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Meeting with the Coates'

Today we paid a call on the Coates (Don and Pat) who are the resident Baptist missionaries working with the Karens. They strike us as unusual in relation to our usual stereotypes about missionaries. They were extremely informed and not at all overly absorbed with religious matters. She in particular seems like a popular Mid-western co-ed of ten years before.

He is rather cynical about the Thai and obviously feels that Thai officials are unhelpful in his work with the Karens. In particular he believes the district education officer thwarts much of the work the Coates do with the education of the Karen children living in the hostel. This official, in contrast to many in the district, has been here for a long time (over 20 years) and is entrenched in the system. The Coates believe the only way the Karens could get the favors usually accorded the Thai (job offers, opportunities to take exams, etc.) is through bribes. They also believe that since the educational officer is such a good Buddhist, he is not willing to go out of his way to help Christian Karens. For example, one of the school masters required all school children to attend a merit-making ceremony at the time of *khào phansa*. The Coates and the local Thai Christian leader went to see the educational supervisor. The latter said that he could not interfere.

I asked what happens to Karens who finish *ma.tháyom 6*. The answer is they don't know yet as the first graduates are just coming up. They said that ^{they} hoped the Karen would return to their

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villages as school teachers or join the Public Welfare Department tribal development program. But both types of jobs are handed out by Thai officials. Moreover, the Coates are afraid that once Karen have been educated, they will leave Karen life altogether and enter Thai life. One example is a young man who dropped out of the school here after about ma.thá.yom 4 and is now working as a mechanic under a Thai in Chiang Mai.

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Li.ke. Performance

There has been a li.ke. performance in the neighborhood ever since we returned from Chiang Mai. Last night was the last performance and we decided to go. We noticed that the audience was made up primarily of married women, old women, and children, with another large group of teen-age girls and a lesser number of teen-age boys. There were very few adult men. The setting was obviously an opportunity of courting and we noticed a number of couples sitting together, however they didn't arrive together.

The li.ke. troupe was from Chiang Mai. They started out their performance with a fantastic parody of vaudeville and chorus girl acts. All of them were amateurish and totally out of place in the presence of such an audience. The actual performance itself, about twins who were kidnapped from a queen and raised by fishermen, made use of both simple Thai and kammyan.

Although the performance was nothing spectacular, it nevertheless represents one dimension of lowland Thai civilization. The story itself, the travelling troupe, the language used, all bring the audience into contact with the larger world. If any hill tribes (or lowland living Karen or Lua') come to the performance, they must be fairly well acculturated.

Mark Anderson, Peace Corps Volunteer

At the li.ke. performance we met Mark Anderson, the Peace Corps volunteer teaching at the high school ^{here.} We discussed several topics about the school. It seems that his room mate, a Central

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Thai from Ayuthaya, not only was the first Central Thai at this school, but also the first teacher of physical education. There are now several Central Thai teaching at the school, all of whom have come in the last year or so. Students at the school come from all over the tambon, one even the amphoe., and include Karen (mainly from the hostel), but very few Lua'.

Mark himself has been here about a year and a half, long enough to be here during the last rainy season, when the road between Kilometer 60 and Mae Sariang was not good enough to be kept opened for the entire rainy season. He knows a number of the shopkeepers and business men in town. One of the biggest Chinese merchants is Na.i Tha.n who owns a general merchandise shop and the ice factory, among others. An even bigger merchant, although not so well known to Mark, is the owner of the hotel (which bears his name, Sombat) a wolfram processing plant, a shop, and other enterprises. Mark came to lunch today. After lunch the three of us went downtown. Among the miscellaneous information we observed or learned were the following: the woman-owner-manager 'ô.m 'a.ri. () the new concrete general store, her large collection of Burmese jewelry and jewels, most of the "Indian" merchants are Moslems from the Chittagong area of Burma and East Pakistan. They have their own Mosque near the market and have all their shops together. These shops deal in almost the same merchandise, i.e., cloth (including some things from Burma), a few tools, etc. As milk drinkers they apparently have got some arrangement to obtain fresh milk. The slaughter house near the river is the residence

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of relatively outcaste people. Na.i Tha.n handles all the periodical distribution from Mae Sariang. The shop where I bought the Burmese ^{shirtpots} ceroots is owned by a Burmese (he speaks Northern Thai all right which makes me wonder if he really isn't Shan). This shop attracts a large number of Karens who come to buy things from it. It carries such goods as Karen betel boxes, cloth, pipes, elephant "shackles", etc.

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Trip to Bâ.n Ná.m Díp (บ้านน้ำดิบ)

This morning I went to the amphē. office to obtain various statistics. After working on these for a couple of hours, Pâlát Nákhō.n invited me to go with him on a visit to a village across the Ná.m Yuam where he has some business. We went to the shore near the Burmese wát and took the "ferry" across. The ferry was a large dugout canoe (carved from a single teak tree) manned by two men with poles. The river is not very deep even at the height of the rainy season. The boat carried people and bicycle and goods. The fare per person one way was 25 sàtaŋ.

From the landing on the opposite side we walked about 2 or 3 kilometers to the village of Bâ.n Ná.m Díp which is tambon center for tambon Mē. Yuam (ตำบลแม่ยม). The path there was very muddy and we had to ford a little stream on the way. We passed several people plánting peanuts which I later discovered is one of the biggest crops of the village and the area.

On arriving in the village we first stopped at a house where two Customs officials from Mae Sariang were enjoying themselves. I never did understand why they were in this particular house or who paid for the beer and nuts and fruit we ate. We spent about 2 1/2 hours in this house drinking beer. Partially the reason we spent so long was that it was raining so hard that Pâlát didn't want to leave. A daughter of the household, who I would guess was about 17, stayed with the group. There was much repartee and teasing of her by Pâlát and the young unmarried

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~~Customs official.~~

Finally the rains let up and we went across the road to another house where we drank M̂. khǒ.ŋ and had lunch. As the Pàlát and the young Customs official monopolized most of the conversation, I did not get a chance to learn much about the village. However, I did get a few questions in. The village has over 100 (probably near 200) households. It is a khomṃaŋ village (although there seem to be some Shan overtones). The older Customs official, who has been in Cháingrai, and who is, I believe, Northern Thai himself, told me a little bit about northern marriage customs. The ṽ couple lives initially with the parents of the bride however, there is no bride price. They have a form of the ba.isǐ.sù.khwǎn ceremony.

I was struck greatly by the physical characteristics of the people in Ná.m Díp. They are much taller and fair-skinned than other Thai and have quite a different physiogamy. The man in whose house we ate lunch (which included an omelette, a k̂.ŋ c̄ȳ.t, n̂.m and kĥ.ó c̄áo) speaks northern Thai, Central Thai, Shan and Karen. He apparently has worked near the Salwin.

After lunch we wandered on toward the Kamnan's house (which was our destination). A path led us by a beautiful wát which showed Burmese features (the lion statues on the wall), Shan features (the bò.t), and Thai features (the khútí). We passed over a covered bridge and passed the school. This is really one of the most beautiful villages I have seen, the mountains in the background, the streams running through the village.

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The essential purpose of our visit was for the Pálát to talk with the Kamnan about improving (making query) the road to the village. I didn't grasp the whole story, but apparently the Na.i amphø. has not authorized as much money as had been hoped for and now the villagers would have to contribute as well.

The Kamnan was a very friendly man who took us to the school where the li.ke. troupe, which I had seen before a few nights ago, setting up for a performance here (in order to raise money for the school). He also took us to look at an old če.di. near the school grounds which is interesting in that it attests to a longer history in Mae Sariang than exists in the written records and in that it does not appear (to my untrained eye) to be Burmese in style. The Kamnan also pointed out another če.di. on the hill above the village which is definitⁱly of Burmese style.

On the return back we wandered through the wát where we saw a large group of older men and women who were spending wan phrá in meditation.

By the time we reached the amphø. office it was nearly 5:00 pm. In other words it had taken the Pálát approximat^ely six hours to transact a relatively simple bit of business. He justified his actions by saying that it is only proper to accept the hospitality of the villagers.

The District Officers of Mae Sariang

At the district office I made a copy of the district officers of Mae Sariang since the beginning of the district. In a table I have summarized the information on each of these officers.

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The District Officers of Mâe. Sâriang

No.	Rank of District Officer	Years of Service	Time of Service
1.	khun (ກຸນ)	2448-2453 (1905-1910)	5 years
2.	Ro.η 'ammâ.t tho. (ຮ.ອ.ໜ) *	2453-2455 (1910-1912)	2 "
3.	Ro.η 'ammâ.t 'e.k (ຮ.ອ.ອ)	2455-2462 (1912-1919)	7 "
4.	Ro.η 'ammâ.t 'e.k (")	2462-2467 (1919-1924)	5 "
5.	Ro.η 'ammâ.t 'e.k (")	2467-2467 (1924)	< 1 "
6.	Ro.η 'ammâ.t 'e.k (")	2467-2472 (1924-1929)	5 "
7.	(Ro.η) 'ammâ.t tri. (ອ.ຮ.)	2472-2475 (1929-1932)	3 "
8.	Ro.η 'ammâ.t 'e.k (ຮ.ອ.ອ)	2475-2482 (1932-1939)	7 "
9.	Khun (ກຸນ)	22/6/2482-1/3/2483 22/6/1939-1/3/1940	9 mos.
10.	Luang (ລູງ)	1/4/2483-?/4/2486 1/4/1940-?/4/1943	3 yrs. 0 mos.
11.	Na.i (ນາ.ີ)	?/?/2486-?/1/2488 ?/?/1943-?/1/1945	≤ 1 yr. 9 mos.
12.	Khun (ກຸນ)	?/12/2488-?/?/2490 ?/12/1945-?/?/1947	≤ 2 yrs. 0 mos.
13.	Na.i (ນາ.ີ)	3/11/2490-3/2/2492 3/11/1947-3/2/1950	2 yrs. 3 mos.
14.	Na.i (ນາ.ີ)	3/2/2496-7/4/2496 3/2/1950-7/4/1953	3 yrs. 2 mos.
15.	Na.i (")	7/4/2496-9/8/2497 7/4/1953-9/8/1954	1 yr. 4 mos.
16.	Na.i (")	9/9/2497-21/1/2501 9/9/1954-21/1/1958	3 yrs. 5 mos.
17.	Na.i (")	3/2/2501-16/5/2502 3/2/1958-16/5/1959	1 yr. 3 1/2 mos.

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No.	Rank of District Officer	Years of Service	Time of Service
18.	Na.i (")	5/6/2502-30/4/2506 5/6/1959-30/4/1963	3 yrs. 11 mos.
19.	Na.i (")	1/10/2506-1/12/2506 1/10/1963-1/12/1963	0 yrs. 2 mos.
20.	Na.i (")	1/1/2507-31/2/2508 1/1/1964-31/2/1965	1 yr. 3 mos.
21.	Police 2nd Lt. (จ.ท.ต.)	1/4/2508-30/9/2508 1/4/1965-30/9/1965	0 yrs. 6 mos.
22.	Na.i (พวถ)	30/9/2508-6/2/2510 30/9/1965-6/2/1967	1 yrs 4 mos.
23.	Captain (จ.ต.)	6/2/2510- 6/2/1967-	

* amma.t (หรือชื่อมาตย์ตริ, โท, ๖ก)
* ro.n/(tri., tho., 'e.k) were the old bureaucratic ranks.

Summary:

Average duration of service for first 8 District Officers = 4 3/8 yrs.

Average duration of service for 2nd 14 district officers = 1 yr. 10
5/14 mos.

Average duration of service for 22 district officers = 2 years 4 mos.

Of the first 12 district officers, 0 had military ranks, 4 had
'royal' ranks, 7 had old bureaucratic ranks, and 1 had no rank.

Of the 2nd 13 district officers, 2 had military ranks, none had
'royal' or old bureaucratic ranks and 11 had no ranks.

Of the total (22), nine had military ranks, 4 had civilian ranks,
and 12 had no ranks.

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Miscellaneous Information on Mae Sariang

N.B.: The following information was obtained from records kept at the amphø. office. The statistics need some explanation a change in the boundaries of the district this year. Early in 1967 one tambon, Tambon Mê. la.nó.i (ตำบลแม่ลาน้อย), amphø. including 16 villages was taken from Mae Sariang and joined with another tambon from Amphø. Khãn Yuam to make a Kĩn amphø. of Mê. la.nó.i. Most statistics apply unless otherwise noted to the amphø. as it was before Tambon Mê. la.nó.i was removed from the district. The amphø. includes 8 tambon, with 85 mủ.bã.n or villages. Total land area of the amphø. is 5,278.601 square kilometers. The total land area planted in paddy was 9,941 rai, with a harvest of 3,987 kwian. [This contrasted another figure that the Na.i Amphø. read me, that is, there were 15,430 rai planted as paddy.] The total land area planted in shifting cultivation was 933 rai, with a harvest of 157,500 kilograms.

Population

According to the records at the amphø. office the amphø. has a total population of 39,614 people. This is divided into 19,387 males and 19,227 females. Ethnically the population of the amphø. includes 19,860 Karen and 2,464 Lua'. [These are the same figures given to me by the chief abbot of the amphø.]

Climate and Natural Resources

The amphø. has two rivers--the Mê. Ná.m Mê. Sàriang (แม่น้ำแม่ฮ่องสอน), and the Mê. Ná.m Yuam (แม่น้ำยวม). The average

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rainfall per year is 1,213.6 millimeters. The main natural resources of the amphø. include two--mái tàkhian (ไม้ตะเคียน), mái prädù. (ไม้ประดู่), shorea obtusa or (mái ten - ไม้เต็ง), shorea siamensis or (mái ran - ไม้รัง), mái yom hǎ.m (ไม้ยมนอน), and wolfram.

Animals

The animal population of Mae Sariang includes 436 elephants, 197 horses, 1,977 cattle, and 3,314 buffalo.

Occupations and Industry

Eighty-four per cent of the population are engaged in paddy farming or gardening. The annual agricultural income of the population is something between 1000 and 1500 baht. The amphø. includes 24 small rice mills, 2 saw mills, 1 liquor factory, 1 ice factory, and 1 electricity generating plant.

Community Development

In 1957 a development village was set up at Bân Thún lǎ.ŋ (บ้านทุ่งหลัง), village No. 1, Tambon Mê. khon () as an improvement district and is still being carried out according to the orders of the Ministry of the Interior. The amphø. has one sanitation district with an income of B92,385.51 and expenditures of B81,074.49.

Fire Arms

In the amphø. there are 360 rifles (literally, back-end loading guns), 749 muzzle loaders (literally, mouth-loading guns), 185 revolvers, 68 lû.k kròt (ลูกกระต๊อ) and 10 air rifles.

Distances

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Distances

The distance between Mae Sariang and M^๕. H^๕. n is 178 kilometers. The distance between Mae Sariang and Chiang Mai is 191 kilometers.

Schools

There are 32 local or village elementary schools (ro.nrian pràcha.ba.n [โรงเรียนประชาบาล]). These schools have a total of 2,723 students. In addition there are 2 government schools (ro.nrian ráthába.n [ร.ร.รัฐบาล]) with a total 585 students.

Religion

There are a total of 7 wáts which have 61 monks and 117 novices, In addition there are 22 clerical residences (sămnásōṅ สำนักสงฆ์) with 51 monks and 117 novices.

List of Villages and Names of Kamnan and/or Headman in Amphē. Mae Sariang

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List of Villages and Names of Kamnan and Village Headmen in Amphoe
Mae. Sariang

N.B.: This list was made from one kept in the amphoe. office. The
Pàlát Nákhon, who provided me with this list said: 1. Not all the
names are correct and 2. not all the villages are included. In
addition 16 villages of what was formerly Tambon Mē. la.nó.i now
part of sub-district Mē. la.nó.i are not here listed.

Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Bā.n Kā.t (ตำบลบ้านกาต)</u>		
Bā.n Pò.ng (บ้านโป่ง)	(นายเลียม สุวรรณลพ) Na.i Liam Suwannalóp	Kamnan
" " (")	(นายคำ คำธิไพ)	Asst. Kamnan (สารวัตร กำนัน)
" " (")	(นายคำ อวตฺตชุต) " Tú. Wongphu.thon	Asst. Kamnan (")
" Sòphā.n (บ้านสหสาร)	(นายคำ คำสุตฉะ) " Kham Khamsutchai	Headman
" Phāe. (บ้านแพะ)	(นายสุ่ม วุฒิจริณ) " Son Wutthaláoen	"
" Māe. Hā.n (บ้านแม่หาร)	(นายวงศ์ ศรีวิชัย) " Wong Si.wichai	"
" Māe. Tō.p (บ้านแม่ตอ)	" 'in Khamchai (นายอิน คำใจ)	"
" Thā. Phā. Pūm (บ้านเขาปุม)	" 'ong'in Kā.wí (นายองอิน กาวี)	"
" Thā. Khā.m (บ้านท่าข้าม)	(นายบุญญา สุภาธารินทร์) " Bunyā. Sūphā.rāt	Tambon Dr. (แพทย์ประจำตำบล)

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Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Mâe. Sàriang (ตำบลแม่สะเรียง)</u>		
Bâ.n Co.m Căe.ng (บ้านคอมแจ๋ง)	Na.i Khammu.n Khamsăe.n (นายคำมูล คำแสน)	Headman
" Nai Wiang (บ้านในเวียง)	" Sûthăt Sûksômăit (นายสุท สุขสมิต)	Kamnan
" " " (")	" Phô.ng a.yút (นายผ่อง อัญญา)	Tambon Dr.
" " " (")	" Yu.n Suthinna. (นายยู่ สุธินนา)	Asst. Kamnan
" " " (")	" Sûk Khâyankit (นายสุก ขยันกิจ)	Asst. Kamnan
" Măe. umlo.ng luang (บ้านแม่อุ้มหลวง)	" Tăbu.kry. Loe.du' (นายตะบู่หล่อ)	Headman
" Măe. umlo.ng Nô.i (บ้านแม่อุ้มน้อย)	" Phă. Nûchoe. (นายท่าคำ เมืองสาม)	"
" Pă. Păe. (บ้านป่าเป๋)	" Ta.kham Myangnga.m (นายป่าหมอง)	"
" Sa.ng Mă. Luang (บ้านซอหม้อหลวง)	" Pan Dae.ngto. (นายป๋อ ตีทอง)	"
" Húi Dya (บ้านห้วยเตี๋ย)	" Că.tu' Khayakha.ng (นายวอตี เคียว)	"
" Măe. Lăi (บ้านแม่จัต)	" Wiri By.thu. (นายวีริ ธี๋อฮู)	"
" Măe. Lă' (บ้านแม่ละ)	" Khamma. Phăna.sîn (นายคำมา พนาสิน)	"
" Măe. Lăi Luang (บ้านแม่ลัดหลวง)	" Bae.by. Di.ċe. (นายเบบือ ดีจ)	"
" Húi Hă.k mái (บ้านห้วยฮากไม้)	" Kihăe. (นายกิเฮ)	"
" Măe. Hô' Nya (บ้านแม่หนอง)	" Kôe. Hě.ngô. (นายก่อ ห่งอ)	"
" Măe. Că.ng (บ้านแม่จ่าง)	" No. Dae.ngsăi (นายโหน เคงใส)	"
" Rûang Kú. (บ้านร่องคู)	" Phîw Pae:ngdong (นายพิว ปะงดง)	"
" Dông Luang (บ้านดงหลวง)	" Dîlo.i Thongchai (นายดีลอย ทองไชย)	"
" Húi Pla. Kâng (บ้านห้วยปลาแก้ง)	" Kho.ċe. Ngoe.ndi. (นายโศจ เวินดี)	"
" Húi Pu. (บ้านห้วยปู)	" Hû' Hăe. (นายหู่ เฮ)	"
" Măe. Hô' Tăi (บ้านแม่หนองไต้)	" Mò.ng Săe. (นายหม่อง แซ่)	"
" Húi Pla. Phă.n (บ้านห้วยปลาพาน)	" Phă. Mî. Tă'mú' hăe. (นายพะมี ตะมู่เฮ)	"

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Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Măe. Khong</u> (ตำบลแม่คง)		
(บ้านทุ่งแสง) Bā.n Thūng Lăe.ng	(นายคำปั้ง ปวงคำคง) Na.i Khampan Puangkhamkhong	Kamnan
" " "	(นายฟู คงแก้ว) " Fu. Khongkae.o	Tambon Dr.
" " "	(นายพิชญ์ เกิดมงคล) " Thip Kòetmongkhon	Asst. Kamnan
" " "	(นายปี คงดง) " Pī. Khongdae.ng	Asst. Kamnan
(บ้านหูกะป่า) " Nókabā.	(นายสุมี ๒๒๘) " Sā'my.hae.	Headman
(บ้านแม่สะเกียบ) " Măe. Sà'kòep	(นายหม่อม ๒๒๘ เื่อหน่ยห์) " Mò.hae. khỳankhān	"
(บ้านแม่ต๊ะหลวง) " Măe. Tăe'luāng	(นายพะสุ๒๒๘) " Phá' Sù'tăe.	"
(บ้านแม่ก้อน) " Măe. Kǎn	(นายจอน) " Co.mi'ng	"
(บ้านทูล) " 'i.thá'lu.	(นายพะยอ ๒๒๘) " Phá' Yo.hy.	"
(บ้านแม่แ่ง) " Măe. Ngáe'	(นายโปย ๒๒๘ โปยา) " Po.sv. Po.ya.	"
(บ้านเสาหิน) " Săothin	(นายพะซู่) " Phá' Su.	"
(บ้านขุนแม่เหลื่อ) " Khūn Măe. Lǎe.	(นายหุตะแปละ) " Nù'tà'plăe'	"
(บ้านแม่สอง) " Măe. Sǎng	(นายพะวิโต) " Phá' Wí'kho.	"
(บ้านกองส้ม) " Kō.ng Sūm	(นายสาบง) " Sā.nge.	"
(บ้านอุลือ) " 'u.lū.	(นายพะวาเกเหลื่อลี) " Phá' Wa.ko. Lǎe.lī.	"

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Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Mâe. Yuam (ตำบลแม่ยาว)</u>		
(บ้านน้ำดิบ) Bâ.n Nâ.m Dîp	(นายกองตำบลชายชนะ) Na.i Ko.ngkham Chaiyáchá.ná'	Kamnan
(บ้านคชป่อง) " Khá'puang	(นายทิพ บุญลือ) " Thîp Munlû.	Headman
(บ้านทุ่งแพม) " Thûng Phae.m	(นายฉัตร หน่อแก้ว) " Cán Nò. Kâe.o	"
(บ้านห้วยสิงห์) " Húi Sîng	(นายตา อินตาวงศ์) " Thá. 'Inta.wong	"
(บ้านเลโว๊ะ) " Le. Khô'	(นายผุยบอย โกวอ) " Chûaibo.i Kò.pho.	"
(บ้านแม่ตาชวาบ) " Mâe. Tâ'tuan	(นายอ้าย สุสวัสดิ์) " 'â.i Sûksawát	"
(บ้านห้วยแพะ) " Húi Hâe.ng	(นายคำ ธิง) " Kham Thîno.	"
(บ้านส้มป่อย) " Sôm-moe.i	(นายพะยอมมูย) " Phá' Nae.mui	"
(บ้านบุญเลอ) " Buhnloe.	(นายปล้ำ เชา) " Pla. Če.	"
(บ้านเกาะลิโด้) " Kò' Thî.lo.	(นายอ้ายนะ มีนตัน) " 'â.i Mỳ.n Tûn	"
(บ้านเกลอะบ่อ) " Khlòe' Bò.	(นายพะโถโจ) " Phá' Ko. Čo.	"
(บ้านห้วยออกฮู) " Nâ.m 'ò.k hu.	(นายปะแปะ) " Pè' Pâe'	"
(บ้านแม่ตอละ) " Mâe. To.lá'	(นายคือลอย ดีจู) " Khỳ.lo.i tî.ru.	"
(บ้านแม่สะมานลอง) " Mâe. Lá'ma. Lûang	(นายวงศ์ บุญมี) " Wong Bunmân	"
(บ้านวังห้วยควาย) " Wang Húi Khwa.i	(นายหนอก มานาสิงห์) " Yuak Mâhâ.sîng	Tambon Dr.
" " " "	(นายคำเน่ช ทัฬหชัย) " Khampan Thánanchai	Asst. Kamnan
" " " "	(นายเหล็ก มานาชัย) " Lâ. Mâhâ.chai	Asst. Kamnan

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Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Măe. Khá'tuan</u> (ตำบลแม่ตะพาน)		
(บ้านผา) Bă.n Phă. Phà.	(นายเป็ง แก้วคำ) Na.i Peng Kăe.okhamma.	Kamnan
" " "	(นายป้า วงศ์ศรี) " Pă. Wongsī.	Tambon Dr.
" " "	(นายคำปัน พุกชา) " Khampan Phuttha.	Asst. Kamnan
" " "	(นายธอธ จันทร์บง) " Rô.t Čanthádae.ng	Asst. Kamnan
" Măi (บ้านใหม่)	(นายบัว พันธุ์จิตต์) " Wai Phe.ncit	Headman
" Măe. Kò' (บ้านแม่เกาะ)	(นายสี จันทร์อ้าย) " Mi. Čanthá'ă.i	"
" Măe. 'ó.k (บ้านแม่ฮอก)	(นายสมะเนาะ เจริญศรี) " Mă'hòe' Ngoe.nwī.	"
(บ้านหัวมูว) " Húai Múang	(นายพะเนาะ ตาขพอ) " Năe'če. Tă'pho.	"
(บ้านแม่หลย) " Măe. Lúi	(นายหม่องนุณส ลอยนุ) " Mò.ngthunlá' Lo.ithu.	"
(บ้านหัวมะพร้าว) " Húai Mă' Ná.m	(นายทะทะชอ) " Thăe' Choer	"

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Name of Tambon/Village	Name of Kamnan or Headman or other Official	Explanation
<u>Tambon Kɔ.ng Kɔ.i (ตำบลกองก่อ)</u>		
(บ้านกองก่อ) Bâ.n Kɔ.ng Kɔ.i	(นายจวนพิทยาคี) Na.i Ca. Pinyâ.t	Kamnan
" " "	" Pan 'uwan (นายปิ่น อูวรรณ)	Tambon Dr.
" " "	" Wí. So.nkham (นายทวี รอดคำ)	Asst. Kamnan
" " "	" Kham Tho.mna.m (นายคำ พงษ์พรม)	Asst. Kamnan
(บ้านพะยอมเหนือ) " Phá'yo.e. nũa	" Pa.ng (นายทอง)	Headman
(บ้านท่าโพธิ์) " Tón Ngío	" Sáe' Ngae. (นายเสะเซะเซ)	"
(บ้านหัววัด) " Húai Mũ.	" Mànglâe. Dò.kngoe.n (นายรุ่งเหล่ง คอกเงิน)	"
(บ้านบ่มี บ่พ่น้อย) " Mâe. Phae. Nɔ̄.i	" Kho.sɔ. Sâthitkhong (นายศุภ สิทธิ์คง)	"
(บ้านบ่มี ลาง) " Mâe. La.i	" Čɔ̄.la. Bithu. (นายจอลา ธิบุ)	"
(บ้านบ่มี บ่พ่นาง) " Mâe. Phae. Lüang	" Phé' (นายเพชร)	"
(บ้านพะยอมใต้) " Phá'yo.e. tái	" Mò.'u. Wíthu. (นายหม่อฮือ ธิบุ)	"
(บ้านป่าปง) " Pà. Pong.	" Pò'ni. Ko.thu. (นายเปะหนี่ โกคำ)	"
(บ้านก้องบ่ป)	" Pâe'ta.ng Lüangkâe.o (นายแปะต่าง หลองแก้ว)	"
(บ้านหัววัด) " Húai Wô.k	" Núce. Dilkhü. (นายหนูเจ ติตือ)	"

September 12, 1967

Tribal Goods in the Market

Today Jane and I visited town and stopped at the 'om'a.ri. store, that is the big new store. The store carries a number of pieces of Karen cloth and Burmese cloth. I asked the manageress (the middle-aged woman, not the old woman) whether Karens bring their goods to sell to her or she goes out to buy Karen cloth from Karens. She answered that Karen bring things to her to sell. I noted that she had no Lua' things. She said, "the Lua' live too far away," a rather strange response considering the Lua' live in town. One does see a few Lua' bags. We bought one at the Burmese shop and saw others at a shop at the entrance to the market, but they are much rougher than Karen work.

Thai Status of Tribal People

The brother of the Karen pastor of the Baptist church in Mae Sariang is a manager of the Siam Commercial Bank in Chiang Mai. He has the highest status defined in Thai terms, Karen or other tribal I have heard about.

September 14, 1967

Pat Coates

Pat Coates, the wife of the Baptist missionary to the Karen, stopped by for tea this afternoon. We discussed, among other things, the commercial cloth weaving of the Karen. She noted that Lua' do not seem to weave for commercial purposes. In their own sphere of influence the Coates have encouraged several Karen (Christian) women. One, Mali, from whom we have bought things, started weaving table mats at the suggestion of the Coates when they first came here. She has sent a number of things to Bangkok to be sold commercially, but no success has come as yet. Another woman whose daughter has brought us things which we have bought, is the wife of a Karen pastor.

Na.i Tha.n and George Po

The visit of newspaper delivery boy from Na.i Tha.n's shop reminded me that Na.i Tha.n has the periodicals concession for almost all newspapers, magazines, etc., sold in the amphø. Also seeing George Po at the Post Office yester day reminded me that Mark had said that Na.i Tha.n sends his children to George for additional study of English.

September 18, 1967

Merit-Making at Wát Kittiwong

This morning Jane, Nicholas, Sã.ṅa and myself went to Wát Kittiwong to make merit (it being wan phrá). To fee^d the monks we took three containers: a silver pha.n (^(ภาชนะบูชา)) [i.e. a tray with a pedestal] containing the traditional khrûaṅ bu.cha., that is flowers, candles, and incense; a Burmese-made silver khã.n or bowl filled with raw rice (^(ข้าวสุก) khã.o sã.n), a tin of sardines, a sack of sugar, a vegetable marrow, and a package of candles; and a basket containing two tins from a pinto., one filled with a phát and the other with cooked white rice, spoons for dishing out the food, and a bottle of water for the trúatná.m part of the ceremony.

We arrived at the wát between 7:30 and 8:00 and returned before 10:00. This wát was selected by Sã.ṅa because it is the only one in town where sermons are given in Thai. The services were held in the khúti, not in the bò.t. The majority of the congregation were old people (with a few grandchildren) and then mainly women. To present food ~~one~~ did not go up to the front where the monks were seated, but to the side where two tables were arranged, one with the bà.t of the priests and the novices and the other the place where one put the káp khã.o and other gifts. As one entered one made the proper three times bow and then took the khrûaṅ bu.cha. and presented them in front of the altar and priests and then stuck them in a receptacle in front of the altar. This receptacle was situated in the midst of the congregation however. The service was the usual "morning worship" followed by sãibà.t. In this case the donors went up to the table with the bà.t and placed some rice in each.

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Following this came a sermon by an older priest, not the chief abbot of the amphə. After his sermon, which we couldn't follow even though it was in Central Thai, he used too many big words, the chief abbot of the amphə. made a series of announcements and led a discussion about two forthcoming events: one known as sàlà.k, literally, lottery, and the other thō.t kàthĭn (which will be sponsored by some relatives of Sǎ.ŋa. from Bangkok). After the announcements came the trúat ná.m and the service was over. The chief monk of the amphə. was very friendly and insisted that I sit towards the front. He passed a few during the service. Afterwards we had a short talk about studying Buddhism and northern writing. He gave me a book concerning Nirvana written by a Westerner in the World Fellowship of Buddhists series.

Wát Sě.n tho.ŋ

After taking the women home Čit and I went to Wát Sě.n tho.ŋ. This wát is the oldest one in Mae Sariang, but the abbot, a rather young man, did not know much about it. All he could say was that it originally embraced a larger area (including land now on the opposite side of the road) and was originally outside the city walls. The bò.t, he claims, is the original, although wood or earthen roof has been replaced by corrugated iron in the last few years. It has a very old image in the Chiaŋsě.n style.

The wát, like the neighborhood in which it is located, is exclusively khonmyaŋ. There have never, to the knowledge of the

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abbot~~t~~, been Lua' or Karen novices or monks in this wát. At the present time there are but one novice and two monks.

At noon the monks from this wát were going to wát čo.m tho.ŋ where there was to be a sàlà.k ceremony today. That wát has one Lua' novice at the present time and a good part of the congregation is Lua' (although khonmyan and Karen also attend this wát).

After talking with the monk we went to what I think is the bò.t for the morning services. Here all of the congregation were elderly people, no more than 20, with a preponderance of women. The service (without the feeding of the monks) was much the same as the one previous, although chanting style was slightly different and the sermons considerably so since they were in kammyan rather than in Thai. [I have recorded the service almost in its entirety.] There were two sermons, one by a priest who was only to give a sermon and then promptly retire, and the other by the abbot~~t~~ of the wát.

Some differences from the first service, as I noticed, included the fact that women all wore white blouses with sàbǎ.i (mainly white) over their shoulder. All people lighted candles in front of them. Some of these were collected and placed on the altar. All of the offering trays were of the red lacquer variety.

Interview with Na.i Nũ. Ma.lai (ဘုရားသို့ မာရီယ) , an Old Policeman

This afternoon Mǎ. thàwǎ.n took me to talk with Na.i Nũ. Ma.lai, a man of 86 who has been a policeman in Mae Sariang. He lives in a house on a little side road just before ^{one} ~~we~~ ^{of} reach_{ing} the

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landing where one takes boats across the river.

Mr. Nũ. was born in Ubon but has lived here for 57 years, i.e., since 1910. I asked him mainly of his remembrances of the government of Mae Sariang.

He said that prior to its incorporation into the Bangkok administrative system Mae Sariang was a myaᅇ under Chiang Mai and had a ruler known as phĩ. lũaᅇ (พ่อหลวง) equivalent to the c̣ao myaᅇ of the northeast. This phĩ. lũaᅇ was a khonmyaᅇ and not a Shan. The name of the last phĩ. lũaᅇ was Phaya. (Phya.) Sã.1.-sĩ.nmyaᅇ (พญาสี สอนเมือง ?sp.). There are apparently descendants of this person still living here. In R.S. 119 (A.D. 1900) Mae Sariang was divided from Chiang Mai. The rulers were referred to as Na.i Khwẽ.n (นายหลวง ?sp.) which was equivalent to Na.i Amphø. and Khã.lũaᅇ bõrĩwe.n (ข้าหลวงบริเวศ) who was equivalent to governor. The ruler of Mae Hong Son at the time was a Shan prince known as c̣ao fá. Mẽ. Hũ.ᅇ Sũ.n (เจ้าฟ้าแม่ฮ่องสอน). In R.S. 121 (A.D. 1902) Mẽ. Hũ.ᅇ Sũ.n was made into West Chiang Mai Province with a Dane, Thoransen, as the Khã.lũaᅇ bõrĩwe.n. This Thoransen was in the police force and later moved to Chiangrai. [He must have been Dana Thorangkul's father or grandfather.]

In B.E. 2453 (A.D. 1910) Mẽ. Hũ.ᅇ Sũ.n stopped being a bõrĩwe.n and became a province.

The name of Mae Sariang was changed from Myaᅇ Yuam about this time. Because of the confusion between it and Khũn Yuam the name Mae Sariang comes from the smaller river, that is smaller than the

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Yuam river, which also flows through here.

I asked what was the attitude of the government (in particular district officers) in the earlier days toward tribal people. He said that the district officer wanted the Karens to become Thai. He helped to implement this policy by moving (or encouraging the moving of) Karen down to live in the Plain rather than have them remain swidden agriculturalists. Also schools were opened to bring Karens into the Thai way.

He has known Karens who have become policemen, teachers, clerks, etc. and have fully assimilated to Thai ways.

He says that there were more Burmese living here when he first arrived than there are now.

He says there used to be a lākmyaṅ but there is not now. However, Mō. thàwǎ.n says that there still is a myaṅ shrine known as the hǎ. čāomyaṅ (၂၁၆၅၁၆၅၁၅၅). This is not a very important place and it is run down. There is no one to look after it. However, before ordination, the person to be ordained is supposed to go wái at the shrine.

Visit to town Shrine

After leaving Na.i Nū, Mō. thàwǎ.n took me to see the hǎ. čāomyaṅ. It is in a small alley-way, fairly close to the Phansit company and off Mae Sariang road. Indeed, it is run down and the grounds are ill-kept. He said that the district officer plans to build a better shrine.

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The Phanasit Company

Afterwards I spent an hour or so sitting on the front porch of the Phanasit Company talking with Čit and several others. The Phanasit Company employs about 300 Karens who work primarily as tree cutters and caretakers for the elephants. The Company has 30 to 40 elephants. Karen also work in the mines in the area. Apparently no Lua^{*} are employed in these things.

While we were sitting there a group of Karen came up to get rice from the Company. I asked if the Company paid its workers in rice rather than money. The answer was no, but since rice was so expensive in Mae Sariang, the Company buys rice from Chiang Mai and provides it for its employees. In buying it in Chiang Mai it is stored in empty trucks which take lumber to Chiang Mai and have nothing otherwise to bring back.

Interview with Benny

This evening Benny, the Karen man in charge of the Christian hostel, came over. His ostensible reason was to discover what Pete's plans are. It seems that Pete has suggested that Benny might work as his assistant for ~~w~~ a while. Although Benny would like this, he is at present committed to ~~the~~ a program of translating the Bible into S'kaw Karen, (He has already translated the Book of Mark.) and fears he may run into a conflict of interest. He is not all that keen on the translation job. We talked at length about a variety of subjects.

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The Christian Hostel

He says that the hostel charges the students 10 thang of rice per year for their rent. Some can't afford this and provide only 4 thang and others none at all (for this latter type special arrangements have to be made). Some students bring such other food stuffs as peppers and garlic to the hostel.

At least 6 different Karen villages from throughout the district are represented at the hostel.

Thus far there have been three students from the hostel who have graduated from M.S. 3 (ma.tháyom 6): one girl and two boys. One boy finished M.S. 5 (M. 8) at Prince Royal College in Chiang Mai and is now studying at Chiang Mai Teachers' Training College. The girl, graduated from M.S. 3, first went to Dara Academy and then couldn't pass the entrance examinations to study for M. 7-8 at Prince Royal. Then she went to another school in Chiang Mai and lived at the Baptist hostel there while attending school. She didn't like school and returned to Mae Sariang. She doesn't know what she wants to do. The last boy who graduated from M.S. 3 did not continue his education. He would have liked to become a teacher in one of the tribal schools (under the auspices of the Border Police) but didn't pass the examinations. He worked for a while at the hospital and is now working for his brother in a lumber firm at Tàkê.o (?sp.) on the other side of the air strip. Benny went on to say that Karens are given Thai names when they

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go to school. This causes problems because they originally were registered (census, registration card, etc.) with Karen names. There are always difficulties when they change schools. There are lots of Karen in Chiang Mai who are not easily identifiable as Karens. The children at the hostel like to rush back home if they have a few days holiday. The aim of most the students is simply to earn a salary. Consequently, it is very disappointing I suppose on the part of Benny and the people in the mission when a student fails examinations. One boy who was studying M. 2 left school and is now working at a Honda workshop in Chiang Mai. Another boy who left while studying M. 5 is now working at the Experimental Baptist Agricultural Station Farm in Chiang Mai. Generally speaking, Karen have lots of problems in finding jobs.

Karen Shopkeepers and Wealthy People

[As a general answer to the questions if there were any Karen shopkeepers in Mae Sariang Benny answered the following:]
Karen shopkeepers who exist in Mae Sariang have usually married into Thai families. The biggest landholder (according to Benny) in Mae Sariang is a Karen who married a Thai wife. The daughter of this man married Wichian who owns the big modern shop, the one that we know as 'ô.m'a.ri.. Benny thinks that Wichian himself is Lua' or maybe his father was half Chinese, but his mother was Lua'. The shop employs only Lua' Benny says. Benny thinks that Wichian's father was involved in selling "country licquor." He said a story was told of Wichian, although he

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doesn't know if it is true. There used to be a famous khru. ba.
(^{๑๕๖}), in other words, a Buddhist monk living in the temple
across from the hotel; that is wat si.bunruan. This monk accumulated
a large amount of wealth, how Benny doesn't know. Wichian's father
repeatedly borrowed 400,000 baht [probably an inflated figure] from
this monk. Shortly thereafter the monk died and the papers regarding
the loan were very unclear. Consequently, the loan was never repaid
and, it is said, that the capital for building the store, that is
the big new store, was obtained in this way. Interestingly, La.,
our second servant, had originally told Jane that Wichian and his
wife were "Chinese" and was decrying the deceitful ways of the
Chinese. In any event the store ; its owners has
a reputation for being scheisters. La. says that they charge
exorbitant interest on the credit they extend to people. It is
also apparent to us the shop deals in Karen and Burmese cloth,
but La. says they also deal in opium. Benny thinks that the Karen
man who owns all the ~~land~~ land got his start with elephants. The
Karen man who is running the lumber business (mentioned about his
brother earlier) was originally an elephant owner. He now also
owns a truck. I remarked that elephants obviously represent some
source
~~sort~~ of capital for Karens. Benny doesn't think that there are
any wild elephants in this area. The Karens breed elephants.
Jane asked about Karen cloth in the market. Benny said that there
are an number of weavers who cater to Thai taste and color, i.e.
they change the basic S'kaw colors which are white, black, red

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with an occasional touch of green in order to please the Thai taste.

Jane asked if the Karen are sharp business men like the Chinese.

Benny says no, that the hill Karen are very tight fisted.

Karen Nationalism

Benny talked at length about his experiences in Burma. He said that today there are very few Karen who wish to secede from Burma but they feel a common cause with all other Burmese of any group who wish to change the military government. He feels that the military in Burma is exploitative and arbitrary.

To write his wife's sister in Rangoon he must use a round-about method by writing to some missionary in the U.S. who somehow forwards the letter. In turn she will send out messages via some missionary who passes through Burma.

Wát Pà.híao--Benny mentioned that a monk who used to be at wát pà.híao was a P'wo Karen. His brother is the present Karen incumbent there. Benny said that the former monk was very popular and it was such a shock to his admirers that he left to get married. He married a Taungthu girl. This ex-monk could be Burmese but not Karen. The same is true of his brother, the present monk in the wát. The reason for this is because they have been trained in a Burmese wát

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Assistant Headmaster of the Mae Sariang School

This morning I called on the assistant headmaster of the Mae Sariang middle school (M.S. 1-M.S.3) to try to arrange about giving a questionnaire in the school. He was receptive to the idea, although my explanations about why I wished to give the questionnaire elicited the response that all the Karens in the school are now Thai. He will also help me look for an assistant. He said there are 305 students in the school.

George Po

Jane and I had a long visit with George Po over coffee in the restaurant next to the hotel this morning. We heard mainly about his trials and tribulations in Burma. He has 8 children; the first a boy, is now living in Rangoon working as a writer and cartoonist; the second, a girl age 25, is now studying at the agricultural school in Chiang Mai (one of 15 girls). She has had a hard time because she began her education three different times--in Burmese, in English, and in Thai, but she was persistent. She likes farming and tractor driving. The third^{, a} girl, is living in Kelao in the Shan states with George's wife's mother (now 86) and takes care of her. The fourth, fifth and sixth children were born in Burma and are all living in Mae Sariang. The seventh and eighth children were born in Thailand and are living in Mae Sariang. His wife's father, although a Baptist (he sent his daughter to Catholic schools) was the head of a Wesleyan school. ^{His} ~~The~~ wife's mother was a nurse who worked for long periods of time in England. His

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cousin was the first president of Burma and was one of those who went with the 30 Thakins (Burmese who had been working for the Japanese and later head of the new Burmese government) to India to help the allies. They parachuted back into Burma. Another distant relative of the head of the Karen independence movement. George is obviously very interested in religion in general, mainly cult (despite or maybe because of his protestations about being a free thinker). He commented that ~~the~~ Thai ~~religion~~ ^{Buddhism} is not like Burmese Buddhism in that there is no emphasis on meditation (Vipassana). He said that the monks at the Tribal Development Center did practice meditation. They apparently attracted a group of ? followers, both men and women including the son of the woman who runs the khâ.o s.o.i shop on Mae Sariang road. This ^{chap} job apparently made some sort of breakthrough in his meditation.

Analytical Observation

Karens in this area have at least two possible elite models which they can employ. The one Thai, and the second Karen (nationalist ?, Christian ?,) represented in part by people like Benny and George Po. In the latter the literary tradition is primarily Christian with some sprinkling of nationalism. However, in many ways George and Benny are marginal people, although it is somewhat doubtful the model which they offer (if conscious at all) is very potent. The model is supported in part by the missionaries.

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Wáts in Mae Sariang

Every wát in Mae Sariang has two names, one the 'official' (government, or Thai, or formal) name and one the name which the people know the wát by. This latter name is often the name of the village or neighborhood in which the wát is located. This information comes from Čit. He says that this practice is also widespread throughout the country and even found in Bangkok.

Not every wát is a true wát. Only those which have bò.t marked with sě.ma. (เสมา) within which ordinations can take place. The other places which appear to be wát (and are so-called in common parlance) are formally known as sǎmnáksǎn (สำนักสงฆ์) and the buildings in them that look like bò.t are really wíhǎ.n. The following is a list of wát and sǎmnáksǎn (revised and repeating information which has previously appeared). The first name given is the official name and the second, the local name. An asterisk indicates that the place is a wát. No markers are given for sǎmnáksǎn. The following is the list:

1. wát síthímongkhon (สีหิ มงคณ) - wát khápuan (คะปวง)

The latter name is the name of the village in which the wát is located.

- * 2. wát sí.bunryan (สีบุญเรือง) - There is no other name that Čit can think of.

- * 3. wát 'ùtháya.rom (อุทธารม) - wát cho.η sú.η (ทองสูง)

- * 4. wát Čanthára.wá.t (จันทราวาศ) - wát Manta.le. (มณฑล)
(สมนาท)

- * 5. wát Kittiwon (กิตติวง) - wát Sòphǎ.ni : or wát Sòphǎ.nhái (wian)
(สมนาท ๑๖ [เวียง]) [๕๐]

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- [40] The wát in Bâ.n Mē. hǎ.n is known either as wát Mē.hǎ.n (เม่นห่าน)
or wát sôphǎ.nnô.k(wiaη) (สวนห่าน [โธ]) . This is the wát
in the Karen village
6. wát Sǎ.n tho.η (สวนทอง) - wát lûm (ลุ่ม)
 7. wát Sùphǎnraṅsǐ (สวนห่านรังสี) - wát Co.η Kham (สวนคำ)
 8. wát Chaiyálâ.p (ไชยลาป) - wát pà.nà.t (ป่าหนาด)
 9. wát co.mtho.η (สวนทอง) - Čit could think of no other name.
 10. wát 'ommára.wâ.t (สวนอารา) - wát pà.hiao (ป่าหิโศ)
 11. wát Chom Che.η (สวนกล้วย) - Čit could think of no other
name but in local writing this is called wát co.m cê.η (สวน
แก้ว) and this is the name I will use for it.

In addition to the four wát where ordinations can take place (listed
above and noted by asterisk) there is one more such wát outside
the town--wát Phǎ. phǎ. (สวนป่า). In addition wát Chaiyálâ.p
is in the process of building a new bò.t (see below).

Other Notes on Religion

Čit also talked about other aspects of Buddhist practices.

In the ordination ceremony a person who offers himself for ordina-
tion is a nâ.k (นาค). He is first ordained as a novice and then
as a monk (all in the same ceremony).

Priests are supposed to spend wan phrá' yài (the 15th day
of the waxing of the moon each month and the 14th or 15th day
of the waning of the moon in each month) in a bò.t. If they live
in a sǎmnáksǒṅ, they will travel to the wát residence of the tambon
or district abbot on these days. [41]

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[42] There is no formal prohibition against women entering a bò.t. Whether or not they do, depends on the local custom they follow. Consequently, some women will and some women will not. The presence of the woman at the services at wát sě.n thỏ.η is explained by the fact that there was no proper bò.t at that wát, just a wihă.n.

[43] Town Gates

I asked Čít about the gates of the old city. He doesn't know all of them but this is what he knew. The gate on the Yuam river i.e., to the east, is known as prătù thâ. (ปรัทู่ท่า). The gate to the south is known as prătù hă.η wiaη (ปรัทู่หัวเมือง) and the gate to the north is known as prătù chai (ปรัทู่ชาย). The gate to the west he didn't know.

Visit to Wát Chaiyálâ.p (Wát Pà.nà.t)

This afternoon Čít took Jane and me to wát chaiyálâ.p (known locally as wát pà.nà.t). This wát is located on the road to the airport across the road from the border patrol police station. It is quite different from other wáts. There are two walled areas. The larger one contains the bò.t (in process of construction), a k^hút^h and a sǎ.la./k^hút^h. The smaller area includes a "Dharmic" School which is also a k^hút^h. In the collection of reliquaries of quite different shapes (and more plentiful) than are found in other wáts.

We first went to the sǎ.la./k^hút^h in the larger compound and there met an old priest. He was born in Nákho.n Pàthom and has lived most of his clerical life in Mě. Sò.t and has just [44]

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come to this wát this lent.

Since this monk didn't know much we then went to the school where we found the abbot~~t~~. Again, he was a relatively young man. We stayed about an hour and a half talking with him. Some of the information which he told us are as follows.

There are currently 5 priests and 9 novices in the wát.

This wát has a school for Dharmic studies called ro.ṅrian phrá' pòriyáttham (โรงเรียนพระปริยัติธรรม). The school was founded in B.E. 2503 (1950). It is not operating this year because the waf is too involved in the construction of the new bò.t. This year the students go to Wát Sithibunruṅ. When the school is operating it is mainly for monks and novices although laymen can attend.

At the moment the wát has one Karen novice who was ordained here, but is currently w away studying Pali in Mē. Hṅ sṅ.n.

This wát was founded 70 f years ago. Its original name is Wát Pà.nà.t*

* According to Mē.t's Thai-English dictionary, nà.t lūṅ (พญาสัตตนาถ) in northern Thai and nà.t (พญาสัตตนาถ) in central Thai, is a shrub or shrubby tree technically known as Blumea Balsamitera and colloquially as Ngai Camphor Plant.

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The abbot~~t~~ says that the Thai believe that this nà.t tree is good protection against the phǐ (ผี).

The wát attracts people from villages as far away as 16 kilometers to become monks and novices. This includes Karen villages. This led the monk to talk about Mě.tí.ya. which I had heard about before as being a Christian village. The abbot~~t~~ said of the 60 households in this village 10 are Buddhist, 4 Catholic, and the rest are Protestant (Baptist). If the Buddhists want to follow their religion they ~~either~~ have to invite monks (there is no wát in the village) or go to a neighboring khonmyan village.

Most Karen Buddhists in the district, the abbot answered in response to my question, use kammyan form of sermons and chants although a few still use Burmese or Shan forms, but the latter seem to be disappearing.

We had a long discussion about ceremonies held in local wáts. People in Mae Sariang called "the leading of lent" (wan 'ò.k phansá. ^{วันออกพรรษา}) as the most important festival and has distinctive customs associated with it. It lasts for three days and ~~is~~ the northeast includes a kom fai.

One ceremony which is restricted in practice is the "washing of the Buddha's relics", phǐthi. sǒrná.m phrá bòrommá thâ.t (^{พิธีล้างพระบรมธาตุ}) which is held only at wát kittiwong and wát Thâ. khâ.m (^{วัดท่าข้าม}). Wát Thâ. khâ.m is outside the city.

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Each year some wáts, but not all, will have the Thê.t Mähă.châ.t (๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓) which is similar to the Bun phrá' wê.t of the northeast.

The Bun Bô.ŋ Fai (บุญบั้งไฟ) is held in this area as in the northeast.* The Bun Bô.ŋ Fai is held in the 8th lunar month, northern reckoning (6th lunar month, Central Thai reckoning), that is May.

This date lead to a comment that northern lunar months are 2 months ahead of the Central Thai calendar.

I then asked the abbot~~t~~ to give the ceremonies held at each lunar month. He didn't get very far but he gave me the following attenuated list. In the first month there is Thê.tsàka.n 'ò.k phansă. (๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓) that is "end of Buddhist lent." And also is the ceremony called Sălă.k kâphât/in Central Thai. There was considerable discussion between ~~me~~ and the abbot~~t~~ about whether this ceremony can precede the end of lent ceremony or follow it. Obviously, as it is now happening, it can precede and can also thus be in the 12th lunar month. Following in the first lunar month there is also the ceremony known as Thê.t mähă.châ.t (๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓)

* According to Phrá'thamrâ.t cha.nâwát's dictionary this is called in the local language Bò.k Fai ().

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During the first and second lunar months the ceremony of Thô.t kâthIn (ทอดกฐิน) may take place. In the second lunar month there is a ceremony known as Thâwăei khâ.o má thúpà yâ.t (ถวายข้าวสุกป่าเถด) in Central Thai and ta.n khăophăcăo lŭaŋ (ทานข้าวพระเจ้าหลวง) in northern Thai and thâwă.i khâ.o sô.mtô. (ถวายข้าวส้อมต้อ) in Shan. Also in the second lunar month there is a ceremony known as lo.i Krathon (ลอยกระทง) which happens or occurs on the 16th of November.

The conversation then turned to the "Dharmic" Ambassador (Thammăthŭ.t) (ธรรมทูต) or Buddhist missionary program. The abbot said that it was not restricted only to monks from Bangkok and that in the dry season 4 monks from Mae Sariang (2 from wăt ~~from~~ kittiwong, 1 each from wăt sithimongkhon and wăt sĭ.bunryaŋ) participate in the program. The groups of people who go out ~~in~~ from the tribal development centers to Karen village include besides a health officer, an agricultural officer, a "meditating" monk (one skilled in Vipassana) and a "preaching" monk. Although two to three of these monks are from Bangkok, the others are from Chiang Mai and kammyaŋ is the medium of communication. The abbot also referred to what he called Thammăča.rik (ธรรมจาริก), literally wandering Dharma, which is apparently applied to monks who wander around the countryside in March, April or May. He says this program has had some success (in propogandizing?). [This program is actually the local name for the Thammăthŭ.t program.]

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[133] The conversation next turned to the reliquaries in the courtyard. These were, as I had surmised, primarily for laymen. In the north reliquaries for the ashes of laymen and ordinary monks are called kò.kù. (ก๋อ กู๋) or simply kù. (กู๋), while those for the Buddha and his disciples or important monks are called thâ.t (ธัต).

The abbot said that there is an Indian monk now at wát kittiwong (a brother of a cloth merchant in town) and there have also been Chinese monks in that temple.

Last year 3 to 4 Karens were recruited to the tribal Development Center and were sent to Bangkok to be ordained as monks. One of them was a village headman. They will return at the end of Lent.

The man in charge of building the bò.t comes from Lamphun. Already 70,000 baht has been spent on the bò.t and it is not yet finished. Money comes primarily from the people, but also in part from the government. It has ^{already} been more than two years in the building and will be at least 3 years before it is finished.

In February there will be a special ceremony at the wát known in kammuan as tha.n thó' (ทาน โท) to help raise money for the wát.

Invitation to Attend Sàlà.kkàphàt Ceremony at Wát 'Ommára.wâ.t

Today a man representing the wat committee of wát 'ommára.wâ.t (wát pà hiao) brought us an invitation to attend festivities connected with a sàlà.kkàphàt ceremony. The invitation, as translated,

reads as follows: "Schedule of Events

Thambun sàlà.kkàphàt (ta.nts.n) (ทานบุญสถาปนา [ทานบุญ]) *
Wát 'ommára.wâ.t Amphə Mae Sariang

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[44] Together with the wát committee and the congregation of Wát 'ommára.wâ.t has ~~the~~ arranged the merit making of presenting sàlà.kkàphàt (ta.nts.n) according to the following schedule.

[45] (September 22, 1967 is a day to decorate, prepare, and receive the things which Thai offer. In the evening there will be a movie show.

23 September 1967 (5th day of waning of the moon, 12th lunar month northern reckoning) is the day of merit-making.

10:30 presentation of food to monks

11:00 begin ceremony of presenting sàlà.kkàphàt including receiving of the precepts, one section of the 'anísöngsàlà.k () sermon. When finished there will be a presentation of a khrujan Thai tha.n () then followed by the clergy's formal expression of gratitude which ends the ceremony.

In arranging the sàlà.kkàphàt merit-making this time it is calculated to be the first time for wát 'ommára.wâ.t. Thus we respectfully take this opportunity to invite all the 'congregation' (public ?) to join together in making merit and showing formal gratitude with all the other congregations on this occasion. Signed - 'ommára.wâ.t wát committee, sponsor."

[44] * Sàlà.k () literally means ticket or label and phàt () is a bound form meaning food. The term sàlà.kkàphàt is the Thai name for the ceremony. Ta.nts.n () is a local word for ceremony, although Na.i Mè.t's dictionary gives the name as either kĭn kŏ.i salà,k () [44]

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[44] or ta.n kǒ.i salà.k (ต่ามไค้บะลา). In Phrá tham Râ.tcha.nùwát's dictionary it gives the following entry under sàlà.kkàphàt: "khâ.o-sàlà.k (ข้าบลา), tha.n khâ.osàlà.k (ทาบข้าบลา), kinsàlà.k (คนบลา), thambunsàlà.kkàphàt (ตำบลบลา) [i.sǎ.n wâ. khâ. sà.là.k] (อีสาน ข้าบลา)]" Kingshill (p. 204-207) says the name in Ku Daen was kǐn salà.k (คนบลา). True Marlowe says that in the village she is working in near Chiang Mai the name is kǐn kǒ,i salà.k (คนไค้บะลา).

Ta.n (ต่าม) cognate with Central Thai thain (ทาม), 'alms or gift'.
(ต่าม)
I cannot find an entry for tɛ.n/although it probably means 'to substitute for or to replace' which is the word given under tɛ.n in Purnell's dictionary and would thus be cognate with Central Thai thɛ.n (แทน). [45]

กำหนดการ
ทำบุญสลากภัต (ทานแทน) วัดอมราวาส
อำเภอแม่สะเรียง

มีกำหนดการดังนี้
มีภาพยนตร์ฉาย

คณะกรรมการและศรัทธาวัดอมราวาส จะไ้ร่วมกันทำบุญถวายสลากภัต (ทานแทน)

วันที่ ๒๒ กันยายน ๒๕๑๐ เป็นวันตักแตงคาและรับเครื่องไทยทาน กลางคืน

วันที่ ๒๓ กันยายน ๒๕๑๐ ตรงกับวันแรม ๕ ค่ำ เดือน ๑๒ เหนือ เป็นวันทำบุญ
เวลา ๑๐.๓๐ น. ถวายภัตตาหารแด่พระสงฆ์

เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. เริ่มทำพิธีถวายสลากภัต มี รั้วศีล ถวายสลากภัต

เทศนาอันสงฆ์สลาก ๑ กัณฑ์ จบแล้วถวายเครื่องไทยทาน พระสงฆ์อนุโมทนาเป็นเสร็จพิธี

ในการจัดทำบุญถวายสลากภัตครั้งนี้ นับเป็นครั้งแรกของวัดอมราวาส จึงขอถือโอกาส
เชิญชวนท่านศรัทธาสาธุชนทั้งหลาย ไปร่วมทำบุญอนุโมทนากับศรัทธาชาวเจ้าทั้งหลายในครั้งนี้
โดยทั้งถึงกัน

คณะกรรมการวัดอมราวาส
เจ้าภาพ

กำหนดการ
ทำบุญสลากภัต (ทานแทน) วัดอมราวาส
อำเภอแม่สะเรียง

คณะกรรมการและศรัทธาวิกรมราวาส จะไ้ร่วมกันทำบุญถวายสลากภัต (ทานแทน)

มีกำหนดการดังนี้

วันที่ ๒๒ กันยายน ๒๕๑๐ เป็นวันตักแตงคาและรับเครื่องไทยทาน กลางคืน

มีภาพยนตร์ฉาย

วันที่ ๒๓ กันยายน ๒๕๑๐ ตรงกับวันแรม ๕ ค่ำ เดือน ๑๒ เหนือ เป็นวันทำบุญ

เวลา ๑๐.๓๐ น. ถวายภัตตาหารแด่พระสงฆ์

เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. เริ่มทำพิธีถวายสลากภัต มี รั้วศีล ถวายสลากภัต

เทศนาอันสงฆ์สลาก ๑ กัณฑ์ จบแล้วถวายเครื่องไทยทาน พระสงฆ์อนุโมทนาเป็นเสร็จพิธี

ในการจัดทำบุญถวายสลากภัตครั้งนี้ นับเป็นครั้งแรกของวัดอมราวาส จึงขอถือโอกาส
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โดยทั้งถึงกัน

คณะกรรมการวัดอมราวาส
เจ้าภาพ

September 23, 1967

⁽⁴⁶⁾
Sàlà.kkàphàt at Wát 'ommára.wâ.t

Because I had to take Sǎṇa. to Chiang Mai on Thursday and Friday and just returned this afternoon, I was unable to return to the ceremony at wat 'ommára.wâ.t. However, Jane, Nicholas, La. and La's sister (our landlady) attended the ceremony. The offering that our family made consisted of an earthen ware water vase filled with uncooked rice (khâ.osǎ.n) into which was stuck a 'money tree'. This latter is a bamboo tree decorated with artificial flowers and pieces of money. On ours was placed 15 baht from us and 10 baht from Sǎṇa. Jane also took our silver khǎn filled with the traditional offerings of worship, flowers, candles, and incense.

Jane said that other people's offerings at the wát consisted in part of ones like ours and in part pails filled with dry food (or foods that could be kept for several days) and other things (money tree, khâ.osǎ.n, etc.).

Jane said that the things in the khǎn were presented in the usual way at the beginning of the ceremony. The sàlà.kkàphàt offering was first taken away by a member of the organizing committee, then, when her turn came, she was taken to a monk and a member of the organizing committee said to the monk that this person came to make an offering. Jane said that she wasn't aware of numbers being stuck into the offerings or of the gifts being presented by 'lottery'--although she may not have been attuned to this facet of the ceremony.

A Burmese orchestra played outside the wihǎ.n where the ceremony was held. ⁽⁴⁷⁾

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Karen Businessmen in Mae Sariang

George Po came over this afternoon to talk about a letter he had received from Professor Cady. He was so obviously looking for a job that it was almost painful.

While talking with him, we asked about Karen businessmen or shopkeepers in Mae Sariang. He gave us a similar story to the one which Benny had given us. There was a Karen landowner (married to a Shan) who also owned a small shop in the market. His daughter was married to Wichian who in turn is half Chinese. The only variation on the story is the ownership of the small shop. The wife of the Karen, being Shan, not khonmyan, and not knowing whether Wichian was half Lua' or not.

I wonder if Karens make any distinction between Shans and khonmyan.

He also said that when he first came here (13 years ago) there were only three Chinese merchants each of whose name he prefaced by the title čik, that is čèk. Na.i Tha.n's father, Na.i Wichian's father and sǒmbàt, the owner of the hotel were the three Chinese in question. However, he said that there were ð now a large number of mixed bloods.

September 25, 1967

[41] Invitation to the sàlà.kkàphàt ceremony of Wát Čo.m cê.ŋ

Today I received a hand-written invitation to attend a sàlà.kkà-phàt ceremony at wát Čo.m cê.ŋ. This was the information contained in the note. "We the congregational group of Wát Čo.m cê.ŋ are pleased to invite you to come together with us to make merit in the festival of presenting sàlà.kkàphàt (ta.nts.ŋ) at Wát Čo.m cê.ŋ on the 26th of September 1967 (8th day of the waning of the moon, 12th lunar month, northern reckoning).

Time: 12:30

Congregational Group of Wát Čo.m cê.ŋ"

[42]

September 26, 1967

(43) Sàlà.kkàphàt Ceremony at Wát Čo.m cê.ŋ

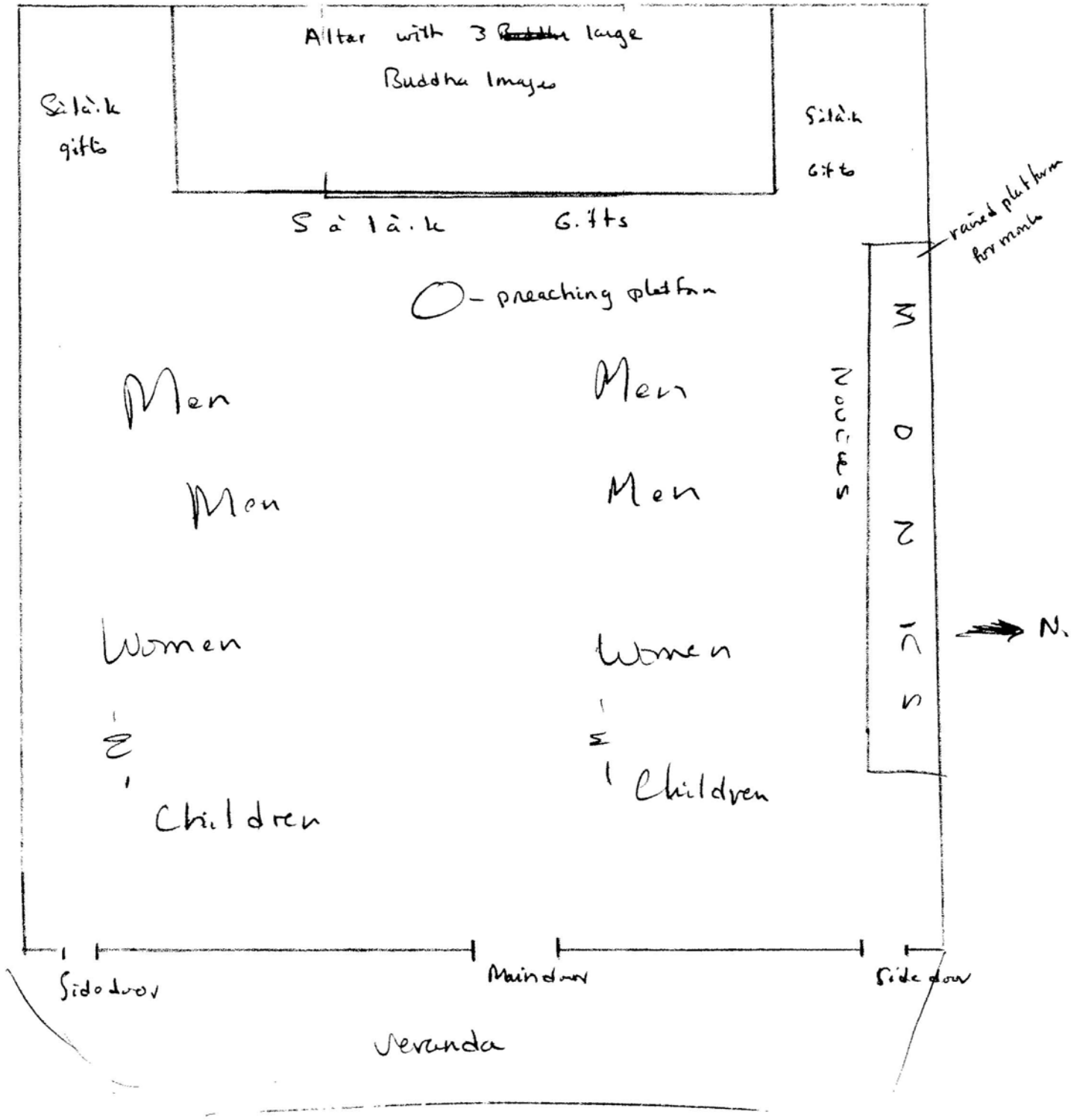
A little after 12:30 today I arrived at wát Čo.m cê.ŋ to witness and participate in the sàlà.kkàphàt ceremony. I was accompanied by Čít, Čít's son Khè.k, and Săŋa.. I couldn't go earlier or stay too long because Peter and Sally were visiting at midday and Jane and Nicholas were not well.

When we arrived, the majority of the people were in the wihă.n or just outside on the porch and entering the neighboring să.la, although some people were milling around. A khonmyaŋ orchestra~~d~~, consisting primarily of a long drum and gongs, was playing on the veranda of the khúti. The inside of the wát was arranged something as follows: (see next page).

I did not take a sàlà.k gift, rather I took the silver khă, filled with flowers, candles, incense and an envelope containing 25 baht. I made the presentation of these in front of the main monks shortly after I arrived. There were containers for flowers and incense in front of these monks. With each bunch of flowers I made a separate wâi. I did the same with the incense. I didn't see any candles in the offering for the monks so I kept these back. I also presented the envelope with the money to the monks. I then retired to a sitting position in the central part of the wihă.n.

Some chanting had been going on when we arrived but I was too dis-oriented to get it recorded. However, once back in the center, I started recording in the midst of a layman's chant of presentation of the gifts. This was done in formalized northern Thai. This was followed by another person (monk ?) whom I could not see because

[43]



[43]

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[45] he was sitting behind a post. He was also chanting in formal northern Thai. During this chant a layman took a bà.t or monk's alms bowl and filled it with slips on which numbers were written. These numbers corresponded to the numbers attached to each offering. The bà.t was passed to each monk and novice who selected a slip (càp sàlà.k (နံပရာက)). One monk then followed around with a notebook and wrote the name of the monk, his wát, and the number he selected. After all the monks and novices had selected their numbers several lay leaders also took numbers.

During the course of the ceremony firecrackers were set off.

When the chanting ended, chimes were struck.

Then the monks chanted their official acceptance of the offering.

This chant was in the northern Thai form (sùat kammuan).

This was followed by a chant by the chief layman in formalized northern Thai.

Then there was a short introductory sùat by the chief monk and then the truat ná.m in Thai style chanting by all the monks.

Then the gifts were distributed. This was done by a layman reading off the lists made by the one monk. When the gift was announced, it was taken outside to the pavilions surrounding the wát. Here the donor and monk would have a private presentation and thank you. As there were more gifts than monks, the remaining ones were given to wát cō.m cê.ŋ. Those given to particular monks and novices were taken home to the monk's or novice's home wát.

After the distribution was through there was another short chant by the laymen (unrecorded) and then the ceremony was over. [46]

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(44) The gifts in this case consisted primarily of buckets filled with khâ.osă.n, vegetables, fruits, canned foods, fresh fruits that can be kept (Cit emphasized that the gifts of food must be of the type that can be kept for a long time). There were also earthenware vases, utensils of various sorts (particularly brooms), etc. Each offering had a piece of paper attached telling who its donor was.

The people who attended the ceremony came primarily from the neighborhood and included some Lua' from Bâ.n Phé'.

I noticed that this ceremony, as in all other Thambun I have seen in Mae Sariang, the people often hold flowers, and popped corn and sometimes incense in between their hands when sitting in the wâi position. (45)

September 27, 1967

Interview with the Abbot of Wát Čanthára.wâ.t

This afternoon Čit took me to Wát Čanthára.wâ.t (Wát manta.le.) where we talked to Phrá' Ya.níka. (พระยาอินทร์), the abbot.

When we entered the wát we were confronted primarily ~~with~~ by the large new sǎ.la. which is under construction. We met the abbot near the new building and spent most of the initial conversation in (and on) the sǎ.la.. The abbot said that the Phanasit Company had donated 57,500 baht towards the construction of the sǎ.la.. This represents the vast majority of 60,000 baht the abbot estimates the sǎ.la. will cost. The old sǎ.la. (wíhǎ.n ?) of which the abbot later showed me a picture was built in traditional Burmese style. But, unfortunately, it was beginning to fall down and had to be replaced. Since no workmen know how to construct in the old Burmese style, this new building will not be in the same style, although it does have the several layers of roofs characteristic of Burmese wáts.

Čit said later that the donation from the Phanasit Co. came in part from the Company and in part from the family who owns the company (this corroborates Mark Anderson's story). 368
the fact that the family which owns the Phanasit Co. is originally Mo.n explains why this wát was chosen.

The abbot says that this wát is 60 years old and has the local name of wát Manta.le. because the first abbot was from Mandalay.

The bò.t at the wát is a small building made of concrete. It has a dedication in Thai on the mantel before the entrance. The sě.ma. which surround the bò.t are not like Thai sě.ma. but are sides of un-

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carved stone. On one of the pillars of the new sǎ.la. there was some writing in Burmese. In front of the new sǎ.la. is an unusual bell. There is also a smaller sǎ.la. built in the same style as the bò.t. Finally, there is a khútí which is also used as a place where services are held.

I asked the abbot~~y~~ about any special ceremonies which are held at this wát. He says that in the 12th month, northern reckoning, or about November, there is a ceremony called tha,n khâ.o phrá' cǎo lǎn (งานทำพระเข้านาง). Although this ceremony is held in every wát, it has a special form here. Also at the Wítsàkha.bu.cha. ceremony people come especially to worship at the sacred Bo tree (tôn pho. - ต้นโพธิ์). This tree came originally from Ceylon via Burma.

We then talked about Burmese wáts in Thailand. The abbot~~y~~ took us to the khútí where he brought out a list of Burmese wáts whose monks are included in a Burmese clerical organization called kháná sǎn phámâ. (คณะสงฆ์พม่า). The headquarters of this organization (อธิบดีสงฆ์) is in Lampang and the chief monk or 'athíbòdi.sǎn/lives in the Lampang wát of Wát Thâ.má'ò. (วัดท่ามะโอ). This wát also teaches in Burmese as well as in Thai, Apparently the only wát to teach in Burmese. A number of Burmese wáts included in this association by province are as follows:

Bangkok	3
Lampang	11
Chiang Mai	10
Chiangrai	3
Mê. Hô.ñ Sǎ.n	6
Tà.k (Mê. Sò.t)	2

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Phrs.	1
TOTAL	36 (33 in the north)

In Mĕ. Hô.ṅ Sǎ.n province the breakdown is as follows:

Amphə. Pa.i	1
Mae Sariang	4
Khǔn Yuam	1

In his own statement, as distinct from the official listing, the said abbot~~s~~ of the Burmese wát in Khǔn Yuam had been transformed into a mixed Burmese-Shan wát. There is apparently another Burmese wát, at Mĕ. la.lǔaṅ (located about 50 kilometers from Mae Sariang). In Mae

Sariang the wáts listed in the official listing as Burmese are Wát (วัดของสงฆ์ หรือ วัดของสงฆ์) (วัดสงฆ์) (วัดสงฆ์), another name cho.ṅsǔ.ṅ, wát cānthára.wá.t, wát sùsǎ.n (วัดสุสาน), another name (วัดของสงฆ์) for wát 'ommára.wá.t and wát čw.ṅ kham, the wát near the landing on the river.

I inquired a bit more about each of these wáts.

1. Wát cho.ṅsǔ.ṅ or cho.ṅsǔ.ṅ. This wát has 4 monks and 2 novices. All the clergy are from here, although they are descendants of Shan. It is known as a Shan wát.
2. Wát čw.ṅ kham. It has 1 monk and no novices. The monk is from here and a descendant of Shan (according to Čít he doesn't speak any central Thai). It is also a Shan wát.
3. Wát pà hiao or wát sùsǎ.n or wát 'ommára.wá.t. It has 2 monks and no novices. Both monks were ordained in the Thai rather than the Burmese way (apparently in contrast to the other monks in the Burmese wáts). The older monk is a descendant of Burmese and has traveled to

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Burma. The younger monk, the abbot~~t~~, is a Karen. It is known as a Táungsa or Taungthu wát.

4. Wát čanthára.wâ.t. It has 2 monks and ~~no~~ novices. The abbot~~t~~, the man who I am interviewing, is from Burma and the second monk is from Mê. Sò.t (a descendant of Burmese). It is known as the Mandalay wát because the original abbot~~t~~ came from Mandalay.

According to the abbot~~t~~ the qualifications^{for} in a Burmese wát ~~would~~^{ing} be/an abbot~~t~~ of a wát includes the following:

- a. 10 lents in the monkhood
- b. ability to chant the Patimoka
- c. knowledge of the Sangha
- d. understanding of the teaching of the phrá'mísù.t (?)
- e. being able to give sermons so that other monks can understand them

I asked about the 'congregation' of the wát. They are mainly Burmese with some local people who live in this area (even though the sermons are given in Burmese). The Burmese of Mae Sariang come from many places in Burma, not just from one specific area. There is no wát committee. There is just a wát council or sàphă (สภา).

There is always a Thô.t kàthĭn in this wát although no sponsor has come forth as yet. It may end up being a kàthĭn sãmmákhi., that is, a kàthĭn in which a large number of people join together in sponsoring the ceremony. [Actually the thô.t kàthĭn of this wát is sponsored every year by the Phanasit Co.]

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There is no sàlà.kkàphàt ceremony at this wát and it is not usual for Burmese wáts to have it. Note: it was the first time the ceremony was every held at wát pà háo. However, we did discuss the meaning of the ceremony. I asked what ts.n (๖๖๗๙๖) meant. He said that it is cognate with ths.n (๖๖๗๙๖), the central Thai word, meaning to substitute for. I asked if this meant the offerings were given in memory of the dead. However, both Čít and the abbot~~z~~ said this wasn't the case, but I didn't quite understadd what was meant.

Returning to the question of Burmese wáts, I asked if any of the Karen wáts were included in the Burmese organization or followed the Burmese way. He said that wát Mê. há.n used to be Burmese, but now it has changed to be Shan. [Sometimes the abbot~~z~~ makes a distinction between the Shan and Burmese, while other times he says they are the same.] He said the Shan wáts in Mê. Hă.ŋ Sŏ.n are not included in the Burmese organization, but that they can give sermons in Burmese. The Burmese organization of Thailand has been in existence only ten years.

I asked about divisions of the order in Burma comparable to the Thammáyútníka.i and Mähă.níka.i in Thailand. He answered that the equivalent of the Thammáyútníka.i is called Shweigin (?sp.) and the equivalent of the Mähă.níka.i is what he called Thatthama (?sp.). Both types are represented in Thailand or rather the Burmese organization here follows the middle way between the two.

He then brought out the monks registration book which is known as the năŋsŭ.sùthí (หนังสือสถิธิ). And with this in hand I gathered a few things about his life. He was born in 1923 in the town of Sàka.i

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(transliterated from the Thai spelling). He was ordained as a novice at the age of 10 in 1933 and ordained as a monk at the age of 20 in 1943. He came to Thailand in 1957 and lived for two years in Bangkok and then moved to Mae Sariang in 1959. He made his first and only return trip or visit back to Burma in 1963 and spent 3 months there.

I noticed that he had a Burmese calendar and Ćit asked him if he got it and books and things from Burma. He said that the Burmese consul in Chiang Mai got things for the Burmese wát.

We glooked at the Buddha images on the shrine. He said that most of them came from Mandalay at a time when traffic between Burma and Thailand was easy.

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[53] Interview with the Abbot of wát sithimongkhon and the Kamnan of Tambon Mae Sariang

Today Jane, Čit and I went to wát sithimongkhon to interview the abbot who is also the čáo kháná tambon (เจ้าคณะตำบล). Also present at the interview was the Kamnan, I believe of Tambon Mae Sariang. This man is very interesting in that he is a central Thai who came here 30 years ago as a policeman and settled down here.

We first discussed the sàlà.kkàphàt ceremony. Wát Sithimongkhon is holding this ceremony on Saturday. I inquired if the ceremony could be to make merit for people who had died. Although Čit had said that it couldn't be a sàkhátha.n (offering for the dead) offering, both the abbot and Kamnan said that it could be. The Kamnan said that in olden times the monks didn't draw the sàlà.k slips, but the laymen drew them for the monks. However, now monks draw their own slips. At wát č.o.m cê.ŋ when I saw laymen drawing slips, they were drawing for monks who had been invited to the ceremony but they lived so far away they couldn't come. I asked the abbot if there were a certain number of monks who were invited. He said no and the Kamnan said it depended how many the people wanted to invite. The abbot said, I believe, that sometimes as many monks are invited as there are Buddha images in the wát. In wát sithimongkhon there are 18 images.

I then described the khâ.osà.k ceremony in the northeast. This and the Bun pràdàpdin do not exist in the north. Bun khâ.oci. does however. (also called Bun khâ.o ki.) It occurs in the 5th lunar month, northern reckoning. The Kamnan said that he didn't think [54]

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(54) khâ.osà.k was related to wansà.t, a Brahmanistic ceremony in the central Plains.

Since the abbot is the čào kháná tambon, I asked the abbot about organization of the Sangha at this level and about the wáts under him. There are 4 čào kháná tambon in Amphə Mae Sariang. The abbot said that the boundaries of these administrative districts sometimes include two tambons. In actual fact as I discovered in planning out the wáts under the abbot, the tambon in the church structure may be quite different from the tambon in the administrative structure (this may be a function of the fewer number of wáts in Mae Sariang as compared with other areas of the country). The following is the list of seats of čào khána' tambon, the number of wáts, and the nominal administrative Tambon in which these wáts are located. (54)

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SANGHA ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF WÁTS IN MÁE:

SÀRIANG DISTRICT*

Seat of the Cáo Kháná Tambon	No. of Wáts Under Him	Administrative Tambon in which these wáts are located
Wát Chaiyalâ.p ไชยลาป	8	{ Tambon Bân Kâ.t (บ้านกาต) Tambon Mãe. La. Nq̄.i (แม่ลาห้อย)
Wát Sĭ.bunryang สิบบุรุษ	8	Tambon Mãe. Sàriang (แม่บัวสีอง)
Wát Ná.m Dĭp น้าตึบ	5	{ T. Mãe. Yuam (แม่อวม) T. Mãe. Khong (แม่คง)
Wát Sĭthĭmongkhon สิทธิมงคล	6 (or 7)	{ T. Mãe. Khátuan (แม่ตวน) T. Kq̄.ng Kq̄.i (คงแก้ว)
TOTAL	25 (or 26)	

* Information according to the abbot of Wát Sĭthĭmongkhon.

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(S)

The following is a list of wáts, their location, the number of their inhabitants, and the ^fethnic identification of the village in which they are located, which are under the cǎo kháná tambon living in wát sithimongkhon. [S]

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WATS UNDER THE CẢO KHÁNA TAMBON WHO LIVES IN WÁT SITHIMONGKHON*

Wát	Location	No. Monks	No. Novices	Ethnic Identification
Sithimongkhon สีหิมงคล	City/T. Mãe Sàriang (แม่สารียง)	2	5	Khonmyang
Phá.phá. ผาผา	T. Mãe. Khátuan (แม่ต๋วน)	4	8	khonmyang
Mái ไม้	ditto	1	1	Lua' --> Khonmyang
Mãe. Khátuan แม่ ต๋วน	ditto	4	7	Khonmyang **
Ko.ng Kõ.i กอง ก้อ	T. Ko.ng Kõ.i + (กองก้อ)	1	5	Lua' ***
Húi Sỉng ห้วยสิง	T. Mãe. Yuam, (แม่ยาม)	1	6	Lua' ****
Húi Sa.i ห้วยสาย	ditto	0	0	Lua' *****
TOTAL		13	32	

* Information according to the abbot of Wát Sithimongkhon.

** There apparently used to be a Shan element in this village, but no more.

*** The monk in this village, however, is khonmyang and comes from Chiangmài.

**** Although the monk in this wat is Lua', he can speak only kammuan.

***** There was a monk in this wat but he is currently away studying.

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[56] We discussed the participation of Lua' and Karen in Buddhism. The abbot of Sⁱthimongkhon said that the only Karen wát in the district was Bâ.n M^ê. Hă.n in Tambon Bâ.n Kà.t. There has also been Karen from Bâ.n M^ê.la.ma. (မောင်လားမာ) and Bâ.n Kh^ũn Wong (ကျွန်းဝွံ) who have been ordained as novices. A Karen from Bâ.n M^ê.wai, Tambon Thâ. S^õ. η Ya. η (ယောဝို, က. ကံသံသရာ) offered to give money in the ordination ceremony ^{of} ~~and~~ someone who will be ordained in Bâ.n Phă. Phà. However, the abbot said that Karens usually do not know enough Thai (kammyan) to be able to be ordained. However, the abbot thinks that it will be good if there were more who were ordained because they would learn more Thai and more about Buddhism at the same time.

As to Lua', they are rarely ordained as monks, although a number are ordained as novices. In addition to those from vil^lages given in the above table Lua' had/also been ordained as novices in wát kⁱttiwong, wát \check{c} o.m c^ê. η , and wát \check{c} o.m th^o. η . Lua' were present in fairly large numbers at the sà.là.kkàphàt ceremony at wát 7 \check{c} o.m c^ê. η . They came from Bâ.n Ph^é'. Sometimes Karen and Lua' make merit at wát sⁱthimongkhon. I mentioned that it was strange that Karen Buddhists do not affiliate with Burmese wáts. This did not elicit any response, but it did lead to a comment by the kamnan and seconded by the abbot that those who attend Burmese wáts are too attached to their own nationality (châ.t niyom).

I asked if the Karen followed Buddhism in a different way from Thai Buddhists. After considerable efforts to explain what I meant (with \check{C} it's help) and describing Ted Stern's findings in Kanchanaburi the abbot did ~~w~~ say that there was a Karen/M^ê. S^ò.t who was a famous teacher.

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^{Esc} This led me into a series of questions about the khru.ba. khǎo (ကုတဘာ) who lives in Amphə. Li. and is famous among the Karen and Lua'. I was told by both the abbot and the kamnan, much the same story as Donna Markham had gotten in Chiang Mai. This man is a defrocked monk, forced to leave the monkhood because he cut timber without official permission. Currently he lives in a wát in which there are no monks. He has a large following because of his good works and encouraging development in helping people. He is one of a number of people who wear white robes and are known as "white robes" (phá. khǎ.o ခါဘာ). The most common of the "white robes" are nuns, but men can wear them as well. The kamnan says that the people who wear the white cloth have clean or pure minds or souls (čítčai sà 'à.t ခိုင်စမ်းစရာ). They often live in wáts but is not necessary that they do so. Women also practice Vipassana.

We also talked about local history, much of which I lost, because the kamnan spoke very rapidly and didn't give me time to take notes. However, among the things I did gather were the following. Neither the kamnan nor the abbot know of any books on local history. The district officer tried to find one a few years ago but was unsuccessful. The kamnan says that when he first came, he saw an old book at the police station, but it disappeared.

When the word khǔn (ကျွ) appears in the title of a village, it indicates the title was given to the headman (usually Lua') and later incorporated into the name of the village. The village of Khǔn Yuam used to be a Lua' village, but now it is entirely a Karen (ကျွ)

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village.

The tribute which Mae Sariang used to send to Chiang Mai was a type of orchid known as 'ûansè' (^u ^u ^u ^u ^u ^u).

The kamnan believes that all of the original inhabitants of Mae Sariang were Lua' and that the khomnyan came from Chiang Mai. As I already knew, there used to be a moat around the city. In the local language this was called khu. wian (^u ^u ^u ^u ^u) and in Thai khu. myan (^u ^u ^u ^u ^u). The old town was a square and I received some additional information about the old city.

Two villages in this area used to be filled with bandits---Bâ.n Mè.khátuan (^u ^u ^u ^u ^u ^u) and Bâ.n Mái (^u ^u ^u ^u ^u). They had a mixed population. In addition Mae Sariang was also subject to the tax by Red Karen (ya.η ds.η ^u ^u ^u ^u). For this reason the ruler of Chiang Mai had to send very tough people to govern here. These comments were all made by the kamnan.

The abbot said that this temple is about 150 to 160 years old.

Miscellaneous Notes

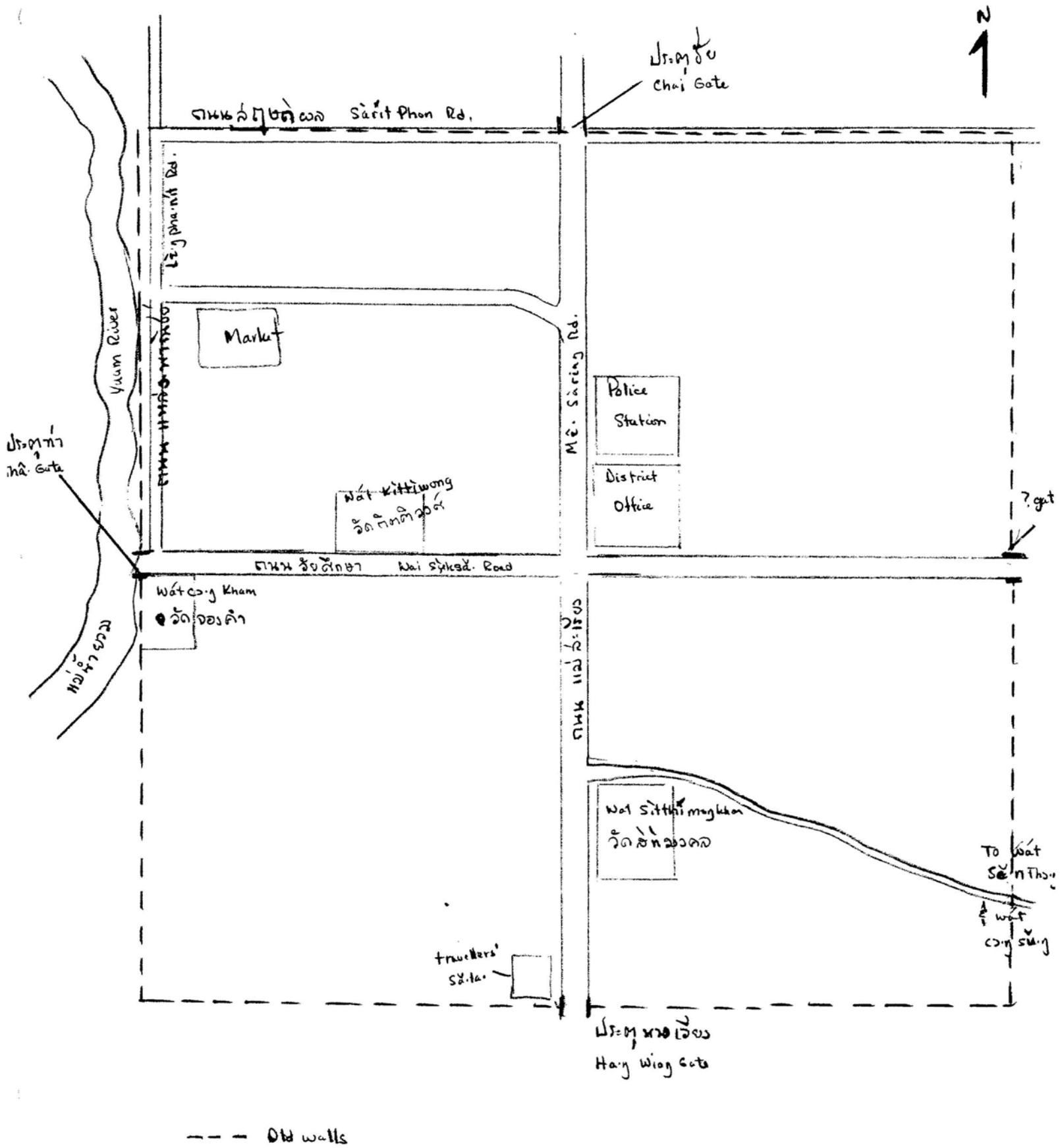
The name of the big shop in town which is supposed to be owned by half Chinese, half Lua', married to a half Karen, half Shan has the official name of 3.m 'a.ri. (^u ^u ^u ^u ^u). This apparently is the surname of the owner.

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Original scanned version of typed notes

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[10] Sàlà.kkàphàt Ceremony at Wát Sìthìmongkhon

This morning about 9:35 Jane and I went to wát sìthìmongkhon to observe another sàlà.kkàphàt ceremony. When we arrived, people were bringing the sàlà.k gifts into the wihă.n (this wát has no bò.t). Monks were still gathering in the kùthí and children were playing around the wát grounds. In the kùthí a police Capt. Să.m Wăidi. (นายร้อยตำรวจเอก เสริม วัฒณี) was playing central Thai music on an instrument something like a sitar called a Khím (ขิม). Mr. Să.m said that the instrument was of Chinese origin and that the wood of the instrument also came from China. Below the kùthí children were playing with long drums and gongs [recorded both music, especially that of the khím].

In the kùthí priests and novices continued to filter in until about 11:00. At the same time women and a few men brought food into the kùthí. This was dished out and placed on low tables. About 11:15 the monks and novices sat down around these tables and began eating without any ceremony. At this point we left the kùthí and went to the wihă.n. Čit, who had joined us, said that the monks would chant a suat phon (สวดมนต์) after eating and then move into the wihă.n.

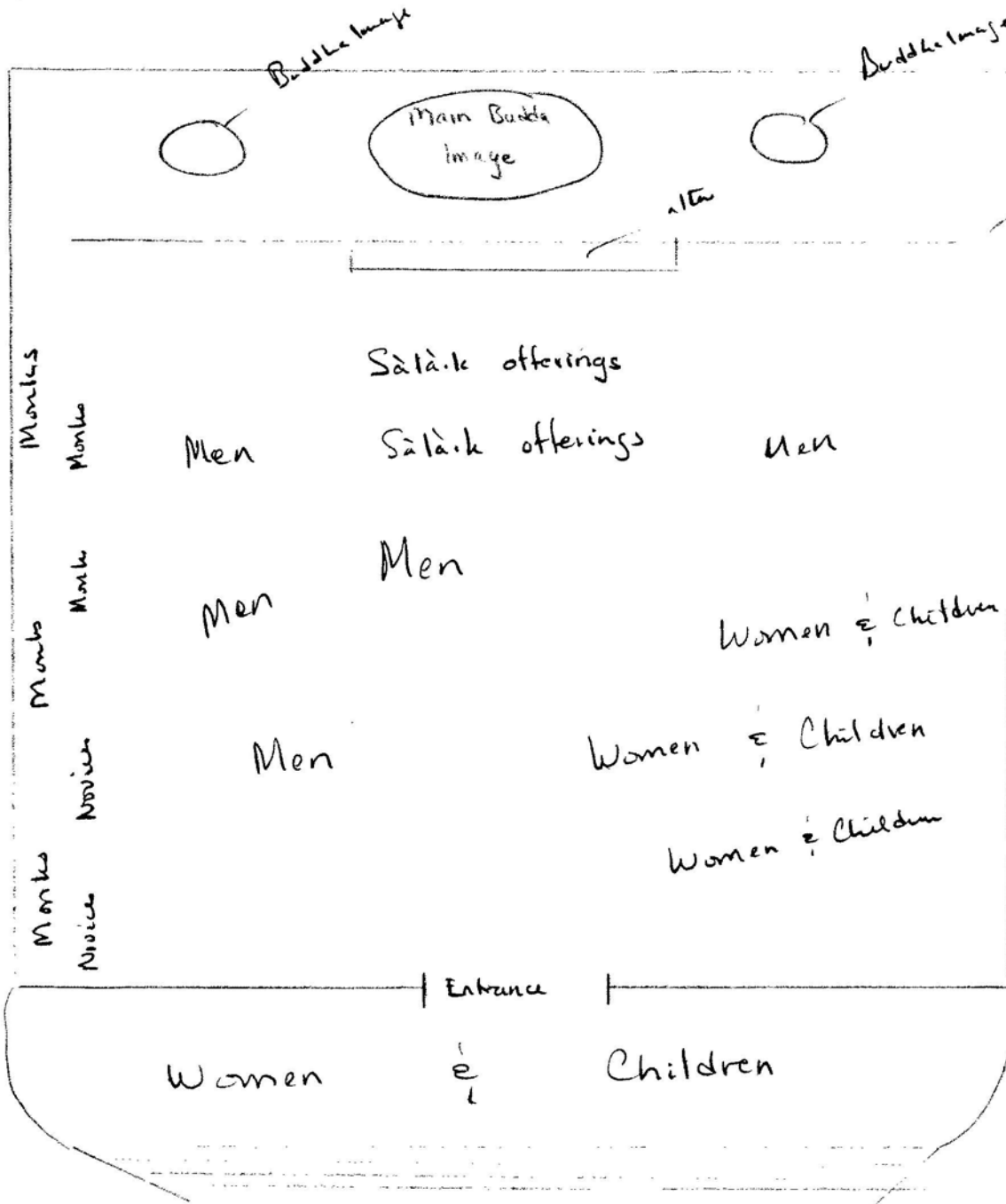
While waiting for the monks, I had an opportunity to observe in more detail the arrangements in the wihă.n. There were not nearly as many people as at wát čv.m cê.ŋ. The abbot said that only about 30 households (langkha.ryan) normally provide food for wát sìthìmongkhon as compared to over 100 at wát Čv.m cê.ŋ. Among people carrying things into the wihă:n was one woman wearing a Karen blouse. Most of the women, however, were dressed in Burmese silk phă.sín and plain houses-- the dress of the khonmjan women on festive occasions. There were more men present than I might have expected, including several bachelors [10]

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[60] and a number of employees from the Phanasit Co. However, today being a Saturday, means that many men who work 9 to 5 jobs could come. [Seeing men from the Phanasit Co. present, I asked Čit if this was the wát he regularly made m^erit at. He said he didn't go to any particular wát. If he were a native of Mae Sariang, he would probably make merit at his 'neighborhood' wat. But since he is an outsider, he goes to different wáts on different occasions.] The setting of the wihā.n was something as follows. [61]

[61]



[61]

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(๔๖) Distributed around the wihă.n were dishes containing hand-rolled cigarettes and mian, spittoons and water jugs. These were for the use of the people attending the ceremony.

I noted that the 3 Buddha images all had decorated cloths around their tops called phâ.hòm (ผ้าห่ม), literally 'blankets' or 'shawls'. I asked if these shawls were changed every season as is the case for the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok. The old man who was sitting near me said no they were ^{changed every} year on the first Wan phrá' after 'o.k phansă.', that is, eight days after the end of Lent (wan 8 khâm). They are replaced by similar cloths of the same color. The old cloths are kept and used for other purposes around the wát. Actually on the same day as when the cloths are changed a ceremony is held during which the whole wát is set in order (tân wát (ตั้งวัด)).

I then turned my attention to the sàlà.k offerings. As I have noted before they are goods and food which does not need to be consumed immediately. Among the things I saw in the various offerings were money (usually in 'trees'), sugar cane, bananas, coconuts, other types of fruit, cooked corn, takrai, canned fish, plates, bread (really sweet rolls) rulers, notebooks, soap, khâ.osă.n, matches, brooms, candles, flowers, incense, khrujan bu.cha., in a single collection, water jugs, glasses, etc., etc. Most of the offerings were placed in tin buckets, but some were in water basins and others in baskets.

Each offering was marked with a 'flag' on which was written the number to be used in the ceremony. In addition to each was attached a piece of paper on which was written either in Thai script or in northern Thai script the names of the donor and the person to whom the merit

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(๖) made in this ceremony was to be given. When the merit is "given away", it is directed to someone dead (thus corroborating the other information, including the abbot's explanation of the ceremony during the day, that the sàlà.k offerings are usually for the dead). I made copies of two of the "dedications".

" It is the faithful intention of Mr. Nfo Bunryan together with [his] wife and all his children to make an offering for merit. The merit accrued is to be kept to be used [literally, 'to eat'] in the future. It is in accordance with [the donors] wishes that the blessings be four-fold: age, complexion (or caste), happiness and physical strength with thə.n sàwă.thú, etc. [๖]

เจตนาดีทำบุญ นพคุณนี้ มีเรื่อง ทำด้วยดีด้วยดี และ บุญเต็ม ๆ ทุกคน
ขออุทิศส่วนกุศล แด่คุณอันนี้ ให้เสวยสุขทั้งนี้ ขอด้วยปราถนา
ด้วยดี [๖๖] [๖๖] มี อารยธรรมะ สุจริต และ ด้วย บุญ
สวาท ๆ ๆ

[๖๖]

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[63] It is the faithful intention of Mrs. T³.n as [the main donor] together with Mrs. Nuan and Mrs. Duangt³. and also with her husband and all her children to dedicate an offering to Mrs. Khampan, her mother, who has already been carried away [i.e., died]. Let this merit be sent [to her]:'

จดหมายถวาย นาง ต่อม เป๊ยก เก้า ท้อมด้วย นาง นวน และนาง ดวงคำ
พร้อมด้วยสามี และลูกเต้า ทุก ๆ คน ขออุทิศ ให้ มารดาซึ่ง ผู้
เป๊ยก แม่ ที่ ๙ ได้ ลอยลับไปแล้ว ขออุทิศส่วนบุญ ไปทอด ไปยัง
ไว้ ๖ เดือน

The dedications are written in Thai script and a northern Thai script and even written in Central Thai script. Sometimes the dedication is still in northern Thai (but not always).

At almost 12:00 noon exactly the priests and novices filed in. When they had seated themselves, there were 12 monks on the platform, 8 monks seated on the floor in front of them and 5 novices in the same row as the monks on the ground (the abbot had said that more than 20 monks would

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[63] attend). The first four monks on the ~~du~~ were the abbot from wát čo.m cê.ŋ (apparently be^{ing} given priority in exchange for the abbot of wát sithimongkhon having been given priority at the sàlà.k ceremony of wát čo.m cê.ŋ), The abbot of wát sithimongkhon and 2 monks from wát čo.m tho.ŋ. Also among the monks were the abbot of wát čanthára.wâ.t and the old monk from wát pà hiao.

During the preparations in the beginning part of the services a layman passed through the congregation making notes on who came to make merit and what the gifts were. The ceremony proper was as follows.

1. The abbot from wát čo.m cê.ŋ led the congregation in a responsive chant.

2. The chief layman chanted the formal opening.

[64] 3. The abbot of wát čo.m cê.ŋ led the congregation in the Namo, etc.

4. The layman then made the formal presentation of the offerings.

Where as before he had been seated facing the monks, he now faced the Buddha images. He read first from a kho.i manuscript and then from a sheet of paper. His presentation was done in formal northern Thai used in religious services.

5. A young monk took the sermon chair and the lay reader moved to sit in front of him. The lay reader requested a sermon. The monk gave a sermon in Central Thai. Although he held a palm-leaf manuscript, he did not read from it, but recited instead from memory. As he said during the sermon this was his first sermon. His nervousness certainly showed it.

6. The abbot of wát sithimongkhon took the sermon chair, but did not [64]

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64) give a sermon (nor did he sit in the preaching position, rather he sat as a Westerner might with his feet on the ground). He gave a brief description of the ceremony and thanked people, including ourselves, for attending.

7. The monks chanted the formal gratitude.

8. The monks chanted the triatná.m.

9. The layman began to call out the numbers of the gifts and the monks and wáts to whom they should be given (the monks had chosen their sàlà.k in the kùthí). As each offering was called out it was set in front of the monk--recipient and the donor sat in front of him to receive the blessing. As the monk gave the blessing he would pour water into a container similar in manner to the pouring of water in the triatná.m. Once all the offerings had been distributed the ceremony was over.

[I recorded all of the ceremony except parts 7 and 8 which I was unable to record because the batteries had given out and had to be changed.]

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