

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand

Written between January 1 and January 31, 1968.

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

Mae Sariang

January 1, 1968

New Year Festivities

Last night there was a *liang*, sponsored by the local government officials, for those who visited today at the Amphoe assembly hall followed by a *ngān* open to the general public held on the grounds in front of the District Office. The *ngān* consisted of *ramwong*, dance music, a movie, etc. We didn't go although Sanga and Phan did. This morning I met Rudison, Mark's roommate, who pronounced the affair *mai sanuk*. Last year it was much more enjoyable he said. Mark had told us that last year the district officer had taken a very active interest. There had been a costume party (Mark won second prize with a Karen outfit - the District Officer had won first also with a Karen outfit) which was generally attended, and enjoyed by all the government officials and local elite. This year all of the senior officials are different persons (with the exception of the educational officer) and several (especially the district officer) had gone to Mae Hong Son to prepare for the King's visit on the 5th of January.

This morning there was a ceremony of offering alms to the clergy from almost all wats in Mae Sariang (with the exception, at least, of the 2 monks at Wat Ommarāwāt, and the Burmese monk from Wat Čantharāwāt). The monks foregathered in the Amphoe assembly hall, while those who were intending to present alms lined up along the roadway which runs in front of the Amphoe, Immigration, and Provincial police offices. Again there was only a rump group of officials present, with the district education officer acting as the 'chairman'.

For New Year's the market is not held in the usual venue but, rather, along Mae Sariang street in front of the government offices. There were many people milling around the sellers while the *takbāt* ceremony was going on. The ceremony seems to be the prerogative of the local 'elite' and ordinary people do not take part in it.

At the ceremony, women predominated, but there were some men (mainly women) present. The ceremony was very brief with the abbot of Wat Sitthimongkhon (the District Abbot being in Mae Hong Son) giving the precepts or stage and then the monks passing along the roadway to receive alms. Actually, rice was the main food placed in the alms bowls as the *kapkhāo* had been placed in containers provided by temple boys prior to the presentation for the clergy. The ceremony began at about 8:00 and was over by 8:30.

Mae Sariang

January 2, 1968

Interview with Mr. Tan Bamrunakit

Today I had an interview with Mr. Tan Bamrunakit, son of one of the first Chinese merchants in Mae Sariang and currently one of the leading businessmen in town. According to his card, he has a B.A. from Thammasat University, and is the manager both of the Sahamitbamrunakit (สหมิตรบำรุงกิจ) store on Lāēng Phānit Road and of an ice factory on Wīangmai Road. He is also the local agent for most of the periodical literature to which people in town subscribe.

My ostensible purpose in visiting him was to test out my economic survey. (I discovered that I could ask more questions and decided to revise it). In addition to the questions on the questionnaire, I asked him about a number of other things.

I asked if there were any Karen or Lua merchants in town. First he answered that there were none, but then I mentioned Wichīan's wife. He said, yes, she was Karen but now she is Thai. He said that her brother runs the shop that is across from the liquor factory and that he is a Thai with only a Thai name (this is the store I had been formerly told by others is run by Nāi Wichīan's wife's father). He said that there were other people like this (i.e. formerly Karen but now Thai) but he didn't give any more names. He said that there were no Lua in the market area but there might be some who run small shops on the outskirts of town.

In comparing the Karen and Lua, he said that the Karen were 'honest' but that the Lua were sharp (*chalāt*). He gave as an example the fact that Lua would come to the market and visit many shops to find the best price for the item they wished to buy. Then, when they had found it, they would pick the best of the selection. (A merchant's view of 'sharpness'?)

I asked about Karen buying rice on credit. He answered that they didn't do it from the shops in the market area, but would do it from small shops on the edge of town where they had

good relations. However, he then went on to say that Karen lumbermen, mahouts, etc. did get rice on credit in the market area.

He said that few owners of shops in Mae Sariang took goods to sell in the hills. However, he said that he had witnessed in other shops (but not in his own) Karens buying large supplies of things which he said they took to resell in their villages. He also said that Thai who live in villages nearer the mountain villages than Mae Sariang come and buy things in the market and take them to trade with Karens for things they produce. He said that there Thai made very large profits on this barter trade, but then they must walk long distances to realize it.

Kamnan of Kông Kôi

While in Mr. Tan's shop, the kamnan of Kông Kôi came in (to discuss politics with Tan, I believe). In response to my questions, he said that Kông Kôi was Thai, not Lua (contrary to what I had been told before). There are some small shops in the village. A Phansit lumber road almost reaches the village.

Mae Sariang

January 3, 1968

Wedding of Lā

Today, our former servant, Lā, got married. Yesterday she came to formally invite us to the wedding by bringing each of us (Jane, myself, Sanga) an unlit candle. She is marrying a central Thai who works in the Amphoe treasury office.

The wedding was held in Lā's sister's house (which is right next to ours). Lā's sister and brother acted as hosts and sponsors of the wedding since Lā's parents were both dead. The treasury officer acted as 'chairman' of the event.

Guests were invited for 6:00 P.M. and by 6:00 a large number of people had arrived. Lā and the groom were in an inner room which had been stripped of its normal items and decorated especially for the wedding. They were kneeling on cushions placed at the back of the room, with Lā on my right as I faced them, and the groom on my left. To Lā's left, were two young girl attendants (one of whom was said to be Miss Mae Sariang) and on the groom's right were two other women who provided cotton thread to the guests (these women changed, I believe, during the course of the ceremony). A skein of cotton was strung between the heads of the couple. In

front of them was placed a cushion on which they rested their outstretched hands in *wai* position. In front of this was placed a *phan*.

The only ceremony we observed was the 'tying of the wrists' by the guests. Some guests tied a right wrist of each separately while others tied their two wrists together. All guests would *wai* the groom or bride after tying the wrists and the bride/groom would *wai* back. Many guests placed money in the *phan* after tying the wrists, although others brought gifts or money and left it at the door of the house where a table had been placed. When all the guests had 'tied the wrists', the formal ceremony was over. However, this was followed by a speech by the 'chairman' followed by a response from the groom and from a male spokesman (a relative) of the bride.

The male guests were served with Mekong or beer and hors d'oeuvres while the females were served tea (sweet) and *khanoms* (some women drank beer, however). Figs and *miang* were placed on plates around the room. Several dishes of savory foods were also brought out during the course of the evening.

There was considerable ribald humor from the male guests. Also, many of the male guests left very drunk – as is so often the case with parties in Thailand.

The couple moved into a separate house, not far from Lā's sister.

Mae Sariang

January 4, 1968

Trip to Mae Hong Son

Today, having been convinced by Mark Anderson, we drove to Mae Hong Son to observe the visit of the King and Queen which is to take place tomorrow. On the way up we stopped at Māē Lāluang to look at some ruins of an old Shan temple. At Khun Yuam we stopped to get a monk and while there I noticed some campaign posters for the forthcoming provincial elections – they were written in both Thai and Shan.

Somphet Nāwikawānit, Headmaster of Mae Hong Son Secondary School

Due to the fact that we brought along Mr. Rūdīsôn, a teacher at the Bôriphat Sūksā school and Mark's roommate, we ended up staying at the home of Mr. Somphet Nāwikawānit (สมเพ็ชร นาวีกวานิชย์) head master of the Hông Sôn Sūksā school (โรงเรียนห้องสอนศึกษา [7, op. ห้อง]), the only secondary school in Mae Hong Son. Although there are only a handful (8, I believe)

students in the top two grades (MS4 and MS5) in this school, and although it has a smaller enrollment than the Bôriphat Süksā school in Mae Sariang, this school is still the prestige school in the province because it is located in the provincial capital and because it has 5 secondary (instead of 3) grades. Somphet was transferred to the headmastership of this school from Bôriphat Süksā in Mae Sariang a year ago and this was a definite promotion for him.

Somphet is a native of Mae Hong Son and both of his parents, so he says, are Shan. It is interesting that he says that his parents are Shan, but doesn't immediately identify as Shan himself. There are several reasons for this. His secondary education was partially in Chiang Mai and then he went to a Teacher's Training School in Bangkok. He lived in Bangkok for 10 years, studying at a Teacher's Training College and later taking a B.A. at Prasamit. He also taught some in Bangkok in between his two periods of study. (He 'majored' in English and Math.) He is married to a Chiang Mai girl and the language that he uses with her and his four children is Kammüang, not Shan. His style of living (household belongings, newspaper reading, etc.) is that of most other middle-class Thai whom I have met.

Still, his Shan origin is important. He prefers living in Mae Hong Son. He taught here first after graduating from Prasamit. He was then transferred to Mae Sariang as headmaster of the Bôriphat Süksā school and then transferred back here as headmaster. (There does not seem to be the same pattern of appointing teachers in other than home areas as is the case for many other types of government officials. Many of the teachers in Mae Sariang and even at the Mahasarakham Teachers' College were local people. This is worth noting because they are in a position to become local power figures.)

Somphet is a fairly youngish man, probably in his late 30's or early 40's – quite young to be headmaster of an important school.

(Mark Anderson says that Somphet once told him about making a trip with his father to the Shan states when he was a young boy. Somphet himself said that he made a short excursion into Burma on the New Year's holiday this year.)

Mae Hong Son

January 6, 1968

Mae Hong Son and the Royal Visit

Mae Hong Son has long been known as the "Siberia" of Thailand because of its inaccessibility ('Siberia' is the word the Thai use). According to Čit, until recently only

ineffectual or dishonest government officials were posted here - as a sort of punishment. It is still difficult to reach by any other means than planes. Above Mae La Noi (30 some kilometers north of Mae Sariang), the road is little better than a glorified cart track which is open to motorized traffic only during the dry season. (It took us better than 6½ hours to travel the 171 kilometers between Mae Sariang and Mae Hong Son.) Although the road is now being constructed to be serviceable all year long, it will still be some years before it is completed. Thus, the town still depends upon the thrice-weekly plane service from Chiang Mai (which on Saturdays passes through Mae Sariang before reaching Mae Hong Son). In consequence prices are high for any sort of imported good ('imported' from outside Mae Hong Son). For example, gasoline cost ฿ 3/litre in Mae Hong Son as compared with ฿2/litre in Chiang Mai or ฿2.25/litre in Mae Sariang.

Nonetheless, the town has begun to show signs of 'improvement (*čaroen*) in the past few years. Because of its border sensitivity, the government no longer sees fit to appoint only undesirable government officials in the province. The present governor, Eam Kriengsiri (Īam Krīangsiri – เอี่ยม เกரியงศิริ) a Bangkok Thai, has been very zealous in bringing progress to the province. He has been responsible for the reduction of airfares, for stimulating the building of the Mae Sariang-Mae Hong Son 'highway', etc. He has also seen in the Shan character of the town, a possible tourist attraction. Last year, for example, he sponsored a contest of Shan dancing. Thus, in contrast to the late provincial abbot who sought to stamp out Shan practices in the local wats (told me by both the Burmese abbot of Wat Čanthurāwāt and Kris Lehman), he has actually stimulated the perpetuation of Shan traditions. A new hospital, with very modern equipment provided by the Australians, has recently been built and taken under the patronage of the Princess Mother. New provincial and municipal offices give the town a much more 'progressive' appearance than Mae Sariang despite the fact that it has a smaller population (Somphet says about 3,000 people live in the town) and is more inaccessible. In point of fact, the 'official' population of Mae Hong Son due to the presence of both provincial and municipal governments forms a much higher percentage of the population of Mae Hong Son than it does of Mae Sariang which is the seat only of a district.

The indigenous lowland population in and around Mae Hong Son town (and, in fact, as far south as Mae La Noi) is Shan. One finds in the market a plentitude of Shan garments for both

men and women (in contrast to only those for women in Mae Sariang) and all of the wats are in Shan style. Like Khun Yuam, one sees signs written in both Thai and Shan. The market area of the town seems more prosperous than that of Mae Sariang with more 2-storey teak buildings and more garden between the buildings. It may in fact be due to more wealth provided by a larger 'official' middle class. In the recent municipal elections (held 23 December 1967), according to Kris Lehman, the party which advocated "Keeping Mae Hong Son Shan" made a clean sweep. (In fact, however, the man who led this party was a north-easterner married to a local girl.) The major decoration for the King's visit was a large tiered gateway in Shan style, built under the auspices of the municipality.

Yesterday morning we made a trip up the mountain that overlooks the town and on which is built Wat Kōngmū, the major temple of Mae Hong Son. This wat has two *čēdī*, in Shan style, which are the oldest structures of the town. Inside one of the buildings of this wat was a placard, in Thai, giving the history of the wat (see photograph). On the opposite wall was a similar placard, giving the same information, but in Shan.

The town was extremely festively decorated in preparation of the King and Queen's visit. This royal trip, which had been planned for last year but postponed at the last minute because of bad weather thus making landing difficult, had been arranged so that the King could present an image of the Buddha which the King himself had arranged to make. A similar image will be presented by the King in each of the 71 provinces, and they will be kept, for worship by the people, in the provincial offices. The images were known by the name Phraphutthanawarāṭchabōphit (พระพุทธรูปนาราชมพิตร). Mae Hong Son was apparently the third province so honored. His visit also included a visit to the hospital and a meeting, along with the Queen, of the 'people'.

In preparation for the visit, 9 senior monks (including the Čao Khana Phāk and one other monk from Lamphang, the Čao Khana Čangwat, the Cao Khana Amphoe of Mae Hong Son, Mae Sariang and Khun Yuam, but not of Pai, and 3 local monks) were invited to attend. According to the Čao Khana Amphoe of Mae Sariang, the monks so invited should have been ones who were of such a status as to have royally conferred statuses, and names, and fans. In fact, the 3 local monks were not of such a high status. The monks did not wear sandals in deference to the royal presence.

Also present for the ceremonies were large numbers of police, including the police band from Lampang, dignitaries from all the districts of the province (all of the senior officials from Mae Sariang were present) as well as provincial officials, representatives of hill tribe groups (Meo, 'Black' Lahu, Lua, and 3 types of Karen: Yāngdāēng or Kayah, Yāng Khāo or S'kaw, and Yāng Kālāē - probably P'wo), local Shan notables, etc. Also, present were the Minister of Public Welfare (because of the hospital), the Deputy Director General of the Department of Religious Affairs (because of the religious ceremony) and the Under-Secretary of State for the Ministry of Interior. The King's cream Mercedes and driver were flown in the day before and with the royal party came the Princess Mother and a large group of attendants, protocol officer, ADC's, etc.

The local populace and officials were dressed in their finest: White uniforms of the senior officials, dress uniforms of some of the high ranking military and police types, ordinary police, and military, and civil uniforms, boy scout uniforms, red cross uniforms, nurses uniforms, teachers uniforms (which had caps that looked like WWI Overseas caps) and Shan, Khonmüang, and tribal dress.

The events moved very much on schedule. The royal party arrived by 3 planes and 3 helicopters almost exactly at 2:00 P.M. They paraded through the streets to the provincial office, some 4-5 kilometers from the airport (with the exception of the Princess Mother and a small group who went to the police camp outside of town). At the provincial office, the grounds were studded with tent like structures that almost looked medieval under which many officials sat and with other pavilions for the populace. In front of the office was a raised pavilion in which sat the monks, high officials, and members of the royal party. It was here that the presentation of the Buddha image was made (speech by King, speech by governor, and chanting by monks). After the ceremony, a group of Shan girls put on a Shan dance. Then the King, Queen, and royal party toured the grounds, greeting the people and receiving presents which they had brought.

It somewhat surprised us to see the Queen squat down to speak to various people. She did this relatively often, much to the lasting pleasure of those she addressed. I overheard one policeman explaining to a group of Shan villagers that if the Queen addressed them, they should just smile. However, if she asked them a direct question (which she often did), the policeman said, don't worry about speaking *rāchāsap* but just be as polite as you can. One woman in this group was taking smelling salts, so excited was she at the approach of the King and Queen. Afterwards, I also saw one of the Shan dancers whom the Queen spoke to being embraced by her

friend and congratulated on her good fortune (the Queen actually asked her name and complimented her on behalf of all the dancers on the beauty of the dancing and of the costumes). The Queen was particularly interested in the hill tribes, stopping to ask a group of Lahu what they used to make their cheeks so red (they had a very high color on). Most of the stops the King and Queen made involved the presentation of some gift which the people had brought. These gifts included such things as a Karen bronze drum, elephant husks, local silk, and a variety of Buddha images, antiques, Shan and tribal items, etc. One old Shan physician, whom Kris Lehman said was 86 and who was dressed in traditional Shan 'court' costume (turban, white silk jacket with Chinese frog fasteners, and white silk trousers) personally presented the King with a solid gold Buddha. Kris's comment was that the old man would probably talk of nothing else until his death (which Kris predicted would still be a long time away).

Another old Shan man, blind for many years, had travelled from Khun Yuam to present the King with a pair of antique intricately carved elephant tusks. He had reportedly been offered fantastic prices for these, but was intent on offering them to the King. His intentions almost came to naught when a few weeks before the ceremony, thieves stole the tusks. However, the local police were successful in catching the thieves, and so the man was able to realize his ambition.

After 'meeting the people', the royal procession left the provincial office grounds and travelled to the hospital (where they met up with the Princess Mother). I didn't observe this part of the ceremony. By 5:00 P.M., the procession had returned to the airport and taken off for return to Chiang Mai.

In the evening there was a celebration at the provincial offices consisting of a concert by the Lampang police band and *ramwong*.

I discovered later that the Lua who attended the ceremony were reportedly from Mae La Luang.

Mae Sariang

January 9, 1968

Chuck Weeks - New Tribes Missionary

On the way back from Mae Hong Son, we stopped in Mae La Noi to get a snack. While there, Chuck Weeks arrived down from a Karen village. He is a new tribes missionary working primarily with the Lua. Everyone, including some of the missionaries, thinks him a bit strange,

because he claims God speaks to him personally. He lives at Kông Lôi when he isn't in the mountains.

Today, after we returned from Chiang Mai, he stopped by to thank us again for the ride. While talking with him, I learned that at least one and maybe two village Karen children had been sent from this area to Bang Saen to attend a Christian school which is run by a Chinese Baptist Church in Bangkok.

Elections

On the 14th, elections will be held in all provinces to choose representatives to provincial assemblies (สมาชิกสภาจังหวัด). Seats are allocated to districts on the basis of population. People in Mae Sariang (including Mae La Noi) will choose 8 people from amongst 28 candidates. The official election announcement, posted at various places throughout the district, reads as follows.

Document regarding upcoming elections

PLEASE KNOW

SUNDAY 14 JANUARY 1968

(1st day of the Waxing of the Moon, 2nd Lunar Month, Year of the Goat) is the day for Electing Representatives for the Provincial Assembly.

Please Take Care of Your Rights By Going to Vote in the Election for Provincial Representatives

At your Polling Station BETWEEN 8:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M.

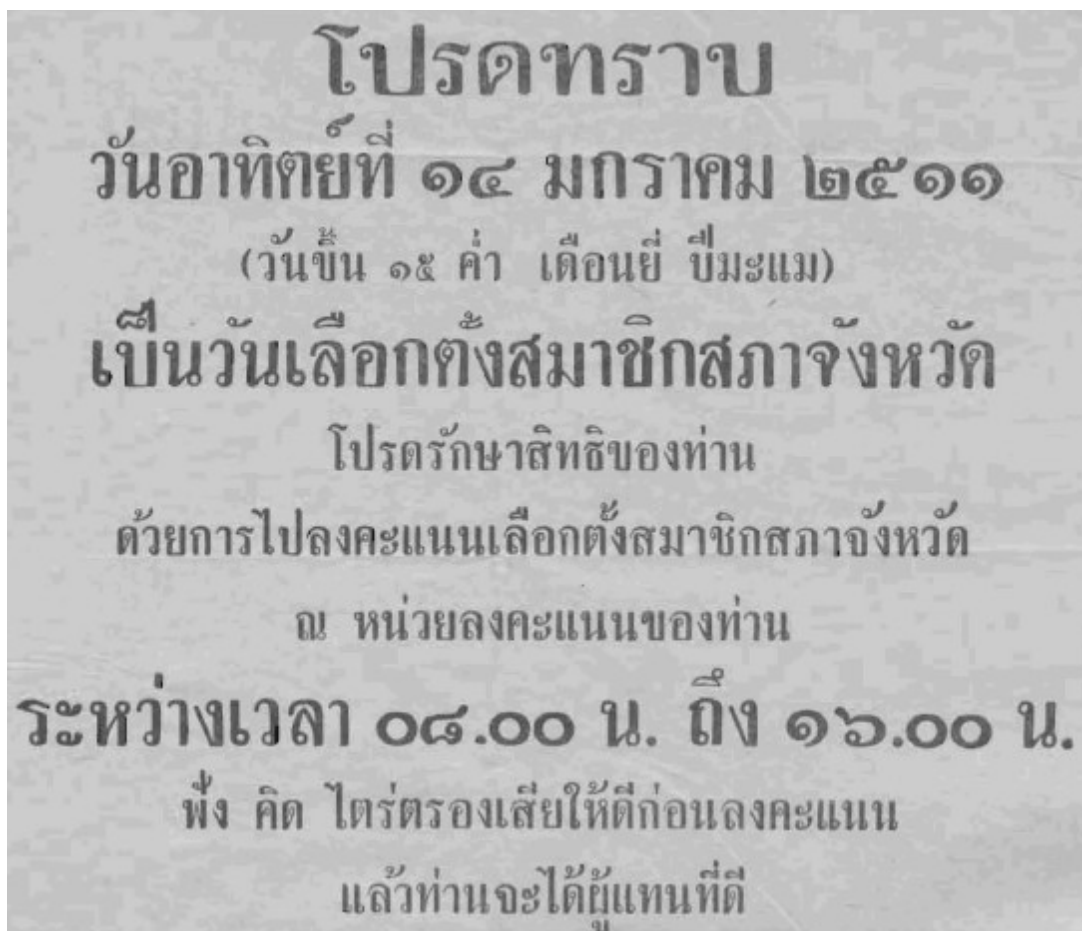
Listen, Think, Consider what is Best before Voting Then You Will Have Good Representatives.

To Vote for Provincial Representatives Use the Symbol X or + Write this Symbol on the Ballot.

Please examine and search for your name in the list of voters which the District Office has posted at polling places and your villages. If you do not see your name or if it is there but incorrect, please submit a petition to the Voter Examination Committee which will meet at your polling place on the 30th of December 1967 between 8:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. in order to correct the following mistakes:

- If your name is missing, please request that it be added to the list.
- If there is a name on the list of persons ineligible to vote, please request that the names be removed from the list.

The Provincial Assembly is yours. Thus, you ought to exercise your rights by voting for persons who satisfy you and persons who will be most useful for your region.



The following is a translation of an invitation to a dedication ceremony of a new vihara at Wat Chaiyalāp, held on 13-14 January while I was in the hills. A copy of the invitation follows.

Document translation

INVITATION TO JOIN IN THE MERIT MAKING ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEDICATION
OF A VIHARA (*thān thō*)
Wat Chaiyalāp, Mae Sariang

May all you faithful and charitable [be inclined to] contribute to [the following] merit-making endeavor.

In order to erect a vihara at Wat Chaiyalāp for the use of the monks, novice and all laity in religious ceremonies and by everyone as a rest house, you faithful have already joined together as my congregation to make sacrifices for this meritorious enterprise. While the construction is now almost finished, the vihara cannot be completed because we still lack approximately 3,000 baht. Usually the construction of a vihāra is a major undertaking requiring large expenditures of resources and time before it is finished. According to our local customs, before we hold a celebration for a new vihāra, we must dedicate the vihāra as an offering, [a custom] which since ancient times we have called *thān thō*. This is done in order that clergy might use the place as a residence and that all of us may formally donate to the religion those construction materials for which we have already sacrificed wealth and resources.

In this ceremony in addition to the making of merit through the dedication of the vihāra, there will also be an anointment (*phutthāphisēk*) of three new bronze Buddha images which will be the chief [images] in the viharā Nāi Som and Nāng Kham'oei Bunrüang will present one image worth 12,000 baht; Nāng Som and Nāi Som Khunpradlt, another image worth 5,000 baht, and Police Sgt. Major Chaiyawong and Nāng Āphôn Sīnwannarō, a third image worth 5,000 baht. Altogether, the three images are worth 22,000 baht.

On this same occasion, the committee has also arranged for the simultaneous holding of the ceremony of *tak bāt khāo sān* ('giving of paddy rice alms') which is customarily held on the day of the full moon in the 4th lunar month [northern reckoning] (*düan sīpeng*) This [ceremony is held] in order that the faithful might present the first fruits of their produce [lit., new rice and

first fruit]. However the arrangements committee will not be distributing sacks for the rice as usual for this ceremony. Those of you who desire to join in the offering of first rice, on this occasion, please bring [the rice] to join in the merit-making at Wat Chaiyalāp according to the following schedule:

- 13 January 2511 (14th day of the waxing of the moon, 4th lunar month, northern reckoning) at 8:30 am the faithful will bring their offerings to come and decorate the temple. A *sō* player from Chiang Mai will provide entertainment. At 7:00 p.m., nine monks will chant mantras, the *Thammacak* sermon, and the *thammaphutthā phisk suat boek* ('chant of dedication of ritual objects'), and [then there will be] other entertainment.
- 14 January 2511 (15th day of the waxing of the moon, 4th lunar month, northern reckoning) at 5:30 am. the monks will perform the ceremony of *boek nēt phraphuttharūp* (lit., 'opening the eyes of the Buddha image) and will present *mathupāyāt* rice (rice mixed with honey). At 11:00 am. the food will be presented to the monks for their midday meal and then everyone who has joined in the ceremony will be fed. The ceremony of dedication of the vihara will begin at 1:00 p.m., followed by the offerings of paddy to the clergy. Then there will be a sermon, followed by the offering of alms. The ceremony will end with the chant of gratitude by the monks.
- Therefore, we invite all Buddhists to join in the joy of making merit together at this time. All the proceeds from the festival will be combined with existing funds to be used to finish the building of the vihara

stamp indicating approval by the Čao Khana Amphoe

[signed]:

- Phra Mahā Kāēo Panhawaro, Chairman of festival committee
- Nāi Som Khunpradit, Deputy Chairman
- Nāi Thō Bunsī, Comm. Member
- Nāi Kāēo Khiaomüang, Comm. Member
- Nāi Udom Thammakhan, Comm. member
- and all members of Wat Chaiyalāp's Wat Committee

ฎีกาขอบุญ
เมืองในงานทานพระวิหาร (ทานเทาะ)
วัดชัยลาภ แม่ตะเริง

ขอออกบุญมายังท่านศรัทธาผู้ใจบุญทั้งหลาย

ความที่ท่านทั้งหลาย ได้มีจิตศรัทธาร่วมแรงร่วมใจกันเสียดสละทรัพย์สมบัติของตนสร้างสาราณะกุศล โดยร่วมกันกับคณศรัทธาข้าพเจ้าทั้งหลายก่อสร้างวิหารของวัดชัยลาภขึ้น เพื่อเป็นประโยชน์แก่พระภิกษุสามเณรและศรัทธาทั้งหลายจะได้ใช้ประกอบพิธีทำบุญทางศาสนา และเป็นที่พำนักพักพอาอาศัยของคนทั่วไปมาแต่บัดนี้ บัดนี้การก่อสร้างวิหารดังกล่าวเสร็จไปมากแล้ว แต่ยังไม่เรียบร้อยดี เพราะยังขาดทุนทรัพย์สำหรับใช้ในการก่อสร้างอยู่ประมาณ ๓๐๐๐๐ บาท (สามหมื่นบาท) ปกติการก่อสร้างวิหารเป็นงานใหญ่ต้องใช้ทุนทรัพย์มาก และต้องใช้เวลาานจึงจะสำเร็จเรียบร้อยดี ตามประเพณีท้องถิ่นบ้านเรานั้น ก่อนที่เราจะฉลองวิหารใหม่จำเป็นต้องมีการถวายพระวิหารเป็นสังฆทานไปก่อน ตามโบราณประเพณีที่เรียกว่า (ทานเทาะ) นั้นเอง ทั้งนี้เพื่อพระภิกษุสามเณรจะได้ใช้เป็นที่พักพอาอาศัย และเป็นปัจจัยให้เราทั้งหลาย ได้ทานไม้ทานหินทรายตลอดถึงอุปกรณ์การก่อสร้างวิหารทั้งหมดที่เราได้สละทรัพย์ไว้เป็นทุนเดิมมาแต่บัดนี้แก่พระศาสนาอีกด้วย

ในงานนั้นนอกจากจะมีการทำบุญทานวิหารแล้ว ยังมีการพุทธาภิเษกพระพุทธรูปทองเหลืองที่เป็นพระประธานในวิหารใหม่อีก ๓ องค์ด้วย โดยมีนายสม นางคำเอ๋ย บุญเรือง ถวายไว้หนึ่งองค์ ราคาพระ ๑๒๐๐๐ บาท นางสม นายสม กุณประดิษฐ์ หนึ่งองค์ ราคาพระ ๕๐๐๐ บาท จ.ส.ท. ไชยวงษ์ นางอารณ์ ศิววรรณโร หนึ่งองค์ ราคา ๕๐๐๐ บาท รวมทั้งสามองค์เป็นเงิน ๒๒๐๐๐ บาท (สองหมื่นสองพันบาท)

เนื่องในวาระเดียวกันนี้ ทางคณะกรรมการจัดงานยังมีการทำบุญตักบาตรข้าวสารพร้อมกันตาม
 ประเพณีเดือน ๔ เบ็ญจกัวย ทั้งนี้เพื่อให้พุทธบริษัทหรือศรัทธาทั้งหลายได้ถวายทานข้าวใหม่ ผล
 ไม่แรกมีอีกกัวย แต่การทำบุญตักบาตรข้าวสารนี้ ทางคณะกรรมการจัดงานไม่ได้แจกซองข้าวสารให้คงที่
 กระทำมา ถ้าหากศรัทธาท่านใดประสงค์จะร่วมทำบุญทานข้าวใหม่ครั้งนี้แล้ว กรุณานำไปร่วมทำบุญได้ที่
 วัดชัยลาภ ตามหมายกำหนดการจัดงานดังนี้

วันที่ ๑๓ เดือนมกราคม ๒๕๑๑ ซึ่งตรงกับวันเดือน ๔ เทโวขึ้น ๑๔ ค่ำ เวลา ๘.๓๐ น คณะ
 ศรัทธานำเครื่องไทยทานไปรวมกันที่วัดพร้อมกันตักแตงคา มีขอมมาจากเชียงใหม่ขอให้ฟัง เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น.
 พระสงฆ์ ๔ รูป เจริญพระพุทธมนต์ เทศน์ธรรมจักร ฯ ธรรมพุทธานิเชกสวดเบิก และมหรสพการเล่นต่างๆ
 อบรมสมโภช

วันที่ ๑๔ เดือนมกราคม ๒๕๑๑ ซึ่งตรงกับเดือน ๔ เทโวขึ้น ๑๕ ค่ำ เวลา ๘.๓๐ น. พระสงฆ์
 ทำพิธีเบิกเนตรพระพุทธรูป และถวายข้าวมธุปายาส เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น ถวายภัตตาหารเพลแก่พระสงฆ์เสร็จ
 แล้ว เลี้ยงอาหารแก่ท่านที่ไปร่วมงาน เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีถวายวิหาร ถวายข้าวสารแก่พระสงฆ์
 เสร็จแล้วมีเทศน์ ๑ กัณฑ์ จบแล้ว ถวายเครื่องไทยทาน พระสงฆ์อนุโมทนาเป็นเสร็จพิธี

ฉนั้น จึงขอเชิญชวนท่านพุทธศาสนิกชนทั้งหลายไปร่วมอนุโมทนาทำบุญร่วมกันในครั้งนี้โดย
 ทั่วกันด้วย บัณฑิตยรายได้จากงานทั้งหมดจะได้รวบรวมสมทบทุนในการสร้างพระวิหารที่ยังไม่เสร็จให้สำเร็จ
 สุล่วงต่อไป.

อนมทินามน
 พระศรีอนุสรณ์ศาสนเกษรติ
 เจ้าคณะอำเภอแม่สะเรียง
 ประทับตราตำแหน่งเป็นสำคัญ

พระมหาแก้ว ปญญาวิโร	ประธานจัดงาน
นายสม คุณประคัมภ์	รองประธาน
นายโท บุญศรี	กรรมการ
นายแก้ว เขียวเมือง	กรรมการ
นายอุดม ธรรมขันธุ์	กรรมการ
และคณะศรัทธาวัดชัยลาภทุกคน	

พระสังฆการีพินัย์ สำนักาน ซอ๕๐ ซี่งใหม่ นวประพวน สักคหวนชัย ภูพันธ์โพชธา

Mae Sariang

January 14-16, 1968

Activities in Mae Sariang 14-16 January (Jane Keyes's Notes)

Jane made the following notes on some activities in Mae Sariang which occurred while I was in the hills:

"14 January 1968: Preliminary visit to Wat Chaiyalāp. 3-day *ngān* going on (+ *likē*) for opening of new building at wat [new *bōt*]. Ceremony called *chalōng*. Outside girls were selling tiles for the roof at 25 *satang* each. The tiles had pictures of the 12-year cycle animals on them, so that you could buy tiles of your own year. Bought 25 baht's worth. No service on that day, but went with Sanga for long chat with the abbot .

"15 January 1968: Returned for actual ceremony. Outside there were many Karens, Chaiyalāp being in "Karensville" [ie., the part of Mae Sariang where many Karens live]. Also election booths had been set up outside and people were busy voting. Tiles also being sold. "Met Mali on way home. Very embarrassed at being seen coming out of the wat but hastened to explain she had only been helping wash dishes, and seemed reassured by the fact that I had been at the wat 'a long time'.

16 January 1968: *Wan Khrū* [and 'Children's Day']. *Takbāt* at *Rongrian Thōng sawat* at 8:00 A.M. 10 wats represented and masses of teachers there, including Mark. Gave rice, and [missing word, may be *khanom*] and oranges.

Khun Čit wanted to go to Mae La Noi, so I drove him and Phan up. While he was visiting a tobacco station there, Phan and I toured a few of the shops and then went to chat with a local shop girl. Learned that there are 2 Indians in Mae La Noi [Islamic], both merchants, but no Chinese. Population mainly Shan. Lots of Karen shops in Mae La Noi. Market very scanty and meat only every 3 or 4 days. Transportation a major difficulty as nobody in Mae La Noi has a truck or car, so the only way of getting into Mae Sariang is by company vehicles. [There is a road construction company based in Mae La Noi. Also, this usually means staying in Mae Sariang overnight and those without relatives in Mae Sariang have to put up at the *sāla*. Traditional connections with Khun Yuam and Mae Hong Son rather than with Mae Sariang. Nobody in Mae La Noi can make the embroidery on the Burmese blouses worn by the girls in Mae La Noi, and traditionally these came from Khun Yuam, and the jewelry from Mae Hong Son. However, people from Mae La Noi use the hospital facilities at Mae Sariang quite a lot. Company school has nearly 500 students. Mae La Noi school has 3 teachers (later learned that one of these is the elder sister of La'ô [my assistant]). Being *wan khrū* all three were dressed up and wearing high heels which the shoo assistant pointed out were very ill-suited to Mae La Noi roads.

Later joined by young man who was helping the owner of the shop, an old lady, fill out a form concerning the shop for income tax purposes. Old lady was illiterate, so fellow was pressing her thumb in the ink pad so she could "stamp" the forms.

Trip to Lua Villages

For the past week I have been in the mountains, especially in the Lua village of Bān Dong (บ้านดง) where I went with a group of teachers, monks, and hangers-on to attend the celebration in honor of the opening of the Bān Dong school for this year. We started the trip by travelling by car to Mae La Noi on the 9th. We spent the 9th in Mae La Noi and on the 10th we walked to Bān Dong, taking about 8½ hours for the trek. The 11th-15th were spent in Bān Dong. On the 15th, we walked the short distance (2 hours) between Bān Dong and Bān Pā Pāē (บ้านป่าแป๋, Pete's Lua village). We spent the night of the 15th and all day of the 16th in Bān Pā Pāē. On the 17th, yesterday, I left before the group (who left about 10:10) and returned to Mae Sariang – about 6 hours of walking. During the course of this trip, I made a number of observations and interviews.

Mae La Noi

I noticed that the 'southern' wat in Mae La Noi where we stayed was being set-up as a polling station for the election on the 14th. Lists of eligible voters appeared on mimeographed sheets on a bulletin board in the wat courtyard. On these lists were a large number of Karen and Lua from villages in T. Mae La Noi. On the sides of the main wat building were sheets announcing the candidacy of each of the 28 candidates. (These sheets were 'official' announcements of candidacy, signed by the District Officer.) According to one man (himself a candidate) who visited the Čao Khana Amphoe at the wat, there are 2 candidates from Mae La Noi. One person thought that Bān Pā Pāē would be a polling station since it was in the last general elections, but I found out later that there were no polling stations in the mountains.

In the evening, the Border Patrol Police group showed films that were being taken to Bān Dong for the celebration. The first films shown were the USIS Hill Tribes films of Lisu, Karen, and Meo. The watchers laughed at the antics displayed in the films. Also shown was a film of SEATO air exercises and slides brought by the Čao Khana Amphoe.

I toured the 'town' with the Čao Khana Amphoe. He said that this was his first visit to Mae La Noi since 1957. He said also that the Shan are better Buddhists than the Khonmüang.

In the evening I met a teacher who teaches English in Mae La Noi school by the name of Phō (โพธิ์). He said that he had studied English with a missionary in Mae Sariang – Hunt, now

gone. In his conversation in English, this teacher made occasional references to looking for the true God - an obvious indication of his training. The teacher is a relative of the Čao Khana Amphoe.

On the morning of the 10th, I went to the market in Mae La Noi with some of my fellow travelers. The market is very minimal with a limited variety of vegetables and only chicken as meat.

At the wat in the morning, many, many people brought food to present to the monks. In presenting food, they would first go to a table where there were empty dishes and a lacquered *phan*. They would place a little of each dish prepared, including rice, on the *phan* (for the Buddha, it was explained), then place food in the dishes, and the rice in a large basin next to the table.

Elephant Blessing Ceremony, Bān Dong

On the 11th, the Čao Khana Amphoe and I made a tour of the village. At one household, they were getting ready to perform the ceremony known as *mat mü* (มัดมื่อ) (lit. 'tying of the hands') in N. Thai for an elephant. We were invited up into the house and the Čao Khana Amphoe was invited to make the *sompôî* 'holy' water. The elephant was tethered next to the porch of the house, and the people involved sat on the porch. The items involved in the ceremony included a *satuang* (๙๙๓๓) – a square shallow box made with banana stalks with 4 'flags' stuck in at the corners and containing pieces of chicken and pork (cooked), 2 small images made of rice flowers (buffalo or elephants ?), rice, etc. – a dish of water with *sompôî* pods in it, some cotton thread and a plate containing a cooked chicken and cooked pork. The participants included the Headman of Bān Dong, as sort of chief officiant, the owner of the elephants, a group of elders, and, unexpectedly, the Čao Khana Amphoe.

First, the Čao Khana Amphoe made 'holy water' by holding a lit candle over the water containing the *sompôî* pods while chanting. When finished, he sprinkled some water on the elephant. Then, the remaining water, in its container, was placed in the *satuang* and taken by the Headman and one other man down from the porch near the elephant. The remaining water was thrown on the elephant. Then the *satuang* was placed inside a tied circle of stripped branches (rattan? reeds?) and taken by the 2nd man to the woods, and, I believe outside the village.

The Headman returned upstairs and he and some other elders squatted on the porch around the head of the elephant. They 'chanted' something together in unison. When finished, some flowers and leaves were placed on the elephant's head. Then liquor was passed to the men present (each twirled his forefinger in the liquor and said something before drinking. Pete says that this is a request to the house spirit to drink first).

Then a man (owner? Mahout?) climbed atop the elephant and, assisted by the Headman, tied strings around the elephants ears. A string was also tied by the Headman around the mahout's stick. Then the chicken was taken and two bones stripped of all their meat. Bamboo slivers were stuck into the holes of each bone (2 in each bone), and the omens read. They were favorable as the slivers each pointed away from the other.



Illustration of bamboo slivers in bone holes, a method of reading omens

Elephant Ownership in Bān Dong

The elephant in question in the ceremony was a male and was owned by 6 people on a cooperative basis. It is never, according to one man present, taken into the valley for work. I believe I was told that there are 4 elephants in the village.

Characteristics of Bān Dong

According to the Headman of Bān Dong, the village has 96-97 households with 589 people. Only one household is Christian (Protestant).

Major Village Shrine

On the tour of the village with the *Čao Khana* Amphoe, we visited the main village spirit shrine. On a slight rise there is a tall, (perhaps 20-30 feet) carved pole to which a buffalo is tied for the buffalo sacrifice. This sacrifice has not been held for more than 20 years. It is held regularly when a new headman takes office (headmanship is hereditary) or when a major catastrophe hits the village.

Next to the pole there is a building, like the Lua houses, on stilts, which houses the wooden drums used for the buffalo sacrifice. These drums are very large, being at least 2 feet in diameter and 10 or more feet long. They were placed on a raised platform in the building, under which was a place for making a fire. On top of the drums were at least three pairs of buffalo horns from previous sacrifices and in the drum farthest to the left of the entrance were bones of a buffalo (this drum was broken).

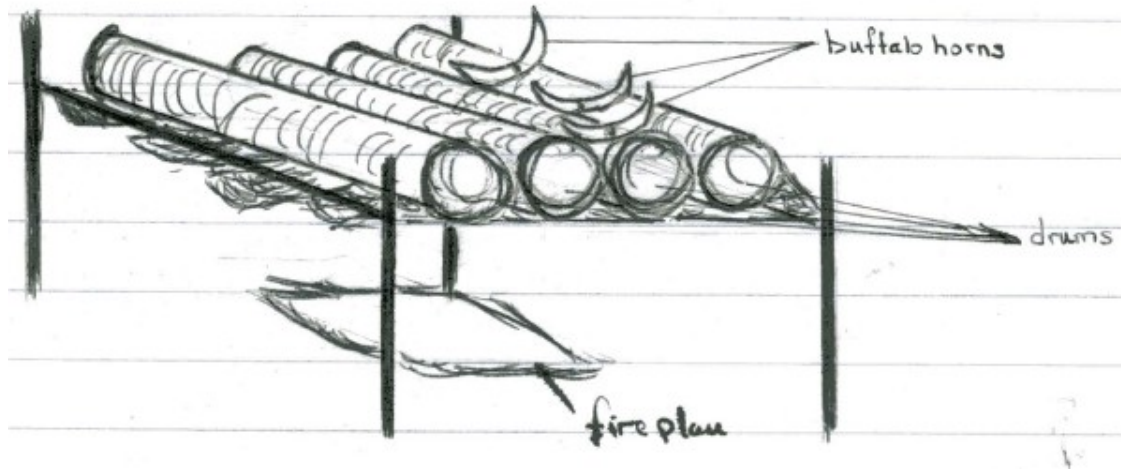


Illustration of village shrine

The man who accompanied us into the building said that if an unauthorized person beat these drums, he would have to sponsor the buffalo sacrifice. (I suppose to appease the spirits.)

Headman of Bān Dong

The headman who accompanied us on much of our tour of the village and who spent considerable time in talking with the Čao Khana Amphoe mentioned several things during the course of the day which I noted. He was wearing a collection of Buddhist amulets around his neck, a fact which caught the Čao Khana Amphoe's attention. One of the amulets was an image of Khrübā Sīwichai, the famous Chiang Mai monk, and the others were all various images of the Buddha. The headman said that villagers greatly revered Khrübā Sīwichai whom they call Khrübā Sintham (ครูบาสิริธรรม) and today reverence his disciple, Khrübā Phī (the Khrübā Khāo). Despite these manifestations of interest in Buddhism, the headman said that no household had a Buddhist altar. The headman also told a story about the spirit of Wat Čēdī Luang in Chiang Mai being a Lua spirit.

Other Buddhist Manifestations

One man said that his son had been to Mae La Noi to make merit at a wat there.

Bān La' Up (ບ. ລະອຸປ)

Another important Lua village, Bān La' Up, is located about 2 hours walk from Bān Dong (We had passed this village on the way to Bān Dong). (This is the village, incidentally, in which Don Schlater, the New Tribes Missionary who works with the Lua, has had the most success. He recently held a 'conference' of Lua Christians in Bān La' Up). A student from that village in B. Dong said that 6 students came from there to study in the B. Dong school. He also said that there were 95 households in the village.

The School-Based Ceremony¹

The whole purpose of our coming to Bān Dong was for the opening of the BPP school in B. Dong this year. According to Pete, each year one of the upland schools is chosen for the opening ceremony and representatives and teachers from other schools attend. This year's celebration was larger than usual, partially because of the presence of so many monks. In addition to the Čao Khana Amphoe, another monk from Wat Kittiwong, a monk from Wat Sībunrūang, and a monk from the 'southern' wat of Mae La Noi accompanied us on the trek from Mae La Noi to B. Dong. On the twelfth, the abbot from Čôm Čāēng and a novice from the same wat came with a croup from B. Pā Pāē. (they had spent 3 nights in B. Pā Pāē). All except the abbot of Čôm Čāēng were young men. There were two older men, acting as *lūksit wat*, from Wat Kittiwong and Wat Čôm Čāēng (the former was something of a wastrel, while the latter was a man learned in local religion) and one young *lūksit* from Čôm Čāēng. In addition to the three teachers from B. Dong (2 BPP teachers and one government teacher), there was also a Thai

¹ Charles F. Keyes's tape recordings of ceremony for opening the new school, as well as interviews and performances, in Ban Dong, held on January 13, 1968, are located in the UW Ethnomusicology Archive, reference numbers 2001-2.21 EC, 2001-2.23 EC, 2001-2.24 EC, and 2001-2.26 EC. The original tapes are titled, "Tape Number 13, Side 1," "Tape Number 14, Side 1," and "Tape Number 15, Side 1." Some of the tapes were recorded on the Čao Khana Amphoe's tape recorder. The recordings have also been digitized. An index and partial transcription of the recordings are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.

government teacher from a lowland Karen village (Pīamchai Mōyā เปี้ยมชัยหมอยา) who had once been a BPP teacher in B. Pā Pāē and had got permission from the district officer to attend.

In the evening of the 11th a group of students and a pale teacher from B. Chāng Mō (บ. ชางหม้อ) (a Lua village) arrived in the village. Later another teacher (female) from Huai Hôm also joined the throng. On the 12th the BPP teacher and his wife from B. Pā Pāē accompanied some students and other people from B. Pā Pāē to B. Dong. There was also a BPP 'engineer' who looked after the movie equipment.

In addition to these more-or-less 'official' representatives of religious and educational groups, there were 7 young men who had joined for the fun of it, although some, like Samān, my assistant, also seemed to have some function as a *lūksitwat*. (There were two men from the construction camp in Mae La Noi, one who was the nephew of a mine owner in Mae Sariang, Samān, and 2 unknown quantities.) Moreover, there were 8-10 women and adolescent children who had come up to make *khanom* and to sell small items during the event. Thus, altogether (and counting myself), there were 34-36 "lowlanders" present in the village. Moreover, a large number of 'guests' from surrounding villages and visiting students had to be fed during the event.

To bring up the travel supplies of this group, plus generator, projectors, gasoline, books, films, etc. which were to be used for the event, the schoolteachers from B. Dong had arranged for 50 carriers from B. Dong, of which 49 showed up in Mae La Noi. These carriers came down on the 8th, spent the 9th in Mae La Noi or Mae Sariang, and carried things up on the 10th. They received no pay, according to Khrū Prasāt, but were recruited from each household. In addition, carriers were used to carry supplies and messages down and to carry peoples' goods who left the village for the valley or for Bān Pā Pāē.

To feed this crew of people, a number of pigs (5-6 at least), chickens, and 1 cow was slaughtered during the time we were in the village. Rice and liquor was also obtained from the villagers (the headman of Chāng Mō brought 2 *bīp* of local liquor, all of which (and more) was drunk. Records were kept by one of the B. Dong teachers on all these expenditures, but I wasn't quite certain where, if anywhere, the money was obtained to pay for everything.

Village labor had also been conscripted to make a *ramwong* stage, a long platform on which the food was prepared, etc. During our stay in the village, the students were used as a reservoir of help for everything from carrying water, washing dishes, to sweeping the school.

The actual 'formal' ceremonies were minimal. On the 12th the students from B. Chāng Mō (บ. ช่างหม้อ) and B. Huai Phūng (บ. ห้วยผึ้ง) put on a demonstration of acrobatics and on the 14th, there was a religious ceremony dedicating the school (see below). Beyond these, the 'purpose' seemed to make as much *sanuk* as possible. However, *sanuk* was defined very much in lowland terms. The evenings of the 12th, 13th, and 14th were filled with *ramwong*, the chance game of *sôidāo* (literally 'picking stars'), and films – the sorts of things that one finds at typical wat fairs. For *ramwong* partners, the teachers had 'imported' 6 belles from B. Pā Pāē who were dressed in Western clothes provided by the B. Pā Pāē schoolteacher's wife (bras courtesy of the BPP). There was certainly far more shyness amongst these girls than among ordinary *ramwong* partners, but they played their role fairly well. To dance with them, one had to purchase a ticket which sold first for ฿1. When it was realized that as one would pay that much very often, the price was quickly reduced to 50 satang. On the 3rd night the price was even further reduced to 3 times for ฿1. The *ramwong* seemed to be very popular, with a large number of unmarried boys (again, down to about 10-11) taking their turn on stage and many village girls and adults watching the proceedings. The dancing went on until the wee hours, or later, every night.

The *sôidāo* game was set up near the *ramwong* stage. It consisted of a tree with folded paper numbers attached. One paid ฿1 and selected a number. If one was lucky, one would win a *phākhāomā* or bottle of whiskey. Most, however, came away with a piece of candy or a balloon. Both *ramwong* and the *sôidāo* were run by lowlanders.

The movies consisted of the same batch as were shown in Mae La Noi (tribal groups, SEATO documentaries). Again, the everyday activities (rice milling, for example) of the tribal pictures brought laughter from the audience.

The *ramwong* and *sôidāo* were run to make money "for the school." In fact, I think any money raised was used to help defray expenses incurred during the ceremony. The workers complained of how little they raised compared with what would have been raised at the same activities in the lowlands.

There was also the 'unofficial activities' - drinking, smoking marijuana, gambling (whoring I didn't hear about, and I doubt that it occurred). In general the lowlanders – particularly the teachers and the male entourage treated the whole affair as an opportunity for a wild binge during which little consideration or empathy was shown for the Lua villagers. The exceptions to this generalization were provided by the activities of the Čao Khana Amphoe and the monks. The CKA made an effort to learn Lua (or, at least, made a beginning to learn Lua), was interested in the customs and people, and in fact would make an excellent anthropologist. The other monks were not so interested in the people, but their vows, at least kept them from participating in and contributing to the spree of the others. In general, however, the overall impression of the event that I obtained (although what the overall impression gained by the Bān Dong villagers would be, I was unable to judge) was one of wild partying by the lowlanders at the expense of the upland villagers. Whether any Lua customs were badly trampled on, I do not know, but certainly the non-clerical lowlanders showed a disregard for the dignity of the Lua villagers. An incident will illustrate this: In the late afternoon of the 13th, several of the teachers and others (all drunk) paraded out onto the *ramwong* stage 3 old villagers, including the headman. These 3 were also drunk. The lowlanders pasted, with flour paste, on the face of men strips of crepe paper. They prodded them to *ramwong* and to show off on stage (one old man kept lifting his trouser legs as high as he could). The incident was climaxed for me by the 'sword dancer, which upland villagers are known for, which one old man began to do, but which in his present attire and context was but a mockery of traditional Lua dignity. I am certain that these impressions are somewhat harsher than those of the B. Dong villagers themselves, but I cannot think that the affair helped greatly to improve relations between hill people and lowlanders.

Buddhist Monks in a Lua Village

If the activities of the teachers and hangers-on provided the downbeat side of the affair, the activities of the monks certainly provided, at least, a few upbeats. The main objective of the Čao Khana Amphoe in making this trip (and in bringing other monks with him) was to stimulate the spread or reinforcement of Buddhism among the hill tribes. He had brought with him large numbers of pamphlets put out by the Department of Religious Affairs as part of the missionizing endeavor. During the course of our stay in both B. Dong and B. Pā Pāē, he distributed a large number of a booklet entitled *Rabīap Naphū Phra Phutthasatsanā* (ระเบียบฉบับที่พระพุทธศาสนา) -

"Methods for Respecting Buddhism" and a much fewer number of a booklet entitled *Ariyamak Thāng Phon Thuk* (อริยมรรคทางพ้นทุกข์) - "The Four-fold Path to the Escape from Suffering". He distributed these booklets primarily to schoolchildren from B. Dong, Chiang Mai, B. Huai Phūng and B. Pā Pāē and to the teachers to distribute them to their students. He also employed the first of these booklets in trying to teach villagers, young and old alike, the basic texts of Buddhism. My impression was that these booklets had little utility because (1) they employ the system for writing Pali in Thai rather than transcribing the Pali fully into Thai (e.g. อรหํ instead of อะระหัง) and (2) they employ much technical religious vocabulary which is likely to be incomprehensible to people who have only a minimal command of Thai – and that primarily Northern Thai. The Čao Khana Amphoe himself agrees explicitly with point (1) and implicitly with point (2) since in his talks he tried to speak colloquially as possible.

In the afternoon of the 11th a number of school children from B. Dong were hanging around the doorway of the school (where the monks and I were staying). The CKA invited them in in order to teach them the rudiments of *waiphra* and some of the basic chants. In reward for the efforts he gave each of the children. [This was an incomplete sentence in the original].

In the afternoon of the 12th, a woman and her son from Bān La' Up came to make merit for their dead husband/father, the late headman of La' Up who was killed by a bear a few months ago. Before performing the ceremony, the CKA asked the couple some questions. In Lua custom if one wishes to make merit for the dead, (*liang thawāi* – เลี้ยงถวาย), two or three days after the death of a person invite the spirit of the dead to come and partake of food. The couple, knowing the monks were here, had gone down to Mae La Noi to buy the offerings (bucket with canned food, etc. inside). They had also made merit for their dead husband/father at a wat in Mae La Noi. But they did not know how to "receive the precepts". The late headman had died at age 52 leaving 8 children.

When the couple had left, the CKA said that people in B. Pā Pāē sometimes invite monks [from Wat Čōm Čāēng] to come to ceremonies for the dead in the village. (This statement turned out to be incorrect - the abbot from Čōm Čāēng has been to B. Pā Pāē only to participate in the opening of the school, but many Lua from B. Phāē and B. Pā Pāē do go to make merit for the dead at Wat Čōm Čāēng.)

Late in the afternoon of the 12th, the CKA asked that all the students from Chāng Mō and Huai Phūng (27 students in all) to come to the school. They were accompanied by the teacher from Huai Phūng, but not by the teacher from Chāng Mō who is Islamic (the latter teacher helped round-up the students however). He taught them the basic things about *waiphra* (which they already knew better than the students from B. Dong) and the basic chants for worshipping the 3-Gems, requesting the precepts, and the precepts themselves. He also gave them a long extemporaneous sermon on the meaning of Buddhism (including an abbreviated Life of the Buddha). I felt the sermon was too long and too complicated to hold the interest of the students. After the sermon, he presented each student with a student's copybook, a large, hollow plastic cylinder in the shape of a pencil, and the pamphlet on the "Methods for Respecting Buddhism."

The CKA and all the other monks conducted several *thambun bān* in peoples' homes on the afternoon of the 13th and morning of the 15th before we left for B. Pā Pāē. On the 13th the CKA and the monk from Mae La Noi conducted the ceremony in the house of the headman, Mr. Bunthā Kāēnwiang (บุญทา แก่นเวียง). On the morning of the 15th, the monks split up into pairs (with the novice going with the abbot of Čôm Čāēng) and went to at least 7 different households. They could have gone to more if there had been time. I witnessed the ceremony in the house of the headman on the 13th and in the house of a man who had particularly bad luck in the recent past on the morning of the 15th. This latter man said that he had lost 6 buffalo and 10 cattle and calculated his loss at 10,000 baht at least. I took more extensive notes on the latter and will describe it.

The man at whose home the ceremony took place has 3 children, one of whom is married and lives elsewhere (thus, not a girl) and the other two are boys. In addition to himself, his wife, and 2 boys, there were also 2 *lān* (grand-daughters?), both girls, present. During the course of the ceremony, many other people, adults and adolescents, wandered in. Some stayed and some left before the ceremony was over. The 'utensils' of the ceremony included (1) a basin containing water, *sompōi* pods, and some bound branches for sprinkling water; (2) a *satuang* (so-called in both Kammüang and Lua) with 4 flags which contained a chip off each house pole, cooked rice, uncooked milled rice, some *khāosān*, a candle and some string; and (3) a small basin containing *khāosān*, flowers, and money (฿12 ?). The latter was an offering for the monks. The ceremony proceeded as follows: (1) *waiphra* (*aarahang sammāsamphutthō ...*), (2) *khôsīn*, *namō*,

precepts, (3) chanting by monks during which string (*fāi monkhon*) held by both monks, (4) sermon, (5) making of 'holy water' – i.e. monks chanting while the CKA held a candle over the *sompôî* water. When completed, the candle was discarded in the *satuang*, (6) candles lit on *satuang*. When all was completed the CKA told the head of the household to go throw away the *satuang* outside the village (as is usual practice). Then he sprinkled 'holy' water on the inhabitants of the household while the 2nd monk chanted. Then ceremony was done.

Every morning during our stay in the village, villagers brought food to the monks although they did not know how to present it (they would give it to one of the non-clerical lowlanders – usually Samān or a *lūksitwat* -who would place the food in containers brought with us and hand the dishes of the villagers back to them – all this without ceremony.)

The main event involving the monks was a *thambun bān* type ceremony held on the afternoon of the 14th at the school to dedicate the school. People began gathering in the school shortly after lunch, bringing with them dishes filled with water and *sompôî* pods and string, candles, money, and popped rice. Many people (representatives of each household ?) brought *sompôî* water, a little of which was taken from each and placed in a monks' alms bowl in front of the CKA. The ceremony followed much the same form as the *thambun bān* described above except the chanting was longer and the sermon lasted for over an hour (on the meaning of Buddhism). During the sermon, people did not pay attention (even supposing they could understand). Not all of the non-clerical lowlanders attended. Conspicuously absent, since he teaches in this school, was Chôtdēt, the Christian Karen. Also not present was the Islamic teacher from Chāng Mô. Sometime after the ceremony was over, a string was tied around the school. Villagers took *sompôî* water, now blessed, home with them and may have taken cotton thread for tying their wrists and around their houses, but I didn't observe what happened.

Karens

During the course of the trip, we had some contact with Karens even though our main contact was with Lua. On the way up we passed through one lowland Karen village where the CKA noticed one household had a Buddhist house shrine. We stopped in another Karen village, in the mountains, of only 6 households. Here we talked with a man who spoke excellent N. Thai. It turned out that he had worked for the Phanasit Co. for several years in Lampang). During the

festival in B. Dong, a number of Karens from surrounding villages came to attend and observe. A number of them were young girls.

Bān Dong Miscellaneous

Bān Dong has a large amount of terraced paddy land – a startling amount given my preconception of what an upland village is like. Pete says that B. Dong does have an exceptional amount. The village is located in a long narrow upland 'valley' – unlike Bān La' Up which is perched right on top of the mountain. B. Dong is traversed by a number of small streams (which must be spring fed since they never dry up). Villagers use the streams to bathe in and from certain parts they carry water for drinking and cooking. Villagers carry water in bamboo tubes slung over the back rather than by bucket or lacquered basket *hāp*-style as is done in the plains. Lua houses have roofs that come down to within a few feet of the ground (the houses are built on stilts). There are no windows in the interior of the houses, and smoke from the interior fireplaces escapes through the leaf roofing.

Village Statistics

During our course of stay in B. Dong, the CKA asked visitors to the village about their own villages in order to get some 'statistics' as he put it. The following is my record of this information by village. During our course of stay in B. Dong, the CKA asked visitors to the village about their own villages in order to get some 'statistics' as he put it. The following is my record of this information by village.

1) Bān Huai Phūng (บ. ห้วยผึ้ง)

- Karen village; informant Thaeng Lin, government school teacher in village.

95 households

15 Protestant Christian households

80 'Buddhist'

Has government school with 35 students (29 boys and 6 girls) in 3 grades. One school teacher. The school has been established for 3 years.

Nobody in village has been ordained as novice or priest, and if people want to make merit they must go to Māē Lā Nôi or Mae Sariang.

2) Bān Chāng Mō (บ. ช่างหม้อ)

- Lua village; informant, government school teacher.

140 households, but divided into a number of subvillages

- Chāng Mōluang (ช่างหม้อหลวง)
- Chang Mōnōi (ช่างหม้อน้อย)
- (Ma) nô ([มะ] เนาะ)
- Khom Khai (โคมไคย)
- Yāēk (แยก)
- Dit (ดิค)

None are Christian

Government school with 51 students (all boys) in one grade. One school teacher. The school was opened new this year.

3) Ban Huai Hōm (บ. ห้วยฮ่อม)

Karen; informant, government school teacher

41 households

31 Protestant Christian; 10 *liang phī*

Government school with 45 students (35 boys and 10 girls) in 2 grades. One school teacher (female). The present building was built last year.

4) Bān Huai Hā (บ. ห้วยห้า)

Karen; informant villager

47 households

8 Protestants, 8 Catholics, 31 animist.

No school (attend Huai Hōm school).

5) Ban La'āng (บ.ละอ้าง)

Lua – informant: drunken villager who says he is a native of B. Dong and who married into B. La'āng

9 households in B La'āng tai (บ. ละอ้างใต้) – there is also a B. La'āng nua (บ. ละอ้างเหนือ)

Claims has own headman – *Kāēliang* (แก่เลี้ยง)

6) Bān La' Up (บ. ละอุบ)

Lua; informant: 16 year old son of late headman

80 households

15 Protestant; 65 animist/Buddhist

7) Bān Huai hak mai (ห้วยหักไม้)

- Karen

1st informant - villager by name of Chāphō or Chāphū (met in B. Dong)

35 households

11 Catholic, 1 Protestant, 23 animist

2nd informant - son of headman (met in B. Pā Pāē) - name Pa Pu Ke (? sp.)

50 households

13 Catholic, 1 Protestant, 36 Animist

People

During the course of my stay in B. Dong I gathered information on several people or used certain individuals as special informants:

- 1) Schoolteacher in Bān Chāng Mô: Islamic, native of Mae Sariang. In B. Dong, he talked with the CKA on request, and when he received some student notebooks from him, he *wai*-ed the CKA. In B. Pā Pāē he helped teach B. Pā Pāē students how to *wai phra*.

- 2) Thông'in Manajit (Thai sp.?) - Teacher in B. Huai Phüng: He was born in Burma of a Burmese father and Khonmüang mother (Benny said he knew his father in Burma). Parents now live in Mae Sariang. Himself has lived in Thailand most of his life (20 years). Can speak Karen.
- 3) Mī: Third grade school boy in B. Dong. Speaks fairly good Central Thai (CKA says must speak Central Thai with students because they know it better than Kammüang, having been taught it in school). I asked him if he wanted to continue his studies after finishing P3. He said he didn't know. I then asked if he had the opportunity to continue his studies if he would like to; he answered yes. He has visited Mae Sariang several times where he stayed with relatives B. Phāē.
- 4) Chāphō or Chāphū - Karen villager from B. Huai Hak Mai. He came to see the CKA to see if he was able to *tatphī* (literally 'to cut off spirits') because he has used up all of his money in feeding the spirits. The CKA said he could, but since he wasn't going to the village, this proposal didn't get carried any further. This chap can write, with effort, his name in Karen. He is part owner of an elephant which is hired out for dragging firewood at 4-5 baht per log. This elephant is not hired out in the lowland to the Phanasit Co. or to a compradore, but another elephant is 'leased' to a Karen in Mae Sariang - Nāi Čanda, formerly Khun Čanda Dāwākūn (นายจันตะขุนจันตะ / คาวากูต) who in turn hires the elephant out. His fellow villagers and himself only take *khāosān* and bamboo matting. He says that his village produced enough rice this year on both *rai* and *nā*.

I asked him about the words for Buddhist things in Karen. The following are his answers in the closest approximation I could get (I have not indicated tone):

- *sōkha* - the usual Karen word for 'Buddhist monk'
- *pha*- 'novice'
- *sōkha pādōk* - Phra Khrū
- *chō* - wat (CKA says comes from the Burmese word *kyaung*, *chông*)

He didn't know the word for *čēdī*, despite the fact, as the CKA pointed out there are *čēdī* in several lowland Karen villages in Mae Sariang. He also mentioned the Khrūbā Khāo.

Government Hill Village Schools

According to one of the government schoolteachers at the festival, the following are government hill village schools in Mae Sariang: Bān Huai Phūng, Bān Huai Hôm, and Bān Chāng Mô. These schools have no connection with the Bān Pā Pāē schools.

Provincial Council Elections and Hill Tribes

On the 14th elections were held in all districts in the country for representatives to provincial councils. In Mae Sariang, all of the voting stations were in the lowlands so that eligible voters in hill villages had to go down to vote. In Bān Dong the teachers had brought up announcements of the election (see above) and advertisements for one group of eight candidates who ran as the "Developing Mae Sariang Group" (กลุ่มพัฒนาแม่สะเรียง), (this was the only 'group' in the election) and for one other candidate, Mr. Udom Mahāwanā (นายอุดม มหาวานา). Pete said that he had heard that the teachers were campaigning for specific candidates, but the distribution of this campaign literature may have been what was meant. I saw an advertisement for the 'group' up in the house of the headman, and Pete said Bān Pā Pāē villagers had received campaign literature also.

This morning I overheard the headman talking with Khrū Sanan about going to vote. At first I thought he was going to go but, I believe, that Khrū Sanan persuaded him to stay because of the ceremony in the afternoon. I asked Khrū Sanan if anyone went. He said that about 36-37 (including the assistant headman) went. He also said that if there hadn't been a ceremony, "everyone" would have gone. No women went, however.

Karens in Politics

On the 15th, after travelling from Bān Dong to Bān Pā Pāē, I stayed at Pete's house in B. Pā Pāē. In the evening, Benny came up to help Pete. I asked Pete whether any Karens were candidates for provincial representatives. He answered that there were two.

- 1) Āi Phō (อ้ายโพธิ์) in Thai and Po-u in Karen: A Christian who runs a lumber mill in B.

Thā Khēn. Apparently all Karen Christians had been teed up to vote for him. Many who

were illiterate were told to count twelve steps as they walked into the voting booth to remember that he was number 12 on the ballot.

- 2) Khrū Kham (ครุคำ) - (also known as วิรศักดิ์ ศรีวิชัย - Čīrasak Sīwichai): Buddhist son of Headman of B. Māē Hān. Also in lumber business (Owner and manager of the Sīwichai lumber mill) According to Benny he was married to a Thai Wife. He divorced her and married his first cousin (FaBrDa) who is the younger sister of Wichian's wife. Benny says all the Karens were very shocked at this marriage.

People

Benny also gave me some more information of some people I had met on this trip.

- 1) Choetdēt WaViāsathit - Christian Karen who teaches in B. Dong (government teacher). He is the son of Khrū Sanō (สนอ?) who teaches in B. Phamōlō and is well-known in the Christian Karen community.
- 2) Thông'in Manajit - Teacher in B. Huai Phūng. Benny thinks his father is Shan not Burmese. Benny says he knew his father when Benny was customs officer in Papun, Burma. He was then wealthy with a jeep and lots of trade between Mae Sariang and Burma. He now seems to be in more straightened circumstances.

Teaching Bān Pā Pāē Students about Buddhism

In the morning of the 16th, the Čao Khana Amphoe requested that the students in the B. Pā Pāē school be brought together so that he could instruct them in Buddhism. Nine boys (out of 19) and 16 girls (out of 16) showed up, including several Christian students (nominal at least). On the blackboard had been written the following:

นักเรียนบ้านป่าแป๋	Bān Pā Pāē students
ทำพิธีแสดงตนเป็นพุทธมามกะ	rite showing that one is a Buddhist
16 มกราคม 2511	16 January 1968

The CKA then gave the students a short talk, based on the theme that students should now be able to answer the question "What religion do you respect?" with the reply "Buddhism." He then asked each of the students in turn (although he didn't finish with the girls) to answer the question (one boy floundered and may have been Christian). He explained that there are several religions – Christianity, Islam, Sikh, etc., but "Buddhism is the religion of Thailand and of the king." He then asked the students what he was. The proper answer was *phra phiksu*. He then asked "*phra phiksu penlüksit không khrai*." Answer: *Phra Phuttha cao*. He taught them what a 'monk' is, what the 'Sangha' is, what a 'novice' is and that monks and novices live in a 'wat'. He then distributed to each student copies of the two pamphlets, "Methods of Respecting Buddhism" and "The Four-Fold Path to the Escape from Suffering".

While attending this ceremony, I noted down several things in the schoolroom which reflected the attempts to teach Lua that they are Thai citizens: picture of Thanom, poster denouncing Communism, 2 pictures of the King (one with the label พระมหากษัตริย์), 2 pictures of the Queen, picture of flag, real flag, central 'shrine' in middle of room with picture of Emerald Buddha (labeled พระ) and flowers, 2 maps of Thailand, posters advertising 'development', and pictures of animals with their Thai names, posters showing the Thai alphabet. The Muslim teacher from Chāng Mô and Khrū Prasāt, one of the BPP teachers, from B. Dong helped the CKA.

The CKA explained to the students about the fact that monks were *lüksit* of Buddha and explained that they should respect monks because of this fact. He then taught them to *wai phra*. He then taught them about *khriang būchā* and placed flowers, candles, and incense on the altar in front of a small Buddha. He taught them how to light candles and incense, using a student from P3 as a demonstrator while the rest of the students sat in the *wai* position. He then taught them the chant for worshipping the Triple Gems ("อิฉันาสกฺกาเรน...") and then "เอเตมย์..." and he read them the formal Thai translations for these (he was using the pamphlet "Methods for Respecting Buddhism" as a guide). This was followed by teaching them the *khôsin*, *namo* and the 5 precepts. This ended the formal ceremony.

Tham Bun Bān for Bān Pā Pāē Village

In the afternoon of the 16th, the monks held a *tham bun bān* ceremony for the whole village of B. Pā Pāē. Originally, there had been an attempt to get people together in the early afternoon, but in fact the ceremony was not held until late afternoon and early evening. Pete explained this is because the spirit world is the reverse of this world and thus the spirits come out at night. In both Lua and Northern Thai this ceremony is called *song khô* (ส่งเคาะ) - Thai เสิร์เคราะห์. which can be translated as dispelling the influence of bad omens or 'sending away' bad fate. (Pete says that the Lua may believe that the *khô* are some kind of beings, although he is not certain.)

Two types of 'offerings' were brought to the ceremony: (1) a collection of items to be used for dispelling the *khô* in each household and (2) *satuang* used in the *song khô* for the school. The first consisted of the following things:

- a *talāēo* (ตะเหลว) [Thai ตะเหลว, a 'rope' made of *khā* leaves ไม้ป่า]. [The *talāēo* or *chalāēo* is a very widespread symbol throughout SE Asia, made of bamboo strips so interwoven as to make a six-pointed star. It is used as a symbol to ward off evil or spirits who might bring misfortune to a person or household.] To be placed over the doorway of house.



Illustration of a *talāēo*

- string: used for tying wrists and tying around house.

- *bai nat* ไบ่บัด) and *bai ma khan*, ไบ่มาขัน): used for sprinkling 'holy' water (*sompôï* water)
- dish with sand and 4 stones: sand to sprinkle around house; stones placed inside house in 4 corners.
- candles for making 'holy' water and (in N. Thai custom at least) *būchā phra thī bān*.
- clothing which will be blessed and the “*khô*” will depart when the clothing is worn".
- dish with *sompôï* pods for making holy water to be sprinkled on house and members of household.

Every household that wishes to will send this first collection of things to the ceremony. [The CKA explained that in the plains, this type of *song khô* ceremony is held, without benefit of Buddhist clergy on *ôk phansā* and *songkrān*. People do worship the monks in the morning on the days they hold this ceremony.] Some people put tumeric into the *sompôï* water.

- *Satuang* (4 of them; 2 made on one side of village and 2 on the other)
 - banana stalk 'boxes', square in shape and about 2" high; 'flags' at 4 corners; contain rice paste figures of elephants, dogs, pigs, cattle, buffalo, chickens, ducks, etc., *khanom*, cooked rice, *miang*, tobacco, flowers, peppers, dried fish, candles, chews of betel.
 - Represent 4 corners of school

In addition to these preparations, some people also brought popped rice for worshipping the monks. Also, representatives of every (?) household donated a small amount of money which was to be divided amongst the monks.

The ceremony had three parts:

- 1) propitiation of spirits (?) at 4 corners of schools done by an old man (Lung Tui ?) from B. Čôm Čāēng who had accompanied the monk from Čôm Čāēng and assisted by villagers from B. Pā Pāē.
- 2) *thambun* ceremony performed by monks.
- 3) placing of the 'blessed' objects in houses by householders.

The first two overlapped somewhat in time, but they were not interrelated .

In propitiating the spirits of the 4 corners, the old Čôm Čãēng man began first with S.E. corner, then the N.E., the N.W., and the S.W. The old man had a N. Thai mss. (a *samut khôî* – สมุดข่อย) which he read from in making the offerings. During the offering a candle was lit on the side of one of the *satuang*. At a point indicated by the old man, the local assistant would raise the *satuang* in a *wai* position (although both the old man and the assistant sat on their heels). When the old man finished the formal presentation, the *satuang* was taken and thrown away in the woods. This was repeated for each of the four corners.

At the *thambun* ceremony, Khrū Prasāt, the BPP teacher from B. Dong, acted as lay leader (the BPP teacher from B. Pā Pāē also was present, but none of the other ‘lowland’ group were there). A portable altar with 2 small Buddha images had been set up next to the CKA. On it were placed flowers and lighted candles and incense.

The ceremony began with Khrū Sāt leading the villagers in *waiphra* and *khôsin*. Then the CKA led the villagers in the *namo...* and the 5 precepts. Then Khrū Sāt chanted something and a string was passed along the offerings in front of the monks and attached to one of the Buddha images. The monk from Wat Sībunrūang chanted something while Khrū Sāt attached an unlit candle to a monk’s alms bowl in front of the CKA. This bowl contained water and *sompôî* pods. Then all of the monks chanted. During this time some of the villagers made a short ‘broom’ which would be used for sprinkling ‘holy’ water. It was placed on top of the ‘offerings’. The string was wound up while the monks were still chanting and the end of the chanting came shortly thereafter.

The CKA then explained that the next part of the ceremony would be the making of the ‘holy water’ (สวดพระพุทธรมนต์). But before this was done, the CKA gave those present a long talk about Buddhism. The following are some excerpts from that talk.

- He said that this was his first visit to B. Pā Pāē
- Explained that people must respect the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha.

He said that the monks had been requested that they perform the *song khô bān* ceremony. But, he said, monks are unable to do this; they are able only to *suat phra phutthamon*. He said that the *sarawat* (Lung Tui) who came with them was able to *song khô*.

He listed all of the ‘offerings’ the villagers had brought, explaining each. He said that the belief in *khô* was a belief of olden times. It is also found, as is the use *sompôî* and *matmü* (‘tying

of wrists'), among people in the valley.

In Thailand we believe in Buddhism, but also have Brahmanism (*satsanā phrôm*). Can't divide Buddhism from Brahmanism. In B. Pā Pāē, people believe in *phī*. It is also hard to separate *phī* worship from Buddhism. [These beliefs persist because of the desire to find *khwāmsuk khwāmsabāi*. Brahmanism was formerly the religion of Buddha. This ceremony was formerly a Brahmanical ceremony. It is a ceremony for finding happiness, etc. for those who also believe in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha.

Buddha is the *čao khôn sātsana* (เจ้าของศาสนา). [Here I lost the train of argument but it concerned the teachings of Buddha]...

Don't break laws of country and try to make merit. Do good according to the regular attitudes of one's heart. [Social merits of Buddhism]...

Buddha spoke about death. He had learned about death and had the great compassion to teach us. [Short life of Buddha]...

The Sangha here carries on the teachings of the Buddha.

- 1) Don't do evil (*chua, rāi, bāp*, evil speaking, etc.)
- 2) Do good (compassion for other things, respect for parents, elders, monks, government, king, for example) and receive *bun*.

If one respects the Buddha, one must also respect his teaching and the Sangha.

Buddha died long ago but Buddhism still lives in the world today.

These 3 (Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha) are the things which should be respected by the people of B. Pā Pāē if they are to find happiness (ความสุข). The old belief is that when one goes to *müang phī*, or that when one dies, there is nothing that remains (ตายไปแล้วไม่มีเหลือ).

There also exists the belief that we will be born again but that everything will be born in the same state: woman born again as a woman, man as man, elephant as elephant, etc. But Buddha taught that those who have done good will go through several states, and in this world will have ความสุขความสบาย or will be born a *Thēwadā*. But if they have done *bāp* [gave example], they will suffer the consequences in the next life. If they are born in this world, they will suffer, or will go through several lower levels of birth.

All people will die; whether they change states [in their next life] depends on Karma (แล้วแต่กรรม). [He then explained this] [Essentially he taught: "Do good, receive good; Do evil, receive evil"]

As children must first learn the alphabet [using an example from the school room] before they can read and write, so the Buddha taught not to do evil and to do good as the first step.

He reiterated:

- Belief in Karma
- Belief in 3 Gems
- Try to take care of ourselves by doing good and avoiding evil
- Thus: ความเจริญความสบาย

In closing he said that he would like to come to visit B. Pā Pāē again. And, he said, if villagers come to Mae Sariang, they are invited to come visit him at Wat Kittiwong (Wat Sophān nai) and to come and participate in *thôt kathin* again [for the big Bangkok-sponsored Kathin this year, a group from B. Pā Pāē participated].

Then the monks chanted ให้พร (*hai phon*) and the CKA sprinkled those present with 'holy water'. When this was done, he told the people to come and take their things away.

I observed the third part of the ceremony at a house next to Pete's. First, the head of household bound the wrists of the members of the household. Then the *talāēo* was placed above the door. He sprinkled sand around the house and then he tied the remaining string around the house. He also sprinkled the house (roof) with *sompōi* water. Then he dug a hole at each corner of the house and buried a stone in each of the 4 holes.

I forgot to note that at the ceremony, the participants were divided according to sex.

Mae Sariang

January 18, 1968

Northern Thai Customs

Today I visited the CKA at Wat Kittiwong since I had come down earlier than the rest of the group yesterday. As one consequence of our trip, the CKA learned that I was interested in local customs. Khrū Sanan was also present. The CKA mentioned a local ceremony called *kān khün tao ta sī* (การขึ้นเต้าตะสี่) which is performed on such occasions as 'entering' a new house,

damhua, rotkhru' (?), wat festivals, *wā-ārām* (วาอาราม), ordinations, etc. It is also performed at Songkrān on the 16th of April. Mention of this ceremony can be found in a book, showed to me by the CKA, entitled ประเพณีเดิมฉบับโบราณ by ทวีการคำ (?).

Mae Sariang

January 19, 1968

Visit from Čao Khana Amphoe and Driver from Tribal Development Center

Today the CKA and a driver from the tribal development Center at Māē Hô paid me a visit at home – ostensibly to arrange a trip to Chiang Mai. We discussed the following:

1) Type of *thambun* for the dead

The CKA wrote a description of the ceremony as follows:

ปอยเช้าสังข์ คือการทำบุญอุทิศให้คนตาย ด้วยการทำเรือนน้อย ในเรือนน้อยนั้น มีของใช้สำหรับครัวเรือนครบ อาทิ ที่นอน หมอน มุ้ง เสื้อ ภูน้ำ หม้อข้าว ครกพริก และของใช้อื่นๆงานจัดทำที่บ้าน นิมนต์ไปรับไทยทานที่บ้าน เรือนน้อยนั้นถวายพระ แล้วนำไปวัดทั้งหมดเพื่อทางวัดจะได้ใช้ต่อไป^pงานนี้ส่วนใหญ่ทำกัน 2-3 วัน ถือกันว่า เป็นการทำบุญอุทิศให้คนตายครั้งใหญ่ที่สุด

Translation: "*Pôi khāo sang*" (Ceremony of rice for the Sangha) is a merit-making for a person who has died during which a small house is made. In this small house there is a complete set of household items such as mattresses, pillows, mosquito nets, mats, water jars, rice pots, mortar, and other things."

"This ceremony is arranged in the house to which priests are invited to receive alms. The 'little house' is presented to the priests and then taken to the wat where the things are kept for later use."

"The majority of these ceremonies last 2 to 3 days. It is believed to be the biggest merit-making for someone who has died."

I asked if this was like the Chinese ceremony in which a number of paper objects are made for a funeral and then burnt. He said no, the things were real in this case and were actually used by the priests after being presented to them.

2) Čēdī and Wat in Lowland Karen Villages

The CKA said that there are *čēdī* in the following lowland Karen villages (all in T. Bān Kāt):

- B. Pha Mô Lô (บ.พะมอลอ)
- B. Māē Hān (บ.แม่หาร)
- B. Phae (บ.แพะ) [not the one at Mae Sariang, but the Karen one]
- B. Māē Salāp (บ.แม่สะลาบ)
- B. Māē Tōp Nūa (บ.แม่ต๋อปเหนือ) - this one was built last year
- B. Pā Māk (บ.ป่าหมาก)

He also said that B. Māē Woei (บ.แม่เวย) will erect one this year. At the moment they have *tonbun* (ต้นบุญ) but not a *čēdī*.

He was unclear about where the 'relics' came from for these *čēdī*, but in pressing him, he supposed they probably contained Buddha images. He said that there used to be a *čēdī* at B. Māē Tia (บ.แม่เตี้ย) but it wasn't kept up and has now disappeared.

Of these villages, only B. Māē Hān has a wat. It is also attended by people from B. Phae and B. Pā Māk. People from B. Pha Mô Lô make merit at the Thai wat of Wat Thā Khām and people from B. Māē Salāp make merit at the Thai wat at B. Thung Māē Khong in T. Māē Khong. [This latter village, incidentally, the CKA says has only recently changed from being a Lua village.]

3) Tribal Development Center

The driver from the tribal development center at Māē Hô is a native of Tāk and worked in Tāk before he came here in 1964 (2507).

He says that the person who runs the 'tribal' store at Māē Hô can speak Karen, but is a Thai from Hot.

Elections

I talked with Nāi Tan today about the elections for the provincial council seats. He said that the following people were elected (in order of the most votes received):

1. Nāi Tan Bamrunakit (นายตัน บำรุงกิจ), Owner of ice factory and shop.
2. Nāi Udom Mahāwanā (นายอุดม มหาวนา), Owner of the Nakhôn Mai Mae Sariang Lumber Mill.
3. Nāi Insuan Duangphông (นายอิศวร ควรฟ่อง), Assistant Manager of the Mae Sariang branch of the Thai Samut Co. (บริษัทไทยสมุทร)
4. Nāi Sangat Buayen (นายสงัด บัวเย็น), Owner and manager of Sangat Phānit Store and retired policeman (ex-Corporal)
5. Nāi Čirasak Sīwichai (นายวิรศักดิ์ ศรีวิชัย) – also known as Khrū Kham (ครูคำ), owner and manager of Sī Wichai Kān Mai Lumber Mills; Karen.
6. Nāi Wichā Na Chiangmai (นายวิชา ณ เชียงใหม่)
7. Nāi Thip Bunlūa (นายทิพย์ บุญลือ) - lives in B. Huai Wôk, T. Māē Yuam.
8. Nāi Nit Sāēnsuk (นายนิตร แสนสุข)

Nāi Tan said that not more than 20 percent of the electorate voted. Many Karen ballots were thrown out because they weren't marked correctly.

He said that Nāi Phō, the Karen Christian who ran, received the highest number of votes of any candidate in B. Kāt and Māē Tia, but didn't receive enough (if any) votes elsewhere to get elected.

Campaign Literature

I picked up two bits of campaign literature in the hills.

(a) The first was for the 8 members of the Khum Phatthanā Mae Sariang (Mae Sariang Development Group), the only candidates to be running as a group. Advertised that they were

100 percent *khon* Mae Sariang, that they would help develop Mae Sariang, and that they would represent everyone (the whole constituency). This group included the following candidates:

1. Tan Bamrunakit, B.A. (นายตัน บำรุงกิจ), No. 8 on the ballot. Owner and manager of the Mae Sariang Ice Factory.
2. Police Corporal Sangat Buayen (ส.ต.ท.นายสังกัด บัวเย็น), No. 9; Owner and manager of Sangat Phānit Store and retired policeman (ex-Corporal), Police Department, Ministry of Interior.
3. Luan Suwannalop (ล้วน สุวรรณลพ), No. 10; retired official, Department of Local Government, Ministry of Interior. [Mark Anderson says daughter teaches at Boriphat Süksā school.
4. Insuan Duangphông) (นายอิศวร ควรร่อง), No. 11; Assistant Manager of the Mae Sariang branch of the Thai Samut Co.
5. Thawin Sāikham (ถวิล สยขำ), No. 20; Former member of the Mae Hong Son Provincial Council.
6. Čirasak (Khrū Kham) Sīwichai (นายวิรัชศักดิ์ [ครูคำ] ศรีวิชัย), No. 19, owner and manager of Sī Wichai Kān Mai Lumber Mills; Karen
7. Wichai Mayūrasī (วิชัย มยุรศรี), No. 25; Supervisor of the Mae Sariang Electrical [Plant]
8. Riangsôn Thōngsawat (เรียงสอน ทองสวัสดิ์), No. 26; Owner and Manager of the Mae Sariang Market and of the Phin Thōng Lumber Mill.

เลือกตั้ง วันที่ ๑๔ มกราคม ๒๕๑๑ โปรตเลือก "กลุ่มพัฒนาแม่ละเรียง"
 (คนแม่ละเรียง๑๐๐%) ไปเป็นสมาชิกสภาจังหวัดแม่ละเรียง

เบอร์ ๘



ตัน บำรุงกิจ ค.บ.
 เจ้าของผู้จัดการโรงงานซีเมนต์เวียง

เบอร์ ๕



ส.ท.ท.สงัด บัวเย็น
 เจ้าของผู้จัดการร้านสังคหวาดเข็ญ
 และข้าราชการบำนาญกรมตำรวจ
 กระทรวงมหาดไทย

เบอร์ ๑๐



ล้วน สุวรรณผล
 ข้าราชการบำนาญกรมการปกครอง
 กระทรวงมหาดไทย

เบอร์ ๑๑



อินทวร ดวงเือง
 ผู้ช่วยผู้จัดการบริษัท ใจสมบูรณ์
 สาขาแม่ละเรียง

เบอร์ ๒๐



นวล สายคำ
 อดีตสมาชิกสภาจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน

เบอร์ ๑๕



จิรศักดิ์ (ครูคำ) ครูวินัย
 เจ้าของผู้จัดการโรงเรียนศรีวิชัยการิม
 ขลเด่นดอร์บุรีบ้านพี่น้องชาวแม่ละเรียง

เบอร์ ๒๕



วินัย มยุศรี
 ผู้ควบคุมการไฟฟ้าแม่ละเรียง
 แห่งสหกรณ์บ้านเมืองของเราใจเจริญ

เบอร์ ๒๒



เรียงสอน ทองสวัสดิ์
 เจ้าของผู้จัดการตลาดสด-โรงเรียนใจทอง แม่ละเรียง
 เป็นปากเสียงแทนท่านทั้งหลาย

ส.ค.ส. 2511

1 JANUARY มกราคม

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2 FEBRUARY กุมภาพันธ์

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8 AUGUST สิงหาคม

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9 SEPTEMBER กันยายน

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10 OCTOBER ตุลาคม

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11 NOVEMBER พฤศจิกายน

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12 DECEMBER ธันวาคม

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(b) The second was for Nāi Udom Mahāwanā. Nāi Udom Mahāwanā (นายอุดม มหาวนา), No. 16; Manager of the Nakhôn Mai Mae Sariang sawmill with a branch in Chiang Mai. Campaign advertisement - "Since I established a sawmill in Mae Sariang, all (my) 'relatives' (พี่น้อง) are likely to have perceived that the villages and towns (บ้านเมือง) are progressing [in that] people have been helped to find work, incomes have increased, and in one year Thai money in circulation in our villages and towns (บ้านเมือง) has been several millions."



พี่น้องชาวแม่สะเรียง

โปรดพิจารณา

ตั้งแต่ผมมาตั้งโรงเลื่อยขึ้น ณ. แม่สะเรียง พี่น้องทั้งหลายย่อมเห็นประจักษ์แล้วว่า บ้านเมืองเจริญตามไปด้วย ช่วยเหลือให้คนมีงานทำ - มีรายได้เพิ่มขึ้น ในปีหนึ่ง ๆ ทำให้เงินหมุนเวียนในบ้านเมืองเรานับเป็นล้าน ๆ

ถ้าเห็นว่า ผมจะเป็นปากเสียง แทนท่านในสภาจังหวัดได้

อย่าลืมเลือกเบอร์



ขอเสนอตัว สมัครรับเลือกตั้ง
สมาชิกสภาจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน
อำเภอแม่สะเรียง

ในวันที่ 14 มกราคม พ.ศ. 2511

นายอุดม มหาวนา
เจ้าของ
โรงเลื่อยจักรนครใหม่แม่สะเรียง
สาขา 44/1 ข้างสถานีรถไฟ เชียงใหม่
โทร. 5961

พิมพ์ที่บริษัทโฆษณาการพิมพ์ จำกัด ๒๓-๒๘ ถนนนายพล (หน้าวัดสันป่าข่อย) เชียงใหม่ โทร. ๕๙๐๐

Chiang Mai

January 23, 1968

Interview with Abbot of Wat Phra Sing, Chiang Mai

Jane and I came to Chiang Mai yesterday to see doctors, etc. Today, we came to Wat Phra Sing to see the CKA of Mae Sariang who is in Chiang Mai to arrange funerary rites for Nāi Thian, the mine owner who died recently. At Wat Phra Sing, we first visited the clerical

residence of Čao Khun Wimon (เจ้าคุณวิมล) where the CKA of Mae Sariang was staying. We found the Čao Khun a little strange. He was very interested in the work among the hill tribes and said that religion was the most important thing in developing the hill tribes, but he wasn't too good at answering my questions. After talking with the Čao Khun for a little while, the CKA of Mae Sariang took us on a tour of the wat. The main *wihān* was constructed under the direction of Khrū Bā Sīwichai. We also saw the *bōt* for male and female monks (*Phiksu* and *Phiksunī*) - very unusual and maybe the only of its kind in Thailand. It is unusual because there have not been any female monks since a few hundred years after the death of the Buddha and they have never existed in Thailand.

The highlight of the visit was an interview with the abbot of Wat Phra Sing - a very senior and elder monk who had been the Čao Khana Phāk and then had retired from that position to devote his energies and influence to the various programs arrived at strengthening or spreading Buddhism among the people of Thailand. It was these programs which most interested me.

1) Thammathūt (ธรรมทูต)

- Began in 2497 (1954) by the abbot himself. Eventually received support from Asia Foundation (Bill Klausner is a good friend of the abbot) and the Department of Religious Affairs.
- This year there will be 220 *thammathūt* monks (พระธรรมทูต) in the North. He said in 7 changwat in the North and when I asked which one was excluded, he answered that the whole region was included.
- The *thammathūt* program is not restricted to any group of people but is all over.

2) Thammačārik (ธรรมจาริก)

- Aimed specifically at hill tribes
- Under the Public Welfare Department

3) Thammaphatthanā (ธรรมพัฒนา)

- Newest program (2nd Year)
- Based on Wat Phra Sing and applied mainly to Chiang Mai Province (12 centers)
- Involves laymen as well as monks, and aims at general improvement of villagers' lives.

- Help from Asia Foundation (last year ฿ 6,780).

All of the programs have the general purposes of helping people improve their lives and to prevent the spread of Communism. All programs are carried out in the dry season when monks are free. They begin in April.

Chiang Mai

January 24, 1968

Thān Thōng Bookstore, Chiang Mai

Today Donna Markham took us to some bookstores in Chiang Mai which sell books written in Northern Thai or about Northern Thai customs. The most interesting of them was Thān Thōng (ธารทอง) which specializes in sermons, printed on accordion-type books. The ones that are in N. Thai script are done by photo offset. There used to be a press in Chiang Mai with N. Thai script (original made for the Christian missionaries and later sold to a Buddhist who published Buddhist texts) but then went out of business a few years ago and, according to the owner of Thān Thōng, the typeset is in too bad a condition to be used again.

The owner of Thān Thōng is a good friend of the CKA of Mae Sariang. He himself was in the monkhood for 2 years. He originally comes from Pā Sāng. I asked if Pā Sāng was Mōng, a characterization I have heard before. He said one village in the district, B. Nōng Dū, T. Bān Ruang, A. Pā Sāng (บ. นองคู่, ต. บ้านเรือง, อ. ป่าซาง), was. They still speak Mōng in this village.

Chiang Mai to Mae Sariang

January 25, 1968

Trip to Mae Sariang from Chiang Mai

Today we returned to Mae Sariang, bringing with us the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) of Mae Sariang, the abbot of Wat Kōng Mū in Mae Hong Son, and another Mae Sariang monk. On the way back we stopped at wat Phra Borommathāt in Čōm Thōng. This wat is very famous (it has been patronized by several kings including the present one) and very old (the shrine holding the *thāt* is said to be 450+ years old). We were given a tour of the wat by a resident monk and talked with the abbot. We also were shown the *thāt* and with our monk companions were given the privilege of bathing the *thāt* and then using the water on our hands and heads.

We also stopped at Ob Luang (ออบหลวง), a narrow gorge, where a park (sometimes visited by the royal family) has been made. At the gorge itself, on the Māē Čaem River, there is a bridge and a wire cable. These were erected, according to the CKA, by the Bombay-Burma Company to use in breaking up log jams at the gorge.

On the trip we passed through the Lua villages of Bô Luang and Kônglôi which the CKA referred to as *Lua phatthanā* ('developed Lua') because they are Buddhist and are much more sophisticated.

I asked the CKA if he ever walked from Mae Sariang to Hot before the road was built. He said many times. He said that they used to spend the 1st night at Māē Hô', the 2nd night at Kônglôi, the 3rd night at Bô Luang, and the 4th at Hot (I am not sure about the latter.)

Mae Sariang

January 28, 1968

Visit to Bān Phā Phā

Today the abbot of Wat Sitthimongkhon and Čao Khana Tambon Māē Khatuan (whose name is Sīthon Thāwarakhunō - ศรีทนถาวรคุณโณ) requested that I take an electrical generator to B. Phā Phā for him

(I had taken one a week before, but it needed to be exchanged for another one). I agreed to do so and ended up taking with me the abbot, a monk from Phā Phā, an electrician who is always helping set-up generators, projectors, p.a. systems, etc., Mark Anderson and a friend of his who was visiting here (David Hess, a Fulbright teacher in Vietnam) and three B. Phā Phā villagers.

In the village, while the electrician was setting up the generator, Mark, Dave, and I went to look at the forest *bōt* and then climbed up the hill to look at a *chēdī* there and a stupa erected to house the ashes of the former abbot of the village wat who was very famous.

There was an inscription on this stupa which read as follows:

สตูปของ พระครูปัญญาาวรรวัตร (สวน ปัญญาโว)

ชาตะ 14 มกราคม 2432

มรณะ 6 กรกฎาคม 2504

อายุได้ 71

สร้างเมื่อ พ.ศ. 2505

Translation

Stupa of Phra Khrū Panyāwarawat (Suan Panyawarō)

Born 14 January 1889

Died 6 July 1961

Aged 71

Built in 1962

I asked the Tambon abbot how many monks there are in the wat: 2 monks and 9 novices. Another informant (a villager) said that the abbot of Wat Cōm Thōng who recently left the monkhood and who is a native of Phā Phā had been a monk for more than 10 years. He has now returned to the village to be a farmer (ชาวนา ชาวไร่). The headmaster of the local school who overheard this question and answer said it was too bad that the monk left the monkhood because he was a *tū luang* (ie. abbot).

Mark, Dave and I also talked to a female teacher in the village who says she has been there for 9 years. She is a native of Mae Sariang. She says that Karen often come to B. Phā Phā to sell peppers and other things. A little later, I saw some Karens in a local village shop. There is no fresh market in the village.

Since the Čao Khana (CK) Tambon is a native of B. Phā Phā (his mother is still living in the village, but his father is dead), I asked him if it were so that the village was formerly Lua. He said yes but that it is now completely *phūn müang*. The electrician broke into the conversation to say that the village still has some Lua customs. For example, he said that there are *phī Lua*. The CK Tambon said that there are such Lua customs as *mat mü*.

On the way back, I noticed that certain areas of the forest had been fired. The CK Tambon says that B. Phā Phā villagers have swiddens as well as paddy fields. It is too dry in these areas to plant paddy.

Mae Sariang

January 29, 1968

Karen Christians

A few days ago Ben mentioned that two Karen refugees were getting married in Mae Sariang to some local Baptist Karen girls. However, as the refugees were Seventh Day Adventist, they insisted on having a Seventh Day Adventist wedding and thus the Seventh Day Adventist Pastor came over from Chiang Mai. These refugees are apparently fairly recent arrivals.

Recently, Bob Coates made a trip to Māē Sôt to see about bringing some Karen into the local Baptist Convention based in Mae Sariang. They had written requesting that this be done.

Group who went on Trip to Mountains

Samān helped me draw up a list of people who were present in B. Dong on the recent trip I made to the mountains.

1) BPP:

- Sanan Singsowan (สนั่น สิงห์สุวรรณ) BPP teacher in B. Dong.
- Prasāt Anumērāngkūn (ประสาธ อนุเมธราชกูร), BPP teacher in B. Dong
- Surat? (สุรัตน์?), Teacher in B. Dong, B. Pā Pāē [also known as ครูพั่น]
- Samroeng Phōthisuwan (สำเร็จ โภธิสุวรรณ), BPP 'Electrician'.

2) Government Teachers:

- Choet Dēt Wanāsathit (เชิดเดช วนาสถิตย์), Teacher from B. Dong
- Amphôn Thānawichālō (อำพร ฐานะวิชาโล), Teacher in B. Huai Hôm
- Thông'in Mānāçit (ทองอินท์ มานะจิตร), Teacher in B. Huai Phung.
- Arām Chaiyawong (อร่าม ไชยวงศ์), Teacher in B. Chāng Mō
- Piamchai Mōyā (เปี่ยมชัย หมอยา), Teacher in B. Phae (lowland Karen)

3) Monks, Novices, and Lūksit:

- Phra Khrū Anusôn Sātsanakiat (พระครูอนุสรณ์ศาสนเกษินดี), CKA

- Phra Yün (พระย่น), Abbot of Wat Côm Cāēng.
 - Phra Inkuan (พระอินท้วณ), Monk from Wat Kittiwong.
 - Phra Tēn (พระเตน), Monk from Wat Sībunrüang.
 - Phra Pan (พระป่น), Monk from Wat Māē Lā Nôi.
 - ?, Novice from Côm Cāēng.
 - Lung Nān Tui (ลุงหนานต๋วย), Layleader from Wat Côm Cāēng.
 - Kēt (เกต), Dekwat from Wat Côm Cāēng.
 - Tū Na' Hông Sôn (ตุ ณ ฮ่องสอน), Lüksit wat from Wat Kittiwong.
- 4) Workmen from Sahawit Co. (บริษัท สหวิศ) - Came along for a *thiao*
- Thīwasak Mānikbut (ทีวศักดิ์ มานิกบุตร)
 - "Dāēng" ("แดง")
 - "Tôi" ("ต๋อย")
 - "Tī" ("ตี")
- 5) Others:
- Mrs. Khiao (นางเขี้ยว), wife of Khrū Surat.
 - Sanguan Thammakhan (สงวน ธรรมขันธ์), Works at the Immigration Radio Station. Came along for a *thiao*.
 - Wisit (วิสิทธิ์), Brother-in-law of Mr. Wichai Na' Chiang Mai (นายวิชัย ณ เชียงใหม่), who owns a mine in Mae Sariang District.
 - Sombūn Kunthôn (สมบูรณ์ กุลธร), doesn't know what his connection was. Came along for a *thiao*.
 - Samān Prasoet (สมาน ประเสริฐ), My assistant and Lüksit of the Phra Khrū

- Self.

Thus there were a total of 28 non-uplanders in the group.

Thông'in Mānačit

I had a visit from Thông'in Mānačit today, who came to see about pictures. We talked a little about being Khrū Chāo Khao (ครูชาวเขา) – hill tribes teacher. One has to take a special exam for this in Mae Hong Son. There are three hill tribes schools in the hills: B. Huai Phüng (บ. ห้วยผึ้ง), B. Huai Hôm (บ. ห้วยฮ่อม) – both Karen - and B. Chāng Mô (บ. ช่างหม้อ) – a Lua village. There are other schools in Karen and Lua villages as well. The following is a list worked out with Thông'in.

List of villages and schools in ethnic Karen, Lua and KM communities

Name of Villages/Tambon in Which School is located	Ethnic Identity of Village	Lowland or Upland	Type of school
<u>T. Bān Kāt</u> (ต. บ้านกาศ)			
B. Pha Mólô (บ. พะมอลอ)	Karen	Lowland	Government
B. Phae (บ. แพะ)	Karen	Lowland	Government
B. Māē Hān (บ. แม่หาร)	Karen	Lowland	Government
B. Māē Tōp Nua (บ. แม่ต้อบเหนือ)	Karen	Lowland	Government
B. Māē Tia (บ. แม่เตี้ย)	Karen	Lowland	Government
<u>T. Māē Yuam</u> (ต. แม่ขวม)			
B. Cō'ū (บ. จออุ)	Karen	Upland	BPP
B. Māē Kōng Pāē (บ. แม่กองแป)	Karen	?	Govt. (ex BPP)
B. Māē ThaLu' (บ. แม่ทะลุ)	Karen	Lowland	Govt. (ex BPP)
<u>T. Kōng Kōi</u> (ต. กองก่อย)			
B. Kōng Kōi (บ. กองก่อย)	Lua/KM	?	Govt. (ex BPP)
<u>T. Mae Sariang</u> (ต. แม่สะเรียง)			
B. Pā Pāē (บ. ป่าแป)	Lua	Upland	BPP
B. Chāng Mô (บ. ช่างหม้อ)	Lua	Upland	Government
<u>T. Māē Khong</u> (ต. แม่คง)			
B. Māē Salāp (บ. แม่สะลาบ)	Karen	Lowland	BPP
B. Saohin (บ. เสาหิน)	Karen/Lua	Lowland	Govt. (ex BPP)
<u>T. Māē la Nôi</u> (ต. แม่ลาน้อย)			
B. Dong (บ. ดง)	Lua	Upland	BPP
B. Huai Phūng (บ. ห้วยผึ้ง)	Karen	Upland	Government
B. Huai Hôm (บ. ห้วยฮ่อม)	Karen	Upland	Government

Information from Coates

Tonight Pete, Jane and I had dinner at Coates' (along with Binnah). Bob Coates mentioned several topics of interest.

A Christian Karen village, Māē Kō Kā (Thai name ?), near the BPP outpost of Tantrafan on the Salwin, had hired its own teacher. About two years ago, the BPP built a school and the Christian teacher quit to allow the school to get underway. But the BPP teachers rarely show up.

There is a Christian student from Māē Tia and another one from Chôti (B. Huai Hôm) who have been sent to B. Sāēn to a Chinese Baptist School for further education.

Bob refers to the Karen liberation movement as Gôthūlī [Kawthuli]. He mentioned that a Mae Sariang Karen who was buying arms for the movement was recently arrested. (This is the same story as the one about the "Kachin" revolutionary in the *Bangkok Post*, January 16, 1968.

Names of Spirits Living at the Town Shrine

Samān got from an old man, one Pā Yuang Suriya (ป้าวงสุริยะ), who lives in front of the police station, a list of the names of the spirits which inhabit the town shrine:

<u>Names of various spirits</u>	<u>ชื่อเจ้าพ่อต่างๆ</u>
1. Čao Phô Khômülek	(เจ้าพ่อข้อมือเหล็ก)
2. Čao Ya'	(เจ้ายะ)
3. Čao Phô Pāēng Laodet	(เจ้าพ่อเป้งเหล้าเด็ด)
4. Čao Plēo Plông Fā	(เจ้าเป็ลว ปล่องฟ้า)
5. Čao Phô Lak Müang	(เจ้าพ่อหลักเมือง)
6. Čao Phô Thamma Sēnā	(เจ้าพ่อธรรมะเสนา)
7. Čao Nô Müang of NôNôi	(เจ้าหน่อเมือง หรือ หน่อน้อย)
8. Čao Lam Manāt	
[Son of Čao Phô Pāēng Laodet]	(เจ้าล้ามะนาด [ลูกเจ้าพ่อเป้งเหล้าเด็ด])

9. Čao Phô Müang Luang (เจ้าพ่อเมืองหลวง)

10. Čao Yôt Lô Sô Bô (เจ้ายอดลอสอบ)

Čēdī at B. Phae

Today Pete visited the lowland Karen village of B. Phae (Karen, Phaekhō) where he interviewed an old man. He asked this old man about the *čēdī* in the village. He apparently answered something like the following:

- There is only one *čēdī* for B. Phae, B. Māē Hān, and B. Pā Māk
- First built in generation of informant's father (informant about 60 - 65 years old), thus making it about 50 years old at least.
- Rebuilt by father of Headman of B. Māē Hān around 1940 at instigation of the Khrübā Khāo.
- This man had a Burmese title [probably *paya taga*] in consequence of having built it.

Mae Sariang

January 31, 1968

Visit to Bān Phae

Yesterday Khrū Piam invited me to go with him to B. Phae (in Karen, Phae Khō), a lowland Karen village where the daughter of the headman was getting married. We rode our bicycles to the village, arriving there about 9:00 A.M. We stayed until about 8:30 in the evening. At about 1:30 - 2:00 P.M., Pete and Benny showed up. They stayed until about 3:00 A.M. the following morning. I observed several other things besides the wedding.

1) School in B. Phae

Thirty-six students, two teachers, four grades. One student from village studying at Mae Sariang (Thông Sawat) school – son of headman. He lives at the Baptist hostel even though he isn't a Christian. School has been in existence about 10 years, although the present building was built in 1966.

Khrū Piam says there is a high rate of truancy. At 9:20, after school was opened, there were only 18 students (50 percent) present. But today is a special day – the wedding in the village and one teacher away at a teacher's meeting. Students continued to straggle in. By 9:40 there were 8 students in P1, 5 in P2, 7 in P3, and 1 (a girl) in P4 or a total of 21.

P1 students were studying Thai. Their pronunciation of the lesson, in unison recitation, was not that of P1 students who are Thai (trouble with final consonants, certain vowels such as /ü/ and tones). The P2 students were studying math and the P3 and P4 students were studying how to make an account.

Khrū Piam complained that Karen students are hard to teach because they don't speak Thai and because they are absent so much. Neither teacher lives in the village – Khrū Piam lives in B. Khapuang (at least an hour's bike trip away) and the head teacher lives in Mae Sariang.

Khrū Piam is a native of Lamphun whose father moved here when he was quite young. He graduated from Boriphat Sūksā and has 3 years of Teachers Training College in Chiang Mai).

2) Ādī at B. Phae

I asked the headman about the village *ādī* (which he called *thāt* in Northern Thai). He said that it was built about 6-7 years ago, but an older one had existed which was built in the time of his grandfather. This *ādī* belongs to the village – there is another one in B. Māē Hān. Ceremonies are held at the *ādī* for *songkrān* and the beginning and end of Buddhist lent. Monks are invited from Wat Māē Hān to participate in these ceremonies.

3) Religion Miscellaneous

In the house of the headman and the house of the bridegroom I noticed Buddhist altar shelves (*hing pha* – หิ้งพระ – in N. Thai and perhaps in C. Thai as well). The one in the headman's house did not appear to have any image or photographs, but they may have been hidden behind the foliage. Like the N. Thai altar shelves, but unlike the C. Thai ones, the headman's has bunches of tall leaves (2-2½ feet in height) as well as flowers. I didn't notice any candles or joss sticks. The one at the bridegroom's house, in addition to the flowers and leaves, had a Buddha image and the standard picture of Khrūbā Sīwichai. The Buddha image was of white 'plaster' (?) and looked like it might be of Burmese style. However, Benny inquired for me from the father of the bridegroom said that the image was purchased in Mae Sariang.

I asked what the Karen word was for 'feeding the spirit' (เลี้ยงผี). One informant said something like *tamūkhā*. Pete uses the term *aw krē* in which the word *krē* means 'ancestral spirit', for the feeding of the ancestral spirits,

Pete has been inquiring recently into what is called in Karen, *caekkhāsī*. He calls it in English the 'tattooing cult' because it involves tattooing by the cult leaders. The leaders according to Pete and Dave Marlowe are a Shan who lives in Mae La Noi and a Karen who lives in a village near Mae La Noi. The cult leaders have the power to absolve people from feeding the ancestral spirits (apparently he doesn't quite kill them, but takes them away). In B, Phae there are some people who follow the *caekkhāsī* and some who still *aw krē*. However, the headman said that the whole village (save one Baptist household) is Buddhist (there is not necessarily a contradiction here).

4) Miscellaneous Observations

During my time in the village I made some miscellaneous observations. Many houses are in the Karen style (i.e. with no windows and fireplaces inside). A few are 'double' houses – i.e. a Thai style house (often made of boards rather than woven bamboo walling, having windows and no interior fireplaces) limited to a Karen-style house. Khrū Piam referred to the Karen-style houses as *bān phī* – i.e. 'house [for] spirits'. Pete explained to me that there must be a Karen-style house where the ancestral spirits can be propitiated. It is often not as good as the Thai house because if the omens are such it must be torn down and erected elsewhere. If it were made of boards and better materials, like many of the Thai-style houses, then the tearing down would be an expensive proposition. The headman has one of these 'double' houses and it is perhaps significant that the *hing pha* is in the Thai half (however, the bridegroom's house is only a Karen-style house and it has a *hing pha*).

Another thing which combines both Karen and Thai ways is water-carrying. I saw much water being carried by bucket, *hāp* style. However, according to Khrū Piam every household also has bamboo tubes for carrying water – much as in the mountains.

I saw a man with very heavy tattooing from his waist to knees. The tattoo was repetition of pictures of a type of forest cat. On his arm was some writing which he said was Shan.

5) Headman's Family

The headman, a comparatively young man who one informant said had not yet reached 40, has 7 children. His first child, a son, is married and is living with his parents-in-law. The

second child, a daughter is the one getting married today. The third child, a son, is studying in Mae Sariang. All the rest are living at home.

6) Wedding

My observations of the wedding customs began about 10:00 in the morning and ended at 8:20 in the evening. Other information was provided by Karen informants (usually through Benny's interpretation) and from Pete who stayed until 3:00 A.M. the next morning.

Most of the morning, and afternoon was given over to preparation of food. One buffalo and three large pigs were slaughtered (I saw one pig slaughtered. It was beaten over the head with a club. There didn't appear to be any ceremony attached with the slaughter, but I didn't ascertain if the person doing the killing was a special person or not.) Two chickens were also slaughtered. There was some ritual significance to these chickens, but I didn't see what was done with them. Food was being prepared in the house (Karen half) and the compound of the headman. Khrū Piam helped make food because a large number of their guests were coming and it was doubtful, he said, that they would like Karen food. Among the dishes I saw made included beef *lāp* (both *dip* and *suk*), roasted beef, beef cooked in variety of spices including turmeric, pork *phat*, *kāēng hanglē* (which Benny says is a Burmese dish). Food was served guests at noon and again at about 6:00 P.M. However, there was a ritual connection to serving food to participants (see below).

About 10:30 the groom-to-be came to the house of the headman, accompanied by a young male companion who was said to be his first cousin. He carried with him a tray with two glasses of *sompōi* water and a water jug apparently filled with plain water. In the inner (but not inner inner) room of the headman's Thai-style house (the room with the *hing pha*) the two young men sat on the door lintel with their hands in the *wai* position while the headman inside the room said something I didn't understand. This Khrū Piam referred to, in N. Thai, as *khôsūmā*, ขอสุมา (Thai ขมา, ยมา, กษมา) – literally, 'asking forgiveness'. When this was over, the three moved to the front of the porch of the Karen house of the Headman. Here the headman crouched down and the groom washed his head (N.Thai *dam hua* – คำหัว – and something like *puīkhō* in Karen) first with the *sompōi* water and then with a glass of plain water taken from the water jug. The same

ceremony was repeated with the wife of the headman. One informant claimed that this was the same as the ceremony in the hills.

We then went to the house of the groom. Some people on the porch were making a basket to carry gifts to the bride's house. The groom was refilling the glasses with *sompôï* water in order to go to houses of 'elderly people' (ຊຸ່ນເຖົ້າ) whom he respects. I asked if he was going only to relatives of the bride. He said no, he was going to many relatives of both the bride and groom.

The groom is 18 years old and the bride is 17.

I asked at the house of the groom if the groom will feed the spirits (ເລື້ອງໄຟ) before getting married. His father answered that he wouldn't.

We returned to the bride's house where Khrū Piam helped make food and I did little until after lunch. About 1:30 Pete and Benny showed up and Benny got an informant to tell us about the marriage customs.

Guests are entertained only at the bride's house, not at the groom's house. Relations of both the bride's mother and bride's father help pay for the food.

The groom's side must bring a set of presents, called *kanôï*, "to make friends with the spirits of the bride." These presents should include one silver rupiah, one woman's skirt and blouse, turban for boy and for girl, one bangle made of bronze or copper, one red bead necklace, and one basket to carry things in. I asked about knives since I thought they were mentioned in the groom's house. The informant said that sometimes knives are given. Does not include rice or salt.

At first it was said that the basket was taken by the groom and left at anyone's house near that of the brides and then at midnight it would be brought to the bride's house. Then he said that the presents are not brought by the groom. They are kept in the groom's house and about 11:00 P.M. someone in the groom's party says that something was forgotten and goes and gets it. Actually, Pete who observed this said the presents were brought to a nearby house, and not by the groom.

The gifts are to be distributed, by the groom, to relatives of wife's mother. The person who brings the gifts to the house should be a married woman, non-relative whose husband is still alive and has children still living and family is free from trouble. Also must be married for first time. The bride's mother decides which among her relatives will receive which presents.

The bride's family does not give any presents to the groom's family, but they must send food before any guests eat (some of each type of dish prepared) to parents and elderly relatives of groom.

Do not have *songkhô* in connection with wedding. Bing wrists – more rigid for those who practice *awkre*.

The couple will sleep at the bride's house for 3 nights and then move to the groom's house for 3 nights and then return to the bride's house. Tonight is not counted because they won't sleep together. She will wear her white dress tonight and only tomorrow will she start wearing her married clothes. She will go to bed with her married clothes tomorrow night and then they can sleep together. Tonight is just the marriage night.

At about midnight tonight there will be a ceremony of *sôkhokhi* in which a pair of chickens will be killed, boiled without spices and placed before the bride and groom. A small girl and boy will feed the bride and groom. The groom will give the bride a necklace and the bride will give the groom 25 satang. Do this if they still feed the ancestral spirits. Represents union of ancestral spirits. The informant said that they don't do this if they are *caekkhasī* but another informant says that those who are *caekkhasī* do it also.

No special ceremony at groom's house, but during the 3 days that the couple stay there, the bride will help in-laws. Once in every house in order to ensure peace and prosperity in the marriage. The bride receives necklaces in return for her services for these relatives. At the end of the 3 days, the uncles and aunts of the groom come and give the bride presents of clothing which she keeps for herself.

In the house of the bride, the couple must sleep in the room and all the other relatives must sleep outside.

The groom does not do any special work during the 3 days at bride's house - Only time he gets a special present is when he comes to get married (today) and then he receives a Karen jacket from parents-in-law.

The groom will come about 7:30 according to one informant. Depends on whether he is brave or not. If he is he will come before dark (about 5:00), if not he will come after dark. "It is just custom" to worship ancestral spirits at midnight.

After this interview, we saw that the bride and two companions (who were her mother's sisters) were carrying food to groom's parents house to feed them before the guests. One plate of

food was identified as food for the spirits. The father of the groom took this tray and held it in *wai* position in front of the altar (*hing pha*). Then bride presented liquor to her parents-in-law to be. She held the bottle in her left hand and poured into a glass in her right hand. (Benny said she must do it this way.) She presented her father-in-law and mother-in-law with 2 glasses each. When she had finished with them, she started presenting liquor to other relatives of groom present in house. Mother's sisters helped pour liquor on these occasions. Women were given liquor as well as the men. Sometimes, the person doing the feeding actually fed the liquor to the recipient. Supposed to drink in one swallow although later shared with other people, but must return to first recipient.

The ceremonial drinking required to use homemade rice whiskey. Later the father of the groom brought out a bottle of Salwin whiskey and another cup and started feeding the bride and her companions. Not able to drink from same cup as that used to feed groom's family. Groom's father fed the bride on several occasions. Much liquor drunk.

When finished at this house, the bride and her companions took liquor and food to houses of others of the groom's relatives.

About 4:00 - 4:15 a group from the Phanasit Co. arrived in a Phanasit truck. They were invited because some people in B. Phae work for the Phanasit Co. They were followed by a jeep belonging to and driven by Riangsôn Thongsawat, the owner of the market. This car had several middle-aged women and one young woman (girl ?). From this point on until about 6:00, a number of Thai guests arrived (actually the headmaster of the school didn't come until 8:30 - 9:00). Guests had been told to come at 3:00. The Thai guests included, besides the Kamnan of B. Kāt and Khrū Piam who had been around all day and those mentioned above, the Chief Assistant Nai Amphoe, the Assistant Treasury Officer (who is the son-in-law of the direct descendent of the Čao fā of Mae Hong Son), Headman of B. Sophān, couple of district office employees, some teachers (including a former teacher in B. Phae who had taught here when the groom was in school).

Also with the group from town was one Manāt, son of Mettā, the Karen Baptist pastor, who is currently employed by the 'security' division of the district office as an interpreter. He stayed with the Thai during the whole visit. His father, incidentally, is an interpreter in the court.

About 4:30, some of the Thai went and led the groom back to the bride's house. They gave him a pep talk in preparation for his marriage (including much ribald humor) and fed him

drinks. About 4:45, the bride and groom knelt on mats in the inner part of the headman's Thai house. There the Thai tied their wrists, Thai style (with a *phan* in front of the couple in which money was placed when the guest had finished tying the wrists). Some people tied the wrists together. The only Karens participating in this were Benny and maybe Manāt (I didn't see). This ceremony had obviously been stage for the Thai. After the tying was over, the headman cut the couple apart and the bride made a show of being quite cramped from having sat in the polite position for some time.

Tables had been set up and Mekong, beer and soda had been brought in for the Thai guests. After the tying ceremony, the Thai guests were fed drinks and then food. By 6:00 many had left and by 8:30 when I left almost all the Thai had left. According to Pete, the rest left shortly after an incident involving a drunken/crazy Thai who was around begging drinks. This guy had been a nuisance all evening, but the Thai had either ignored him or given him drinks (sometimes pouring a large drink down him). According to Pete, the headman finally got disgusted with this guy and threw him down the stairs and onto the road. Shortly after this, all of the Thai disappeared. Pete is sure there was a connection, but even though I didn't see the incident, I am not so sure.

About 7:00, a group of men who were said to be relatives of both bride and groom and in company with the groom came and crouched at the foot of the stairs of the Karen-style house of the headman and sang a song which Benny said was a request for liquor. The wife of the headman gave them liquor. They then entered the house where the groom's feet were washed. He was then taken into an inner-inner room in the Karen-style house. Here he changed into the Karen-style jacket and some other clothes provided by his parents-in-law.

It was at this point at which I left.

While talking with the main Assistant District Officer, he said to me that he was concerned about the Karens because of Communist influence. But he said in answer to my question that there wasn't any trouble in Mae Sariang. He did say that it was necessary to because of an "incident" (he used the English word) in Thai-Karen relations which would cause the Karen to turn to communism. He said that religion didn't matter; it didn't matter if people believed in Christianity, Buddhism, or even animism as long as people have religion.