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Confidence Game in the Hills:

On the 1st of April, I received a note from Pete, who was staying in the Karen village of B. Mae Umlong Nó:i (lékókhi), which asked me to telegraph BPP headquarters in M Rim and to talk with the BPP commandant here regarding the appearance of four men in the village who claimed to be Border Patrol Police from Bangkok. These men were, to quote Pete, taking "the names of all men between thirty and forty, supposedly for military registration and are requiring each to pay 40 baht immediately. One claims to be a doctor and offers to sell shots for 20 baht." Pete wanted the BPP to confirm if these men were really bonafide and if not to attempt to apprehend them for impersonating government officials.

The message was carried by a villager from B. Mae Umlong Nó:i. He arrived here very early in the morning, having travelled the better part of the night. I took him to the BPP camp where we talked with the commandant. Between my translation of Pete's note and information obtained from interviewing the Karen villager, the commandant decided that the men in the hills were impostors. He ordered five of his men to go up into the hills in search of them.

Today, Pete came down and I learned something of what happened (also added to by Benny and Paul Zinler who were with Pete). The four men had visited several other villages in the hills demanding much the same thing. They requested B 40 from men over 30 as a "fine" for not having registered for the draft when they were 17 and they requested B 25 from men between the ages of 17 and 30. They said that if the villagers didn't pay, the fines would be increased. Apparently, in a few cases they collected identification cards from villagers. According to Benny, villagers in B. Húi: Hâ:k Má:i, another Karen village, sent for the civil police who also came up in the hills.

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According to Pete, when the real BPP met up with those claiming to be, there was some embarrassment because, reportedly, the four Bangkok-types had credentials proving they were army. All the BPP could do was request that the men report to the district office in Mae Sariang.

Despite their apparent legitimacy, there is no question but that a confidence game is being pulled here. Registration for the draft applies only to those who are literate in Thai (thus, excluding most tribals, especially those over 30) and takes place only at the district office (this according to Khru: Ara:m who visited me today). The hill tribes people, for the most part, have realized this and have refused to pay up. They also were pleased that the police responded to their requests for help because it suggests that the police are really interested in their welfare.

I am sure that this is not yet the end of this story.

Composition of the Provincial Council:

A few days ago I was talking with Mr. Insuan about the composition of the provincial council (to which he was elected). He says that there is a total of 18 members, 4 from Amphə: Myaŋ, 3 from A. Khũn Yuam, 3 from A. Pa:i, and 8 from the district which included both A. Mae Sariang and Kĩŋ A. Mē:la:nó:i. The council will be having its first meeting shortly to elect a chairman.

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Karen Social Mobility:

On the 1st we had the Coats', Peggy Smith (and a guest of the Coats') to lunch in honor of Mark Anderson who was getting ready to leave Mae Sariang (he has now left). During the course of the lunch, we asked the Coats' about a young Karen, named Bun⁷en (Thai name), whom we had recently met at the hostel. The Coats' said that this boy was born in MÊ:Hǎ:n and was more-or-less an orphan. He showed up at the hostel and has since been raised by Benny and Lahsay. He completed MS3 in Mae Sariang and then went on to Prince Royal's College where he completed two years. He continued in study at Chiang Mai Teachers' College for one year and would have liked to take a second year, but he was not successful in his application for the second year. He now wants to be a 'hill tribes' teacher.

The Coats' also said that they had had a visit from the Assistant Headman at the Bòríphút Sùksǎ: school who was talking about some Karen students who have this year. He apparently said that they didn't stand a chance of passing the exam for becoming teachers in the one given in Mae Hong Son and was attempting to suggest alternative means to getting them in as teachers. (Incidentally, even the Coats' admit that placing Karen teachers in Karen village schools will exacerbate the language learning process.)

In Chiang Mai a couple of days ago, we had dinner with Annua and Siri who told us about a Karen lawyer, To:m, who they think is originally from Mae Sariang and is a relative of Khru: Sant. To:m is thinking, according to Annua and Siri, of returning to Mae Sariang to set up practice where he will be in a position to help the Karen. He is a Christian.

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Border Patrol Police:

When I visited the BPP Headquarters the other day, I learned a few things about the BPP. There are 40+ men stationed here. BPP from outside the North make an effort to learn Northern Thai and even a few try to learn some Karen (the commandant knew a few words of Karen) and this contrasts markedly with the district officials.

Khru: Sant:

When we were in Chiang Mai I went to the bank where I met Khru: Sant - probably the highest status Karen Christian (Assistant Manager of the Siam Commercial Bank) in the area. He arranged to travel over to Mae Sariang with us to attend the Baptist Convention which began yesterday.

Khru: Sant says that he is 1/2 P'wo (Fu) and 1/2 S'kaw (Mo). He was born in Lampa:η, but raised in Mae Sariang where his father moved (to be evang. christian ?).

Education and Hill Tribes:

This morning Khru: Ara:m visited and helped me in working up the school survey form. I asked him if there were to be any new schools this year in hill tribes villages. He said that there will be one at Mê:Hô' (Tribal Development Center) and that the villagers at B. Hôai Pla: Kûη (บ้านห้วยปลาตั้ง) have built a school, but there are no teachers to fill the positions. Filling posts in hill tribes village schools is a major problem. For example, this year there will be two grades in Bâ:n Chê:η Mô: (last year there was one

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because it was the first year) and there will be an additional 30+ students. Thus, there is a need for two teachers in the village. However, Khru: Ara:m himself has quit and they haven't even found a replacement for him, much less someone to fill the second spot. The girl teacher at B. Húai Hô:m would like to be replaced (she is one of the few girl teachers who have stuck it out alone in the mountains), but there is no one to replace her.

Ordination of Novices - Shan Style:

I talked with the CKA this afternoon. I mentioned to him about the ceremony at Wát Ommára:wâ:t three days after the ordination of novices there. He said that this was a Shan custom called ô:npô:i (ဝဲၵ်းပိၵ်း). He said something like this - that the people come to present food to the monks and novices after the ceremony and when they finish the food presentation, they sell the dishes and give the money to the sponsors of the ordination who in turn sponsor this ceremony. This ceremony brings to a conclusion the ordination festivities. [This is a version, I am sure.]

The ordination itself was in Thai style because only two wáts in Mae Sariang can ordain in Burmese style - Wáts Čanthára:wâ:t and Uthaya:rom.

Burmese Influence on Buddhism in Mae Sariang:

I asked the CKA about which monks have studied in Burma - the abbot of Wát Canthara:wâ:t (who is Burmese), the Karen monk at Wát Ommára:wâ:t, the Karen monk at Wát Uthaya:rom, and Phrá? Pan from MÊ:la:Nó:i. The latter was arrested after returning because he had no passport.

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The Wát at Mê:Hă:n is 'Burmese' style because the headman was a novice at Wát Uthaya:rom before it was built and the first monk then was from Wát Uthaya:rom. Since then the monks have been from Khonmyan wáts, but none have stayed long.

A Lúa' Christian:

This evening we were visited by one Ampho:n, a student in MS2 at Bòríphát Sỳksă: and a Lúa' Christian from B. La'u:p. He came to offer to sell us a Lúa' pipe which is peculiar to La'u:p. His parents now live in B. Phé' but they have no land. He says that he didn't do too well on the exams because he had to work so hard at home and couldn't study there. He has five younger siblings and one elder sibling, none of whom are studying. He says he is the first Lúa' to study in secondary school and the only one in B5 school. There are now two more Lúa' (Christian also ?) in the M.S. Sămă:n school. He doesn't yet know what he wants to be, but he would like to continue his studies. He is a student of Don Schlatter.

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Talk with Čão Kháná' Amphə:

This afternoon I spent about two hours talking with the CKA on a wide range of subjects. We talked some about politics. The subject was introduced because, in talking about Nai Thian's mine, I mentioned that it wasn't in Mae Sariang district. The CKA said yes, but that it used to be. The lines between Tà:k and Mae Həng Sən provinces were redrawn at the time the National Assembly existed for electoral reasons. The CKA commented that this redrawing was 'political'. I asked if Mae Sariang had any MP's where there was a National Assembly. He said there were two - both of the Tho:nsàwət family. We then moved into a discussion of politics on a larger scale. He is fairly knowledgeable about Thai political events - mentioning the association of the four N.E. MP's. He didn't express much opinion of his own except to say that he thought national elections would be a good thing. He also said that many Thai were upset by the recent turn of events (Johnson's attempt to begin peace negotiations and his withdrawal from the race for President) because they fear that America will withdraw all of its forces from SEA and that the Communists will move into Thailand.

We also talked about the 'hill tribe' problem. He said that some people are worried that many poor Karens will be attracted to the promises of the Communists. He also said that one of the Thammáča:rík monks had worked among Meo in Tà:k last year. He was impressed by the interest the Meo had in Buddhism - much more so than in Christianity. This year, however, there is no program in the same village because Communist agitators had won over many villagers.

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He showed me a large brick from Kò:ŋ Kǎ:i which people there say comes from an old Lúa' wát. The people in this village, although everyone else refers to them as Lúa', prefer to think of themselves as Khonmuan. There are few people left in the village who still speak Lúa'. Apparently there are some similar bricks in B. Thũŋ Phrá:o.

Two of the novices who were ordained at B. Mē: Tò:p Nǎa have not yet sũh. One of these is the son of the headman of B. Phé'. This headman visited Wát Kittiwong today to find out the exact days of Songkra:n.

There will be another che:di: built in a Karen village next year - in B. Mē: Ngs: which is on the Salwin River.

I mentioned seeing the new novice at Wát Omáara:wá:t wearing 'prayer beads' at the ò:ŋpò:i ceremony. The CKA says these beads are called lú:kpákham (ลูกปัด) or lú:kmă:kam (ลูกขี้หมา) and are worn by monks and novices when they have just been ordained and when in meditation (กรรมฐาน). The necklaces have 108 beads plus 3 beads at the end (for the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha). The CKA thinks that these beads are distinctive to the North (vis-à-vis other parts of Thailand) and agrees with me that they may be of Mahayana origin.

Songkra:n Customs:

The CKA wrote out for me a short summary of the customs associated with traditional New Year or Sǎŋkra:n (สงกรานต์) in Mae Sariang. The following is a translation of this summary (he signed it Phrá' Khru: Anúso:r Sà:tsánák'iat).

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"13 April is called "wan sǎnkhǎ:n lǐ:n" (วันสังขารล่อง).

This day is one for cleaning courtyards and buildings where people live and for washing clothes and dam hũa ('head-bathing') in order to cleanse [these things] of defects. Almost every house has pot in which is placed Bermuda grass (หญ้าเบรมา) and 5-leafed leaf (ใบห้า) . This pot is taken and placed in the house. [This pot] is called mô: sǎnkhǎ:n (หม้อสังขาร) and is [used for] welcoming sǎnkhǎ:n. This pot will be taken and be given to the wát on the 15th where there is merit-making at the wát. This day is the first day of playing with water and throwing water at each other.

"14 April is called "wannào" (วันบ๋น). This day is one for preparing alms and making food [which] will be kept to be presented for making merit on the following day. The popular sweets made here include khanǒm thian ('candle sweet'), khanǒm có:k (ขนมจอก), khanǒm lǐ:t chǐ:n (ขนมลอดช่อง). In the afternoon, young and old alike go to the river and bring sand to build che:di:. This is called "khǒn Sa:i" ("carrying sand") and these che:di: are called "che:di: sa:i" ("sand chedi"). They will be presented in a merit-making ceremony at the wáts on the following day.

"15 April is called "wanphaya:wan" (วันพญาวัน) which is the change in the new Čalásākārā:t and is the day for merit making at the wáts. In the morning is the filling of alms bowls. At noon, the laity begin collecting at the wáts to listen to the New Year Blessing sermon (เทศน์อาทิสงส์ปีใหม่) and other sermons which vary according to the wát (As for wát

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Kittiwong, at noon is the bathing of the holy relic of the Buddha. Wáts which do not have the New Year blessing sermon are Wáts Sǐ:bunryan, Čanthára:wâ:t, Uthaya:rom, Ommára:wâ:t, and Suphãmransǐ. These wáts, besides going to make merit at them, there is also the dam hũa of relatives).

"16 April is called wanpà:kpǐ:. This day the laity go to dam hũa their abbots. This is called "dam hũa tú lũa" (ดำหัวตู้หลวง). There is no set time for this, but it is likely to be held in the afternoon. There is also dam hũa of relatives on this day.

"On this day in the morning at about 7:00 A.M., laypeople who held firmly to the old ways will go together to make the ceremony of worshipping with rice to reduce fate (พิธีบูชาข้าวลดเคราะห์) at wáts also in order to dispel the evil omens of fate and to ward off evil influences and to have good fortune throughout the year until the next cycle.

"17 April is called "wanpa:kdyan" (วันปากเดือน).

"18 April is called "wanpa:kwan" (วันปากวัน).

"On these two days [people] dam hũa different wáts. [This] is called "danhũawát" (ดำหัววัด) [and means] that monks, novices and laity of each wát which is esteemed gather together to danhũawát. Wáts which must not be omitted [in this ceremony] included the wáts of the Čáo khána' Amphe: and Čáo khána' tambon.

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Besides these, wáts that are so honored are those which are appropriate. Usually, they are likely to be wáts with abbots of many lents and who are widely respected.

The custom of dam hũa signifies the asking of pardon of one another. If [one] has offended [anyone] in body, word, or heart, then it is good to seek his pardon. [It is also an occasion] for requesting the precepts and blessings of monks and elders in order that [one will enjoy] happiness and prosperity throughout the year."

To these notes, the CYA also added some other information on the customs associated with Sốngkrai:n. He showed me these sheets of wada:tsa: on which were printed various atha and diagrams. These he called 'candles' and said that they were requested by people especially on the occasion of Sốngkrai:n. He gave the following brief description of each:

- "1. Thian Sàttàphăn (เทียนสี่ตอจ้องท์): It is popular to worship [with this 'candle'] on the 16th of April each year in order to ensure one's having happiness and prosperity in the New Year.
- "2. Thian Nópkró'taŋ káo (เทียนพระพรตราชันี่ตั้งเก๊า). It is a 'candle' used for dispelling the ill omens of fate and is commonly used when one is ill or at New Year.
3. Thian rápbò:t (เทียนอั้งป้อต). It has general usage as well as at New Year."

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I have not been able to find meanings to all the words used, but some of them can be elaborated.

Săṅkhā:n (สังขาร) according to Haus (531) means "the physical and mental constitution of the body", while McFarland (942-3) gives this meaning also (and "being one of the five elements of corporal being"), he also suggests the meaning of 'preparation' which would fit better the significance of the day. Lô:n may mean (McFarland, 731; Mê:t, 68) either "to descend" or "a hole or space between the floor boards into which refuse is swept or thrown." Together these two words suggest cleansing, and preparation of oneself and house for the forthcoming ceremony.

Não (เนา) according to Mê:t (140) means "day between astrological New Year and the beginning of minor era (จุลศักราช), New Years eve of minor era." Phaya: (พญา) is a title meaning leader or supreme one. The significance here is the phaya:wan which means the 'chief day' - i.e. the actual New Year day.

Pa:k means 'mouth' and in the case of the last three days it probably has astrological significance - i.e. 'the mouth of the year', 'the mouth of the month', and 'the mouth of day'.

Sattaphān (สัตตพจน) according to McFarland (846) means "the seven chains, or circles of mountains surrounding Mount ."

Nópkhrá' (นพเคราะห์) means 'planet' (McFarland, 440) and tan:káo means "all nine" - thus, "all nine planets."

All of the customs associated with the 'candles', the CKA says come from Brahmanism.

แนะประเพณีทำบุญวันปีใหม่ (สงกรานต์) ที่แม่สะเรียง
(สำหรับ อาจารย์ ดร.ชาร์ล เอฟ. โคล์ ซึ่งกำลังศึกษาค้นคว้าประเพณีท้องถิ่น)

วันที่ ๑๓ เมษายน - เรียกว่า "วันสังขารล่อง" วันนี้เป็นวันทำความสะอาดบริเวณ
ลานบ้าน อาคารบ้านเรือนที่อยู่อาศัย และซักเสื้อผ้า และคำหัวเพื่อล้างเสนียดจัญไร เกือบทุกบ้าน
จะมีหม้อดิน ๑ ใบ ใส่น้ำ ทุบแพรก ใบคันท้า แล้วเอาตั้งไว้ที่บ้านเรียกว่า "หม้อสังขาร" เป็นการ
ต้อนรับสังขาร หม้อนี้จะนำไปไว้ที่วัดวันที่ ๑๔ ตอนไปทำบุญที่วัด วันนี้เริ่มเล่นน้ำ-รดน้ำกันแล้ว

วันที่ ๑๔ เมษายน - เรียกว่า "วันเนา" วันนี้เป็นวันคลายเครื่องไทยทานมี
ทำอาหารคาวหวานเตรียมไว้ไปทำบุญในวันรุ่งขึ้น ของหวานที่นิยมทำกันมี ขนมเทียน ขนมจอก
ขนมลอดช่อง ตอนบ่ายวันนี้ ชายหญิงทั้งเด็กผู้ใหญ่ หนุ่มสาว จะพากันขนทรายจากแม่น้ำไป
กองเจดีย์ที่วัด เรียกว่า "ขนทราย" เจดีย์นี้เรียกว่า "เจดีย์ทราย" และจะทำพิธีถวายวันรุ่งขึ้น
ตอนไปทำบุญที่วัด

วันที่ ๑๕ เมษายน - เรียกว่า "วันพญาวัน" อันเป็นเปลี่ยนจุลศักราชใหม่และเป็นวัน
ทำบุญที่วัด ตอนเช้าทำบุญตักบาตร ตอนเที่ยงวันเป็นคั้งไปท่ายกทายิกาจะพากันไปฝั่งเทศน์
อาภิสงส์ปีใหม่และธรรมเรื่องอื่นๆ อีก เท่าที่ทางวัดจะจัดบริการได้ (สำหรับวัดกิตติวงศ์
ตอนเที่ยงมีการสงน้ำพระบรมสารีริกธาตุ วัดที่ไม่มีการเทศน์ธรรมอาภิสงส์ปีใหม่มี วัดศรีบุญเรือง
วัดจันทาวาส วัดพุทธารมณ์ วัดอมราวัด วัดสุพรรณรังษี) วัดนี้ นอกจากไปทำบุญกันที่วัดแล้ว
มีการ ไปคำหัวผู้ใหญ่ในเครือญาติ (ญาติก้วย)

วันที่ ๑๖ เมษายน - เรียกว่า "วันปากปี" วันนี้ศรัทธาทยกทายิกาพากันไปคำหัว
เจ้าอาวาสวัดของตน เรียกว่า "คำหัวคู้หลวง" เวลาไม่มีกำหนดแน่นอนแต่มักจะทำกันในตอนบ่าย
และยังมีการ คำหัวผู้ใหญ่ในเครือญาติของอีกเช่นกัน

วันนี้ ตอนเช้าประมาณ ๐๗.๐๐ น. จะมีท่ายกทายิกายู้อยู่ที่คัมภ์ในประเพณีโบราณจะพา
กันไปทำพิธีบูชาข้าวลคเคราะห์ที่วัดก้วย เพื่อเสกาะเสกาะที่ บัดเป่าเสนียดจัญไรออกไป ให้คนได้
อยู่ก็มีสุขตลอดปีใหม่ที่เวียนมาถึง

วันที่ ๑๗ เมษายน เรียกว่า "วันปากเดือน"

วันที่ ๑๘ เมษายน เรียกว่า "วันปากวัน"

ในสองวันนี้เป็นวันคำหัววัดต่าง ๆ เรียกว่า "คำหัววัด" คือพระภิกษุสามเณร
และศรัทธาทยกทายิกาของแต่ละวัดจะพากันไปคำหัววัดต่าง ๆ ที่ตนเคารพนับถือ วัดที่จะเว้นเสียมิได้
มีวัดเจ้าคณะอำเภอ วัดเจ้าคณะตำบล นอกนี้สุดแล้วแต่จะไปตามที่เห็นสมควร ส่วนใหญ่มักเป็นวัดที่
มีเจ้าอาวาสที่อายุพรรษาสูงเป็นที่เคารพนับถือรู้จักมักคุ้นกัน.

ประเพณีคำหัวนี้จุดประสงค์คือ เพื่อขอขมาคารวะต่อกันและกัน หากได้ล่วง
เกินด้วยกาย วาจา ใจ ใด ๆ ก็ถือไปขอขมา อโหสิกรรม กันในวันปีใหม่ และเป็นการขอศีลขอพร
จากพระและบุพพเจ้าผู้แก่ เพื่อความสุขความเจริญของคนในวันปีใหม่ที่ยเวียนมาถึง.

Some Explanation About The Traditional Thai New Year Celebration. By Phra Khru Anusornsāsanakiad

April 13 is called the day of "the Sung khan long" ("won sung khan long").¹ It is the day in which cleaning of the house and the compound grounds, is done as well as clothes washing and hair washing (dum hua) is [thoroughly] done in order to get rid of all [evils] bad omens (saniad jungrai).² Almost every household must have one clay water jar which is filled with water, some Bermuda grass (yā phrag), some leaves of ha tree (หนาม) [Northern Thai term] wā n. Eugenia cumini (Myrtaceae) Mac.924]; are put in front of the house.²⁻³ The jar is called "mo? sungkhan" ["the jar of aging"]; and it is put in front of the house to welcome the sung khan [the agent of aging].³⁻⁴ Eventually, on April 15, the jar will be taken to the monastery temple [and it will be offered to a monk].⁴ Everyone begins to throw water on each other.⁴

April 14, is called "the putrefactive day" (won nau).⁵ It is the day that everyone prepares his/her offerings (kreung thaiya dāne), and [ritual] food for the following morning's merit making ceremony. Some traditional types of desert are prepared: they are called khanom tian and khanom lodchong.⁶⁻⁷ In the afternoon people from every walk of life go to a nearby river to fetch some sand for the sand building cedi event.⁷⁻⁸ It is the day of sand fetching: the cedis are called the "sand cedis" which will be presented to the temple during the following morning's religious ceremony.⁸⁻⁹

April 15 is called the "phaya won day".¹⁰ It is the first day of the new year.¹⁰ It is a merit making day at the monastery temple.¹⁰⁻¹¹ At the temple in the morning, there is a merit making ritual (tham bun tuk batra) in which food is pre-

sented to the monks.¹¹ In the afternoon, the lay community returns to listen to a sermon on "The Merit of The New Year" (ani-song pi mai) and other [appropriately selected] sermons.¹¹⁻¹² (At Wat Kitiwong, at noon, there is the "bathing ceremony" for the relic.¹¹⁻¹² [However], this temple does not offer the Merit of The New Year sermon¹³ which is offered at Wat Sribunreung, Wat Canthawasa, Wat Uthyarom, Wat Amarawasa and Wat Supunrungsri).¹³⁻¹⁴ Besides the morning and the afternoon merit making rituals, there is a performance of the Dum hua ceremony to the elders.¹⁴⁻¹⁵

April, 16, is called "the mouth of the New Year" day (won pak pi).¹⁶ The lay community of each monastery temple, performs the Dum hua ceremony to the abbot.¹⁶⁻¹⁷ It is "the Dum hua tu²lung" ceremony.¹⁷ It usually takes place in the afternoon.¹⁷ After that [every family] performs [a separate] Dum hua ceremony for its elder relatives.¹⁸

At around 7 o'clock in this morning, some members of the lay community, who still believe in the traditional custom, have the Lod krau? ceremony performed at the monastery temple.¹⁹⁻²⁰ The ceremony is performed to eliminate all evils and/or bad omens from the sponsors throughout the new year.²⁰⁻²¹

April 17 is called "won pak duen" day.²²

April 18 is called "won pak won" day.²³

In both days, all monastery temples perform the Dum hua ceremony from one temple to another. These rituals are called "the Dum hua Wat" ceremony.²⁴ In this ceremony, the members of the Sangkha and lay communities together participate in the "Dum hua Wat" ceremony.²⁴⁻²⁵ They take turns performing the ritual in each other's temple [in which a senior monk] whom they

highly respect lives.²⁶⁻²⁷

The core of the Dum hua ceremony is to ask for forgiveness among each other.²⁸ It is a common belief that each individual may have offended each other in body (kaya), in speech (wājā) and in mind (jai), therefore the New Year celebration is the most auspicious and appropriate time to ask for forgiveness from each other.²⁸⁻²⁹ And it is an opportunity to ask for a blessing from the elders in order to have a prosperous life throughout the new year.³⁰

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Ceremony of Sù:p Ca:tă:

Today a ceremony was held at Wát Kittiwong for Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o, a young monk. While the CKA was in Bangkok, according to La'o:, an ex-monk at the wát, one Mǒ: Sanǎn, got very drunk and attacked Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o with a knife. Fortunately, the monk was not seriously injured (he also reported the incident to the police who arrested Sanǎn). But he was very shaken by the incident. An astrologer advised him that he should have performed for him a ceremony, called in N. Thai sù:p ca:tă: (spelt สุปชะตาศา by the CKA and สุปชะตาศา หรือ สุปชะตาศา by Nai Mê:t in his dictionary). In this ceremony, the recipient is to be insured of at least another year of health and well-being.

The CKA said that the ceremony is "connected with continuing age". Both he and Mr. Insuan agree that the ceremony is Brahmanistic, not Buddhist.

Nai Mê:t's dictionary (p. 221) says that sù:p ca:tă: means the worshipping of the nine celestial bodies (Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Saturn, Jupiter, Uranus, Venus, and Neptune) in a merit-making ceremony in order to 'continue ones age' (ชะตาศา) - i.e. to insure continued life in the face of some difficulty, shock, disease, etc. McFarland (p.292) defines cha:ta: (ชะตาศา) as "born; produced; caused; arisen". Haas (p.179) defines chá:ta: or cha:ta: (ชะตาศา, ชะตาศา, ชำตาศา) as "fate, destiny." Mê:t (p. 70) defines cată: (ชะตาศา) as "destiny, fate, time of nativity". Sù:p has the meaning of "to continue" in both Central and Northern Thai.

Although the ceremony today was for a monk, it is by no means restricted to being performed for monks. In fact it is usually held for monks only when they have reached old age, when they have been made an abbot, or when

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they have been raised to some other high status. But, special circumstances led Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o to having this ceremony. When held for a layman, it is held in the home where monks are invited.

The CKA told me that the ceremony must be held in the mornings, before noons. The symbolism here is that the rising sun accords with a person's desire for a continued destiny in this world, whereas a falling sun would not be so auspicious.

The ceremony began about 10:00. It was only attended by a few people - it was a private ceremony to which one had to be invited by "the offering of a candle". Most present were relatives of Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o and were primarily middle-aged and older. The sponsor of the ceremony was the man who has sponsored Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o's ordination and not his real parents.

On the raised platform in front of the khùti were seated nine monks, not including Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o, on whom the CKA was the first. In front of them, and still on the platform, were three 'poles' which were leaned together to make a tipi structure. Each 'pole' was composed of several items, each of which had symbolic significance. There were also other items of symbolic significance set next to the poles. (These are explained by Mr. Insuan on the tape which I made of the ceremony.) Underneath the poles was a rug and on top an unlit candle.

During the opening part of the ceremony, Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o came in and knelt down under the poles. He wâi-ed the image and then the CKA. Then he took up the regular position under the poles, facing the monks. He tied around his head a string which passed through the top of the poles

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and thence to a ball (actually a stick on which the string was wrapped) which was in front of the CKA. This string is the fā:imɔŋkon (สายมงคล) or สายมงคล) or să:i sǐn (สายสิญจน์) as it is called in Central Thai - i.e. the 'sacred thread' that is used in many types of ceremonies in association with chanting.

The ceremony began with the usual old man as lay leader (a:ča:n), leading the congregation in the wāiphrá' (ธรรม) and the khǒ:sǐn (ฆ้อง สามเณร) by the lay leader himself. The CKA then hāisǐn (ฆ้อง and ฆ้อง). It was during the first part that Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o took his place.

Next, the ball of string was unwrapped and passed from monk to monk until all monks were holding the string. Then all of the monks chanted Gatha, but not simultaneously. Many monks were reading from books. These were the Gatha special to this ceremony. some monks, including the CKA, blew on the string as they chanted. Insuan said these Gatha were in both Pali and Northern Thai. The CKA was the last to finish, having read his Gatha at a much slower rate.

Then the Aca:n chanted something, followed by a monk from Wát Sǐ:bunryan (third monk in row) chanting. Then all monks chanted while holding the string. During this chanting, Mr. Insuan went up and lighted a three-pronged candle which was attached to a bà:t filled with sǔmpò:i water in front of the CKA. Later on the CKA held the candle over the water and then finally doused the candle in the water. This chanting ended with the monks still holding the string.

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Then the CKA gave a sermon in Northern Thai, during which he held the string under the sermon text. Other monks were making an effort to hold the string, although it still lay in front of them and in some cases still in their hands.

All this time Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o had been seated under the poles. But when the sermon was finished, PM Kê:o disengaged the string from his head and from the poles and went and sat in front of the CKA. The CKA broke a piece of string and tied P.M. Kê:o's wrists (both of them). He gave a short chant during the tying. P.M. Kê:o then went to the next monk (who was the abbot from Wát Sítthimongkhon) who also tied his wrists, but did not give a chant.

After P.M. Kê:o moved from under the poles, several laymen removed all this apparatus and placed it to one side.

Phrá' Máhá: Kê:o then moved back to stage center (where the still was) and sat there. The CKA then chanted the truatná:m, with the CKA and Phrá'Máhá: Kê:o pouring the water during the chant.

This over, the sponsor of the ceremony and Mr. Insuan took a tray of offerings and presented them to each monk. These offerings included banana leaf packets in which was placed the tobacco, ingredients for betel chew, mían, matches, and traditional cigarettes and envelopes with money. There didn't seem to be enough banana leaf packets for all monks, but there were enough envelopes of money. In presenting them, the laymen would place them in the monk's shoulder bags which the monk held open. A metal basin filled with a coconut, candles, soup, and other such things was also presented to the CKA.

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The gifts distributed, the monks chanted the hâiphon.

This ended the ceremony proper. I then went to talk with the CKA. He explained about another tray of traditional offerings which was in front of him and on which the sermon text had rested. His description is recorded on the tape on which the ceremony is recorded. On this tape, following this explanation, I also recorded the explanation, by Mr. Insuan, of all the apparatus employed in the ceremony.

Although the official ceremony ended with the blessing, the feeding of the midday meal which followed was also part of the event since the food was prepared by the relatives of Phrá' Máhă: Kê:o. The main food was a noodle dish, called locally khāonôm sên. The laity attending were also given dishes of this, but not the other foods given to the monks. When the monks finished eating, they chanted the 'blessing' for the food. Then the invited monks departed for their respective wáts.

April 12, 1968

Ordination of Novices at Myaṅ Po:n

A month ago a major ordination of novices and dedication of a new bò:t took place at Myaṅ Po:n. I was invited, but didn't go. However, I was given an invitation, which as translated is as follows:

PETITION TO SPREAD THE MERIT [TO BE MADE] AT
THE CELEBRATION OF A BO:T [DEDICATION] AND
ORDINATION OF LŪ:K Kĕ:O
[AT] WAT MYAṄ PO:N, KHŪN YUAM DISTRICT,
MAE HONG SŌN PROVINCE
10 - 15 MARCH, 1968

May merit come to all you worthy people.

Ever since Wát Myaṅ Po:n in T. Myaṅ Po:n, Khŭn Yuam District, Mae Hōng Sōn Province received temple boundary stones (พระธาตุพินัย) in 1944, the temple committee and faithful of Myaṅ Po:n have striven together for many years to erect an ubo:sò:t building. At the completion of the building, the total capital outlay was 80,127 Baht.

At the present time the temple committee and faithful of Myaṅ Po:n have arranged a merit-making celebration [in conjunction with the dedication] of the ubo:sò:t and as an offering in Buddhism for monks to use for their ceremonies. Also, in this same festival, there will be the ordination of sons or as it is called [in Shan] po:i sà:ṅlo:ṅ. The schedule [of this festival] is as follows:

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10 March 1968 (12th day of the Waxing of the Moon, 4th Lunar Month)

8:00 A.M. Opening Ceremonies. The opening ceremony will begin with the Arrangements Chairman lighting candles to worship the three Gems. Then [he] will read the report about the building of the Ubo:sò:t.

The Chairman of the ceremony will reply and the festival will then be begun. The Clergy will chant the chaimongkhon Gatha.

11:00 A.M. Presentation of Mid-day meal to the Clergy.

7:00 P.M. There will be one sermon and then ใส่เทียน [?].

11 March 1968 (13th day of the Waxing of the Moon, 4th Lunar Month)

7:00 A.M. Presentation of morning and midday meals for Clergy and 11:00 A.M. who have come to the ceremony.

During the day heads of different wáts and will come together for merit-making.

7:00 P.M. Sermon and ใส่เทียน .

12 March 1968 (14th day of the Waxing of the Moon, 4th Lunar Month)

[Same events as previous day.]

13 March 1968 (15th day of the Waxing of the Moon, 4th Lunar Month)

5:00 A.M. Presentation of the honeyed rice with milk (ข้าวมธุปายาส)
(ข้าวพระเจ้าหลวง)

9:00 A.M. Opening of the royal eye (?).

11:00 A.M. Presentation of midday meal to Clergy.

12:00 A.M. Day of the lú:kkê:o (sà:๓ lo:๓)

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the ordination of novices as related in the above schedule.

[Signed] Phrá' Khru: Anúsǝ:nsà:tsànáka:n

(พระครูอนุสรณ์ศาสนการ)

Chairman of Clerical Arrangements

[and Čáo Kháná' Amphə: Khǔn Yuan]

Mr. Pràsə:t Čantháróthé:psǝ:

(นายประเสริฐ จันทร์เทศ)

Chairman of Lay Arrangements

[Approval Stamp by the District Abbot.]

The invitation came in the usual envelope which those invited should use to place their donations to the ceremony.

Use of Yuan Script:

The CKA said today that he knew a monk from Kengtung who was living in a wát in Chiang Mai who used to use the Northern Thai (or Yuan) script for writing letters. He even sent letters from London in this script and they reached their destination. Thus, this script still has some secular uses.

Songkra:n Customs:

The CKA said today that on the 14th people will take offerings to present then at the shrine of the Čáo myəŋ (town spirits).

On the 20th or 21st there will be sòŋkhrǝ' ceremonies in front of Wát Suphanraŋsǝ: and other 'corners' which the CKA had told me about before.

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School Survey:

Today I obtained permission from the District Education Officer to give my school questionnaire to headmasters under his jurisdiction.

April 14, 1968

Sōngkra:n

The last two days have been the beginning of Sōngkra:n. Yesterday, we weren't aware of much happening although a little water throwing was occurring. Also, at night Sǎ:n, our landlady and next door neighbour, made various types of sweetmeats. From the CKA's description and the happenings today, it would seem that everyone was making sweets yesterday.

Today was fairly quiet until late afternoon. This morning about 9:30 we went to Wát Ommára:wâ:t to present food (special food made by Sanga). Only a couple of temple boys were present in the main building, in addition to the Karen monk. The old Shan monk, according to the young monk, was down at Nai Thian's mine. The young monk told us that the special ceremony at this wát will be on the 17th and will be to "worship the che:di:".

About 2:00 in the afternoon, Jane and I toured the town in the car. We went to the shrine of the tutelary spirit, but, although the shrine was open, no one was about. According to both La:, who visited us today, and the CKA people take the special sweetmeats and candles, incense, and flowers to offer to the tutelary spirits.

About 5:00 P.M., or thereabouts, we observed people bringing sand up from the river to make sand chedis in the wát grounds. We saw this being done at both Wát Kittiwong and Wát Ommára:wâ:t. At both places, wooden frames were set up in the wát courtyards into which the people poured the sand. Most of the people we saw carrying sand were children and a few teenagers.

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[358] From mid-afternoon until nightfall, the throwing of water, particularly around places where the stream (called ná:máŋ) runs through Bâ:n Pò:n, around the irrigation ditches and at the river. More in keeping with the tradition, people were also visiting relatives and friends and respected people to danhŭa. We ourselves stopped at the house of Na:n Kŋan (the person at whose house we first observed the pò:i khāosǎn ceremony) and were given the special sweetmeats and were honored by danhŭa. While there, a group of young teenagers also came and danhŭa us. Later, about 7:30, La'ò:, her sister (or sisters) and a few girlfriends came to our house to bring both sweetmeats and to danhŭa us.

The giving of sweetmeats is another way in which one shows respect to people in this occasion. People have been coming all day to bring us these special treats. Among them have been sǎ:n, La:, the boy who carries our water, children of a few neighbours, the boy from Na:i Tan's shop who delivers our paper, and La'ò:.

We have noticed on the fences or house railings of many houses, vases of paper flowers. In fact paper flowers are in great evidence (La'ò: also gave us some).

[359] Deaths in Mae Sariang:

Today we learned of two recent deaths. A 14 year old girl who was a child of someone who works for the Phanasiit Company. She displayed diarrhea which got steadily worse and she died within a day (Bob Coats thinks it might have been cholera, but he didn't see the girl). She was B591

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[๓๕๖] cremated this afternoon (I attended the cremation. While at the cemetery another cremation also took place. The cremation was of a 56 year old Chinese man who committed suicide (by taking rat poison) after an argument with his wife. His wife was at the cremation in white mourning. Both cremations involved monks, who came and chanted and received the phâ:bañsākun [๓๕๗] (a white square of cloth).

ฎีกาแผ่กุศลงานฉลองสมโภชพระอุโบสถและบวชลูกแก้ว
วัดเมืองปอน อำเภอขุนยวม จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน
วันที่ ๑๐-๑ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑

ขอเจริญกุศลมายังท่านสาธุชนทั้งหลาย

เนื่องด้วยวัดเมืองปอน ตำบลเมืองปอน อำเภอขุนยวม จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน ได้รับพระราชทานวิสุงคามสีมา เมื่อปีพ.ศ.๒๕๔๗ เป็นต้นมา คณะกรรมการและศรัทธาบ้านเมืองปอนได้มีฉันทะสามัคคีร่วมกันก่อสร้างตัวอาคารพระอุโบสถขึ้นเมื่อหลายปีมาแล้ว ขณะนี้การก่อสร้างได้เสร็จเรียบร้อยแล้ว สิ้นทุนทรัพย์ทั้งสิ้น ๘๐,๑๒๗ บาท (แปดหมื่นหนึ่งร้อยยี่สิบเจ็ดบาท)

บัดนี้คณะกรรมการและศรัทธาบ้านเมืองปอนจะได้ทำบุญฉลองสมโภชพระอุโบสถ และทำพิธีถวายเป็นสังฆทานไว้ในพระพุทธศาสนา เพื่อพระภิกษุสงฆ์จะได้ใช้เป็นทีกระทำสังฆกรรมต่อไป และในงานเดียวกันนี้จะมิ่งนบรพชากุลบุตรหรือที่เรียกว่า ปอยสังฆอลง พร้อมทั้งงานฉลองสมโภชนี้ด้วย จึงได้กำหนดงานดังนี้

วันที่ ๑๐ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับเดือน ๔ ขึ้น-แรม ๑๖ ค่ำ

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีเปิดงาน พิธีเริ่มด้วยประธานจัดงานจุฑารูปเทียนบูชาพระรัตนตรัยแล้วกล่าวอ่านรายงานการก่อสร้างพระอุโบสถ ประธานในพิธีกล่าวตอบแล้วเปิดงาน พระสงฆ์สวดชัยมงคลคาถา

เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายภัตตาหารเพลแก่พระสงฆ์

เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. มีการแสดงพระธรรมเทศนา ๑ กัณฑ์ *แล้ว ๑ ชั่วโมง*

วันที่ ๑๑ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับเดือน ๔ ขึ้น-แรม ๑๗ ค่ำ

เวลา ๐๗.๐๐-๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายภัตตาหารเช้า-เพลแก่พระสงฆ์ที่มาในงาน

เวลากลางวัน มีการแห่สังฆอลงหรือลูกแก้ว และวันนี้นำหัววัดต่าง ๆ แห่ครัวทานเข้าร่วมทำบุญ

เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. มีการแสดงพระธรรมเทศนา ๑ กัณฑ์ *แล้ว ๑ ชั่วโมง*

วันที่ ๑๒ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับเดือน ๔ ขึ้น-แรม ๑๘ ค่ำ

เวลา ๐๗.๐๐ น. ถวายภัตตาหารเช้าแก่พระสงฆ์

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. คณะศรัทธาแห่เครื่องไทยทานจากบ้านไปที่วัด และแห่สังฆอลงด้วย

เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายภัตตาหารเพลแก่พระสงฆ์ และวันนี้นำหัววัดต่าง ๆ แห่ครัวทานเข้าร่วมทำบุญ

เวลา ๑๕.๐๐ น. มีการแสดงพระธรรมเทศนา ๑ กัณฑ์ *แล้ว ๑ ชั่วโมง*

วันที่ ๑๓ มีนาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับเดือน ๔ ขึ้น-แรม ๑๙ ค่ำ

เวลา ๐๕.๐๐ น. มีการถวายข้าวมธุปายาส (ข้าวพระเจ้าหลวง)

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีบรพชากุลบุตร ๒๐ คน เป็นสามเณร *เปิดพระมนตร*

เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ถวายภัตตาหารเพลแก่พระสงฆ์

เวลา ๑๒.๐๐ น. เสิร์งอาหารแก่ศรัทธาที่มาร่วมงาน *ไม่ลดแก้ว (๕,๖๐๐)*

เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ น. ทำพิธีถวายทาน พิธีเริ่มด้วยรับศีล เทศน์ ถวายเครื่องไทยทาน พระสงฆ์อนุโมทนาเป็นเสร็จพิธี

ในเวลากลางคืนของงานทุกคืนมีมหรสพต่าง ๆ แสดงสมโภชด้วย

ฉะนั้น ในงานฉลองสมโภชพระอุโบสถและงานบรพชาในครั้งนี้ คณะกรรมการและศรัทธาบ้านเมืองปอนทุกคน ขอออกบุญเชิญชวนท่านสาธุชนผู้ใจบุญทั้งหลาย ไปร่วมทำบุญอนุโมทนาพร้อมกับศรัทธาข้าพเจ้าทั้งหลาย ตามหมายกำหนดการดังกล่าวข้างต้นนี้โดยทั่วถึงกัน



พระครูอนุสรณ์ศาสนการ
ประธานจัดงานฝ่ายสงฆ์
นายประเสริฐ จันทรเทพศรี
ประธานจัดงานฝ่ายคฤหัสถ์

พรึก

วันที่ ๑๔ สิงหาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับเดือน ๕ แรม ๑ ค่ำ

เวลา ๐๗.๐๐ น. ทิวเขาตาดานารเซวได้ประจักษ์

เวลา ๐๘.๐๐ น. มีตมรแห่งสวนผลไม้ ออกดอก และโตแล้ว
มีตมรดอกที่ป่าดง

เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ทิวเขาตาดานารพลาได้ประจักษ์

วันที่ ๑๕ สิงหาคม ๒๕๑๑ ตรงกับเดือน ๕ แรม ๒ ค่ำ

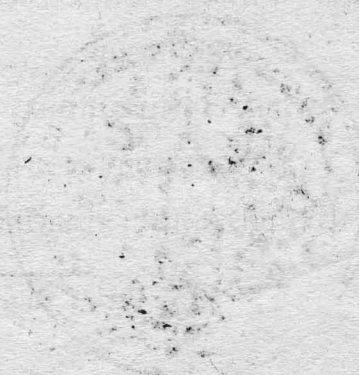
เวลา ๐๗.๐๐ น. ทิวเขาตาดานารเซวได้ประจักษ์

เวลา ๑๐.๐๐ น. ทิวเขาตาดานารพลาได้ประจักษ์

เวลา ๑๑.๐๐ น. ทิวเขาตาดานารพลาได้ประจักษ์

เวลา ๑๒.๐๐ น. ได้พบอาจารย์ แก้วรัตน์ที่มาร่วมงาน

เวลา ๑๓.๐๐ น. ทิวเขาตาดานารพลา ได้ประจักษ์
ทิวเขาตาดานารพลา ได้ประจักษ์
ทิวเขาตาดานารพลา ได้ประจักษ์



Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand April, 1968

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ของเผ่ากึ่งงานคนของสมโภชพระอุโบสถและบาราลูกแก้ว

วัดเมืองปอน อำเภอขุนยวม จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน



นามผู้บริจาค บ้าน

หมู่ที่ อำเภอ จังหวัด

จำนวนเงินบริจาค บาท สตางค์

April 15, 1968

Sōngkra:n (Cont'd):

This morning we went to Wát Kittiwong to observe the ceremonies there. This day is New Years Day proper and is probably the biggest occasion of Sōngkra:n.

When we arrived at about 7:40 (Jane, NAK, Sanga, Phan and I all went although the others returned home early), the Khúti was already full of people. A layman was standing in the middle of the congregation making announcements (in Northern Thai) about the CKA's forthcoming trip to Malaysia and about the schedule of events at the Wát during Sōngkra:n. As to the latter, he announced that there would be the ceremony of bathing the Buddha relic kept in Wát Kittiwong at noon today and that tomorrow at 4:00 P.M. there would be danhúa for the monks in the wát. As to the former, a collection was taken up to help in defraying the expenses of the CKA when he goes to Malaysia. ฿ 561 was collected (I gave ฿ 25).

Then the morning service followed:

- 1) wát phrá' (๑๓๕...)
- 2) khō:sǐn and rápsǐn
- 3) suat by monks (including a number of monks from Bangkok who are engaged in the Thammáča:rik program).

During the chanting, people took their rice and tàk bà:t.

The ph khâ:o had already been taken on arrival and placed on a table in the back of the room. The rice was placed in bà:t on a table placed in left center of the room (as one faces the altar). Both men and women tàkbà:t.

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- 4) thê:t - an extemporaneous sermon in a mixture of Northern and Central Thai by the CKA on the meaning of Sōngkra:n. One point that he made was that there is a difference between Central Thai and official custom where the 13th of April is the New Year Day and is called wan mahã:sōngkra:n and Northern Thai custom where the 15th is the first day of the New Year.
- 5) Presentation of food by laity led by the a:ca:n after which the food set in front of the monks who indicated their acceptance. After the chant of presentation, the monks said satthá.
- 6) hâiphon and truatná:m by monks.

After this the ceremony was over. I noticed at the ceremony a number of officials - headmaster of the Bòríphát Sũksã: school, Khun Praphin, Sgt. Tawat of the BPP (visiting here from Chachẽ:nsa:o), etc., and a few officials' wives. The crowd was quite large for ceremonies in the Khùti.

At 11:45 I returned to the wát for the relic-bathing ceremony. As I arrived I noticed that several laymen were setting up the relic-bathing apparatus in the courtyard. Inside the Khùti the monks were eating at a table in the back of the room. The congregation was not as large as in the morning and was composed primarily of middle-aged and older women, and older men plus a few children who had come in most cases with their grandparents. The official types were not present.

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On a table on the raised portion of the room (where the monks and images are) was the wooden lacquered bà:t in which the relic is normally kept when it resides inside the inner structure. Next to the bà:t was a lacquer khăn used for pouring water over the relic. Both these rested on a fancy cloth. On another table, next to the first, rested the phan and container in which the relic is placed when being bathed.

In the front center of the room were several receptacles for the offerings of the congregation (see diagram).

The first three (numbers 1-3) were receptacles for khruṅṅ bu:cha:. The first one is called in Northern Thai khăn kē:o tǎn sǎ:m (ขันแก้วตั้งสาม) - i.e. khăn of offerings for worship of the triple gems. The second is called khăn namta:n (ขันน้ำตาส) and is that khăn of offerings which is used in requesting a sermon on behalf of the whole congregation.

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Sometimes money is placed in this khăn. The third khăn is called khăn khõ:sĩn (ขันขอม) and is used when requesting the precepts on behalf of the whole congregation. All three of these containers are made of wood and are covered with lacquer and paint decorations.

Behind these were six water basins (Number 4) in which people were placing money. This the CKA explained as being for requesting sermons. They seemed to be special for the day. Contributions were again being made by the congregation in general. Finally, behind these were two plastic buckets (number 5) in which the members of the congregation poured a portion of their ná:m sǝmpo;i which they brought in various containers (bottles, silver khăn, etc.). This liquid would later be used in bathing the relic by the monks, while the people would use their reserved portion for doing their own bathing of the relic.

In front of the first receptacle (number 1) was another set of offerings which included a basin full of foodstuffs, soap, tobacco, etc., and a mat and pillow. These were brought by the wife of one of the Tho:ŋ sǝwát family, herself a Chinese, in order to make merit for her mother who had died in Red China. This offering also carried with it a request for a sermon.

Before the beginning of the service, some laymen took candles up and lit them on a wooden railing in front of the altar. Later a layman took up the khăn kǝ:ǝ tǝksǝ:m and placed in front of the altar. The second two khăn were placed in front of the CKA.

Near the altar were a large number of vases of paper flowers, etc. which I had seen on fences and house railings when travelling around town yesterday. These the CKA said were mǝ:sǝkha:n (หม้อสังฆาร).

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(I also noticed a row of these this morning on the railing of the bò:t porch.) The CKA pointed out the various flowers in the pot: dò:k khapǎ:n ta:n mǎ: (ดอกพรางทางแขม) - popped rice on a string, dò:kmathá: or dò:kmatá: (ดอกพรางท่า), dò:k phān tyn (ดอกพรางต้น) - a type of orchid, dò:kpu:má:k (ดอกพุ่มมาก), chô:kradà:t or cô:kradà:t (ธงกระดาษ) - kind of paper flag. Some also had paper flowers proper (dò:k kradà:t - ดอกกระดาษ). These mǎ:, the CKA said, are made on the 13th to "receive the sǎkhǎ:n."

The service went as follows:

- 1) Sometimes the two buckets of sōmpo:i water were placed next to the tables on which the relic resided.
- 2) The CKA removed the relic from its normal receptacle and placed it in the bathing receptacle.
- 3) The A:ca:n presented the khōsǐn and namta:n khǎn to the CKA.
- 4) wái phrá' by a:ca:n leading congregation.
- 5) khō:sǐn by a:ca:n leading congregation and rápsǐn by CKA leading congregation.
- 6) A:ca:n suat in Northern Thai.
- 7) A:ca:n suat in Northern Thai again, this time with people holding their containers of sōmpo:i water in a wái position. Both these have to do with preparing to bathe the relic.
- 8) Bathing the relic: First the CKA and the other monks came and bathed the relic (including monks from Bangkok). Then a few laymen including the A:ca:n (and myself) bathed it on the table. Water was scooped by dipping the lacquered wooden khǎn into the

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sōmpo:i water and pouring it over the bathing container.

The CKA repeated some phrase or words, below hearing level, before pouring but the others just held the khǎn in wâi position and then poured.

Once this group had finished, the chief layman picked up the phan containing the relic and bathing container and carried it underneath a ceremonial umbrella to the apparatus outside where it was bathed by the other laymen and laywomen (see description of the End of Lent for more details of the same ceremony). As soon as the relic was picked up to be taken outside drums were beaten and were continued to be beaten until the bathing was over.

Once the bathing was over, the relic was taken back into the khúti and the CKA placed it back into its original container.

Then the Assistant abbot of the wát mounted the preaching platform (a new accretion of the wát given by the District Officer) and gave a sermon. Before he began, a sermon was 'requested' by the A:ca:n while people khryan bu:cha: and lighted candles. Once the sermon began, the people set their lighted candles in front of them and then a layman collected them and placed them on the altar railing. The sermon was in Northern Thai and was 'read' from a manuscript.

I left after this sermon was over, but there were more sermons to follow.

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Sōngkra:n (Cont'd):

This morning I went to Wát Pittiwong for a Sōngkra:n ceremony the CKA called hu:ca:khāolót khó' (บูชาพาลอดเคราะห์ or บูชาข้าวลอดเคราะห์). In front of the altar, but to the right of it (as one faces the altar) were a collection of 'offerings' each consisting of a container (usually a water basin) on which had been placed a nine-chambered sātuang. There were about 10 of these. In the courtyard, on the apparatus for the bathing of the relic (this apparatus was not a necessary part of the ceremony, but was merely a convenient thing to use), were stuck sticks from which drooped a number of strings.

The people were few and were all women (or children) except for two elderly laymen. Apparently, only ten families were represented. The only other person involved was the CKA.

The ceremony began with the CKA kneeling in front of the altar. Then the two laymen came and lit candles in the sātuang. The CKA began chanting in Northern Thai (reading from a manuscript in front of him). At some point, one layman said something and the women went downstairs to the courtyard. Meanwhile the two laymen removed all of the sātuang from the tops of the basins, left the sātuang near the altar, and turned all of the basins, with the clothes in them, upside down behind the sātuang. Below, the women all took positions around the apparatus. Most, simply stood and conversed, even smoking, but two older women crouched with lit candles.

When the chanting was finished, a layman informed the women and they lit all the strings. The people returned upstairs, and the layman handed each their basins, this time right side up. The women then shook the clothes, piece by piece, and then departed.

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The CKA says that the shaking of the clothes is to "the khó' go" - i.e. to get rid of the omens. He says that the people, not an a:ca:n, made the satuang. This ceremony is held three times a year (1) today or wanpà:kpi: during Sǒnkra:n, (2) the first day of the waning of the moon at the Beginning of Lent and (3) the first day of the waning of the moon at the End of Lent. It is also held at other times where a person is not well, has had an accident or "if there are khó'" (ถ้ามีเคราะห์). Then, as well, the ceremony is performed at the wát.

The ceremony is held today at all Khonmuan wáts.

The threads that are burnt are called să:ikà:kin (สายทำกิจ). There are as many strands to the thread as there are years in one's life and the length is one wa: measured according to the person who is doing the worshipping.

I asked the CKA about the difference between cha:ta: and khó'. He says that the former has to do with continuing one's age whereas the latter are bad omens.

Both today and yesterday people have been visiting others to danhúa.

About 4:15 I returned to Wát Kittiwong to observe danhúa monks and images. People were still gathering, although it had originally been announced that the ceremony would begin at 4:00 P.M.

People brought in their offerings of khruá:bu:cha:, money, and dry goods and placed them in one of several "khăn". The dry goods were all combined in several basins, property of the wát, the khruá:bu:cha on one large lacquered wooden phan (not the three-cornered receptacle), and money was placed on a smaller phan.

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A Buddha image of about 2 1/2 feet in height was brought out from the room where the relic is kept. It was first placed on a table inside the khúti, but later taken below and put under the apparatus which was used for bathing the relic. The bathing receptacle for the relic was also present on a table in the khúti but it was not used for any part of the ceremony.

A drum was beaten during these preliminaries to call people to come to the wát for the ceremony.

People also brought more containers of ná:m sǒmpò:i with them, part of which was poured into one or two plastic buckets. The CKA invited the monks from Bangkok to participate in this ceremony (as well as resident monks). Nine monks were seated in a row, in front of each was placed a basin. The two buckets of water were placed in strategic locations also in front of the monks.

Before the ceremony began, the CKA made some announcements about a bridge-opening ceremony which the District Offices had requested people attend (see below). During his announcement, several laymen divided up the money on the one phan into nine parts and placed each in an envelope.

The ceremony proceeded as follows:

- 1) The offerings of drygoods were placed near the CKA and the a:ca:n presented the "khǎn" with the khŕŕaŕbu:cha: to CKA.
- 2) wáiphŕá' - congregation led by a:ca:n
- 3) Khǒ:sǎn - congregation led by a:ca:n and rápsǎn - congregation led by CKA.
- 4) A:ca:n chanted.

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- 5) Presentation of "khān" including distribution of money to each monk.
- 6) CKA, holding fan in front of face, gave what he referred to a hāiphonphū:n myan. It was mainly in Northern Thai with some Pali. This turned into the regular Pali chant used in the Thai tradition for hāiphon which was joined by all the monks from Bangkok.
- 7) Then, people came to hōtná:mtú'cāo (as the CKA called it). This consisted of the lay person kneeling before each monk in turn, raising a container of sōmpò:i water to a wāi position, and then pouring the liquid over the outstretched wrists and palms of the monk over the water basins. When the pouring was ended, some laymen at least now and again Wāi the monk.

Although the people inside the khúti, when the ceremony began, were mainly women and older men, younger people mainly teenage girls began coming into the wát to damhūa the monks after the chanting was over. I also noticed that the monks were joined by the novices at this point who were also having their wrists bathed. Once the wrist-bathing was done, people went below to bathe the Buddha image. Some people came only to bathe the image and didn't go up into the khúti to hōtná:mtú'cāo.

I stayed below taking pictures for about 15 minutes. When I returned to the khúti, all but three monks had disappeared. These three, including the CKA, were chanting a blessing over an offering being presented by one man.

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CKA and the Nai Amphoe:

Before the ceremony began, the CKA read a letter which he said he had received yesterday from the Nai Amphoe:. (The letter was dated April 6.) It concerned the dedication of a bridge near Wát Co:m Cê:n which the people had helped build. The announcement said there would be a tham bun pò:tsàphã:n on April 25, 1968, at which the Governor will preside. It further announced the presence of monks and entertainment to follow.

After reading the letter in Central Thai, the CKA went into Northern Thai for an exegesis. For ten minutes or more, he humorously attacked the Nai Amphoe: for not understanding Northern Thai customs. He said that the Nai Amphoe: had once approached him about making the dedication an occasion for a po:i lüaŋ. But the CKA explained that po:i lüaŋ could be held only when some structure had been built in the precincts of the wát. He then said with a smile that he hadn't heard any more about it until yesterday. He said to the congregation that it was inappropriate to have such a ceremony as outlined in the Nai Amphoe:'s letter because it wasn't in a wát. He asked at least two times: "Isn't there anyone who can introduce the Nai Amphoe: to local customs?" He did, however, encourage people to attend because it was something towards the development of the local area, even if the Nai Amphoe: doesn't understand the local customs. These remarks couldn't help but to undermine the position of the Nai Amphoe:.

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Other Customs Associated with Sǒṅkra:n:

Before the ceremony began, I had a talk with the CKA about customs associated with Sǒṅkra:n which will occur tomorrow. He says that tomorrow people (4-5) will decorate the wáts in the morning in preparation for dumhǔawát. The dumhǔawát tà:ṅ tà:ṅ will take place in the afternoon.

The "candles" (sheets of paper with katha which are made up into candles) are not distributed generally but only to those who request them. Most take them and bu:cha:thí:bâ:n, but some give them to monks to use to bu:cha:.

At about noon tomorrow Mǔ: Ampho:n (Sombat's wife) will thàwǎ:i cě:di: 108 and sponsor two Northern Thai sermons in order to exorcize a spirit of a Karen who died. This Karen killed himself (so I understood) and his soul has been predicting dire things for Mǔ: Ampho:n. A median in CM advised her to perform this ceremony to get rid of the spirit (วิญญาณ used here).

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P'wo Karen Village of M̂: Phs: Lǔang:

This morning, I went to Wát Kittiwong where I found the CKA and one of the monks from Bangkok talking with the Headman of Bâ:n M̂:

Phs: Lǔang, a P'wo Karen village which is one of the centers of the tribal development program. The head man was with another villager whose long hair was tied in a distinctive .

The Headman, who speaks very good Northern Thai, said that he had come down because the Assistant Headman had been arrested in connection with opium.

The Headman says there are 70+ households in this village, but the Bangkok monk who is a Thammāča:rik monk in the village, says there are about 60 households.

The CKA asked if any people in the village were Christian. He said no although Christian missionaries (farang) had visited the village three times. He himself refused to accept the Christian literature because "he thought of the King who provides his Headman's salary."

I asked about the age of the village. He said his Father's Father founded the village (of two households). He doesn't know where his Grandfather came from, but says not from Burma (but he seems very attached to being a "Thai" . He even said his Grandfather was "Thai not Burmese," to which the CKA responded that if he were Thai, he would have spoken Thai.)

The village is under Tambon Kō:ŋ Kǒ:i.

Headman says two villagers are opium addicts whereas in M̂: Phs: Nǒ:i, according to the monk, about 20 percent of the village are addicts.

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Karens and Songkra:n:

This morning a large number of Karens from B. Phé' and B. MÊ: Hǎ:n came to damhǔa tá' kǔaŋ (i.e. the CKA) at Wat Kittiwong. On their way they stopped at the Nephew's house of the MÊ: Hǎ:n Headman (Khru: Kham) and damhǔa him. (They call the CKA khru:ba:). CKA says that they come each year to do this. Usually, they come with people from B. Pà: Mǎ:k, but this year this village is planning to come separately as they have a monk living at their che:di:. The Karens foregather at Wát MÊ: Hǎ:n where they join together for Sǒngkra:n ceremonies.

The ceremony consisted of (1) wâiphrá' (I think), (2) precepts, (3) presenting ná:m sǒmpò:i, and (4) receiving blessing. The first was done by the layleader, chanting in Burmese style, followed by a chant in Northern Thai style by CKA. The second part also consisted of Burmese-style chanting on part of layleader and congregation and Northern Thai chanting by Phrá' Khru:. In (3) the water and associated offerings were given to the CKA and then he followed with (4) in Northern Thai form.

The people didn't actually pour water on the monks, but the CKA says that he will use the offered water for bathing himself. This he said is the local custom and that the pouring of water over the hands as we saw yesterday was a to the Bangkok monks present (but Sanga says that in Bangkok the people bathe the monks). This same custom of presenting sǒmpò:i water to the monks was followed later in the afternoon and evening when people went to damhǔawát.

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[370] Merit for the Dead - Na:i Sombat:

Beginning at about 11:00 in the morning, a group led by Mō: Ampho:n, came to make merit for Mō: Ampho:n's late husband, Na:i Sombat. According to the CKA, Mō: Ampho:n had been advised by a medium in Chiang Mai to make the following offerings:

- 1) Two Northern Thai sermons, the Thammākām (ธรรมะกัม) sermon and the second Thamma:lai yō:k lô:k (ธรรมะลาวัยโยกโลก) sermon.
- 2) Seven sets of alms (แก้วใส่น้ำมนต์ ๗ คู่).
- 3) Seven khān of food (ขันข้าว ๗ ขัน).
- 4) One 'memorial flag' (ธง ๑ คัน).

The seven monks present included several Thammā:n:rik monks from Bangkok. The actual containers of food were pinto: which the monks could use again.

The ceremony went as follows:

- 1) wāiphra', khō:sīn, rāpsīn
- 2) Presentation of food:

A table was set up on the raised part of this room for the monks to eat. Several laymen presented the food while Mō: Ampho:n stayed in the back where the food was being dished up (Mō: Ampho:n said that quite often people have this ceremony at home and prepare food there, but she thought it was easier [because of the numbers involved?] to prepare food at the wāt and present it there.)

The a:ña:n, in chanting the presentation of food, mentioned that the merit made was for Sombat. [372]

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(311) During the first part of the monk's meal, the A:ca:n chanted what the CKA called wenta:n (เวทนา), a formal presentation chant in Northern Thai, including the following:

- 1) praise of the triple gems.
- 2) for all the Devas.
- 3) speaks the name of the sponsor and tells what offerings there are
- 4) dedication to the person who has died.

After this chant, the lay guests are also served food even while the monks are eating. The foods served to the guests (and probably the monks as well) included lâ:p (dîp and sûk), leaves to go with lâ:p, kè:ŋ'om, yammamuan, and both white and glutinous rice. Dessert was icecream (first time that I have seen ice cream in Mae Sariang).

After the meal, there were two sermons, the first (Thammá:lai) by the CKA and the second (thammákám) by the assistant abbot. Both sermons were preceded by a formal request from the A:ca:n. The last one was followed by the hâi phon and truat ná:m, Northern Thai style.

During the sermon, I noted what was contained in the khŕŕaŋ thaiyátha:n for each monk: On a metal plate was placed a package of incense, a can of milk, bar of soap, package of candles, a tin of sardines (French), box of large 'kitchen' matches, a package of cookies, bunch of leaves placed on a newspaper cone, envelope (bearing Sombat's letterhead) containing money. All of these things were held together by a rubberband. I noted that six monks got these offerings and the seventh got a number (312) of envelopes (of money?). Also, placed in front of the CKA was a large basin with more offerings and the tun. Outside in the courtyard were the 103 sand che:di:s. (313)

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^{๒๓๓} Mō: Amphō:n's own explanation of why the ceremony was held was something as follows: When a person has died an accidental death (and she specifically mentioned being shot twice), he has much kam, or so people believe. Thus, one must sponsor merit-making activities to help him over into the next life.

Sōngkra:n (Cont'd):

In the evening, beginning about 5:00 P.M., groups of people from the congregations of each wát (with possible exception of some of the 'Burmese' wáts), together with novices and monks from that wát made a tour of the town to dambhūwát tà:ŋ tà:ŋ. I travelled with the group from B. Dong which included two monks and several novices from Wát Chaiyalâ:p. I met this group at Wát Ommára:wâ:t, and then travelled with it to the following wáts: Co:m Cê:ŋ, Sǐ:bunraŋ, Uthaya:rom, Sě:n Tho:ŋ, and Sitthímongkhon. I then left the group, but it went on to Kittiwong and suphānraŋsǐ:. Wát Ānthára:wâ:t was definitely excluded. Also, Wát Co:m Tho:ŋ was too difficult to reach to be included.

At each wát, the procedure was very much the same: (1) the people would bathe with ná:m sōmpò:i one or more Buddha images that were placed in the building or in the courtyard for purposes of dambhūa; (2) the monks, novices, and some laymen would seat themselves before the abbot of the wát. When the other people had finished bathing the images, the monks would present a bucket of offerings and a bucket of ná:m sōmpò:i to the abbot. The bucket of liquid had been made up from some liquid from each container carried by the individuals in the group who poured it into the bucket (the bucket was provided by the host wat). (3) the group would

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receive the blessing from the host abbot and then depart for the next wát. Ostensibly, the abbot would bathe with the ná:m sǒmpò:i water, but at Wát Sǎ:n Tho:ŋ I noticed that a layman poured the water over the images after our group had left.

At Wát Sǐ:bunryaŋ I noticed that a 'bathing apparatus; similar to that of Wát Kittiwong, had been set up in the courtyard. There was a single Buddha image under the apparatus. The blessing given at different wáts varied according to the type of wát - Burmese at Ommára:wâ:t, Shan at Uthaya:rom, and Kammyaŋ at Co:m Cê:ŋ, Sǐ:bunryaŋ, Sǎ:n Tho:ŋ and Sítthímongkhon.

The event was very gay, with the groups being made up primarily of young girls, with a smattering of young boys and elders (both male and female). As groups passed one another, there was great water throwing and teasing. Many groups had percussion orchestras. The event went on for at least 2 1/2 hours and many people kept up the gaiety even after they had run out of wáts.

Not only town wáts were represented, for there were groups from Wát Ná:m Díp and Wát Thûŋ Phs:m (but not from any Karen village - i.e. from Wát Há:n).

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Bathing Che:di: at Wát Ommá:ra:wá:t:

Today there was a ceremony of bathing the che:di: at Wát Ommá:ra:wá:t.
A monk from Mae Hng Sqn gave a sermon in Shan. We missed the ceremony
because we had to take Sanga to Chiang Mae for emergency treatment for
acute glaucoma.

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Sǒngkra:n (Cont'd):

On the way back from Chiang Mai, we met the CKA (and many other Mae Sariang people) in Co:m Tho:n. The CKA said, in response to a question, that he didn't know when the sǒngkhó' ceremonies for the town would be held, if at all. Last year they weren't held.

In the evening I spoke to a young monk from Sǐ:Bunrya:n who was going to a sǒngkhó' ceremony in B. Dong. I have noticed many sàtua:n around and suppose that Sǒngkra:n is an auspicious time for this ceremony. Similarly, yesterday the CKA went to a sù:p ca:ta: ceremony at a private home.

In the evening I passed a large group of people (mainly young) on their way to danhúa their former teachers and the District Educational Officer. Another group of policemen were danhúa their superiors.

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[315] Funerary Rites:

Early this afternoon Phrá' Máhá: Bè:t, the assistant abbot of Kittiwong, came over to tell me about a ceremony to be held this afternoon. He was on his way to the cemetery to participate in a funerary rite involving the collecting of bones of the deceased (kèkkradù:k). I went along to observe the ceremony.

There were about ten people present, including four novices whom I took to have been ordained for the cremation, three or four youngish women and late teenagers, and two or three young (probably unmarried) men, plus Phrá' Máhá: Bè:t. They had brought with them the following: a silver khñ containing ná:m sōmpò:i, a small earthenware pot, a bucket, a white cloth (the phá:bangsàku:n), and a cone of khṛṅṅbu:cha:. There was also a wreath of artificial flowers, made out of tinfoil, which may have been there since there were a number of these hanging on the sā:la: and they picked one off when they went to the remains of the pyre.

The young men went and collected several large leaves off plants nearby. One woman, who seemed the youngest, knelt in front of the pyre and krap-ed two times. Then she and the other women plus one or two of the men (including one novice) dug through the ashes and pulled out some bones. Most were placed in the bucket while some were placed on the leaves near the pyre. Finally when a large number had been collected in the bucket, the ná:m sōmpò:i was poured over them. Then as many as could be put in it, were placed in the pot. This was then covered with a small white cloth which was tied with a skein of cotton thread. The remaining bones were placed on the large leaves and the wreath was placed over them. [316]

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[370] The pot was then taken away from the pyre and placed on another bed of leaves. One woman, an older one, placed the white cloth across the pot and then placed the cone of khŕŕjanbu:cha: over it. Máhă: Bè:t rose over and crouched in front of the cloth. He chanted something, slowly removing the cloth and cone of khŕŕjanbu:cha: as he did. Then he chanted the hâi phon. Then the pot was taken and placed in the center of the wreath on the pyre and the ceremony was over.

Phrá' Máhă: Bè:t says that this ceremony is held either three or seven days after the cremation (in this case, three days). The deceased and relatives were khonmuang.

Ancient Buddha Images in Mae Sariang:

This afternoon I went with Phrá' Máhă: Bè:t to Wát Sŏ:n Tho:ŕ to take pictures of the Buddha images kept there. There are three very old images there, all bronze and all apparently in Chiang Sŏ:n style. One image, kept in a locked cupboard, was found in a pond, called Nŏ:ŕ Bua, which is outside of the town. Phrá' Máhă: Bè:t says that there were two images in this pond - one called phí: (the larger) and the other nó:ŕ. Only the latter was recovered and was sent to Chiang Mai for repairs. It now resides in Wát Sŏ:n Tho:ŕ.

Again, I heard the story that Wát Sŏ:n Tho:ŕ is the oldest Wát in Mae Sariang.

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Sōṅkó' M̄yaṅ and the End of Sōṅkra:n:

About 5:30 this afternoon, the ceremony of sōṅkó' m̄yaṅ (สงกรานต์ ๒๗/๐๔) was held in the middle of the intersection of wai suksā: and Mae Sariang streets (in front of the District Office). There were only a few people present, mostly women. The two main laymen were the aca:n (who officiated at the ceremony of a new building at the tobacco drying station) and the owner of the shop on the corner.

It is held at this place because this is the center of the old town.

In the middle of the intersection was a table on which was placed four basins of alms, a basin containing a Buddha image, and a large number of containers of ceremonial items to be blessed. Below the table there were even more such containers. Most had in them smaller containers of sand, and ná:m sōmpò:i, dry sōmpò:i pods, leaves/flowers, of candles and incense, and string or skeins of cotton thread. Around the table were four chairs, each filled by a monk. The four monks were the abbot of Wát Sīthīmongkhon, Phrá' Máhá: Bè:t from Wát Kittiwong, the large monk from Wát Sī:Bunryaṅ, and the abbot of Čanthára:wá:t (the Burmese Wát). It is interesting to note that all of their Wáts, with the possible exception of Sī:Bunryaṅ are within the old city.

On the four corners of the intersection were large sātuṅ and talš:o. The sātuṅ were pieces of bamboo matting on which were placed the offerings and which had strings attached to the corners, coming together in the middle so the offering could be hung. The offerings on the sātuṅ included cooked and uncooked rice, images of various domestic animals, bits of prepared food (both savory and sweet), tobacco, , chews of betel, and other things I didn't have time to notice.

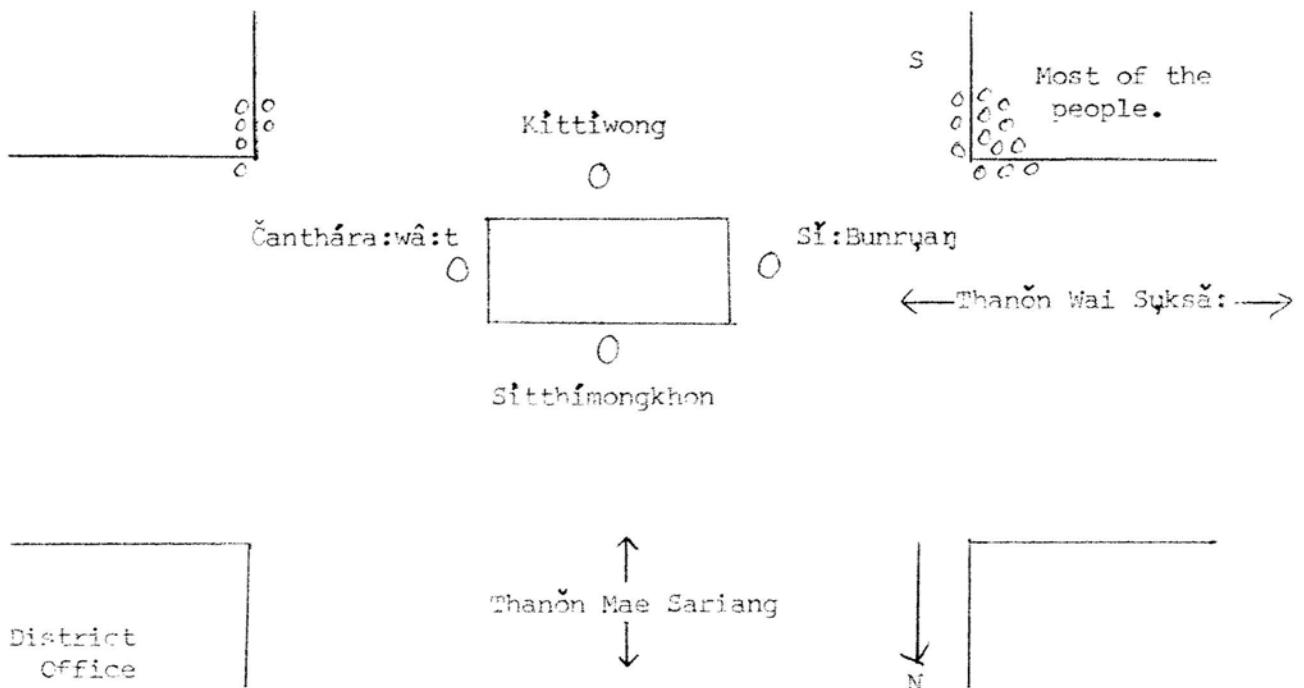
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The A:ca:n chanted at each of these, beginning at the N.E., then on to the S.E., S.W., and N.W. corners. After he had chanted at each, these offerings were taken and placed at the ends of the sheets in the four directions. The significance of the talě:o according to the shop owner, is a closing of the door (*กั้นประตู*) so that the spirits cannot enter. As the A:ca:n ended his chant, a young boy took the talě:o, which was on a pole, and the offerings to the four directions. During the chanting, an old woman crouched near at least two offerings and lit candles and incense.

The second part of the ceremony involved the monks. The shop owner told me before this began that people invite four monks, plus three counting the Buddha image placed in the middle of the table. [Is the symbolism directional again?] Each monk sat facing the table with his back towards one of the directions.

The setting was something like this:



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The A:ca:n came and crouched between the monks from Sĭ:Bunrĭaŋ and Sĭthĭmongkhon. This latter monk seemed to be the head monk. He chanted the wāiphrá' and then the precepts were requested and received from the Abbot of Sĭthĭmongkhon. This done, a să:isĭn was attached to the Buddha image in the middle of the table, then passed around the table from monk to monk and around all items under the table as well. The monks then each read from a separate book in chanting fashion, the monk from Ānthāra:wā:t reading from a Burmese text and the other three from Northern Thai texts. This finished, there was the suat monyen by the three Northern Thai monks. Then, I think, there was some effort to make 'holy water', but it was by now raining so hard that no candles could be lit, and I couldn't see what happened. I also think there was the hāi phan at the end.

I asked the shopkeeper several questions about the ceremony. He said it is performed on the day following Sōngkra:n and it is held for the purpose of making the people content (สวัสดี). He says that it is not a Buddhist but Brahmanistic ceremony because "Brahmanism came to Thailand before Buddhism." He explained that the trays of sand, ná:m sōmpò:i, sōmpò:i, and khŕŭaŋbu:cha: are not offerings, but have been brought by the people for blessing and will be taken and used in the home after the ceremony (in one case, the old woman who was lighting the candles on the sātuang placed a talĕ:o plus homemade rope on her offering). The alms proper have been collected together in four containers, but represent the gifts of those people who wish to donate things. Most of the people who participate or attend this ceremony are from the area around the corners. The site of the ceremony was chosen because it is the old 'center of town' (the old town) - he used a word something like nom to refer to this. In former

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times, the streets were closed off for the period of the ceremony and the
Kiamat enforced this rule. People didn't walk, drive, or ride through
the streets. But today there are too many cars and people are not so
interested (one truck passed through the corners during the ceremony).

Very few people were in attendance - maybe 30 or 50 - and were mainly
women and children.

April 23, 1968

Interview with Mr. Saṅṅān Cho:tisūkkhārāt:

In Chiang Mai today I sought out Mr. Saṅṅān Cho:tisūkkhārāt (สงวน โสสิสุขรัตน์), the publisher and writer who has written more on Northern Thai history and customs than anyone else. I wished to talk with him particularly because he had just made a trip to Mae Sariang and plans to come again in Mid-May in connection with writing a monograph on Mae Sariang at the _____ of the CKA.

He showed me a ba:ila:n manuscript in Northern Thai script which he had borrowed from Wát Kittiwong. This is a manuscript that was found in an old hō:tham near the Salwin in an area where there are now no people except Karens. Saṅṅān and a monk from Lampang who was also present both agree that the _____ is not good and that the style, although Northern Thai, is strange, almost as though written by someone whose native language was not Northern Thai. This led me to suggest that it might be Lúa' or ex-Lúa' who had written it. Both Saṅṅān and the monk think this is very plausible.

Saṅṅān thinks that the image in Wát Sě:n Tho:ṅ is Chian Sě:n style and is very old.

The three men whom Saṅṅān says have played important roles in Mae Sariang history are Thē:p Sīṅ (who he says was definitely from Muan Yuam/Mae Sariang and not from Khun Yuam), the builder of Wát Che:di: Luan in Chiang Mai, and _____. He thinks that Thā:trafan is a traditional crossing between Burma and Lannathai.

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I mentioned observing the ceremony of sōṅkhó' m̄yaṅ in Mae Sariang a few days back and asked if it were found also in Chiang Mai. Saṅṅān said that it used to be performed every year in Chiang Mai, but has slowly become performed less frequently. It will be performed this year because Chiang Mai has undergone so many tragedies this year (airplane crash, fire, etc.). The Governor and Mayor have specifically asked that it be performed. This will be the first time in 10 years. It will be performed at the kikm̄yaṅ which is at Wát Che:di: Lūaṅ in May.

He says that he believes this practice to be sāiyásà:t (ไสยศาสตร์)
- . Brahmanism.

April 24, 1968

Lúa' and Buddhism:

This afternoon back in Mae Sariang we had a visit from the Lúa' (ex Châ:ŋ Mō:) man who brings things to sell. He brought us this time some Lúa' earrings which a young girl who had just migrated down from the mountains (as yet unmarried) wished to dispose of because she has now taken up Khonmuang clothing.

I asked the informant about the tattooing on his arm. Some is in Northern Thai and other he says ~~are~~not words although it looks like it. He then said that if one really wished strong amulets against various types of dangers, then one should visit the Khu:ba:khă:o. He says that when he was in the mountains, and still now, he goes to wâi the khu:be: quite often as do other Karen and Lúa'. When the group from B. Dong went recently, he sent along a contribution for alms.

April 30, 1968

Trip to Northeast:

After many complications due to Sanga developing acute glaucoma and having to be operated upon, we weren't able to leave for our Northeastern trip as planned. However, on 26 April we finally left Mae Sariang, spent two days in Chiangmai, and on 28 April left Chiang Mai taking Phan and Wan with us. The night of the 26th we spent in Nakho:n Sawan. The next day we drove to Kho:nkaen via Saraburi and Khorat. On the way we stopped at Lopburi and Khorat.

We visited the Dregers, CMA missionaries, in Kho:nkaen and I bought some more Northeastern books at the Khlang Na:na: withaya: (คลังหาหนังสือ) store in Kho:nkaen. This afternoon we drove to mainasankhom via Kosuaphisai. Here we are staying at the house of Mrs. Chuanphit.