Field notes in this document were primarily written in Amphoe Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son Province (Changwat Mae Hong Son), although the first few entries were written in Central Thailand. This document is preceded by field notes written in Mae Sariang in July 1968 and is followed by notes written in Mae Sariang in October 1968.

**Chiang Mai, Central Thailand, Bangkok, Hua Hin, Mae Sariang**

**August 1 - 25, 1968**

Travel in Central Thailand

For the past three weeks plus, we have been away from Mae Sariang. We left on August 1 and spent August 2-3 in Chiang Mai. On the fourteenth, I drove my entourage (which included, besides Jane, Nick, and myself, Meo, Phan, Čit's mother-in-law, and Čit's daughter Nöl) to Nakhon Sawan, stopping at Lamphun (to visit Wat Hariphunchai), Pa Sang and Lampang on the way. Jane and I didn't care much for Nakhon Sawan (where we had stayed once before) as it seems a rough market and river town. We arrived in Bangkok on August 5th.

On the seventh, we had dinner with Khunying Pui Jayanama, the wife of the late Nai Direk Jayanama who was in his life Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Japan (during the war), England, and Germany. Sulak arranged the dinner because Jane is in the process of editing Direk's war memoirs in English. The dinner party included Khunying Pui, her youngest son, Voraputhi (Pọ), his wife, Sulak and his wife, Ninchawī, and Jane and myself. Voraputhi is the only of Direk's sons to enter the Foreign Service (he is educated at Oxford and Fletcher School of Diplomacy). We were very impressed with Khunying Pui's traditional ways, but found her house a strange admixture of the aesthetic traditional (for example, a fine collection of *benčarong* (ปิย์จ้าว) ware and the vulgar Thai modern (e.g., laminated natural-slice-of-tree table with metal legs). Most conversation before dinner concerned the technical problems of the editing. The Jayanama's took us for dinner to the "Golden Dragon" on Sukhumvit – which we had never been to before (partially because it looks like a typical tourist haunt). However, we learned that this restaurant is liked by the king who orders meals from it and thus many of those close to court or who follow court leads, frequent the restaurant. Sulak also says that it prepares Chinese food for Thai taste. At dinner, Khunying Pui reminisced about her experiences as an
Ambassador's wife (the Japanese were outwardly friendly during the war; she never learned more than a few words of Burmese; etc.) and talked a little about travelling with her father in the days of river travel to Chiang Mai. (Sulak says that Khunying's father, a minor member of royalty, had been governor in some Northern Thai provinces.)

**Mon Wan Phra Services at Wat Asā Songkrān, Phrapradaeng**

On the eighth of August, we went with Sanga to a wat in Phrapradaeng which belongs to the Mon tradition. I learned that 8-9 wats in Phrapradaeng are Mon wats. The particular wat we went to had been built by Sanga's late 'uncle' whose statue stands in front of the bōt (which we all krap-ed to as we past). Another 'uncle' is still a monk in the wat. We arrived as the monk's were preparing for the morning meal. I recorded the chant following the meal – a chant in Mon (at least partially). This took place in the kuthi. Then one young Phra Mahā came to the wihān where a small group of a dozen or so (mainly older women) were waiting to take the precepts. The monk first gave the "8", the congregation being led by a layman. Then four women took the "8", led by a different layman (who himself did not take the "8"). After this was over, the monk withdrew, back to the kuthi and the four who had taken the 8 precepts chanted in Mon for the better part of an hour. All this I recorded. While at the wat, I was shown a bāilān written in Mon and was surprised to discover how close the script is to Yuan script. It contrasts greatly with the old Mon script which we saw in reconstructed Mon inscriptions at Nakhon Pathom.

The eighth of August was also the "half-year New Year" of the Chinese (sāt čīn, the Thai call it). We saw many store owners making offerings (to the ancestors ?) in front of their stores. Sulak had invited us to have a special Chinese 'khanōm' breakfast, but we couldn't because we went to Phrapradaeng. We did go, however, on the following morning and had several types of cakes.

On the fifteenth, we left to go to Hua Hin with Sulak, Ninchawi, Chim, Sanga, Phan, and Jane and Nick. Sulak had arranged for us to use the house of Mômcaoying Čongčitthanôme Ditsakūn, the 82 year old daughter of Prince Damrong. We stopped at Princess Čongčit's house

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1 Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the *Môn wan phra* services at Wat Asā Songkrān, Phrapradaeng on August 8, 1968. The original tape is titled, “Tape Number 31.” The tape and a digitized version are located at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, record number 2001-2.48 EC. An index of the recording is located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.
in Bangkok on our way out of town. This was the first time I had ever met a person whose royal status required that we *krap* to the floor on entering and leaving and we use *rātchasāp* (we didn't know the latter and so felt rather tongue-tied). (With Khunying Pui, we had followed Sulak and Ninchawi in making a crouching *wai*, but didn't prostrate ourselves.) Princess Čongčit is certainly a very alert and active woman for her age (she is also a very small woman).

At Hua Hin, we found her place in a compound (called "Diskul Place") in which a number of the other children of Prince Damrong have summer houses.

On Sunday the eighteenth, we drove down to Prachuap and from there down the beach to a spot where a celebration of the 100th anniversary of King Monghut's expedition to observe the eclipse of the sun was held. It was at this spot that he both demonstrated his knowledge of Western science and contracted malaria which was to take his life several weeks later.

On the nineteenth, we returned to Bangkok and on the twenty-first we left for the north. We arrived in Phitsanuloke that evening where we met up with Jeremy Kemp. The following day, Jane and I toured the ruins at Sīsatchanālai and Sukkothai. On the twenty-third we journeyed on to Chiang Mai, having first visited the wat containing the famous Phra Chinnarāt.

Today we returned to Mae Sariang where we found that it has rained nearly every day we have been away (the rain at Mae Sariang is much greater than any other part of Thailand we have yet seen).

### Mae Sariang

**August 27, 1968**

**Talk with Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA)**

I visited the CKA last night and found that he had just returned from 2-3 days at one of the mines (I think Nāi Thian's mine. Mō Amphôn has sold both of her mines to outside interests (outside of Mae Sariang)). It took three hours by boat going to the mine and seven hours returning.

I went again this afternoon and we spent about three hours talking mainly about the manuscripts I had had Xeroxed in Bangkok, but on other topics as well.

**Buddha Image and Cave Find**

In my notes of July 13, 1968, I recorded information about three Buddha images that the CKA thought might have come from the same cave as the manuscripts. However, the 'owner' has
since claimed the images and maintains that the images came from a village on the Burmese side. The CKA let him take the images.

**Local History**

I mentioned about my reading of the reports of Richardson and Hallett to Mae Sariang in the last century and raised some questions about Mae Sariang history based on what Hallett especially had said. Hallett had reported that the name of the ruler of Mae Sariang (the Phômüang) at the time he visited here was "Chow Rat Sampan". The CKA says that people do speak of the Čaorāt (เจ้าราช) as the ruler at the same time, but he has never heard the name "Sampan". The CKA says that this Čaorāt had written a wentān to be used at funerary rites which was based on a work from Fang. This he presented to Khrūbā Kāwila’ and the work is still used today.

Hallett mentioned visiting two places about one mile southeast of the present town of Mae Sariang. The CKA says that there are two sites, both called wiang mai and both located on the banks of the Yuam south of the confluence with the Mae Sariang. In the first, remains of an old chēdī, and other artifacts have been found. Among these are 5-6 glass 'beads' (?). In the other site nothing has been found, but there are mounds which appear to trace the shape of an old wihān.

**Name of the Buddha**

One of the names of the Buddha is Siddhartha which in Siamese is spelled สิทธารถ (sitthāt) and in Yuan (sithāt).

**Khrūbā Khāo**

The CKA says that one cannot use the books of the Khrūbā Khāo (Khrūbā Ph[l]ī) because they are so inaccurate and full of false interpretations. He thinks that many of the works of the Khrūbā Khāo are actually written by his followers. He says that there are some Northern Thai followers of the Khrūbā Khāo in Mae Sariang.
'Witchcraft' in Mae Sariang

Today the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) told me of an incident of 'witchcraft' Khun Pramōt, the health officer, brought to the CKA a piece of wooden 'parchment' (something like bailān) on which had been written some kāthā in Yuan script. The message had been tied with red and black string. The CKA showed me the ‘evidence’ which was about 2" square. He said that he had found it underneath his house. He recognized it as the work of a 'magician' who had been employed by a woman who was in love with Pramōt to break up Pramōt's marriage. The CKA said that originally the ‘sheet’ had been twice as large. After the kāthā had been written (and other things done ?), the sheet was torn in half, thus symbolizing the breaking up of the couple. The CKA says that Pramōt believes that the charm might have some efficacy and thus came to consult the CKA. The latter told me that Pramōt doesn't have to worry because he has written a counter charm on the message. He says that this particular type of 'magic' is called ṭī ฐำ (phāčān). Phā means 'to divide' while čān, which I couldn't find in Mēt's dictionary, may mean 'exceedingly, very' (McFarland, p. 244).

The CKA says that the generic term for 'casting spells' of this sort is tu (tū ?) (ตุ๊, or ต็+ู). One who is suffering the effects of a spell has thūk tū, and one who is skilled in countering the effects of a spell is able to kāētū. The CKA described as possible tū, the attracting of one of the opposite sex, the injuring (usually in form of illness) of another person (usually done in response to some real or believed harm), and the causing of dissect in marriage. In short tū is usually used as a tool in love or in injuring one's enemies.

The CKA says, in response to my question, that practitioners are most often ex-monks, or at least people who have studied in the wats, who are ‘ripe’ (dīp) – that is, people who have studied Yuan script and are familiar with the relevant texts. However, he also says that the Karen and Lua are particularly skilled in tū [but with different sources of power and different rituals, obviously]. He told me the story of a policeman who had swindled a Karen in something to do with a buffalo. Shortly, thereafter he became ill and when his illness (fever, swollen stomach, etc.) would not respond to medication, he diagnosed witchcraft. He sought out the Karen, gave

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2 The Thai spelling does not work on my Macintosh computer [or a PC].
him ฿500 and begged his forgiveness. The next day his symptoms had disappeared. (This just recently happened.)

The CKA described two forms of tū attack. One employs as the basic ingredient buffalo hide which is reduced to an insect (māēng phā) which flies into a person. Another employs water which seeps up into a person from his feet.

A most usual symptom is swollen stomach. In another story, he said that when he was a boy he went hunting with a friend in Māē Lā Nói. His friend shot a cow belonging to a Karen, thinking it was a deer. The next day, after returning to Mae Sariang, his stomach became so distended that he literally could not move. He called in a practitioner who diagnosed tū and performed some counter-magic. The next day the swelling had disappeared.

Monks are not immune from the attack of tū practitioners. The late CKA believed, at the time of his final illness, that he was subject to tū and called in a counter-magician. He believed that hill people were the source of this tū. Unfortunately, either the counter-magic was ineffective or the diagnosis incorrect, for the CKA died shortly after his attempts to counter the tū (Earlier, a Burmese astrologer had diagnosed ill effects on the abbot's chatā and had led him through a variety of rituals including a mock cremation – the present CKA was one who participated in the death chants – of a piece of wood wrapped in some robes belonging to the abbot.) Monks are, apparently, immune from love magic.

As the CKA's efforts on Pramōt's behalf suggest, monks can be practitioner of counter-magic and even tū itself.

Mae Sariang

P'wo Karen and Thai

Tonight we had dinner with Ed Hudspith and his wife (OMP missionaries working amongst the P'wo Karen). In the course of the evening we got talking about Karen "demon worship" (Hudspith, incidentally, believes in the reality of spirits). He told me a story of an incident which has happened recently in B. Ton Prăo where a few P'wo Karen live. He says that not long ago a P'wo woman was in with a baby and the Thai midwife was sent for. The midwife couldn't come. A little later the midwife died and although the P'wo baby had been born all right, relatives of the deceased Thai accused the mother of the woman who had given birth to the baby of sorcery. Some relative of the deceased midwife then shot and killed this P'wo woman.
Ed also says that there is one important P'wo spirit for whom the P'wo (in Hot area anyway) employ Thai mediums to talk to. They claim that this spirit, although definitely P'wo, won't speak through P'wo mediums.

Ed says that the late abbot of a wat in B. Huai Sāi near Hot (where the Hudspith's once lived) was a P'wo.

In B. Ton Phrāo, the few P'wo who are living there are feeling pressures from Thai who take over their untitled, but cleared land. They feel powerless to withstand these Thai pressures.

Mae Sariang

September 8, 1968

Tān Tāēn Salāk at Wat Ommarāwāt

It is the season for salākkaphat ceremonies and today we participated in one at Wat Ommarāwāt. A few days before we received a mimeographed announcement of the ceremonies. In fact, this announcement in Thai, was written by the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) from whom the abbot of Wat Ommarāwāt had to request permission to hold the ceremony. A translation and copy of the announcement follow.

Translation of Announcement for the Tān Tāēn Salāk Ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt

Schedule [of Events at] the Tān Tāēn Salāk Thambun

Wat Ommarāwāt

8 September, 2511

* * *

The faithful of Wat Ommarāwāt have arranged a tān tāēn salāk thambun at Wat Ommarāwāt according to the following schedule:

8 September 2511 (second day of the waning of the moon in the 12th lunar month southern reckoning)

10:30 a.m. Presentation of food to 20 monks.

Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the tān tāēn ceremony held at Wat Ommarāwāt on September 8, 1968. The original tape is titled, “Tape Number 32, Side 1.” The tape and a digitized version are located at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, record number 2001-2.49 EC. An index and a Thai transcript of the recording are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.
11:30 a.m.  
Beginning of presentation ceremony, the deliverance of one sermon, presentation of offerings, and chant of formal gratitude by clergy.

All faithful are invited to join in the celebrations on the day and hours mentioned.

[Signed]
Ommarāwāt Temple Committee

Document: Announcement of the Tăn Tăēn Salāk Ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt

The ceremony consisted of the following parts

1) Presentation of food to clergy

2) The CKA took his place on the preaching chair and an Ācān sat in front of him. The rest of the monks were seated on the raised area - dividing the 'Burmese' from ‘Thai’ monks.

3) The Ācān led the congregation in wai phra and okkasa followed by CKA chanting something.
4) Ācān led congregation in khōsin; CKA gave the precepts.
5) Ācān, using a samut khôi, 'chanted' formal offering of salāk gifts. 15-20 minutes.
6) khōthēt and CKA gave extemporaneous sermon on meaning of ceremony – chant an hours' worth. During this, several laymen took a bucket around to have each monk draw a salāk (čap salāk) number which matched those which had been attached to each separate offering. The attaching of numbers had been done as people came to the wat and brought their offerings. Every monk chose two.
7) Explanation by CKA of what would follow.
8) Monks chanting mēttā – divided according to tradition.
9) Truāt nām and hai phon (njāt nām and hy:phon).
10) Final chant, required by Ācān - ?
11) Individual njāt nām and hy:phon by monks for the donors of their particular offerings.

**Offerings**

Consisted primarily of nāmton (earthen-ware jugs) in which had been stuck a 'money-tree' and perhaps a few other offerings and buckets (or baskets, tubs, etc.) filled with dried foodstuffs, fruit, toilet articles, money trees, etc. A couple, at least, consisted of baskets containing plants (coconut, betel, etc.).

Some people did not bring this type of offering, but just made donations of money which were noted by a layman (this is what we did).

Offerings of the nāmton or containers of goods usually had attached to them papers on which were written the person or persons who was or were making the offering and the name of a deceased person for whom the merit-made was to be dedicated.

Some offerings were given directly to Wat Ommarāwāt and were not included as part of the collection divided among the invited monks. For these, the abbot of Wat Ommarāwāt gave to each donor the ‘blessing’ and njātnām which permitted the merit to be 'sent' to the designated spirit.

After the whole ceremony was over, I observed one offering being given to the second monk of Wat Ommarāwāt just outside the gate of the wat. The monk was also giving the hy:phon and njāt nām. The CKA explained: The deceased for whom the merit was meant had died some
unnatural death and his soul (the CKA used the word *winyān*), the people believe, cannot enter
the wat. I asked if such a person became a *phi*, and the CKA answered that the people so believe.

**Functions and Meaning of Ceremony**

The main purpose of this ceremony, from a religious standpoint, is to provide yet another
context whereby the faithful can make merit to be 'dedicated' (อุทิศ) or ‘sent’ (ส่ง) to the dead.

Most deceased so honored are parents (or grandparents in the case of children who are named as
donors along with their parents). Thus, the ceremony provides a mechanism for reinforcing 'filial
piety', albeit in Thai form.

Another function of the ceremony, and of any major ceremony, is the raising of money
which goes into the wat budget. People were talking about how this year's total was less than last
year's 2000 baht. Each participating monk also receives goods and money
to add to his wat's stores.

Finally, a third function is entertainment (and for young people, an opportunity for
courting). The making of food and decorating of the wat brought people together. All day
yesterday, the loud speaker was used to broadcast (from the CKA's tape collection) local music
and sermons. The *khlônyāo* band has been out and last night the Burmese orchestra played (and
people sang and danced) until about 2:00 a.m.

**Culture Change**

This is the second year that Wat Ommarāwāt has had this particular ceremony which is
Northern Thai in character and it is the only 'Burmese' wat to have it. The CKA noted that there
were 'Burmese' and 'Thai', as well as 'Yuan' elements in the ceremony. It is possible that this
ceremony at Wat Ommarāwāt represents a slow change of that wat from a 'Burmese' to a 'Yuan'
wat. Certainly, most of the congregation of Wat Ommarāwāt are Northern Thai speakers.

[I intended to record this whole ceremony, but forgot to turn the mike on until near the end of
the sermon. Everything after that was recorded.]
This morning at about 9:30 Jane and I went to Wat Kittiwong to attend the ceremony of süp čatā held in honor of the CKA's 36th birthday. The arrangements were as follows:

To the ceremony had been invited nine monks, none from Wat Kittiwong. In fact, no monks or novices from Wat Kittiwong were present, except Nēt and the CKA himself. There was a small group of lay people present – maybe 30 – which included relatives (Both the CKA's parents were present), members of the young people's association who had prepared food, photographers, and a few others – mainly older lay people.

Among the monks, the Phra Khrū from Wat Sībunrüang was the first.

The 'apparatus' of the ceremony was much the same as that described above for the süp čatā for Phra Mahā Kāēo. I didn't attempt this time to get any detailed descriptions of the items.

I have recorded the whole ceremony. Two unique things; (1) the chanting of a chant four times by each monk – thus resulting in 36 repetitions of the chant equal to the CKA's 36 years; (2) the giving of a sermon by the Sībunrüang phra khrū from one of the old bailān so that, the CKA said, he can live as long as the sermon has lived.

The lay people present were also served food after the monks had eaten.

Today, a sister ceremony to the tān tāēn ceremony, that which is called locally kin kuai salāk was held at Wat Čôm Čāēng. The ceremony differed in several particulars from that held at Wat Ommarāwāt and that held at the same wat a year ago (see notes for September 26, 1967).

4 Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the kin kuai salāk ceremony held at Wat Čôm Čāēng on September 15, 1968. The original tape is titled, “Tape Number 32, Side 1.” The tape and a digitized version are located at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, record number 2001-2.49 EC. An index and a Thai transcript of the recording are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.
The Offerings

There were three main types of offerings:

1) *kuai* - An additional type of offering consisting of a variety of traditional foodstuffs, etc., placed inside a bamboo-strip basket which is lined with newspaper. Afterwards, I had an opportunity to examine the contents of three of these:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Contained in Basket</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khāo niao</em> wrapped in banana leaf</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick of sugar cane</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khāo sān</em></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>khāo plüāk</em></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peanuts</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miang</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pomelo</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>makók</em> (hog plum)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lime</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guava</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>makrūt</em> (Kaffir lime)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigarettes</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savoury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dried pepper</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makings of betel chew</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(area, betel, lime, and other local ingredients)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garlic</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onion</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matches</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajinomoto</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>candle</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slice of <em>som khāng</em></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1) *kuai* (continued) These offerings also had stuck in top a bamboo stick to which was attached matches, notebooks, pencils, cigarettes, paper flowers, and maybe coins. I didn't see any of these offerings with papers in them indicating that the merit-made was to be 'sent' to a dead relative. All of these offerings were provided by individual donors.

2) *kuai sang*

Open buckets, baskets, basins filled with mainly purchased foodstuffs and dry goods, but also usually containing some of the basic offerings (tobacco, candles, incense, etc.). Usually, to these offerings were attached slips of paper indicating for whom the merit made was to be dedicated. Individual offerings.

3) *ton* – i.e. 'trees' – Large elaborate structures made by some group with only a minimum of types of usable offerings - money, notebooks, pencils, matches, candles, etc. These are made by such groups as the young people’s association of a particular wat or school children from particular schools. These offerings have attached to them (or written on them) the name of the donor group ("rongrian Čôm Čāēng", "wat kittiwong", etc.).

A few people had also brought *ton ngoen* (*nām ton*) with their associated offerings, the type of offering that was so conspicuous at Wat Ommarāwāt. A few others, like Sanga and myself, brought only envelopes of money.

For most of the *kuai, kuai sang,* and *ton ngoen* the donors had prepared a piece of paper known as *sen* which indicated the recipient (usually deceased) for whom the merit made was to be dedicated. These *sen* were taken and placed in the center of the wihān. Some were written in Northern Thai, while most were written in Central Thai. These *sen* would later be distributed amongst monks and novices. A few donors, however, presented their offerings directly to the abbot, other monks, or novices of Wat Čôm Čāēng (insofar as I observed these offerings, I noted that they were usually of the *kuai sang* variety). Most were presented inside the kuthi before the ceremony began. At least one was presented outside the wat precincts, unquestionably because the deceased recipient had died an unnatural death. Some offerings of both main types had been placed before the altar in the wihān. These were obviously for the wat rather than for distribution amongst monks and novices.

The large group offerings (*ton*) were strictly for Wat Čôm Čāēng.
Participants

Unlike Wat Ommarāwāt, every monk and novice in Mae Sariang district had been invited to participate in this ceremony. Most came from wats which were within walking distance of Wat Čôm Čāēng. Something over 40 monks, and more than 80 novices represented 19 different wats at the ceremony. The wats included both Shan/Burmese and Yuan wats (Wat Māē Hān).

In addition to the monks, one layman (a young man) acted as sort of master of ceremonies with the P.A. system and leading the congregation in the wai phra. An ācān did the rest of the lay leading and the wāēn tān.

The lay people who attended the ceremony came from all parts of the town and its environs and included a large proportion of young people.

The monks, novices, lay leaders, and some of the lay congregation (usually older people) were inside the wihān. The rest of the lay people were spread throughout the wat grounds, and particularly in the sālā.

Ceremony

Prior to the beginning of the actual ceremony, the following events took place (sometimes simultaneously).

1) Decorating of wat and wat grounds by members of the wat congregation and clergy.
2) Preparation of offerings by donors.
3) Procession of offerings to the wat. Actual processions accompanied the ton offerings.
4) Offerings made to clergy of Wat Čôm Čāēng by those who were not including their offerings in the general grouping.
5) Entertainment via P.A. system.

From about 10:30 on, the participating monks and novices began to arrive, but most didn't come until after taking the mid-day meal at their home wats. As one layman explained to me, Wat Čôm Čāēng does not have sufficient income to pay for the food necessary to feed such a large number of clergy. Consequently, only those monks from quite distant wats were fed at Wat Čôm Čāēng.

By about 12:30-1:00, the clergy had arrived and gathered in the wat and the ceremony began:

1) wai phra led by young master of ceremonies.
2) ācān khōsin; CKA hai sin; congregation, rap sin.
3) ācān wāēn tān
4) ācān requests sermon; novice reads (or gives) Yuan sermon from an enclosed thamma māt.

During part number 3, a number of laymen are counting the sen and placing them in even bundles. During part 4, several monks divide them into piles for the clergy.

1) ācān gives short chant.
2) Monks suat.
3) CKA explains the distribution of sen. Said that there were 2262 sen. These were divided among 46 monks and 32 novices representing 19 wats as follows:
   a. Monks: 24 sen each
   b. Novices: 13 sen each
   c. Wat Čôm Čāēng: 92 sen (being the remainder)
4) Monks chant the 'blessing'.
5) Sen are matched with salāk to distribute gifts. This ending was pure bedlam with people surrounding the monks to request their slips and then milling around the wihān attempting to match sen and gift.

Apparently, most of the kuai offerings never reach the monks for the monks give their slips to people, usually children, who keep the kuai they find with the exception of the "top" which is given to the monks. This practice leads to some monks (such as the one from Wat Ommarāwāt) literally being swamped by children wanting his slips. A monk usually keeps some of these gifts, but others are given away. The kuai sang offerings on the other hand are always kept by a monk and usually result in the monk or novice giving the donor a haiphon.

‘Tribals’ at Ceremony

I saw a few Lua whom I knew and who live in areas surrounding Wat Čôm Čãēng and there were probably many more present. I also saw several Karen men, including one P’wo who often comes to beg at our house. I that at least some were looking for free hand outs.
Süp čatā for Čao Khana Amphoe

Monday is the CKA’s 36th birthday and he will be honored at the end of his third cycle with a süp čatā ceremony at Wat Kittiwong.

Mae Sariang

September 17, 1968

Salāk Ceremonies

I asked the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) about the salāk ceremonies which I have observed in the last week. He confirmed that there were two types of ceremony:

1) tān tāēn (ตานแทน). [Tān is the equivalent of the Thai thān (ทาน) and means 'presentation of alms'; tāēn is the equivalent of the Thai thāēn, and means 'on the behalf of – in this case, a deceased relative],

2) kin kuai salāk or tān kuai salāk (กิ๋นก๋อยสลาก). [Also known elsewhere in north as kin or tān kōi salāk (กิ๋น/ตานเข้าสลาก) and kin or tān khao salāk (กิ๋น/ตานเข้าสลาก).

The ceremonies are united in the practices of čap salāk (‘drawing lots’) and in the dedication of merit for the dead, but they differ in many other particulars.

In tān tāēn, monks (and/or novices) are invited as individuals and there is usually only a small number of them. The offerings are usually ton ngoēn (‘money trees' stuck in a water jug) or kuai sang, the containers of dried foodstuffs, etc. The participating clergy is given one only of these offerings (I think always kuai sang). The names of the donors are placed in a bāt and each monk, novice and the ācān draws one. The monks give individual blessings for those who wish them, which is usual. The rest of the offerings are kept by the wat, thus meaning that the wat having tān tāēn receives more income than wats having kin kuai salāk.

In kin kuai salāk, the usual offerings are the kuai nôi or salāk čōk (ก๋อยน้อย or สลากโจ๊ก) (Thai chōk,โชค, 'luck'). In Sanguan’s Praphēnī Iae Watthanātham Müang Nüa, p. 139, he states

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5 Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the süp čatā ceremony held at Wat Kittiwong on September 16, 1968. The original tape is titled, “Tape Number 32, Side 2.” The tape and a digitized version are located at the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, record numbers 2001-2.50 EC and 2001-2.51 EC. An index and a Thai transcript of the recording are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW.
that the following are usually found in *kuai nôi* in Chiang Mai: milled rice, peppers, onions, garlic, *kapi*, *plārā* or *khāotom* sweet, both salted and toasted *hômok*, betel, *miang*, cigarettes, matches and tallow candles. The *yôt* of this offering, Sanguan states, usually consists of coins attached to a stick. These offerings rarely, if ever, have slips attached to them telling the name of the donor and the person for whom the merit is dedicated. In this they differ from both the *kuai sang* and the *ton ngōën*. Rather, in the former case, the information is written on the *sen*. In this ceremony, wats rather than individual clergy are invited and all monks and novices in the wats are expected to attend. If one is ill or cannot attend for any reason, he will nonetheless receive his share of *sen* and offerings. All *sen* are distributed, two parts for monks and one part for a novice. Remaining that cannot be divided are for *wat*, but generally speaking all offerings are distributed and little is left for the sponsoring wat.

In both ceremonies, some people make offerings directly to the abbot of the wat. According to the CKA, these people are either too lazy to take part in the distribution of the offerings or else they want to see their offerings go to the sponsoring wat.

Also, in the second type of ceremony, some people place their offerings in the various *khan* which are designated for specific things. Most wats have five such *khan*: *khan phraphut* (ขันพระพุทธ), *khan phra tham* (ขันพระธรรม), *khan thēt* (ขันเทศน์), *khan phon* (ขันพร), and *khan ācān* (ขันอาจารย์). Some also have *khan thāt* (ขันธาตุ).

Some people also present their offerings (usually *kuai sang*) to monks (usually abbot of sponsoring wat) outside wat. This is done when the merit being made is dedicated to a person who *tāi hōng* (ตายโหง) or is *phī hōng* (ผีโหง) - that is a person who died in some accident or suddenly and thus had not yet fully realized his Karma (ยังไม่ถึงกรรม). The 'souls' (วิญญาณ) of such people cannot enter a wat and thus the *truāt nām* must be done outside the wat so the tortured soul can receive the resulting merit.

The *wāēn tān* is the same at both ceremonies.

The origin of the ceremony has in one version at least, something to do with *Nāngyaksanī* (นางยักษณี) and 'first fruits'. Thai and Yuan traditions are different and CKA has promised to write out the anisong salāk.
Mae Sariang

September 19, 1968

Tān tāēn Ceremony at Wat Chaiyalāp

Today we received an invitation to attend a tān tāēn ceremony at Wat Chaiyalāp. The invitation and its translation follow.

Translation of Invitation to Tān Tāēn Ceremony at Wat Chaiyalāp

Schedule of Events for the Merit-Making Ceremony of Salākkaphat (Tān Tāēn)
at Wat Chaiyalāp

* * *

The Wat Committee of Wat Chaiyalāp has scheduled a salākkaphat (tān tāēn) at Wat Chaiyalāp on the 23rd of September, 2511, the second day of the waning of the moon in the first month (northern reckoning) as follows:

- 10:30 a.m. Presentation of food to 85 members of the Sangha.
- 11:30 a.m. Presentation of a sermon, offering of alms, formal gratitude chanted by clergy. All the faithful are thus invited to join in this merit-making of gratitude according to the time and day mentioned.

[Signed] Chaiyalāp Wat Committee

Document: Invitation to Tān Tāēn Ceremony at Wat Chaiyalāp
The Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) says, incidentally, that such invitations are not usually issued for *kin kuai salāk* and that people just learn of the ceremony and go.

We won't be going to this ceremony as we are planning to go to Chiang Mai on Sunday (and I on to Bangkok on Monday for two days).

**Mae Sariang**

**September 20, 1968**

Pilgrimage Sites Recognized by Northern Thai

Sometime ago I learned that the northern Thai recognize 12 wats or reliquaries in the Southeast Asian area which are important pilgrimage sites. He didn't know the full list, but I learned that my assistant Lā-ò's mother might know them. She has given me the following partial list.

Each shrine is associated with a year of the animal cycle and a person is supposed to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine associated with the year in which he is born. Thus, in the following list, the shrines are identified by the year of the cycle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Cycle *</th>
<th>Shrine</th>
<th>Location **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 <em>chuat</em> (ชวด) 'mouse' or 'rat'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 <em>chalū</em> (ชลบุรี) 'ox'</td>
<td>Phrathāt Lampāng (พระธาตุล่ำปาง)</td>
<td>Lampang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 <em>khān</em> (ขาล) 'tiger'</td>
<td>Čôlāē (เจ้าแห่ง)</td>
<td>In Chiang Mai pr. on road to Māētāēng – Māē Rim [CKA says in Phrāē]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 <em>thô</em> (ถ่อง) 'hare'</td>
<td>Čāēhāēg (เจ้าแห่ง)</td>
<td>?- [Nan]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 <em>marōng</em> (มะโรง) 'dragon'</td>
<td>Phrathāt phrasüng (พระธาตพระสืบ)</td>
<td>Chiang Mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 <em>maseng</em> (มะเส็ง) 'snake'</td>
<td>Phračaothalatpanyā sapphanū phraphuththa čao (พระเจ้าคลัดปัญญา สัพพะณ พระพุทธเจ้า)</td>
<td><em>(Sawan - i.e., 'Heaven')</em>[ in Thai ทรัสรร tratsarū]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Thai Name</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mamīa (มะเมีย) 'horse'</td>
<td>ta kōng (ตะก้อง)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mamāē (มะแม) 'ram'</td>
<td>Dōi Suthēp (ดอยสุเทพ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>wōk (วอก) 'monkey'</td>
<td>Phra thāt phanom (พระธาตุพนม)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lakā (ละกา) 'chicken' or 'cock'</td>
<td>Phra thāt Hariphūnchāi (พระธาตุหริภุญชัย)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Čō (จอ) ‘dog’</td>
<td>Phra kēt kāēočulāmanī (พระเกตแก้วจุฑามณี)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kūn (กุน) 'pig' [elephant]</td>
<td>Dōi tung (ดอยตุง)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The informant has given the Thai (Siamese) names which are not the same as the Yuan.

** Additional notes by CKA.
According to the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA), the Shwe Dagon in Rangoon should also be on the list, although he doesn't know in association with which year. One of the Māē Ngae manuscripts is a history of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Yuan. There is also another manuscript containing the formula for wai thāt at Dôi Suthēp and Hariphūnchai.

I also obtained from this woman a Northern Thai text entitled Kamwaithātsangluam (คำไหว้ธาตุสังฆ์รวม), which might be translated as ‘Worshipping all Reliquaries’.

**Buddhist Responsibilities associated with Birth Dates**

I have learned from the CKA and other sources that there are several types of Buddhist 'duties' associated by the Yuan with their dates of birth. In addition to pilgrimage shrines associated with one's birth year (in the 12-year cycle) there are also particular sermons associated with one's year of birth, one's month (in Northern Thai lunar calendar) of birth, and one's day (in the seven day cycle) of birth. These latter the CKA calls respectively tham čata pi (ธรรมจะตาปี๋), tham čatā düan (ธรรมจะตาเดือน) and tham čatā wan (ธรรมจะตาวัน).

**Bangkok**

**September 23 - 27, 1968**

**Trip Away**

On Sunday the twenty-third, Jane, Nick, Phan and I drove to Chiang Mai. On Monday I went alone to Bangkok where I gave seminars on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday to the Embassy, ARDA, and USOM regarding my work in the North. I returned to Chiang Mai on Thursday morning and we all returned to Mae Sariang on Friday afternoon, September 28.

**Mae Sariang**

**September 28, 1968**

**Ceremony Held by Monks for Ill Person**

In talking with the Čao Khana Amphoe (CKA) today, he mentioned a ceremony called in Yuan sāt kuam (สัตรก๋วม) (According to Nai Mēt's dictionary, kuam means 'to haunt'). This ceremony is held for a person who has been seriously ill for a long time and doesn't show signs of getting better.
Four monks are invited – also bring with them one alms bowl and one piece of monk's cloth (square in shape). The chanting takes place with the four monks standing and the afflicted sitting. The cloth is rested on the head of the ill person and each monk holds a corner while chanting. No khōsin, rapsin, etc., just chanting of a sutra. Once the chanting is finished, the monks are invited in the house and given alms.

Messianic/Millenarian Elements in Buddhism

The CKA today showed me a fly sheet (mimeographed) which had been given to him by someone in town (see below). The title of the sheet was "Buddhist Prophecy" (พระพุทธพจน์ ท่านาย) its contents purport to be the translation into Thai of an inscription found in India and concern events of a catastrophic nature which are to happen in the period of 2500 years or so after Buddha's death. Only those who follow the dictates of this message will be spared.

This particular sheet was written in Thai, but the CKA says that he has seen others of a similar nature which have been written in Northern Thai. He could throw no light on the origin of this particular sheet.
บุคคลใดเจรจาต่อมหาภาคกุฏิ ในสมณศักดิ์หน้าที่ แห่งพระพุทธเจ้า บุญคุณ ปฎิบัติผู้ที่มีบุญปฎิบัติธรรมวิถีกุฏิและพระคุณมาก เมื่อ 2434 คุณดั่งพิจารณาที่ ณ ปี 2500

บุคคลได้กล่าวดังนี้ แล้วเป็นที่รู้ (2,500 ปี) มุนีและศรัทธาราชที่ บัญชาพิริมพ์ที่สมบูรณ์ ซึ่งมีอายุ 30 ปี ถ้าทำคุณครูในกายแบบเก่า เหมือนกับ สามใหญ่ เมื่อถึงวันจนชั่ววันแล้วจะอยู่ที่นั้น เมื่อได้กล่าวคำสอนผ่านๆ ออกมาพุทธกิจ ราชกิจ และทุกปีของพุทธ sesso ประชาชนทั้งหมด เข้าพุทธาและผู้มีญาติ เข้าพุทธาไข่พุทธานุสรณ์ ให้พุทธลามเสถียรสมบูรณ์ สมัยประจำปี ทางนักพุทธานุสรณ์ ที่วัดนั้นก็เหมือนกับวันพุทธมหามงคล

# "Buddhist Prophecy"

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“ศิลปะวิทยา  มีมิติอย่างครบ ศิลปะตะลุ่า  สวยงามในที่หนึ่ง ไม่เหมือน

ทั้งยังมีความหมายในมิติไฟฟ้า ไฟฟ้าสมบัติ ไฟฟ้าเสียงไฟฟ้าสีบาน

หัวใจ หรือหัวใจไฟ 有力ที่โน้มเกิด สีเงินสันพิธิ์ ศิลปะภาพย่อ อาจส่องแสง

สังเคราะห์เป็นที่ใจที่มีความหมายในที่อุทิศให้กับสุนทรียภูมิ

เมื่อศกษาตามอาจารย์ของไทย 2513 ปี (ปีมี) พระเจ้าพระเจ้าเริ่มสร้างแสงย่อของ

ไทย ถ้าพันธุ์ลิฟท์นำเริ่มไม่เกิดการพิชิตฟือ ในสมัยที่เริ่มต้น

ไฟฟ้า เป็นเพียงผ่าน ทางจิตใจมีความเรียกขานได้ ขณะที่เพลง คุณ

ทั้งจากลักษณะนำurgeonระบบนิเวศน์ ยังคงอยู่ไทย สามารถ พระ

จะยุติการบุกรุกผ่านบูชาในทางที่จะเปลี่ยนแปลงได้ จึง

จะต้องทำให้โดยเฉพาะศิลปะในที่เป็น.scalar แห่งศิลปะ และวิจิตร

มหาชน พระสมเด็จพระเจ้าธรรมะได้เป็นพระที่ส่งมอบองค์จารึก

เก็บไว้ในอยู่ของพระ

มหาเทวปิย์ได้ที่อยู่ของ

พระเจ้าที่ทรงก้น เริ่มจากปี 2513 ถึง 2517 ผู้มีหน้าที่ของ

พระพิภพที่จะค้นหาํเช่นช่างบูชาสถานในที่แห่งนี้ สมัครภาพผ่านตระกูลศิลป์มี

4,000 รูป ด้วยสมทบภาพด้วยภาพ วาดและเพลงโดยเครื่องสัญลักษณ์

ที่อยู่ของศิลป์ที่ส่งมอบได้ในความไม่ยุติธรรม ปัจจุบัน แต่เริ่มหรือไม่เริ่ม ไม่มีผลที่จะยุติ

ไม่ได้เป็นที่ประเสริมและที่สร้างให้สุนทรียภาพอยู่อย่าง

ปัจจุบันจะไม่ได้ที่เรียบร้อยปีนั้นปีนี้

ให้กับศิลป์ที่อยู่ที่จะยุติ

"พุทธิกุลชัย อนุษฎา ณ นาโง่ท่าราชา ขณะกิจ ประทัศภูมิ

อธิสถิตชัย สมรภูภูมิ อธิทัศกรณ์ ประมุขท่าไชย อธิทัศน์ เท่าไม่ตาม"

"รู้ด้วยนามะวิทยา ให้ท่องบ้านวัฒนาภิเษก"

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ภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริยาภิริย
Translation (incomplete) of “Buddhist Prophecy”

The following was copied in 1941 from an inscription in the area of the Great Vihāra, in the Deer Park of India. It was translated by a group of Thai envoys who had gone to invite the relics of the Buddha and the Great Bodhi tree.

Sāthu The Lord Buddha has compassion for worldly creatures who since birth have known great hardships. …

[paragraph 3]

When the world approaches the number which I [the Buddha] have prophesied (2500 years) both men and animals will suffer [lit., receive, รับ] all kinds of disasters; one half [?] will be lost. In the period of 30 years [there will be] things which adherents have never met or seen… When my religion has existed until 2507 [1964] (Year of the Dragon), it will have changed from its original character and become exhausted. [In] 2508 [1965] (Year of the Snake), the shores and banks will collapse and the evil lands will be flooded and become seas. [In] 2512 [1967] (Year of the Cock) the world of man will be dark seven days and seven nights and the earth will fall into disaster.…

[paragraph 4]

Men who are compassionate (เมตตา) and merciful (กรุณา), who are not oppressive [lit., who don’t oppress เบียดเบียบที่], abusive, envious or vengeful, who do no inflict injury upon one another, who act in accord with the Dhamma and who follow my words will escape these disaster. [Let such men as these] pray [or meditate upon] the following: “Hida jirādan mangalōṅga silāgalā sāsa-adī hōdadhī togataganē.” … [end of translation]

Biographical Information on the CKA

The CKA's full name is Phra Khrū Anusôn Sātsanakiat (Tham Akkhapunyō) [พระครูอนุสรณ์ศาสนเกียรติ (ธรรมอัคคปุญโญ)]. He was born in Mae Sariang on September 16, 1932. He was first a novice and has been a monk since the age of 20. His father was originally from Lamphun and came here as a policeman and married a Mae Sariang girl. He has, I believe, two
brothers (one a policeman and one in the army) and one sister. He studied some in a wat (not a main wat) in Chiang Mai, but never in Bangkok.

He previously held the rank/title/name of Phra Khrū Sangkharak (พระครุฑสังฆรักษตรม) and was raised to his present status in September 1966. He became abbot of Wat Kittiwong in 1957 and CKA in 1963.

Mae Sariang

September 29, 1968

Tān Tāēn at Wat Kittiwong

Today Wat Kittiwong held a tān tāēn ceremony (last year the wat held a kin kuai salāk ceremony). I arrived at the wat at a little after 10:00. The ceremony was to be held in the kuthi because, the CKA said, "women cannot enter the bōt". However, the bōt was set up to receive the invited clergy and they took their noon meal there.

Personnel

As is the custom in tān tāēn ceremonies, individual clergy were invited, not all the clergy of each wat as is the case in kin kuai salāk. Forty-two monks had been invited, plus novices from Wat Kittiwong and the Karen novices from the chēdī at B. Pā Māk (called in Northern Thai, phā thät pā māk).

A large group of Karen from B. Pā Māk and B. Māē Hān came to make joint offerings. They did not stay, however, for the ceremony but presented their offerings, and received the 'blessing' and left.

Group offerings were also made by a number of "Wat Young People's Associations" (กลุ่มหนุ่มสาว). I identified the following: B. Huai Wōk, B. Nām Dīp, B. Čôm Čāēng.

The rest of the lay congregation was made up of individuals from Mae Sariang.

Charles F. Keyes made a tape recording of the tān tāēn ceremony held at Wat Kittiwong on September 29, 1968. The original tape is titled, “Tape Number 33.” A Thai transcript of the recording are located in UW Special Collections, and within the Charles and Jane Keyes Collection on the digital ResearchWorks archive at UW. The tape itself was meant to be donated to the University of Washington Ethnomusicology Archive, but a record of it cannot be found.
The Young Peoples' Association of Wat Kittiwong was in charge of preparing the meal for the clergy.

An ācān (the regular ācān of Wat Kittiwong) performed the actions incumbent on the role of lay leader.

Offerings

The offerings consisted predominantly of kuai sang, with a few ton ngōēn and at least one kuai nōi. The group offerings were somewhat truncated versions of the ton presented at kin kuai salāk ceremonies. At least as many of the kuai sang were given directly to resident clergy in Wat Kittiwong as were set aside to be included with the salāk offerings. I heard one person estimate that some 120 kuai sang had been brought, about half of which were presented directly to the wat. All of the group offerings were given directly to the wat.

Those offerings which were set aside as salāk, were given a number and a corresponding number was written on a piece of paper and placed in a bāt. Later each of the attending clergy would draw a number and thus receive the designated offering. The remaining ones would become offerings to the wat.

Most of the individual offerings had slips of paper attached designating the donor and the deceased for whom the merit was meant. However, not all were this way. I noted one slip which read simply:

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“The faithful, Mrs. Bun Pan, and her children
Offer [these goods] as alms.”
[“ศัทธา นางบุญปั๋น พร้อมด้วยบุตร
ถวายเป็นสังฆทาน”]
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All of the large group offerings had slips attached reading, in effect, "this [name of group] offers [these goods] as alms."
Activities

1) Prior to the beginning of the actual ceremony, those who didn't wish to include their offerings in the salāk group made their presentations to members of the Kittiwong clergy and received their blessings.

2) The clergy partook of their noon meal.

3) The ceremony proper
   a) request and receipt of precepts
   b) wāēn tān (offering) by ācān
   c) sermon (during which monks drew their numbers)
   d) suat mon and hai phon.

I recorded the ceremony in full.