Thai and whom the Northern Thai would call Shan. They are really Shans, but ones who are in the Yuan sect. "They speak real Shan." The Yōn Mō\_n, he said, contrast with other segments of the population who are called Tai lēŋ (i.e. "Red Shan"). There is yet another Shan group, he said, the Tāilōŋ

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[lón is cognate with N. Thai lúan], a term which Simon explained meant 'main Shan' - that is, the Shans connected with old Kosampi or the Mao Kingdom. These people (of whom Simon is one) call themselves, Simon says, Tai Maau. The group includes the Yunnanese Shans.

There are only two people left who are really Tai lón. The rest of the Tai lón have been absorbed by the Yón Mōn and all of them call themselves Tai - i.e. Shan. There is, in addition, one person who is Tai lón, a Judo teacher who has recently migrated here from Mōn Maau. His name is Hsara, Lāu Lu. He is visiting Chiang Mai at the moment.

Also in the village population, he said, there are some Lū (i.e. Lue or Lū) from Kēntún. One or two S'kaw Karen from Bâ:n Pâ:Mà:k (a nearby lowland Karen village) have married into the village and are now Shan. Khonmyan have also married into the village and become Shan. At this point, he indicated a young man, who he said is his niece's husband, as an example of a Khonmyan become Shan. Keyes asked this man where he was from and he answered Amphə: Hô:t. Keyes asked him how long he had been here and he answered a year. In responding to the insinuation that he was now Shan, he didn't reply but just sort of grunted. There are two or three people in the village the blacksmith said, who are of Tô:nsû. (To, nhsu, in Shan) descent who are by now Sha. Even the Tô:nsû who were identified as such spoke Shan but they spoke with a Tô:nsû accent.

Our informant's father was from Lāaikhà and his mother was from Kēntōn. They were married before they came here.

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When the tsàufàò (Ổão fá:) of Lāaikhā and Moxkmai were fighting, the winner would burn the villages of the enemy. Thus, the informant said, the ordinary villagers had to flee. Some of those who fled here died on the way. Refugees from the Shan States were permitted by the King of Chiang Mai to settle in the Fá: Hâ:m area of Chiang Mai.

In response to the question of whether there were Khonmyan in Mê:la:Nó:i when the Shans arrived, the informant answered that there were in the village called in Thai Bâ:n Kla:η (บ้านกลาง ) and in Shan Wāan kaa-η. This village no longer exists (deserted); some of the inhabitants moved here and some moved to the village called in Shan Wāan Khān and Bâ:n Wan khan (บ้านข่าน ) in Thai.

In a digression the informant said that the Karen village of Bâ:n Pà:Mà:k was formerly called Phamayo [Keyes suggested that this is probably still the Karen name of the village.]

He said that there were no Khonmyan living in what is now Mê:la:Nó:i [see above for exceptions to this statement - i.e. abbot of Southern wát and the informant's nephew-in-law].

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

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

- 1) Ta-to, mō to Nāai Hsōi to Amphə: Myaη, Mae Hong Son.  
(Mê: lá'na.)
- 2) Nón Palam (in Məη Ma, y) to Mə-la'nā (~~Mə-la'nā~~) from where some people went to Myaη Pa:i and some to here via Amphə: Myaη.
- 3) Me Će directly to Khūn Yuam, MÊ:la:Nó:i, and Mae Sariang by three diverging trails (he drew a diagram in the ashes). [Lehman says that Me Će was a main teak toll station into the Salwin under Kantarwadi, that is, under Kayah control. See below.]

In response to a question concerning whether MÊ:la:lǔaη was settled by the same people as MÊ:la:Nó:i, he said that it was - i.e. by Shans from the Shan States and Yōn Mōn from Chiang Mai. When both MÊ:la:Nó:i and MÊ:la:lǔaη were settled, Bā:n Kla:η was the only Khonmyaη village in the area. Some Shans also settled in Nō:η Phāk Būη (Nō:η phāk pūm) which is about 10 kilometers south of MÊ:la:Nó:i and West of MÊ:Te:. [could this be the village of  $\text{U. } \omega \text{ } \text{U}^{\text{t}}$  - Bā:n Phă: Pūm - which is shown on the 1:50,000 map? Whatever the name of the village, it suggests a more southern settlement of Shans than MÊ:la:Nó:i.]

We asked about the war with the 'Red Karens'. He said yes they came down here. He also knows Salawpaw's name. He came to attack this area through the pass at the place where the Pa:i River flows over into Burma into the Salwin. (Near the Thai police post called Ná:m Phiaη Din). There was a big battle at this place and the informant said that Salawpaw was very lucky there. Simon asked him why Salawpaw was lucky and the informant replied because birds didn't fly over his palace but flew around it or through it (i.e. through open spaces in the palace). [Lehman thinks that this is a metaphor suggesting that

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Salawpaw had nothing over his head - i.e. that he was the greatest one. He was a person of great charisma.] Local Shans under the rulers of Khũn Yuam and Mae Hqng Sqn together with some Khonmuan under the King of Chiang Mai defeated Salawpaw on this side and chased him to Yoŋ Hwe, on the Burma side. The victors built a pagoda there which has a kammuan inscription and the young people built a pagoda which has a staircase inside it (i.e. a hollow pagoda). He says that no Kayah have settled here and he mentioned the ones at Khũn Yuam as being the closest ones. [Lehman discovered that there used to be a Kayah community in Khũn Yuam near the airport. They have long since disappeared with only a couple of old women left to bear reminder to their former presence.]

He himself has been to Lo-i ko, to study at Kyŋ Kaa, nhsa, under a teacher whose name was Pinkhet (? sp.). He has been to several other places in the Shan and Kayah States.

He worked in lumbering for the Bombay-Burmah Company under Burmese supervisors. In response to a question he said that a lot of people here worked for Bombay-Burmah. Bombay-Burmah had three headquarters with European Managers in Muan Pa:i, Mae Hqng Sqn, and Mae Sariang. There was no headquarters in Khũn Yuam but head elephant drivers lived there. People employed by the company included Shan, Karen, and Khamu'. The Khamu' were elephant drivers and mahouts. Khamu' came once from Laos as little boys and settled here. No Khamu' are now left in the area [actually, there are some Khamu' settled in the lowland Lúa' village of Bân Phé', a suburb of Mae Sariang - Keyes].

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There are currently three people in Mê:la:Nó:i who are tatooers. Only one man goes up in the Hills to tatoo Karen - name is Hsara, Hsaa, η Tsāai. There was also another man, now dead, who also went up into the hills - name Mū li, η ta'.

The following, given by the informant, are the clerical titles used in Mê:la:Nó:i:

wu <sup>n</sup> tsàu	'head monk'
wu <sup>n</sup> tsāaη	'ordinary monk'
tsáu hsaa, η	'novice'
tsáu wu <sup>n</sup>	word used for addressing head monk
tsáu tsāaη	word used for addressing ordinary monk
hsara,	ex-ordinary monk
hsara, lónη	ex-head monk
hsāaη	ex-novice
tsáu hsara, to,	use for Phrá' Khru:

He said that the name of the ancient Thai capital, Sukhothai, is a Shan word, hsy, η khu, t̄ai which means: hsy, η - 'settlement': khū - 'moated': t̄ai - 'Shan'.

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

The ruler of Khún Yuam at the time when Khún Lu, 's father was ruling Mae Hōng Sōn (i.e. Ko:n Lòn), was named Phaya: Phrá' Tho:η (พญาพระทอง) in Thai. This was the title and name given him by the King of Chiang Mai.

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He was Tô:ngsû:, but doesn't know if he was the Tô:ngsû: who built the first pagoda in Mae Hông Sôn [unlikely because he was later than the time when the pagoda was built]. He says that the ruler of Myan Yuam at this time may have been named Āo Nô:i Hât. Myan Pa:i was also separate.

He said that Phaya: Phrá' Tho:ŋ sent gold 'flowers' as tribute to the King of Chiang Mai. At this time Mê:la:Nô:i was under Myan Yuam while Mê:la:lũaŋ was under Khũn Yuam.

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

#### Shan Place Names:

Simon discovered in Mê:la:Nô:i that the Shan name for the settlement is Me-la'p,ŋ (where p,ŋ is cognate with N. Thai 'p' which appears in the word la'p'ŋ (လားပဲခူး), 'child') and for Mê:la:lũaŋ is Me-la'lón. Me:lá'(Mê:la:) is the name of a river and La' is the Shan word for Lúa'. Regarding the term la' Simon says it can be found also in the Shan States. For example, one kind of Palung located in S.E. part of Lashio district just on the edge of the Wa state (Headquarters at Myosa Lo-i mo, in Taa'ŋ Yaa,ŋ Township) are called by the Shan, Lo-ila' in polite speech and la'ki-n hó (i.e. 'Lúa' zat head') in disrespectful speech.

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Shan Romanization:

The following is Lehman's romanization of Shan.

Initials:

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

Finals:

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

Vowels:

i y u  
e ə o  
ɛ a ɔ  
(aa)

Tones:

h ʰ  
High (tense) ṽ v̂ v̄  
Low (lax) V- v̌ v̇  
1V-  
2V̌  
3V̇  
4V̄  
5v̄ʰ  
6V̂ (V̂)

NB: On the use of the letter "y"

as a vowel: high, back, unrounded  
(eg. lyʰ (Thai Lue)

as a glide: high, back, unrounded

(eg. never heard initial final as in ka - lăy (where)

front, high, unrounded

(eg. yǔ (be, at, stay)

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Note on "length" (on a only!): a contrasts with aa only in closed  
syllables; before k, ng,t, n, p, m, i, u

never before y (back, unrounded glide)

never after initial clusters, ie.,  $\# C \left\{ \begin{array}{l} W \\ Y \end{array} \right\} V (C) \#$

Other Notes on Shans:

Kris and Simon both are bewildered by the term ḡiao (<sup>ḡ</sup>ḡḡḡḡ) which the Northern Thai use for Shan. They say that they have never heard the term in Burma and the Shans themselves do not use the term. The term, incidently, is listed in no N. Thai dictionary except Purnell's where it is glossed as "Shan people" but it is listed in McFarland where it is glossed as "serpents (in general); the Shans, a tribe living in Northern Siam." When I was most recently in Bangkok, a Thai with an Indiana Ph.D. in Political Science and who now works for USOM/Research Division, Sompḡḡḡḡ Sangchai (Sḡmpḡḡḡḡ:ḡ Sḡḡḡḡḡḡ) said that he thought the term ḡiao did not refer to the Shans at all - that is to the Shans as they are known from Burma.

Kinship Terms for Monks:

On the trip to Mae Hḡḡḡḡ Sḡḡḡḡ, we had a number of monks with us. As I have ~~got~~ to be quite close to these and other monks, Sanga introduced kinship terms for Nihom's use. Thus, for the CKA who is my elder by a few years, she said NAK should call him lḡḡḡḡ lḡḡḡ. For a monk who is my junior, lḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ.

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Po:i khǎo sǎn:

Yesterday and today we have observed a ceremony called locally po:i khǎo sǎn (ปออิ khao san). Po:i is the N. Thai word for festival, khǎo - 'rice', sǎn is cognate with sǎnkhá- i.e. Buddhist monks. The meaning of sǎn here is similar to the central Thai word sǎnkhátha:n (สังฆทาน) - "gifts, alms, or food presented to Buddhist monks (McFarland, 843) usually to make merit for a dead relative. Sanguan Chô:ttisùkkhàrát's Thíao Muan Nya lé'Wátthánátham Praphe:ni:khô:ng Muan Nya (เที่ยวเมืองเหนือ และวัดพระธาตุนครเชียงใหม่) ['Touring the North and Northern Customs and Mores'] (Bangkok: Odeon Store, 2505 [1962], pp. 76-77) has a short note on this custom which in translation is as follows:

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

In the morning of the 9th we visited the house of Mrs. Kian Mání:lâ:t (นางเก๋อง มณี แด) who was the sponsor of the ceremony in order to make merit for her late husband, Poline Sgt. Sát (พ่อกษัตริย์), and one of

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(145) her children, Bam<sup>u</sup> ( ບ້ານ ), who died in childhood. She invited us to the celebration by offering us a candle in a silver khán (receiving the candle indicated our willingness to attend). The invitation was couched in the terms that she would like to invite us to join in making merit. We also talked to Mrs. K'ian's father, Police Maj. Sgt. Bun Phóp ( ບຸນຟອບ ). We were told that today was a day of preparation and that the actual ceremony would be on the 10th at 7:00 in the morning. As we were planning to attend another ceremony during the day on the 9th, we didn't see any of the preparations or what else went on. However, this morning we heard that guests had been fed during the day and entertained with so: music (traditional Northern music).

All informants we talked to agreed that the ceremony had as its purpose the making of merit for the deceased, though it was not specified that the deceased need have died in childbirth (as was obviously not the case in the ceremony being described).

The offering was a small house, complete to the details of corrugated iron roofing, windows, veranda, etc. The house was big enough that a person could climb up and sit inside of it. In N. Thai this house is called a hyannó:i ( ไฮอันฮือ ). In this case, the house had two 'rooms' because two souls were involved. They were filled with everyday household objects: mattresses (2), mosquito nets (2), blankets, clothing, mirrors, pillows, eating utensils, spittoon, bucket, calendars, etc. The interior was also decorated with paper flowers, garlands, and streamers. In each of the rooms were photographs of the two deceased for whom the ceremony was being held. This morning there were also three 'ritual' objects in the house: (1) a monk's alms bowl, the significance of which I did not gather; (2) an object called a tun, and (3) a metal tray filled with ash. [246]

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[196]  
The tun is generically of the same class as the Shan taam kho<sub>n</sub>, although it is much smaller, being about 1 1/2' high. The longer name for it is tunlek ( တုလက် ) - i.e. 'iron banner' or tun to:η ( တုတေ ) - 'golden banner'. The top of the tun in this ceremony was a representation of a lotus made from tin. Hanging from the rim of the tun were a number of symbolic objects including a 'boat', 'paddle', 'raft', 'pole for propelling a raft', and 7 pieces of wood of the same shape. Some of the latter had pieces of metal inside and some other things. The symbolism of the boat and raft is that the spirit of the dead might need a craft to cross the river dividing hell from heaven (this was Saman's explanation) or to reach the house of the spirits (Mr. Insuan's explanation). [Saman, incidently, says that the large banners which the Shan call taam kho<sub>n</sub> do exist in N. Thai temples. They are called tun also.]

tun (tun lek or tun to:η)

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<sup>[243]</sup> The tray of ash, Mr. Insuan explained, was used for a sort of divination.

[The Mr. Insuan being referred to in this description and in the description of the ordination of novices which follows is a native of Mae Sariang, married to a woman from B. Khapuan. He is now a court official, but was once a monk at Wát Benčá in Bangkok and acts as a senior layman in Mae Sariang. He is very knowledgeable about local customs.]

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

Shortly after we arrived another monk came. (There must be an odd number of monks and be at least 5) The monks present were the abbot of Wát Sǐ:bunryan, the abbot of Wát Sítthímongkhon, the abbot from Wát Co:m Cĕ:ŋ<sup>[244]</sup>, and monks from Wáts Chaiyalá:p, Kíttiwong, and Co:ŋ Sŭ:ŋ (an old monk). The 7th monk was also from Wát Sǐ:bunryan. Also, present in the room was a lay religious practitioner, Ača:n Wenta:n ( อาจารย์ (อากาต) ) [Ača:n is the functional equivalent mō: in the N.E.].

In this room were also a set of offerings consisting of 6 buckets filled with various items and 3 basins filled with similar things. These are called locally kŭai sǎŋ ( กวยสาม ). One of the wash basins contained the following: a coconut still in its outer husk, a 'money tree' tied together<sup>[245]</sup>

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[๑๙๖] with candles, incense, and flowers and wrapped at the bottom with banana leaves, banana leaf 'ba:isǎ:' (or something that looked like a ba:isǎ:), 2 paper cylinders containing something I couldn't see, a bag of milled rice, bottle of fish sauce, tin of milk, soap, cookies, tinned fish, candles, homemade cigarettes, bunches of garlic.

The ceremony began with the aċa:n chanting announcing about the making of merit for the persons who have died, and asking that the persons who have died to come and receive the merit from the relative sponsoring the ceremony.

Then the monks were presented with their breakfast. First two trays of food and two glasses were presented to the senior monks. This Mr. Insuan said was the ta:n khǎn khâo ( ทานข้าว ), i.e. 'presentation of food' (literally, 'offering-tray-rice') in memory of the sponsors' dead parents. [I wonder, however, if it wasn't for the two deceased for whom the ceremony was being held.] Then one monk poured the water as truat ná:m to send the merit to the dead and to inform the sponsors' parents spirits of the ceremony so that they can come and express their satisfaction.

After this formal presenting of food, the monks sat around low tables and ate. During their breakfast, the aċa:n chanted.

After breakfast three monks gave simultaneous sermons. The abbot of Sǎ:bunryaŋ gave a sermon in one half of the little house (the sponsor's husband's side) and the abbot of Wát Sítthímongkhon gave a sermon in the other half of the little house (the sponsor's child's side). The abbot of Wát Co:m Cê:ŋ gave a sermon in the upper room. All sermons were in N. Thai and all the merit received from this sermon was dedicated to the deceased. [๑๙๗]



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<sup>[390]</sup>  
Yesterday, Mr Insuan also talked about this ceremony. He said that it is similar to the ceremony of the Chinese called kongték (กงเต็ก) in which many objects are made in paper for the use of the deceased and then burned at a ceremony. He thinks that the po:i khão sǎn is a custom of Mahayāna origin which came into this area via Kengtung. The CKA says that the Karen have a similar custom, but they put jewelry and the kind in the offering. However, they only make a temporary present of the gifts to the monks and then come and reclaim the objects.

The ceremony was over by 9:30 in the morning today. It is commonly held in the 6th lunar month, northern reckoning. But it can be, according to Insuan, held any time except during lent. Not everyone does it, but only those who can afford it. There were at least two others on the same day on the opposite shore which the CKA attended.

Po:i Lû:k Kĕ:o:

Today and yesterday we have also been involved in ceremonies surrounding the ordination of one monk and two novices from Bâ:n Khapuan - a Northern Thai village south of Mae Sariang about two miles on the opposite side of the river. Most of the explanations of this ceremony come from Mr. Insuan who was present.

The name of this ceremony in N. Thai is po:i lû:k kĕ:o (ปอ:ย ลู:ก เก:อ) - literally 'the ceremony of the precious (or jeweled) child'. Saṅuan (op. cit. pp. 74-76) gives the following description of this ceremony (as translated by me): <sup>[300]</sup>

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"Among the po:i or festivals, there is besides the po:iluaŋ, a 'little' po:i - namely the merit-making po:i of ordination into the clergy which in the north is called po:i buət lû:k kē:o ( ปอยบวชลูกแก้ว ) ['festival of ordaining the precious child']. In this ceremony if the person who arranges it has a good status [i.e. is wealthy enough], he will perhaps build a temporary pavillion (which in the north is called phă:n) in front of his house and decorate it with offerings and The 'Eight Requisites' ( ๘สิ่งของอัฐบริวาร ). In this ceremony, the preparation of the decoration takes place one day before. This day is called in the south wan sũkdip ( วันสุกดิบ ) ['ripe day']. [On this day] there are various entertainments for the people who join in the rejoicing (in the north, [these guests] are called kon ma: ho:m ( คนมาซ่อม ) [can't find ho:m listed in any dictionary]), such as like: and so:myaŋ. However today, there has likely been progress in some places and there is short music to listen to also.

"On this day of preparations, neither called po:i luaŋ or po:i nó:i, there is the food preparation to look after and many buffalo and cattle to butcher because in some places the usual number of guests is in the thousands. People in the rural areas have many connections and they are likely to know each other well. When they have a merit-making ceremony, they then spread the news widely. Otherwise it will be believed that they do

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not love and respect one another. Therefore, looking after guests is a major undertaking. The cooks will work until they are exhausted. But the feeding of guests takes place only during the day. For po:i lǔaŋ festivals, there must be feeding of the priests in the morning as well, besides that, there will be feeding of guests at the time of monk's morning and mid-day meals. After that time there will be no feeding of food other than drinks such as orange juice and betel, mīaŋ, and cigarettes which are normally available for guests in the North.

"In this ceremony when the day of preparations is finished, the following day there will be the ordination at the wát. Usually, it is popular to have the ordination in the morning. The thamkhwǎn ná:k ( ทำขวัญนาค ) ['calling of the khwǎn of the novitiate'] of the south also exists in the north and is called hó:ŋkhǔan lú:k kē:ɔ ( ชื่อขวัญลูกแก้ว ) which is the calling of the khǔan of the novitiate himself for which there is a ba:isǐ: ( บายศรี ) and an Ača:n (namely, [a man from among] the group of nǎ:n ( น่าน ) [N.T.] or thít ( ทิด หรือ ทิณฑ [C.T.] who have left the monkhood. As for people who have been and left, they are called 'Nó:i' ( น้อย ). For example, a person whose name is Bunma: would be called Nó:i Bunma:.) who is the person skilled in calling the khwǎn

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to come to the ceremony by chanting [literally 'rhythmically reading'] for it to hear. There is reference, as in the south, to the merit of the father and mother [of the novitiate]."

For a description of an ordination ceremony in another part of the North see Kingshell, 1965:102-109.

We arrived in B. Khápuang about 10:30 on the 9th. The festivities were taking place at the house of Lurnó:i w8: ( ลูน่อว ) who was the arranger of the ceremony. [literally, this person is called 'the owner' of the ceremony - เจ้าของงาน - chao khō:ŋ ɲa:n] When we arrived the novitiates (two would-be-novices and one would-be-monk) were not around. It was explained that they were at Wát Ná:m Díp from where the procession would come. This explains why we passed so many people carrying drums, gifts, etc. in the opposite direction as we were coming into the village. Since there was no activity going on when we arrived, I took the opportunity to ask some questions about the ceremony.

Mr. Insuan explained that in Shan this ceremony is called să:ŋ loŋ (să:ŋ is the Shan word for novice). In this ceremony, the novitiates will ride on horses. The actual ordination will take place at Wát Kittiwong since the ceremony for ordaining a monk must be held in a bô:t and must be conducted by a monk qualified to ordain, neither of which exist in the nearby wáts of Ná:m Díp, Húi Wô:k or Khápuang.

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Next to Lu<sup>n</sup>ó:i Wa:'s house had been erected a pavillion covering a raised platform. In front of this platform was a table. On the platform were four clerical beds, each with an assortment of offerings. One of these beds was for the monk-to-be, two for the novices, and one for the Buddha. On these beds were placed highly decorated pillows, mats, paper flowers in vases, water jugs, mattresses, also highly decorated, some money trees. On at least one of them there was a priest's blanket, a clothsack containing scriptures, a monk's fan, the "8 requisites" (called khūaṅ buat - เครื่องบวช - in N. Thai), lacquered pha:n and betel box, two bundles of reeds/branches called să:lida: ( สาละ ) on which white cloth is placed, 'lotus flowers' in representational form made of woven bamboo used for wâi-ing, other flowers made of wax, a mattress called a tsana: ( เสื่อ ) on which preaching is done. Also, on each bed were white cloths to be used in the ceremony and candles and incense.

On the table in front of the platform there were the following: a money tree stuck in a water jug, two trees decorated respectively with 'gold' leaves and with 'silver' leaves (these are called dò:kmái tho:ṅ - and dò:kmái ṅe:n and dò:k mái să:li kham - and dò:kmái să:liṅe:n - in N. Thai. They represent the Bo tree), one large golden-colored Buddha image modeled on the Emerald Buddha, one Buddha image in the form of the Naga protecting Buddha, one wooden image in Chiangsă:n style made recently in Chiang Mai, one image of a monk (not Khru:ba: Sǐ:wíchai), two small black-ware vases containing artificial flowers, one bă:t and one silver khăṅ in which the guests place money to help in this merit-making.

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Mr. Insuan said that this is the time of the year for ordinations and funerary rites.

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

I noticed that next to the pavillion was a temporary shrine at which offerings are made to the gods of the four directions and to those of heaven earth (see notes for November 30, 1967). The shrine is called, according to Insuan, tā:o tānsi: ( ตัวตั้งสี่ ) [see notes of November 31, 1967 for etymology]. He said that offerings are made to these the:wada: in order to have them come and help insure that all goes well with the ceremony. Insuan, together with Ača:n Wentā:n whom I met at the po:i khão sǎn, gave me the following list of the:wada: propitiated at this shrine:

<u>East:</u>	<u>ตัวตั้งทิศตะวันออก</u>	( <u>tā:o thóttalátha</u> )
<u>West:</u>	<u>ตัวตั้งทิศตะวันตก</u>	( <u>tā:o wípak</u> )
<u>North:</u>	<u>ตัวตั้งทิศเหนือ</u>	( <u>tā:o kuwe:n</u> )
<u>South:</u>	<u>ตัวตั้งทิศใต้</u>	( <u>tā:o wírúnláha'</u> )
<u>Top:</u>	<u>พระอินทร์</u>	( <u>Phá' In</u> )
<u>Bottom:</u>	<u>แม่ธรณี</u>	( <u>Mê: Thóláni:</u> )

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These names differ somewhat from those obtained before (November 30, 1967) and are more similar to those given in Nāi Mē:t's dictionary.

The ceremony here had been performed the night before. Mr. Insuan says that these divinities are propitiated especially at the times of housebuilding and ordinations. The person who was in charge of the ceremony is called in N. Thai ʔa:ǎ:n ( ๑๙๖๘ ).

We were served lunch consisting of a ks:ŋ c̣:t and phr̄ík ds:ŋ with glutinous rice. It was interesting to note that glutinous rice was served because this makes the village seem much more khonmyan than other lowland Thai villages in the area.

After lunch the procession began. We met it as it was coming into the village. The three novitiates were riding horses (really pony<sup>ies</sup>) which in turn were being controlled by 4 young men. A fifth young man held a decorated umbrella over the head of the novitiates. In front of the procession were older men carrying phan with gifts on them. The procession entered wát B. Khápuan (This wát is interesting since the wíh.ǎ:n has its main entrance on the opposite side as the entrance to wát grounds. Thus, on entering the wát one is faced not with the front entrance of this wíh.ǎ:n but with the back end. The reason for this is that the Buddha images in the wíh.ǎ:n must always face East. However, the path from which one enters the wát is on the West). The procession circled once about the wíh.ǎ:n, towards the left from the point of view of the gate of the wát, and also <sup>if one</sup> were facing the front of the wíh.ǎ:n (this is not the 'correct' direction for circling - see below). Then the procession approached the khūtī. The novitiates were carried off

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their mounts and up into the khuti. Here they knelt before a lone monk, presented him the offerings which the older men were carrying, 'begged his pardon' ( ၂၀၅၂၇ - khǒ:sǎ:ma: ) and received the monk's blessing. (They had apparently done the same thing in Wát Húai Wǒ:k and in Wát Ná:m Dǐ:p.) The novitiates were carried back to their mounts and then the whole procession circled the wíhǎ:n once again in the same direction, left the wát and moved towards the house of the sponsor.

However, before reaching the house, the procession stopped somewhere and the novitiates were given their lunch. About an hour later, the procession did arrive at the house. The procession paraded through the pavillion and coins and popped rice were thrown in front of the novitiates. Then they were carried to the platform and there they sat for awhile (not upon the beds but upon mats placed on the platform). They were given drinks and fanned (it was a very hot afternoon). Then they were carried back to their horses.

The procession then went to a suburb village of B. Dong where they went to the shrine of the village tutelary spirit, the čáo myan. The procession circled the shrine once and then drew up in front of it. The novitiates did not enter the structure but an old man ("who could be any old man") entered and presented vases with long leaves. This same custom had taken place before at the B. Khápuang shrine.

The procession returned and the novitiates apparently went to rest. I took the opportunity to ask about what else was to occur. I was told that in the early evening, there will be the ceremony of 'calling the khwǎn' - thamkhwǎnná:k ( ၂၀၅၂၇ ) in Thai and hó:ŋ khǎn ( ၂၀၅၂၇ ).

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This ceremony will be performed by an ača:n hó:ŋ khǔan ( อาจาอน ห่อง ข้วน ).  
After this ceremony, the novitiates will go to 'beg forgiveness' ( ขอขมา )  
from various elders. The elders will respond by 'tying the wrists'  
( มัดข้อมือ ) of the novitiates. The elders will also give the novitiates  
some small change. These are customs of respect.

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

Tomorrow morning there will be a procession from Khápuan to Wát  
Kittiwong where the ordination will take place. It is expected the procession  
will reach the wát about 12:30 - 1:00 P.M.

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

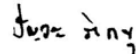
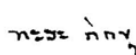
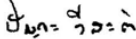
Sometime after 4:00 P.M., the novitiates came back to the pavillion and  
we thought the calling of the khwǎn was about to take place. However instead,  
new form of entertainment (apparently the so:kèpnók) began. We listened to  
this for awhile and then left.

Today we went to Wát Kittiwong at about 12:30 only to discover that  
the would-be-monk had passed out and was now il (at first they thought he  
had died). Sanga, who was with us, said that perhaps he didn't have sufficient  
bun to enter the monkhood. But he was revived and the ceremony did take place  
in the afternoon.

I asked the CKA how many monks would be present at the ordination.  
He said that there would be 10. There must be at least 5, but in up-country  
towns there are usually 10. In Bangkok there are usually 25. He gave me the  
following names of groups of monks:

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1. 	pañcā phikkhā	5 monks
2. 	thāsā phikkhā	10 monks
3. 	pañcā wi:sāṭṭi	25 monks

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

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

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



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On the right-hand side of the bò:t were placed the robes for the novitiates and the monk's bowl. Slightly off of center-left were ranged 11 coconuts all with <sup>c</sup>andles in the tops of them.

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

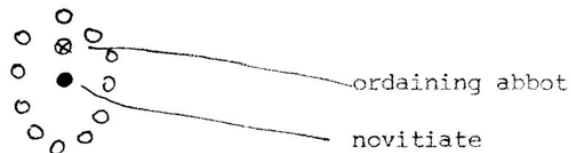
The details of the ordination were not recorded, (see Wells, 1960: 135-151) because my tape recorder is out of order. But I did make the following observations:

- 1) The two novices were received before the new monk, the littlest/ youngest novice seemingly taking a subordinate position to that of his elder.
- 2) All three were given their robes, and the new monk his bowl, from a layman or laymen before approaching the monks. Dress was not donned, however, until they had first been presented to the ordaining abbot and then returned to the novitiate. One inner robe was placed over the head of the novitiate by the monks and then the novitiate withdrew to the right-hand side of the bò:t to finish changing into his robe.
- 3) The CKA who was the ordaining abbot instructed each of the novitiates<sup>s</sup> in Thai.

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- 4) After the monk-to-be had changed into his yellow robe, he received his alms bowl from the ordaining monk and then withdrew to the doorway of the bò:t. At this point, the service took a far more sacred ana. No layman was allowed to sit anywhere in the bò:t where he would be closer to the altar than any of the monks. The questioning of the monk-to-be about his filling the necessary qualifications was conducted at the doorway. Then the monk-to-be stood on a white cloth at the doorway.
- 5) After the questioning monks had performed their duty and reported to the ordaining monk, the monk-to-be was called forward. The lower monks then moved so that the novitiate was entirely surrounded:



- 6) Nobody in the lay audience wái-ed during the service, thus suggesting that the ritual was entirely that of the clergy and that the laity were only on-lookers, not participants. The only exception was the truat ná:m.

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- 7) The trúat ná:m at the end of the service was performed by the new monk now sitting with the rest of the clergy:



The laity did wái, but the merit accrued was solely that of the new monk and thus his alone to dispense to other sentient beings. (I did not notice if the two new novices also performed the trúat ná:m but I think not. )

- 8) After the official end of the service, the laity lined up outside the bò:t and the new monk and novices moved down the line. The people placed coins in the monk's alms bowl and the novices' bags. Thus, the first act as a new monk (and novice) was to provide the laity with an opportunity to make merit by giving to the clergy.

#### Traditional House Style:

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

The gable ends on the roof of a traditional house are called locally kala: ( กาลา ) (in Thai pánlom ( ปันลม ) ).

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Above the door of the bedroom in such a house is a carved wooden panel called hăm ñon ( หำฮง or หำฮง or หำฮง ) - hăm is testicles and ñon probably is cognate with Thai pháyon ( พายอน ), 'unfolded'. (Nai Mêt's dictionary gives the gloss 'article brought to life by magician's incantation'). [I have discovered from other sources that this panel symbolizes 'maleness' and the dominance of maleness in a household.]

These traditional houses are not straight up and down in line, but slant in slightly from the roof to the base. The shape thus made with the roof and base on the outer edge of the house is called locally hũ: cá:n ( หูช้าง ) - i.e. 'buffalo's ear'. Since the main inner room outer wall on one side short of the outer edge of the building, there is symmetry on the two edges. However, the inner wall also slants in. A board protrudes past the end of the inner room, creating a small alcove. This is called fã:láp na:n ( ฝาลับนาง ) since young girls sit leaning against the board.

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

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

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

Insuan thinks that the slanting shape of the house may symbolize a casket.

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[70] Karens in B. Khapuang:

There were three Karens at the festivities in B. Dong. They had accompanied a Khonmyan petty merchant and were helping her (carrying water, etc.)

Coconut Water:

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

[71] Shan and Northern Thai Wáts:

Mr. Insuan explained that the old name for Wát Sǐ:bunryaŋ was Wát Mâ:k Ke:ŋ ( วัดนมาคง ) - mâ:k ke:ŋ apparently is a form of tamarind (it isn't listed in Na:i Mê:t's dictionary but it may be a Shan word). He says it was a Shan wát in which Northern Thai texts were studied.

Wáts Sǐ:bunryaŋ and Uthaya:rom are physically connected, but the former is now a Northern Thai wát while the latter is Shan. If one has been a novice in the former, his lay title is nó:i, but if in the latter să:ŋ ( สาญ ) - i.e. tsàaŋ. (An ex-monk in Northern Thai is called nă:h - นาค ). [71]















March 12, 1968

Conversation with Young Monk at Wát Kittiwong:

This evening I went over to Wát Kittiwong to talk with the Phrá' Khru:. However, he hadn't yet returned from a trip to the Tribal Development Center, so I talked with a young monk while I waited.

This monk, Phrá' Máhá: Á:t Áa:tsáphó: (พระมหาอาจ อาสโง ) has the following official characteristics (from the short information given in the list of the Thammáča:rik monks): ๗๕ . (ประโยคธรรม) 4, ๗๕. (หน้าธรรม) ๒๐๓ , 24 years old, monk for three lenten periods.

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

He has studied in Mae Hqng Sqn at two different wáts (but doesn't read Shan although he can now speak it) and in Lamphur.

This is his second year as a Thammáča:rik monk. He only speaks a few words of Karen.

I noticed a number of 'temple boys' (Khaño:m - ขะโงม - in Northern Thai) in the wát. I asked this monk about them. He said that there were 11 of them, all attending secular schools in town. They are all Khonmyan and come from villages outside the town.

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He was complaining about the lack of knowledge people in the villages have about local customs and gave as an example the wrong circling of the bò:t by the villagers from Khapuaŋ (see above).

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

Talk with the Āo Kháná' Amphe:

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

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

He mentioned that there will be a major sòngkhó' ceremony during Sòngkra:m. The satuaŋ will be dedicated at the wát and then taken to be left at least three 'corners' in town: (1) in front of Wát Suphanrangsǎ: (2) at the place where the bridge goes across to B. Thũŋ Lê:ŋ, and (3) near the District office.

I asked him about the meaning of khó' (khró' in Thai). He suggested that people believe it to have some sort of animate character which can be scared, beaten, etc.

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Thammáča:rík Program:

Today I helped take the monks connected with the Thammáča:rík program up into the mountains. I learned a number of things in connection with the program during the day.

ča:rík ( จารึก ), incidently, means, according to McFarland, 'one who goes from place to place; away luring man; a pilgrim' and according to Haas 'to travel, wander (often in reference to the Buddha)? Given this etymology, Thammáča:rík would seem to mean something like the 'Dharma as carried by wandering monks.'

There are four 'centers' ( ๔๗๖๖๖ ) where there are 'groups' ( ) of Thammáča:rík monks in Mae Sariang. They are all in T. Mae Sariang and are also 'centers' in the program of the Tribal Development and Welfare Center at M̄: Hó'. These centers, with the group number and ethnic identity are as follows:

Bâ:n M̄:Phs:lŭaŋ	( <u>บ้านบ่อหมักบ่อพญาลอง</u> )	Group No. 4	P'wo Karen
Bâ:n M̄: Rít	( <u>บ้านบ่อหมักบ่อริต</u> )	Group No. 5	S'kaw Karen
Bâ:n M̄: Čá:ŋ	( <u>บ้านบ่อหมักบ่อจ้ำง</u> )	Group No. 6	P'wo Karen
Bâ:n Hūai Kūŋ	( <u>บ้านบ่อหมักบ่อฮวย</u> )	Group No. 7	S'kaw Karen

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

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a) From B. Mae Sariang:

- 1) Phrá' E:lá: Kittiya:no: (พระภิกษุติญาโณ ) from Wát Uthaya:rom
  - Age 57, Monk for 8 lents, no clerical degrees.
  - Group 4
  - According to the CKA, this monk is Karen (living in a Shan wát). The CKA does not know where he came from. I noticed he has tatooing on his head as well as other parts of his body.
  
- 2) Phrá' Sí:nuan Khũn tisã:ro: (พระศรีนวล ขุนติสารโธ ) from Wát Ná:m Dip
  - Age 29, Monk for 9 lents, รัชการกรมเอก
  - Group 5
  
- 3) Phrá' Máhá: À:t Áa:tsàphõ: (พระมหาอาจจาโสโธ )
  - from Wát Kittiwong
  - Age 24, 3 lents as monk, ประโยคธรรม 4, พ.ศ. ๒๕๐๗
  - Group 5
  - Khonmuan (for further information on this monk see above March 12, 1968)
  
- 4) Phrá' Sínkham Sí:láte:cho: (พระสิงห์คำสีลชโย )
  - from Wát Sí:bunryan
  - Age 24, Monk for 4 lents, พ.ศ. ๒๕๐๗
  - Group 6
  
- 5) Phrá' Duandi: Kantáthamno: (พระดวงดี กนตฐโธ )
  - from Wát Kittiwong
  - Age 24, Monk for 1 lent, พ.ศ. ๒๕๐๗
  - Group 6

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- 6) Phrá' Sǒnc̄it Punyáka:mo: (พระสมจิตร ปุญญาภาว )  
- from Wát Mē:la:Nó:i (N. Wát)  
- Age 28, Monk 3 lents, พ.ศ. ๒๐๓  
- Group 6  
- Probably Shan
- 7) Phrá' Dunpǎn Ya:násǒ:pháno: (พระบุญปน ญาณโสมโณ )  
- from Wát Waihũ:n khun (S. Wát, Mē:la:Nó:i)  
- Age 25, Monk for 5 lents, พ.ศ. ๒๐๓  
- Group 7  
- Shan (monk who was on trip to hills with us - see above)
- 8) Phrá' Sǒmcha:i Thán táčitto: (พระสมชาย ธานีโชธา )  
- from Wát Chaiyalá:p  
- Age 26, Monk for 6 lents, พ.ศ. ๒๐๓  
- Group 7
- b) From Mae Hǒng Sǒn excluding Mae Sariang:
- 1) Phrá' Somphon Itsáro: (พระสมพล อีสสระ )  
- from Wát Pho:tha:ra:m (วัดโพธาราม ), Khũn Yuam  
- Age 25, Monk for 5 lents, พ.ศ. ๒๐๓  
- Group 4  
- Probably Shan
- 2) Phrá' Niyom Pàphàtsáro: (พระนิยม ปภัสสร )  
- from Wát Co:ng Khum (วัดจองคำ ), Amphə: Myan, Mae Hǒng Sǒn  
- Age 26, Monk for 6 lents, พ.ศ. ๒๐๓  
- Group 4  
- Probably Shan

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c) From Bangkok - Thonburi

- 1) Phrá' Máhá:Níphon Sùmhē:ttásō: (พระมหาพิภพสิทธิ์ สุขเมตโส )
  - Wát Máhānpħa:ra:m (วัดมหาพรตมหาวิหาร ), Bangkok
  - Age 24, Monk for 3 lents, ปช. 4 , พศ. ๒๐๓
  - Group 4
  
- 2) Phrá' Máhá: Nū:phét Mū:phon Sīrīwátthako: (พระมหาบุญเพชร สิริวิฑูตมโก )
  - Wát Phō:kê:o (วัดโพธิ์แก้ว ), Thonburi
  - Age 25, Monk for 5 lents, ปช. 4 , พศ. ๒๐๓
  - Group 4
  
- 3) Phrá' Máhá: Bunsī: Sāntikāro: (พระมหาบุญศรี สุขธิกโร )
  - Wát Thē:pthīda:ra:m (วัดเทพธิดาราม ), Bangkok
  - Age 26, Monk for 6 lents, ปช. 4 , พศ. ๒๐๓
  - Group 5
  
- 4) Phrá' Máhá: Tho:ṅsāo Sī:hārātāno: (พระมหาทองใส สิริธโร )
  - Wát Prācha:sātħa:tham (วัดประศาศรัทธาธรรม ), Bangkok
  - Age 24, Monk for 3 lents, ปช. 4 , พศ. ๒๐๓
  - Group 5
  
- 5) Phrá' Máhá: Āphīrom A:nantho: (พระมหาอภิรมย์ อานนท์ )
  - Wát Chānāsōṅkhra:m (วัดชนะสงคราม ), Bangkok
  - Age 30, Monk for 10 lents, ปช. 4 , พศ. ๒๐๓
  - Group 6

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- 6) Phrá' Máhá: Bunnā:k Khè:maṅkaro: (พระมหาบุญภาค เขมรบุรี )  
- Wát Khīan (วัดเขี้ยว ) เขมรบุรี  
- Age 25, Monk for 5 lents, ปี. 4 , พศ. ๒๕๐  
- Group 6
- 7) Phrá' Máhá: Wíró:t me:tātiko: ( วิโรจน์ เขมรบุรี ) or Phū:tsīn  
( พิชัย )  
- Wát Fǎ:ŋ ( วัดหาง ) , Thonburi (Nonthaburi)  
- Age 31, Monk for 10 lents, ปี. 4 , พศ. ๒๕๐  
- Group 7
- 8) Phrá' Máhá: Sāwà:ŋ ? ( พระมหาสว่าง ? )  
- Wát Rā:tpho:tho:ŋ ( วัดราษฎร์ศรัทธาของ )  
- Age 28, Monk for 5 lents, ปี. 4 , พศ. ๒๕๐  
- Group 7

d) Meo Novices:

- 1) Sǎ:mmáne:n Saksī: Sê:thǎo ( สอน. ศักดิ์ศรี เขมร )  
- Wát Bencámábòphít, Bangkok  
- Age 17, พศ. ๒๕๐  
- Group 5  
- Originally from Nā:n
- 2) Sǎ:mmáne:n Sāwà:ŋ Sê: Só:ŋ (?) ( สอน. สว่าง เขมร )  
- Wát Bencámábòphít, Bangkok  
- Age 14 , พศ. ๒๕๐  
- Group 7  
- Originally from Nā:n

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Summary:

Mae Sariang (Including Mê:la:Nó:i)	8 monks
Mae Hong Son (Excluding Mae Sariang)	2 monks
Bangkok - Thonburi	8 monks
Meo Novices	<u>2 novices</u>
Total	20

In addition, each group has with them a khaño:m from Mae Sariang (three from Wát Kittiwong) who gets a token pay for their services.

I took part of the supplies and monks for B. Hûai Kûṅ.

Lua<sup>7</sup> Villagers and The Khru: Ba: Khă:o

Today I met four Lua<sup>7</sup> villagers (including two teenage boys) from B. Dong at Wát Kittiwong. They told me that they were on their way to Chiang Mai to find the Khru: Ba: Khă:o. I asked why. They said they were going to offer alms to him. One boy, who answered me, said that he has never been to Chiang Mai before. They are either going with some Karens or Karens are looking for the Khru: Ba: Khă:o as well.

Fears of the Head of the Tribal Development Center:

While at the Tribal Development Center, I overheard the head tell the CKA about running into a wandering monk near Hûai Kûṅ. He suspected that he really wasn't a monk because (1) he didn't have a registration book, (2) he first said he was from one wát in Chiang Mai and then changed his story and said that he was from another wát, and (3) he was going about giving free injections to the Karens. The head said he suspects that he really is a communist.

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

Bâ:n Hûai Kûng:

The Karen village of B. Hûai Kûng (which is very accessible to the main Mae Sariang - Hò:t road) has a notable 'development leader' in a young man of about 20 who has planted large gardens, and built fences to keep out pigs, etc. He has been to Lamphur and dresses like a Thai.

According to one informant asked by the CKA, the headman of this village is addicted to opium.. Meos come through selling opium, but none is grown by villagers themselves. Karens seem more addicted to opium than Lua'.

Po:i Khào Săn:

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

On the way out of town, I noticed another one of these ceremonies being held in a house near Wát Co:m Cê:n. <sup>(x)</sup>

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<sup>139)</sup> Karen Suicide:

In looking through my pictures taken on the trip to the hills, some Bân Dong villagers pointed out that one of the three young Karen maidens who had <sup>1310)</sup> posed for me had committed suicide in with her lover. (According to Pete such suicides of lovers are quite common among Karens).

March 16, 1968

'Confirmation' as Buddhists for Tribal Children:

In reading through Wells' Thai Buddhism I discovered a description of the ceremony called phúttháma:mákà' (พุทธมามาการ) which was held for students in B. Pà:Pě: and B. Dong . According to Wells (1960:254-5) this ceremony is a 'confirmation' ceremony in which young people declare themselves to be avowed Buddhists.

The Confirmation Ceremony is for young students who are prepared to declare themselves Buddhamamaka or avowed Buddhists. The ceremony dates from the 1920's and had its origin in an earlier rite in which students vowed adherence to Buddhism before going abroad to study. ( , p. 245)

Ceremony of Raising a Che:di: in a Lowland Karen Village:

Today I received an invitation from a lû:ksit of Wát Kittiwong inviting me to a ceremony connected with raising a che:di: in the lowland Karen villages Mê:tò:p nũa and Mê:tò:p kla:η (two villages, one che:di:). The following is a translation of the invitation:

SCHEDULE OF THE MERIT-MAKING  
[OF] RAISING THE CROWN OF A CHE:DI: AND ORDINATION  
OF HILL TRIBE CHILDREN  
[IN THE] KAREN VILLAGES OF MÊ:TÒ:P NỮA AND MÊ: TÒ:P KLA:η  
TAMBON BÂ:N KÂ:T, AMPHƏ: MAE SARIANG,  
ČANGWAT MAE HONG SON  
-----

March 16, 1968

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Because we in Mê:tò:p nŷa and Mê:tò:p kla:ŋ villages in Tambon Bâ:n Kà:t have a deep faith in Buddhism and [because in] these villages there is no village wát, [we] have pooled our strength and wills to build a village Che:di: as a place in which to worship. [This has been done] with the permission of the Cào Kháná' Amphè: Mae Sariang. Now that the building is completed, we are prepared to raise the crown of the che:di: and to have the customary festivities according to the following schedule:

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

9:00 A.M. Procession bringing the crown of the che:di: from Bâ:n Pà:Mà:k to Wát Kittiwong.

3:00 P.M. Procession of the crown of the che:di: and four lú:k kô:o (sà:ŋ lo:ŋ)\* along the various streets in the sanitary district [i.e. Mae Sariang town and environs] followed by the arranging of a festival at Wát Kittiwong. In the evening there will be a movie and so:ya:ŋ ( ꨀꨁꨂꨃꨄ ) [Karen singing].

\* Lú:k kô:o ( လူကော့ ) is the Northern Thai word for those who are to be ordained as novices. Sà:ŋ lo:ŋ ( သံလော ) is Shan word (in Thai transcription) for the same thing.

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19 March 1968

9:00 A.M. Procession of the top of the Che:di: to  
Mê:tô:p nŭa village.

7:30 P.M. Movie showing.

20 March 1968

9:00 A.M. Ceremony of raising the crown of the Che:di:  
Nine monks will chant the 'Auspicious Victory'  
(ชัยมงคล ) Gatha.

7:00 P.M. There will be a Northern Thai sermon concerning  
the Thammácakrákappáwátráton (ธรรมจักรกัปปวัตตทาน )  
Sutra and the Thammáphúttha:phisè:k (ธรรมพุกผาติษณ )  
There will also be the customary chanting at  
the opening of festivities and a movie.

21 March 1968 (8th day of the waning of the moon, 4th month  
southern reckoning)

8:00 A.M. There will be the ordination of the four Karen  
children and then presentation of alms at the  
che:di:. A sermon will end the ceremony.

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Therefore, we should like to invite all Buddhists to join  
in the joyful merit-making with we faithful at the times and  
places mentioned.

Signed: M. Kri:cha: ( นายกริฉะ ) In the name  
" Sùai tè' ( นายสุ้ยเต๋ ) of the faith-  
" Phá' kè: ( นายพะกะ ) ful of Mê:tò:p nũa  
" Phỳ:kahs: ( นายพ็อก ) and Mê:tò:p tâ:i  
" Mo:di' ( นายมอติ ) Villages -  
" Lè:hs: ( นายหลือ ) Sponsors.

กำหนดการทำบุญ

ยกยอกเจดีย์ และ บรรพชาเด็กชาวเขา  
หมู่บ้านกระเหรี่ยงแมตอบเหนือ แมตอบกลาง ตำบลบ้านกาศ  
อำเภอแม่สะเรียง จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

.....  
ควยซาพเจ้าทั้งหลายในหมู่บ้านแมตอบเหนือและบ้านแมตอบกลาง ตำบลบ้านกาศ  
ที่มีศรัทธาเลื่อมใสในพระพุทธศาสนาและหมู่บ้านนี้ไม่มีวัดประจำหมู่บ้าน จึงได้รวมแรงร่วมใจกัน  
ก่อสร้างพระเจดีย์ประจำหมู่บ้านขึ้นองค์หนึ่ง เพื่อเป็นที่สักการะกราบไหว้บูชา ด้วยความอุปถัมภ์  
ของเจ้าคณะอำเภอแม่สะเรียง บัดนี้การก่อสร้างได้เสร็จเรียบร้อยแล้ว จึงได้พร้อมกันยกยอก  
เจดีย์และทำบุญฉลองอบรมสมโภชตามประเพณี มีกำหนดการดังนี้.

วันที่ ๑๘ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับวันแรม ๕ ค่ำ เดือน ๔ ใต้

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. แห่ยกยอกเจดีย์จากหมู่บ้านป่าหมากมาพร้อมกันที่วัดกิตติวงศ์

เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. แห่ยกยอกเจดีย์ และลูกแก้ว(ต่างล่อง) ๔ คน ไปตามถนน  
สายต่างๆ ในเขตสุขาภิบาล แลวนำยกยอกเจดีย์และลูกแก้ว  
มาตั้งฉลองที่วัดกิตติวงศ์ กลางคืนมีฉายภาพยนตร์และชอຍง

วันที่ ๑๙ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. แห่ยกยอกเจดีย์จากวัดกิตติวงศ์ ไปยังหมู่บ้านแมตอบเหนือ

เวลา ๑๙.๓๐ น. ฉายภาพยนตร์

วันที่ ๒๐ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ทำพิธียกยอกเจดีย์ พระสงฆ์ ๕ รูป สวดชัยมงคลคาถา

เวลา ๑๘.๐๐ น. มีการแสดงพระธรรมเทศนาพื้นเมือง เรื่อง ธรรมจักรกัปปวัตร-  
ตนสูตร และ ธรรมพุทธาภิเษก สวดเบิกสมโภชตามระเพณี  
และมีการฉายภาพยนตร์

วันที่ ๒๑ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑

ตรงกับวันแรม ๔ ค่ำ เดือน ๔ ใต้

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีบรรพชากุลบุตรกระเหรี่ยง ๔ คน แล้วทำบุญถวายพระเจดีย์  
เครื่องไทยทาน มีการแสดงพระธรรมเทศนา ๑ กัณฑ์  
เป็นเสร็จพิธี

จึงขอออกบุญเชิญพุทธศาสนิกชนทั้งหลาย ไปร่วมทำบุญอนุโมทนากับศรัทธาข้าพเจ้า  
ทั้งหลาย ตาม วัน เวลา สถานที่ดังกล่าวโดยทั่วกัน.

๒๕๑๑

2 March 1968

บ้านเลขที่ 1/1 ต.เขวา อ.เมือง จ. มหาสารคาม

เรียนอาจารย์ไคส์และมาคาม เจนที่เคารพนับถือทราบ

เนื่องด้วยอาจารย์ไคส์ส่งเงินมาให้ผมเพื่อให้แจกการฝีมือของชาวบ้านหนองคันเป็นจำนวนเงิน 2500 บาทนั้นผมได้รับใบขนานติจากที่ทำการไปรษณีย์แล้วแต่วันที่ 22 แต่ผมยังไม่ได้รับเงินจากทางไปรษณีย์เลยเป็นคราว โชคดีมากเพราะว่าผมไม่ได้นำเอาบัตรประจำตัวไปแสดงด้วยแต่พอมาถึงวันที่ 23 ธันวาคม เวลา 17.00 น. มีคนร้ายประมาณ 8 คนมีปืนครบมือโผล่เข้ามาในบ้านของผม คนร้ายไล่ผมจนผมหนีเลือกคนองคิน ผมได้หลบไป คนร้ายไปยิงผมหลายที่แต่ยังมีบุญช่วยลูกปืนทุกนัดไม่ได้ถูกผมเลย แต่คนร้ายได้เก็บเอาของในบ้านไปหมดเงินของผมคนร้ายก็เอาหมกเซนกัน ปืนผมคนร้ายเอาด้วยตลอดทั้งเสื้อ กางเกงของผมและของนางเยาว์ของนวน ของบัวบานที่อาจารย์และมาคามเอาให้และของที่เอามาขายคนร้ายได้เก็บเอาไปทั้งหมด ส่วนตัวของผมได้ไปรักษาตัวอยู่ที่โรงพยาบาลตั้งหลายวัน แต่เดี๋ยวนี้ผมยังเจ็บนึคนอยที่แขน แต่ผมคิดจะเขียนจดหมายส่งข่าวให้อาจารย์และมาคามทราบตั้งแต่วันแรกแล้ว ก็เขียนไม่ได้เพราะเจ็บมากพอผมหายนอยแล้วผมจึงได้เขียนจดหมายมาเรียนให้อาจารย์ทราบผมยังโชคดี ไม่ถูกคนร้ายยิงผมตายก่อน ชาวบ้านช่วยไม่ได้มีแต่ร้องไห้เพราะว่าคนร้ายทั้ง 8 คนมีปืนทุกคน แต่ชาวบ้านไม่มีปืนเลย ถ้าชาวบ้านจะเข้ามาช่วยคนร้ายก็ยิงปืน ทุกคนกลัวตายมา ลวนตำรวจตามจับได้ โสเภจนถึงวันนี้

ส่วนอาจารย์และมาคาม เจนและคุณนิคมคงจะสบายดีตามเคย แต่ผมเสียใจด้วยว่าวันที่อาจารย์กลับจากบ้านหนองคันถึง เชียงใหม่ ได้เกิดยางรถแตกกลางทางทำให้เสียเวลามากจนไม่มีเวลาออกกินที่แม่สะเรียงเลย ผมขอแสดงความเสียใจมาณะที่นี้ด้วย ก็ขออภัยถึงหลาย

เคารพนับถืออย่างสูง

เหงา ศำวีชา

วันที่ 2 ม.ค. 2511

ท้ายนี้ขอให้อาจารย์ไคส์และมาคาม เจน คุณนิคมขอให้สบายดีมีโชคดีตลอดปี 2511  
ขอให้มีแต่ความสุขความเจริญตลอดไปเถอ .

ส่วนนวนนั้นก็ถูกคนร้ายเหาะที่ขาเหมือนกัน

Letter from Mr. Ngao, dtd. 2 March 1968, reporting robbery that occurred on 28 December 1967.

Copy  
18 March 1968

จากโรงสีข้าวบ้านหนองคัน

เรียน อาจารย์ไคส์และมาคามาเงินที่เคารพม์ถือทราบ

ขอโทษอาจารย์และมาคามาเงินมากที่ผมไม่ได้ส่งข่าวให้อาจารย์ทราบ เนื่องด้วยผม  
กลุ่มใจมากในเรื่องคนร้ายปล้นผมนั้นเอง คือเที่ยวนี้จำเป็นจะต้องเสียเงินอีกเป็นจำนวนมากให้ตำรวจไปจับคน  
ร้ายเที่ยวนี้จับได้แล้วหนึ่งคนแต่คนร้ายไม่ได้รับเลย ผมต้องเสียเงินสู่คนอีก เคียวนี้ผมเสียเงินไปในราวหนึ่งหมื่น  
บาทแล้วคนร้ายยังไม่ได้เข้าคุกเลย เป็นอย่างนี้เองจึงทำให้ผมเสียใจมากจนไม่เป็นอันทำมาหากินแล้ว

ส่วนเรื่องของอาจารย์เป็นอย่างไรและมาคามาเงินหนุ่มนี้ผมด้วยสบายดีหรือ เป็นอย่างไร  
ไรผมได้รับข่าวจากอาจารย์จำไปสอนชาวเขาเกี่ยวกับพุทธศาสนาผมได้ยินว่าชาวเขาส่วนมากเป็นคอมมิวนิสต์  
ทำให้ผมเป็นห่วงเหมือนกัน

ส่วนเรื่องเงิน 2500 บาทที่อาจารย์ส่งมาให้ข้าวบ้านหนองคันนั้นผมได้ไม่รับเอาที่  
ทำการไปรษณีย์ไม่ได้เลย ทางไปรษณีย์บอกว่าให้อาจารย์ไปติดต่อที่ทำการไปรษณีย์ที่แม่สะเรียง ให้อาจารย์ขอ  
ใบแทนบอกว่าเงินที่ส่งไปรับไม่ได้เพราะว่าใบขนานที่หายไป ขอให้อาจารย์ไปติดต่อเพื่อขอใบแทน และอีกประ  
การหนึ่ง เมื่อไหร่อาจารย์จะขึ้นมาบ้านหนองคันอีกทุกคนเป็นห่วงมากอยากจะให้อาจารย์กลับบ้านหนองคันเร็วๆ

ท้ายนี้ผมขอแสดงความนับถืออย่างสูง

เหงา คำวิภา

ขอให้อาจารย์ตอบความด้วย เคียวนี้ผมกลุ่มใจและเสียใจมาก

16 มีนาคม 2511.

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Letter from Mr. Ngao, dtd. 7 March, 1968,  
on December 1967.

March 18, 1968

[323]

Pò:i Khào Sǎn at Bâ:n Phá?

Yesterday a young boy came to invite us to a pò:i khào sǎn to be held at a house in the village of B. Phá? - the suburb village of Mae Sariang whose population is mainly of Lua' background. The boy presented us with an unlit candle in tendering an invitation. This is the customary way of extending invitations to privately-sponsored ceremonies in this area.

The ceremony was being held for the father of one Na:ŋ Bin ( นาง บิน ) at whose house the ceremony was being held, her mother, and her sister. The father died about a year ago, the mother nearly 10 years ago, and the sister some time in between. Na:ŋ Bin and her husband, Na:i Thao ( นาอิ ท้าว ) were not the only sponsors. Also included were Na:ŋ Bin's siblings, among whom according to La'ò: who knows the family, are Na:i Tím ( นาอิ ตีม ), Na:ŋ Pa: ( นาง ป่า ), and Na:i Čan ( นาอิ ฉาน ). At the house opposite, food was being prepared and so I assume this household was also included. It is the household of the older brother of the deceased man.

According to this elder brother, he and/or his brother moved down from Bâ:n Pà:Pě: over 20 years ago. However, they still have kin connections with Bâ:n Pà:Pě:. One of the elder brother's daughters has married back into B. Pà:Pě:. It was quite striking to see her in Lua' costume and her sister, who has married down in the valley, in khonmyan dress. There were also some young Lua' girls present who the elder brother said were his lă:n (either granddaughters or nieces).

There was another man present whom I took to be the sponsor. His name, however, Camrát Ná? Lamphu:n, suggested that he is not of Lua' origin. I asked La'ò: about this and she thinks that he may be a respected person who was asked to be the main sponsor because he is respected by the principals. [323]

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(322) The other main participants in the ceremony were an aca:n and five monks. The chief monk was the abbot of wát Co:m Cè:ŋ and it was to this wát that the 'little house' would be presented.

Finally, in attendance were the large number of guests and a few lû:ksítwát (323) who would carry the presents given to the monks back to their respective wáts.

Yesterday, there was some sort of festivities, lfa:ŋkheik and so: music. La'ò: said the mother of Mr. Wichian attended yesterday because people from this family at one time worked for the ŋ:m'arri: shop (thus confirming an earlier story that Lua' used to work at this shop).

When we arrived at the house, we noticed a large number of sand che:di:, with paper 'flags' (white crêpe paper) planted in them at the entrance to the gate of the house grounds. As we entered we (Jane and I) were given a local 'cigarette' and a chew of betel each.

We arrived in the midst of the request for and receiving the precepts (including the namò) during which the a:ca:n acted lay leader and the abbot of Co:m Cè:ŋ was the giver. The chief layman/a:ca:n then chanted something, repeated by the lay principals, while a man held a khún with khŋag bu:cha: in the wái position. This was the formal presentation of the 'alms' at the ceremony. This was followed by a long chant by the monks. During this time, there was scurrying about to arrange the food to be given the monks.

When the chant was done, two trays of food were taken and placed at the foot of the two mattresses in the 'little house'. Then the a:ca:n led the laity in presenting the food to the monks (in Northern Thai). During the time (324)

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(324)

that the monks were eating, the a:ca:n chanted in Northern Thai (same as in the ceremony at the house of Na:n Kĩng).

During the meal, I took note of the various artefacts involved in the ceremony. The 'small house' was located in front of the stairway and had a double roof. In the house were the following (not a complete listing): 2 mattresses (laid out), 2 pillows, 2 mosquito nets, 2 blankets, buckets, pĩnto:, betel set, water vases. The 'ceremonial' objects in the house included a bà:t and a red lacquered phan on which was placed khrujan bu:cha: and a sermon script. However, there was no tun.

In the house itself, the monks were seated under the 'house altar' and on the raised platform of the house. **Nearby**, and also to the side of the house near railing was a table on which was placed a Buddha image, 2 lighted candles in candle sticks, 2 vases of flowers. Between this table and the monk, leaning against the side wall of the house and on the floor, was a picture of the deceased father. A string was wound around the picture, around the Buddha image, and then passed to ~~the~~ a 'flag' placed in the sand cheidi:, and from there to the eaves of the 'little house'. There remained a ball of string left, next to the picture, which was later used by the monks.

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

When the monks had finished with their meal (the a:ca:n stopped chanting before this point), the meal table and dishes were taken away and the offerings were placed in front of them. Also plates with tin cups of 'water' (or ná:n sōmpò:i ?) on them were also placed in front of each monk. Two lay people, (325)

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(<sup>1325</sup>)

I believe the owner and wife of the owner of the house, also had dishes with cups of 'water' in front of them. The monks then chanted the hâi phon and trúa:t ná:m. I noticed on this occasion, as on others, that the monks do not chant these chants in unison but each proceeds at his own speed, some finishing before the others. The abbot of Čo:m Cê:ŋ and the second monk were the last to finish in this case.

Then the ball of string was unravelled further and passed along to each monk. The monks chanted, followed by a short chant by the a:ca:n, and then another short chant by monks during which string was rewound. Then the second monk (whom I believe to be from Wát Sĭ:bunryaŋ) said that the formal invitation for a sermon should be made and the a:Ma:n did so. This completed, the abbot went into the 'little house' to deliver a sermon, three monks began delivering sermons in the main house, and the fifth monk departed. When the abbot of Čo:m Cê:ŋ finished below, he came back upstairs and delivered another sermon there. Again, the sermonizing was not in unison, but each monk was reading from separate texts. At the ends of all these sermons there was again the trúa:t ná:m to <sup>(1326)</sup> send the merit made to the deceased. Again each monk performed this part separately. This brought the ceremony to an official end. It was followed by feeding of the guests and there would perhaps be so: music during the rest of the day and the evening.

During the meal, which again had the four 'types' of dishes - cu:t (ka:ŋcu:t), phét (phrikds:ŋ), nan (ks:ŋ haŋle:), and priao (Ya:m mapraŋ) - as well as green vegetables (cabbage, cucumbers, etc.) - I asked about the cost of the ceremony. Mr. Camrát Ná Lamphu:n said that it cost B 3,700 and that the 'little house' alone cost about B 200 (materials). Seven relatives joined in sponsoring the ceremony. Another man said that these ceremonies can sometimes cost as much as B 20,000. <sup>(1327)</sup>

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The Role of Bâ:n Phé' in Lua' - Thai Relations:

I reflected today while at the ceremony described above on the role of B. Phé' (and the same could be said for B. Thûn Phrá:o) in Lua' - Thai relations. There are apparently many households which have connections into Lua' villages in the hills and khonmyan or Lua' - Khonmyang villages in the lowlands. These connections, plus connection provided by contacts with one's village, make possible learning about KM culture in the lowlands by upland Lua'. Lua' relatives who attend such ceremonies as we witnessed today now are more families with Khonmyan customs. Oftentimes, many Lua' must learn (but rarely practice) the role of a KM. If they decide to move into the lowlands, the transition from Lua' to Khonmyan is not great. No such channel into Khonmyan society and culture exists for the Karen, although B. Dong does have some characteristics for the Karen that B. Phé' has for the Lua'.

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Buddhist Ceremonies in Karen Villages:

Beginning on the 18th and continuing to yesterday, I have been involved in the ceremonies of raising the crown of a che:di: and the ordination of novices sponsored by villagers in the Karen communities of Bâ:n Mê:tô:p nÿa and Bâ:n Mê:tô:p kla:ŋ.

On the 18th, villagers proceeded to Mae Sariang, bringing with them the 'crown' and the boys who were to be ordained. Originally the idea was that four boys and an older man would all be ordained, but only the boys came to town for the procession (and in the end the older man didn't get ordained). The procession included not only people from Mê:tô:p but also a number, including the headman and his wife, from the Karen Bâ:n PHÉ' (Phs:kho:).

The procession arrived in Mae Sariang about 12:00. At about 3:00 P.M. they were served a meal by some people in the congregation of Wát Kittiwong. Before the meal the CKA had got some of them to record so:ya:ŋ ( ၁၅၀၅၇၅ ) - i.e. Karen singing.

After the meal the four boys (novices-to-be) were dressed in the Burmese costume . The costume was provided by Wát Kittiwong. Then about 4:00 P.M., the Karens with the che:di: crown and the hí:kkê:o on the backs of four Karen men, began the procession around town. It wasn't a very big procession and was looked down on by some of the Thai onlookers. The procession went first to the shrine of the ôáo myan (tutelary spirit of the town). They were told that it was the custom in N. Thai/Shan traditions to inform the ôáo myan of the forthcoming ordination of novices. (The shrine, incidently, was locked and a neighbor woman who looks after the shrine came to unlock it. I was told that the shrine is kept locked because of the various costumes that are kept inside of it.)

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In the evening of the 18th there was a celebration at Wát Kittiwong which consisted primarily of movies plus some more Karen singing.

On the 19th, the procession returned to Mê:tô:p nũa. In the afternoon I drove out some of the monks and equipment in Pete's land rover. This was quite a drive over almost roads - taking about two hours to go 14 kilometers (but only an hour and a half back). The route passed through B. Thâ: Khã:m, B. Sôphã:n (both N. Thai villages), B. Phé', B. Mê: Hă:n (both Karen villages), and B. Mê: tô:p (N. Thai village) before reaching B. Mê:tô:p kla:ŋ and B. Mê: tô:p nũa. There are shorter routes, but not ones traversible by a car. It is interesting to note how lowland Karen villages are interspersed with KM villages.

I returned to town on the evening of the 19th and then drove another group of monks and novices out early on the morning of the 20th. We arrived a little after 8:00 P.M. because it was planned that the procession up to the the:di: would take place at 9:00 P.M. However, all morning was taken up by a procession from house to house where the inhabitants of each household would tie the wrists of the novices-to-be (This custom, which the CKA says is Shan, was introduced by the CKA to the Karen). In addition to tying wrists, the various householders also presented the novices-to-be with small bits of money in order to help in the merit-making.

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Two villages are involved in the sponsoring of the ceremony - M̂:t̂:p n̂a and M̂:t̂:p kla:r̂. The hill on which the che:di: has been built is between the two villages, although slightly closer to M̂:t̂:p kla:r̂. At the foot of the hill, in a clearing, had been erected a temporary shelter where food was made and guests were served. The monks, however, were not served here but in the teacher's house in M̂:t̂:p n̂a where they were staying (this being vacation, the two female teachers at the school had returned to Mae Sariang). Lunch was served in these two places and then many Karen men retired to M̂:t̂:p kla:r̂ where they drank large quantities of liquor.

By mid-afternoon, the CKA finally led the monks and some of his entourage to M̂:t̂:p kla:r̂ to spur on events a bit. The procession with the l̂:k k̂:o was finally got underway and we (the monks and myself) proceeded it up the hill.

On top of the hill, an area had been cleared. The che:di: was in the middle, completed except for the 'crown'. A scaffolding was on the che:di: so that people could climb up to place the 'crown'. A fence surrounded the che:di: (temporary) and the che:di: rested on a brick foundation. To the north of the che:di: was a raised covered platform made of bamboo and thatch which served as a ŝ:la: during the ceremony. In front of the che:di: and this pavillion was a covered area where people would sit during the event (it wasn't high enough to stand up under even for people shorter than myself).

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

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

During the procession and after it (and in fact all during the proceedings) people would go up and wâi thâ:t - with candles, incense, flowers - or would throw ná:m nja: (sômpô:i water) or popped rice on the che:di: while walking around it inside the fence.

When the procession was over, the monk who lives normally (at least for the last year) at the che:di: in the Karen village of B. Pà:Mà:k Mâ: Hă:n went up on the platform with two laymen to help place the 'crown'. (This monk, whom I haven't mentioned before is a very interesting person. He was born in Kengt State, is a Shan who speaks fluent Chinese, and served in the Chinese army in Southern China during World War I. He was living in Chiangrai before he came here.) In raising the crown, it was taken apart into four parts (Three layers plus the 'tube' that passes through the middle of the crown and sits in the top of the che:di:). To the bottom portion was attached a long white rope which was passed over the platform to the other side. Many people ceremonially pulled on the rope to 'lift' the crown to the top, though actually it was carried up the stairway. When the lower part of the crown was placed, the monks below chanted. Then the monk and the two laymen fixed in place the remaining parts of the 'crown'. This was done with wires. When this was finished, the monk descended and the laymen dismantled the scaffolding (I believe that both of these laymen were KM).

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When the crown stood on top of the naked che:di:, the CKA gave a short sermon. In essence he said that the che:di: was just a symbol and that people don't worship bricks. Rather they worship the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha and the chedis are just symbols for helping them remember these things. The CKA spoke in N. Thai and his remarks were translated into Karen by the AM of B. Phá'. Then the CKA led the people in 'dedicating' the che:di: during which the people knelt and repeated the words of dedication which the CKA gave. Then the people, led by the monks, circled the che:di: three times. This time everyone, Karen and KM, joined in the circumambulation.

After this most people left the mountain top and went down below to eat, drink, watch movies, etc. A few people, in the main female khonmyan and older male KM, stayed up on the mountain where there was an evening sermon (in khonmyan). These people, and the monks who gave the sermon (as well as some novices) spent the night on the mountain. Just before we descended, an old Karen man from B. Pà: Mâ:k (Mê: Hă:n) came and requested to take the 8 precepts from the CKA which he gave him.

On the morning of the 21st, the monks arose before 5:00 A.M. and went up the mountain where I followed them. They knelt in front of the che:di: and chanted for a long time - this was almost a private, clerical, ceremony with only a few lay onlookers. This was followed by the presentation of food to the che:di: (given to the CKA by some lay KM) during which the CKA 'chanted' in Northern Thai. He was followed by some Karen women who came to present special deserts to the che:di:.

Although all the monks but the one from the che:di: at B. Pà: Mâ:k went back down the hill after the chanting to eat breakfast (I also stayed

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

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

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

People kept arriving in great numbers, but by now they were mainly Karen. In fact every lowland Karen village in the area and several upland villages had representation. Some brought decorated 'presents', the most conspicuous of which were those from B. M̃:tĩa and B. M̃: H̃:n. Each new group of people would make offerings of khrũñbu:cha: and/or deserts to the che:di: and would circle it in procession.

About 9:00 or 9:30, the monks having returned, the ordination ceremony got underway. The older man who had planned to enter had spent the previous evening in a drunken orgy and declined to follow through with his plans to be ordained. One of the new novices is the son of the headman of B. Ph̃' (the one, I believe, who lives at the Christian hostel while studying in Mae Sariang). None of them plan to remain in longer than a few days - probably three days. They will spend this time on the mountain. (I have wondered how they will

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really learn anything about being a novice since there will be no monk staying with them to teach them. The CKA invited them to come and spend several weeks at a wát in town or in Mê:tò:p, but there was no enthusiasm for this idea.)

[I have recordings of the whole ordination ceremony.]

After the ordination ceremony, the monks were given their midday meal and then led the people in touring around the che:di: for a final three times. During this time, a group of Karens planted a pole on which there was a 'flag' at the S.W. corner of the che:di:. The pole was highly decorated. The CKA calls this pole a săotun ( ສ້ອຕຸນ ) - literally 'pole-flag'. There was already a pole, with minimal carving, at the S.E. corner of the che:di:. This he also called a săotun. He says that they are associated with che:di:s, but I didn't get much more explanation.

After this the people left the mountain (all except the novices and the one monk from B. Pà: Mâ:k who volunteered to spend the first night with them) and were served a noon meal in the pavillion at the foot of the mountain. Thus ended the events and we left for home shortly thereafter.

During the course of my stay in Mê:tò:p nŷa I was able to ask, with the help of the CKA, some questions about the village, about lowland Karens, etc. The following is what I learned.

Karen Novice:

There is a permanent novice from Wát Kittiwong who is a Karen (or, as he says, lû:k kariŋ). He was born in Mê: Hă:n, finished P4 there, and has now been a novice for several years. He acted as the CKA's interpreter during these events.

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Local History:

We started asking mo:di' and one of the other local sponsors of the ceremony about local history. They said that MÊ: Hă:n was the oldest lowland Karen village and that the wát there had been built over 30 years ago. When we started asking more questions, they had called over 2 old women who were reputedly the oldest people in the village. They both claimed to be 80, having been born in the same year, but they didn't look that old. One of them had a son present who said he was 44. Thus, I doubt if the women were over 70. Both women said they were born in the village and that their parents had lived here. Where their parents had been born, they didn't know. When they could first remember there were 30 households in a single village of MÊ:tò:p nũa. Later it split into two villages - MÊ:tò:p kla:ŋ and MÊ: tò:p nũa. They said that B. MÊ: Hă:n, B. Pà: Mả:k, and B. Phé' (Phs Kho:) existed when they were young. Originally, the Karens lived in the hills, but no one knows how long they have lived on the plains or where they came from.

Current Demography of Bả:n MÊ: Tò:p Nũa and KLang:

According to the CKA, when he inquired a year ago there were 17 households in MÊ:tò:p kla:ŋ and 35 in MÊ: tò:p nũa. Now, according to Mo:di', there are 17 in MÊ:tò:p kla:ŋ and 33 in MÊ:tò:p Nũa. Two households have moved away from the latter, one to Khũn Yuam and one to B. Pò:ŋ. No new households have been created by marriages or family fission. Last year there were 15 households in MÊ:tò:p nũa which were Christian (Baptist). This year there are 14 since one Christian household moved to B. Pò:ŋ. There is one Christian household in

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Mê:tô:p kla:ŋ, the same as last year. There is a Christian church in Mê:tô:p nũa. (Thus, 30 percent of the two villages together is Christian while 42 percent of Mê:tô:p nũa is Christian.) The Karen name for Mê:tô:p nũa is something like Mstoklo - when klo means the same as nũa - i.e. 'north'. (The Christian component reminds me that a week ago the Baptists held an annual conference of Karen Christians in Mê:tô:p nũa.)

Relations Between Khonmư̄n and Karens:

One informant said that there were Karens who had moved into Mê:tô:p, the Khonmư̄n village. One Karen girl in Mê:tô:p kla:ŋ married a Khonmư̄n boy. They still live in Mê:tô:p kla:ŋ and the girl wears Karen dress. In response to a question by the CKA, Mo:di' said that it was not 'against the phĩ:' for KM and Karen to marry. He then went on to say that the 'spirits are under Buddha'.

Buddhism and Karens:

Villagers said that this is the fourth time that attempts have been made to erect the che:di:. Always before there were only 3 - 4 people who wanted to build the che:di:, but never could enough money be raised. Now enough money has been raised. The six people listed on the official announcement (Messrs. Kri:cha:, Snaitè', Phá'kè:, Phư:kà:ha:, Mo:di', and Iô:ha:) were the largest donors and the main sponsors (one of their number has since died). For example, Phá'kè: (who is only 30 years old) gave 660 B, Mo:di' gave B 440, etc. The total original donations (i.e. given prior to the beginning of the ceremony) was B 2,350. The total needed for the cost of the che:di: was

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฿ 3,000+ and, in addition, there was the cost of the celebration and the ordination. Each of these six (or, rather, now 5) men will receive a title (from Burmese or Shan) indicating their sponsorship of the erecting of the che:di:. The title, as written in Thai, is khō:tà'kà' ( โขทกะ ).

In this village, the title notwithstanding, the Karens follow the Khonmyan form of Buddhism because the nearest temple and monks are in Mē:tō:p, a Khonmyan village. In B. Phé', B. Mē: Hă:n, and B. Pà: Mă:k, however, they follow the Shan way because the wát at Mē:Hă:n, which these people attend, used to have a Shan resident monk who had come from Wát Uthaya:rom in Mae Sariang.

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

#### Biography of One Karen Villager:

Moidi', one of the Karen sponsors of the ceremony, was so obviously fluent in Khonmyan (and even in Thai), without the usual Karen accent, that the CKA asked him about his background. He was born in B. Pà: Mă:k (Mē:Hă:n). He then studied in Mē:Hă:n where he lived at Wát Mē:Hă:n for three years. He then lived at Wát Sophă:n for two years while he continued his studies and

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at Wát Co:ŋ Kham in Mae Sariang for less than a year. Although he has never been ordained, he is very familiar with the basic religious chants. He studied through to Mathayom 5, but failed in the exam, ran away and never returned to school. He married a girl in this village and settle down here.

Economics in Mê:tò:p Nũa and Mê:tò:p kla:ŋ:

I asked if anyone in these villages works for the Phanasit Company. The answer was yes. There are ten elephants in the village, some of which are hired out to the Phanasit Company. Elephants are owned by both Christians and Buddhists. One man, Phá'kè: (the young sponsor of the ceremony) bought a male elephant on his own (with his own capital) for B 22,000 from Riã:so:n, the owner of the Mae Sariang market. Most elephants, however, are owned by several people or are inherited from people's parents.

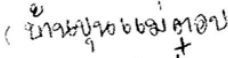
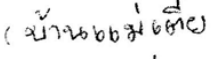
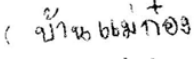
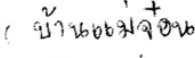
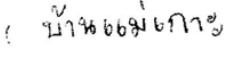
Karen Villages in Tambon Bã:n Kà:t:

I asked for all the names of Karen villages in Tambon Bã:n Kà:t:

- 1) B. Phámo:lo: (บ้านพ้อมลอ ) Under B. Sòphã:n.
- 2) B. Phé' ( บ้านเพชร ) Separate admin. entity.
- 3) B. Mê: Hã:n ( บ้านแม่หาร ) Separate admin. entity.
- 4) B. Pà: Mâ:k Mê: Hã:n ( บ้านป่าหมากแม่หาร ) Under B. Sòphã:n.
- 5) B. Mê:tò:p nũa ( บ้านแม่ตอปนũa ) Under B. Mê: tò:p.
- 6) B. Mê:tò:p kla:ŋ ( บ้านแม่กลาง ) Under B. Mê: tò:p.

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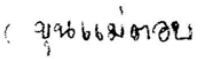
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| 7)  | B. Khǔn M̂: Tò:p | (  ) | Under B. M̂: tò:p. |
| 8)  | B. M̂: tǎ        | (  ) | )                  |
| 9)  | B. M̂: kǎ:n      | (  ) | )                  |
| 10) | B. M̂: Cǎ:n      | (  ) | )                  |
| 11) | B. M̂: Kǎ'       | (  ) | Under B. M̂:tò:p.  |

Village Tutelary Spirit:

One informant said that the name of the village tutelary spirit was something like sipada. There is an annual ceremony for this spirit in the 9th lunar month (northern reckoning) and it is worshipped with flowers, candles, incense and sometimes chicken meat.

Karen Village of Khǔn M̂:Tò:p:

We interviewed an informant who came from the village of Khǔn M̂:Tò:p (  ). Khǔn in N. Thai means 'source' and is not the title of a person as it is in Central or N.E. Thai. So the meaning of the name of this village is 'the village that is situated at the source of the M̂:Tò:p stream'. This is an upland village with no paddy fields (entirely dependent on swiddening). There is no school in the village and the informant, a man in his late 20's or early 30's, spoke no N. Thai at all. It is located about 8 kilometers north of M̂:tò:p nǎ. There are 24 households in the village, none of which are Christian. The Phanasiit Road passes near the village.

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Northern Thai Customs:

The CKA said that in the sòkhsó' ceremony, the sàtuaŋ is taken and left at a 'crossroads' when the ceremony is over. This crossroads, he said, is called ta:ŋ khô:i (ตาด้อย).

Lúa' and Local Wáts and Other Information on Local History:

The CKA said that the wát in B. Thún ló:ŋ, which is called Wát Khũn Khoŋ (วัดขุนคอ), used to be Lúa'. He said that the images in this wát are of Chiangŕ:n or Chiang Mai style. In Ko:ŋ Ko:i there is the remnants (large bricks) of what was probably an old wát. Villagers call this a 'Lúa'' wát - rather amusingly since the village is still Lúa'. In B. Ná:m Dip, the old che:di: there is thought to be on the site of an old wát which is called วัดสามัคคี - wát Thá:t kham. It may also have been Lúa'.

In B. Thún Phrá:o there are the remnants of an unfinished wát, which was supposedly under construction at a time when there was a idea of moving Muang Yuam to that area. This move never took place and the wát was never finished.

In the present-day Karen village of Mê: Ngè' (เม่เง่) which is located on the Salwin, a for Buddha scriptures was found and several books in N. Thai were also found. This leads the CKA to think that this village might formerly have been a Khonmyaŋ village. I suggested that the Khonmyaŋ may have fled from the Red Karen or Shan invasions in the last century.

Someone remembered that the date on the wát at Mê:Hă:n was cunlá - sàkkhárá:t 1297 which is equivalent to BE 2478 and AD 1935.

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Talk with Mr. Insuan Duang Phô:n:

Today Mr. Insuan Duangphô:n came to visit me and to volunteer to be my 'assistant' (he had heard Saman was quitting). He has helped me considerably in explaining ceremonies and would make an ideal assistant if I didn't feel somewhat worried about the fact that he is so much older and of such status to make being my 'assistant' ludicrous. He was formerly employed by the court and is now assistant manager of the Thai Sâvât Life Insurance Company. He was elected to the Provincial assembly in the recent election. In the end I said that I would certainly like him to be my 'teacher' but not my assistant.

We talked a little about local history and ethnic settlements. He said that Bâ:n Khapuaŋ was settled by people moving out from Mae Sariang. It and B. Sôphă:n, and B. Thâ:khâ:m are all Khonmyaŋ villages. The original name of B. Co:m Cê:n was Mae Sariang, but the name was changed after the change of the name of Myaŋ Yuam. Khonmyaŋ moved into this area from Chiang Mai and from Phrê:. He thinks the word - hă:n in Sôphă:n and Mê:Hă:n may come from the word Tháhă:n, 'soldier', and may suggest settlement by ex-soldiers. He says that people in B. Hûai Sǐn, although now Khonmyaŋ, still speak with a Lúa' accent.

March 24, 1968

Visit from Professor John Cady:

Last evening we were surprised when Professor and Mrs. John Cady arrived on a short visit. Professor Cady is currently visiting Professor at Thammasat and was making a trip up here. He visited George Po in Chiang Mai and Lahsay, Ben's wife; here because both are all students of his at Judson college where he taught before the war. He told us that Lahsay has been married three times (her Christian name is Monita and her maiden name was Zan.) Her second husband was the head of the Karen liberation movement and was assassinated.

Professor Cady wrote the section in the HRAF handbook on the Karens. He says that he believes that the P'wo Karens were called 'M' Karens in Burma and that the S'kaw Karen were called 'Burmese' Karen because of their associations, but that the S'kaw Karen were really very much a people unto themselves.

March 26, 1968

Ordination of Novices at Wát Ommára:wá:t:

On the 22nd and especially on the 23rd, ceremonies were held at Wát Ommára:wá:t in conjunction with the ordination of five novices into the order. I did not attend because I was too ill. But I did gather a few bits of information about what occurred.

On the 22nd, there was a procession to the wát in the morning. The novices-to-be were then dressed and 'decorated'. During the day, the novices were taken to houses of elders for 'wrist-tying'. In the evening there was a procession around the wát. The novices-to-be rode on horses and the Burmese orchestra played.

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

Today, there was a final formal end to the ordination celebrations (three days after the ordination). This service I attended. The main purpose was merit-making with the new novices involved. For this a monk from Wát Co:ŋ Sũ:ŋ was invited to give a sermon in Shan and the entire service was in the Burmese style even though there were two 'Thai' monks present [I recorded the entire service except for initial request by layman at beginning of ceremony]. I noticed that the new novices were wearing black 'prayer' beads around their necks. The congregation held small pendants or flags when holding their hands in the wái position.

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"Trouble" in the Area:

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

On the 23rd, Jane saw large numbers of police down town in the morning. We heard that they were on their way to investigate the presence of a roving band of "100 Communists" who were somewhere between Myan Pho:n and Mê:la:lũan. On the 24th, Rachel Schlatter reported that she had heard that these reports were unfounded and that in fact there were only "10 hunters". Then today I heard that there were 100 men and they were Hô: Chinese in an opium caravan. What the truth is, we don't yet know.

The CKA had told us that the BPP was very unhappy about Meo moving into the area of Mae Sariang to plant opium and had warned them if they planted again, they would come up and cut down the crop. Apparently, someone posing as officials had told the Meo they had permission and had collected taxes from them. On the 23rd, we saw a group of Meo in the hotel café with some police and later heard that they had been arrested for something to do with opium and were taken to Chiang Mai. Whether they were the same Meo, I don't know.

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