Publications of the Institute of Tai Studies

Publication of Books :

a) *Traditional Verbal Tales of Assam: Form content Genre and Method of Study* (2005)

b) *System of Medical Treatment during the Ahom Rule, (2006)*

c) *Documents on Ahom Movement,* (2010)

d) *Kheklai,* (2011)

e) *Lik Cham Tu Kham Tai Poi Ka Na,* (2011)

f) *Pioung Khom Tai,* (2012)

g) *আহোম আন্দোলনৰ ঐতিহাসিক দলিল* (প্ৰথম খণ্ড),2012

h) *আহোম আন্দোলনৰ ঐতিহাসিক দলিল* (দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড),2013

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j) *Folk Culture of Indigenous Communities of Northeast India, 2017*

Publication of Manuscripts :

a) *Chao-Pha-Khao-Po-Luk Siu Khuang-Pha* (A Tai- Ahom Manuscript with Translation), January, 2009.

b) *Tai-Ahom Manuscript :* Chum-Pha-Rung-Cheng- Miun (With a Translation into English and Assamese), March,2010

c) *Lit Lai Kwa Moung,* (Tai Ahom Manuscript with a translation into Assamese and English) 2011

d) Lit Sang Han (Tai Ahom Manuscript with a translation into Assamese and English, 2013)

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Contents

script. Although the Lahu peoples religion is that of primitive animism and polytheism, there are some people believing in Mahayana Buddhism, Christianity and Catholicism. The Lahu are a cross-border people who are found between Yunnan, Thailand and Myanmar (formerly Burma). Works on the Lahu include *A Brief History of the Lahu*,[2] *Discourse on the Lahus Culture*,[3]and *Chopsticks Only Work in Pairs: Gender Unity and Equality Among the Lahu of Southwest China*.[4]

Lancang is part of Puer city which the Dai people originated from Baiyue ethnic groups along the southeast coast of ancient China. They moved into Simao (now Puer) around the Han dynasty. It is also reported that the Dai people in Lancang moved here from Ruili in west Yunnan around the 13th century.[5] Lancang is one of well-known Puer tea-producing areas in China, and its teas are broad and fleshy with a good quality. Of its various teas, the Jingmai Tea from Huimin district and Mangnuo Tea from Wendong district are the best. Jingmai Tea Mountain is one of the newly recognized six Puer tea-growing mountains.

I was warned by a roadside truck driver that the road to Menglian county town was poor because it was under construction. Therefore, after getting my car refueled at a petrol station, Prof. Girin Phukon and the rest of us would go to Ximeng county first, and then turn left to Menglian. It was all the way on the provincial road 230. It was in the falling dusk. In the suburbs of Ximeng county town at Mengsuo, my car steered left to Menglian.

Dusk fell before very long. We were travelling in Lancangs Laba township, where all was dark except for a lighted roadside auto repair shop. Fortunately, we moved smoothly. However, back in the early 1950s, it was tough and dangerous to make trips in this neck of the woods. There were no motor roads except for narrow post roads which were small trails only. There were some bamboo bridges thrown across the rivers, and bamboo rafts were used in crossing those rivers. It took 40 days to travel on foot or horseback from Menglian county to Kunming. The road from Menglian to Lancang was completed in 1957, thus the time to Kunming was cut to 5 days only.[6]

Lancang also possesses a population of the Wa people. But previously, it was difficult to cut through their turfs. In the early days of the Communist takeover, if the armymen and local officials were to pass through the Wa villages, they were required, by the Wa etiquette, to pay the Wa headmen salt, tea, and *bankai* (meaning half-open , a silver dollar issued by Yunnan local government in pre-1950 days) before traversing through it. In June

Editor's Note

The *Indian Journal of Tai Studies* is an annual publication of the Institute of Tai Studies and Research. Dissemination of knowledge through rigorous empirical inquiry in the field of 'Tai Studies' has been the objective of this Journal. It has already evolved as a major forum for publication of scholarly works on central and current themes of the Tai Studies. Its contents reflect the aims and intellectuals pursuit of the Institute of Tai Studies & Research and its growing importance. It is a multidisciplinary Journal which presents a diversity of approaches to Tai studies. Leading scholars in the field from India and abroad, have published their articles in the Journal on a wide variety of areas of Tai Studies such as history, culture, language, literature, society and polity, economy, archaeology and art, religion and philosophy and so on. Although, the Journal is primarily interested in academic works in the field, it also publishes contribution of other areas indirectly linked with Tai Studies. The Tai history, Tai religious System, Tai Political Systems and Tai culture have been the most systematically and thoroughly explored areas in the world. This Journal has given rise to a huge body of studies covering almost every cenceivable aspect of Tai life, society and culture. The content of this Journal is still relevant and may serve at least as a starting point of new avenue for further research *This is the first Journal of this kind published in India*. It has already established its credibility as a referred Journal with the publication of its volume XVII.

I would like to express my profound gratitude to the ICSSR, New Delhi for extending financial support to bring out this volume. Besides, my appreciation is due to all those who have extended their co-operation towards publication of this volume. It is my pleasure to put forward this volume of the Journal to the members of academic community with the hope that it will stimulate them.

October, 2017

(Girin Phukon)

Continued from last issue :

A Journey to the Land of Dai (Tai) Mao in China :
Reflections on an Indian Scholar's Field Trip to China

Chen Jianming

Part III

Road Travel to the Dai Settlement in Menglian with prof. Girin Phukon

On December 30, 2014, at 17:34, we reached Lancang county seat before dusk. Lancang, a Lahu autonomous county, was founded on April 7, 1953, which was then called Lancang Lahu autonomous region (at a county level). My memory of Lancang was that of a drowsy county town when I visited it in November 1999, with Japanese scholar Yukio Ikemoto. The sun was bright in the city with a handful of residents foraging for food at the farm produce market. At that time, a TV drama *Xizang Fengyun* (Storm Over Tibet) was on the air. It described how the newly established central Communist government pushed for peaceful liberation of Tibet through negotiations and how the Dalai Lama went into exile in India in March 1959.[1] In fact, the minority areas in southwest China, including Xishuangbanna, Dehong and of course Lancang, Ximeng, Gengma, Menglian and other adjacent counties where the Dai people lived, were brought into the administration of new Communist China in the same fashion of peaceful liberation.

The Lahu people claim to be the Lahu. In Lahu language, the tiger is called *la* and the meat grilled with fire to the extent of smelling delicious, *hu*. So Lahu means a special way of eating roasted tiger meat. The Lahu men just love to hunt animals. The Lahu came from ancient Diqiang tribes who gradually moved into Lancang in the 13th century from Dali and Lincang. The Lahu language belongs to the Yi branch of Tibeto-Burman group in Sino-Tibetan language family, which is divided into Lahuxi and Lahuna, communicable with each other. Originally the Lahu language had no script in the past. In the early 20th century foreign missionaries came to Lancang and made up a Lahu script in Latin alphabet, which did not come into common use because it was unscientific. In 1957, the researchers from Institute of Linguistics under Chinese Academy of Sciences, having conducted comprehensive surveys, researches and reforms, worked out a new Lahu

oclock sharp of Beijing time. Then, there was no more broadcasting. At 10:02 after taking breakfast, we went visit Menglian Xuanfusishu, the ancient Dai native chieftain or *tusi* government office. Here, *xuanfu* means that the dynastic court sent its officials to relay imperial decrees and placate the local army and civilians; *si* means such an official or department; and *shu* means an office.

I found that Menglian county town was situated on the great plain or basin with karst hills rolling around. Menglian and Mengma basins are Menglian county's major grain-producing areas. Precisely because of this, the basin of Menglian was long inhabited by the Dai elites of *tusi* and his subordinates, in higher or lower echelon, for 28 generations, with *Xuanfusishu* government office set up here right up to the days when the Communist China was established.[21]

Positioned and concentrated here in the basin are rather larger Buddhist temples, in which large quantity of Buddhist classics or scriptures are kept, making themselves the places where the Dai people are educated. The county boasts 15 larger Buddhist temples, of which those kept now relatively intact are 8 temples, including Shangchengzi, Zhongchengzi, Mangnong, Manghong, Manglao, Mangyang, Xiayunjiao, Mengma and Manglie. Their Buddhist frescoes are in a unique style.[22] We had a very brief look at one of them, one which was decorated with golden gilt.

In November 1999 I stayed here and visited the Menglian Xuanfushishu in question. But now I simply did not know how to get there. A proprietress in the furniture shop told us where it was. Actually it was so close to our hotel. Across Nanlei river was an uphill town called Nayun, a cluster of the traditional Dai villages. It had been promoted as a tourist spot now.

Menglians Nayun town had been the seat of Menglian Xuanfusishu since 1709 in the Qing dynasty. Nayun means the inner city in the Dai language.[23] I drove my car along the ancient official trail up through the lower and middle towns and stopped at the upper town on the top of the Golden hill. I parked on a cement terrace. Prof. Phukon saw the entrance to an imposing architectural complex. It was the Menglian Xuanfusishu, the ancient government office complex, which the Indian guests came to visit from afar.

Scaling a flight of 13 doorsteps of the red sandstone, we saw an entrance gate with three doors and the gable and hip roof with single upturned eaves on columns. The whole structure is in the style of the Han-Chinese

1952, the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA)s Second Key Regiment was ordered to surround and annihilate Chiang Kai-sheks remnants attacking from Myanmar. The troops got to the Wa village of Damangling in Lancang. They presented the gifts to the headman for a passage, but were asked to give up the arms first, because the headman was incited by enemy agents. The armymen, whom were ordered not to fire on their own initiative and not to press a forced passage, had to sleep on the hillsides close to the village. At night, the headman sent a bunch of his men and killed a PLA soldier and hacked a political instructor. The next day the soldiers still restrained not to fight back and did present the headman salt and silver dollars, once again hoping to get past their village. The headman reciprocated the gifts with bullets and red-hot pepper, which indicated a declaration of war. After asking their superiors for an agreement, the army men fired three shells as a warning into the upper right sky over the village. Unexpectedly, the headman immediately came personally with sugarcanes and bananas to the troops suing for peace and welcoming the army into the village. Only after getting in the village did the troops understand that just now a shell exploded in midair, and it just so happened that a small piece of shrapnel grazed the forehead of the headmans father. The headman thought that the shell had a sure and good eye, because it hit his father only, leaving other fellow villagers safe and sound. For this reason, he became so flustered that he immediately changed his attitude.[7]

At 20:30, we reached Menglian county town, checked in and stayed overnight at Huangguan Hotel. Huangguan means an imperial or royal crown, which plausibly reminded us of our schedule to visit the Dai kings government office tomorrow. We felt hungry and had food at a seafood restaurant at the east end of the city. The food there was nice, but Prof. Phukon complained of its dirty restroom. I could imagine how lousy it was. Yunnans former CCP chief Li Jiheng twice declared to make clean restrooms in rest areas along Yunnans express highways. In China the people pay more attention to what is to eat than what it is to excrete. For food we have eight different styles of product lines in culinary art, and a documentary *A Bite of China* went viral in recent years. I do hope one day a documentary about Chinese restrooms will be produced. I learned a documentary entitled *Crazy Restrooms* but have not yet watched it.

Traditionally the Dai people excreted in hidden bamboo thickets or undergrowth.[8] Sigmund Freuds toilet-training is required in this sense. However, I found in recent dozens of years that they have come to be using

the restrooms. I do appreciate the Thai and Lao villagers using simple restrooms with scooped water to flush the toilets. I would also like to understand how their counterparts in Assam in using restrooms. Perhaps a comparative cultural-anthropology study should be made between them.

In the winter of 1962, the remains of Laoyingshan Neolithic rock cave of human settlement were found on the east bank of Nanlei river north of Nayun town, speaking volumes for the argument that in Menglian there is human survival and reproduction, and their production activities, including fishing and hunting, still occupy an important position in human history. It is consistent with the distribution area of Mang and Jinchi Baiyi described in historical records.[9] Please note that the Neolithic human cultural vestiges were found in the caves,[10] like its counterparts of Peking Man and Upper Cave Man at Zhoukoudian in Beijing. I do hope that it is like the Homo Orientalis of 2.5 million years ago and Yuanmou Man of 1.70 million years ago in Yunnan. The Chinese history starts with Yunnan,[11] the fact of which I am very proud as one of Yunnans long-time residents, though not native. However, only Peking Man of about 500,000 years ago is cited in China history books respectively by Jian Bozan and John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman.[12]

As early as 2,000 years ago Menglian was included in the territory of present-day China. It belonged respectively to Ailao area in the Western Han dynasty, to Yongchang prefecture in the Eastern Han, the Three Kingdoms, the Western, East Jin and the Southern dynasties, to the Pu tribes in the Sui dynasty, to Yongchang Jiedu (prefecture) in the Tang dynasty, and to Yongchang prefecture in the Song dynasty.[13]

Since the Yuan dynasty in the 13th century, Menglian had been administered by China s central dynastic court, which was the administration called *tusi*,[14] a system of appointing ethnic minority hereditary headmen, native chieftains or princes in the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, and such a headman was known as *tusi* in Chinese. The *tusi* institutions or offices include Mulian Zongguanfu in the Yuan Dynasty, Menglian Zhangguansi in the Ming Dynasty, Shixi Xuanfusi in the reign of the Emperor Kang Xi and Zhenbian Zhiliting in the reign of the Emperor Guang Xu in the Qing dynasty. Those political institutions ruled over all indigenous peoples.[15]

At the beginning of the Republic of China, the Kuomintang government changed Zhenbian Zhiliting to the County, and Menglian was under the jurisdiction of Lancang county. Early years of new Communist China saw Menglian still under Lancangs administration. On June 16, 1954,

approved by Chinas State Council, the establishment of Menglian Dai, Lahu and Wa Autonomous Region (at a county level) was established. In 1959, Menglian was rechristened Menglian Dai, Lahu and Wa Autonomous County under the Simao prefecture.[16] Now it is one of the counties of Puer city since April 2007.

Menglian is located in areas of tropical or sub-tropical rain forests, and the slash-and-burn is its traditional farming methods in mountains, with the deforestation practiced almost without any restrictions, even with some minority peoples roving about seeking forests. Thus, large tracts of virgin forests have been destroyed, and natural ecosystems seriously damaged. The tropical rain forests are plagued with overgrown weeds, and weeding is, if not impossible, difficult without fire-burning.[17] This is how slash-and-burn cultivation came about. It has been the object of public denunciation through ages. Since the 1980s, some scholars wrote several books discussing the slash and burn farming. They believe that this is a practice of ecological agriculture when the population exerts less pressure upon the land. However, to my knowledge, the first analysis of the same kind I've ever known is found in *A Survey of Menglian Dai, Lahu and Wa Autonomous County.* The authors believe that to wipe out the weeds, pests, and attack wild beasts, the fire is still very useful in present-day tropical rain forests.[18] Of course in modern agriculture, herbicides are used, which replaces the function of destroying pests by fire.

In Menglian, there are the Dai, Lahu, Wa, Hani, Han and other ethnic groupings. The Dai people are mainly distributed in the river valley and basins of Menglian, Mengma, Jingxin and Lalei districts. They are mainly engaged in agriculture, planting rice, peanuts, sugarcanes, tropical fruits, tea, rubber etc. They are much for fishing and keep doing business. The Dai people have their own writing system and believe in Hinayana Buddhism.[19]

Every year from April 10 to May 7, Menglian God Fish Festival is held on Nanlei river, commemorating the God Fish that brought rice seeds to Menglian natives, which is like *Yule Wenhuajie* (Happy Fishing Festival) in Mengzhe.[20]

Han Bafas Exodus from Mengmao Remembered

1. Xuanfusishu at a Glance

It was December 31, 2014, the last day of year.

At 5:30, I got up to access the Internet but failed because of the disconnection of it in the hotel. At 7:00, the lauder speaker announced 7

described in *Book of Barbarians* that at that time Mangman tribes lived in bamboo houses without city walls. Some of them stained their teeth, and men wore large black-cloth trousers with low crotches while women draped multicolored sarangs. The peacocks and peahens were reared in their nests in the trees next to their homes. Local farmers raised elephants for working them in the fields, and the elephant dung was used as fuels.[40]

In view of this, it can be judged that it is in Fan Chuos *Book of Barbarians* that Menglians Dai people were first recorded in history books in the Tang Dynasty. Fang Guoyu, the editor of *Yunnans Prefectures and Counties in Two Thousand Years*, explains that Mangtianlian is present-day Menglian county seat, and Mangtuhao, Menga village on the border with Myanmar.[41]

"Later, a pestilence broke out in the Dai settlements, and the Dai either died or fled and scattered to other places. After the catastrophe, Menglian was reduced into a waste basin, with only one village left behind in Meng' a." Obviously it was not a place peopled by nobody before the Dai people migrated here in Menglian from Mengmao. There lived other peoples. The Daolai people were driven away by the Dai newcomers from Mengmao.[42]

2. "In 1254, the Mongolian army arrived, forcing part of Mengmao subjects to migrate south. Four Mengmao officials led their people in their southward migration in three columns. After untold hardships, they found a beautiful river basin called Menglian, meaning a place found. The three columns of migrants gathered here, opening up barren land, building villages, forest-covered basin becoming fertile farmland where beautiful villages were established."

One more detailed account of the discovery of Menglian: According to the Dais historical records, 800 years ago, there was a local regime known as Mengmao kingdom in present-day Dehong prefecture. The monarch of the kingdom was called Zhaohehan in the Dai language. He had a son called Han Piafa[43] who failed in the struggle for succeeding to the throne against his elder brother. Thus, he led all his subordinates in three ways down the Lancang river in order to find a shelter as a place where his kingdom was to be established. Soon they came to Banban mountains of Menglian (now known as Guangbie mountain). Legend has it that one thousand shacks were put up, one thousand fireplaces were built, and one thousand clay pots were used. One day, Han Piafas two white buffalos came to the shack in the evening, and the herdsman found some wild arrowheads and slender grass leaves hanging on their horns. Those two plants grew only around ponds.

dougong.[24] Over the door lintels was a horizontal wooden board inscribed Menglian Xuanfusishu, and the left vertical wood board read Menglian County Ethnic and Historical Museum. It is called *hehan*, meaning the Golden Palace in the local Dai language. In the past, Menglians *tusi* appointed a village to be responsible for the security of the gate and some villagers were stationed at the entrance.[25]

Menglian Xuanfusishu is the offspring of the native chieftain or *tusi* system. Before the Yuan Dynasty the central court of China practiced a rule of bridle rein or restraint over the local ethnic groups in Menglian and other border localities. In 1289 the Yuan dynasty established Mulianlu Junminfu (army-civilian prefecture), starting the official rule of *tusi* system in Menglian. The construction of the office complex got started in 1406 in the Ming dynasty. In 1709, Dao Paiding, the *tusi*, was conferred the title of Menglian Shixi Xuanfusi (*shixi* means hereditary) by the Qing dynasty court. The Xuanfusishu complex that is protected in good repair up to now was reconstructed in 1878-1919. Its houses break down into three terraces, covering over 6,738 square meters. They are respectively the entrance, the meeting chamber, the main hall, the back hall, the east and west wing rooms, the kitchen, the granaries and the prisons, all enclosed by a two-meter high wall.[26]

Standing at the entrance, I found it looked out onto a vista of flatland and mountains. This is why the entrance gate was used in holding ceremonies for preaching ethical codes.[27] The entrance has its back towards northwest and faces southwest and is not on a central axis with the main building, that is, the gate is out of the perpendicular, and the road is slanting. This Dai style is different from that of the Han-Chinese screen wall in preventing family wealth and fortune from leaking out.[28]

The entrance led to a big courtyard. In the yard, the largest building is the meeting chamber, a three-storied Dai-style stilted house with Han-style multiple winged roof ends. The columns are carved with patterns of Han-Chinese stories, one of which is the phoenix on the dragon, popular theme ever since the Empress Wu Zetian in the Tang dynasty and the Empress Dowager Ci Xi in the Qing dynasty. There is a recess for the statue of Buddha, under which there is a big chair and a long table for the *tusi*. On either sides of the chair and table is a wooden rack for displaying swords, forks, spears, halberds and other weaponry. Here, the *tusi* convened his subordinates for meetings and trial of wrong-doers.[29]

The main hall, two-storeyed, is located in the backyard. The upstairs is the *tusi*s bedrooms with his three wives. In the parlour there is an altar for the Dai God of *Meng* and other Buddha statues. The east wing rooms are for *tusi*s sons and the west wing rooms for *tusi*s daughters. The kitchen and granary are stilted Dai-style buildings. Formerly there was a prison in the courtyard. There were 50-60 soldiers stationed here.[30]

Seen from an aerial photo, this ancient building complex, like other ancient buildings, looks very similar to a seal, called y*ikeyin*, the buildings in the pattern of an imperial seal. It is the only classic ritual building of the Dai people in China.[31] The office complex is both the place where the *tusi* conducted government affairs and the dwelling place for him and his family members, combining the functions of administration, justice, residence, and entertainment.[32]

The construction of Menglian Xuanfusishu took more than 40 years and three successive *tusi*s to complete. It got started since 1878 when the 25th *tusi* Dao Paiquan began to build it until 1919 when the 27th *tusi* Dao Paiyong finished it. Apart from the corv¨¦e of the different ethnic peoples, it cost more than 100,000 silver dollars. It is both an embodiment of the Dai peoples politics and the *tusi* system's precious cultural heritage kept for the future generations.[33]

Xuanfusishus buildings are said to be a product of architectural art of the Dai and Bai peoples, because the skilled Bai craftsmen were hired from Jianchuan county in Dali of west Yunnan to work on the offices, thus it was made unique, magnificent, beautiful and in good taste.[34]

The completion of the meeting chamber took ten years. Pieces of wooden sculpture were finished by the craftsmen of the Bai people in Jianchuan, Dali. They were transported here in Menglian by horse caravans across mountains and rivers before being installed in the office buildings.[35] For those reasons, some people argue that the office complex is characterized by the Dai peoples stilted bamboo house and the Han peoples housing styles.[36]

So the bewildering question: Is it a structure in the Dai and Bai or Dai and Han styles? I personally believe that both of those styles are correct, because the Bai craftsmen have been so influenced by the Han craftsmen that they are well known across Yunnan as trim carpenters from Jianchuan. But as Buddhism and its temples were introduced from Myanmar, why dont people argue that it is also influenced by Myanmarian style? Like the construction of the octagonal pavilion in Jingzhen of Xishuangbanna, that of

Xuanfusishu also absorbed outside cultural elements, such as the Han styles, and very possibly the Thai and Myanmar styles.

Most representative of Yunnans *tusi* government offices in Yunnan during the Qing dynasty, Menglian Xuanfusishu is the province's only large building complex combining the Dai, Han, and Bai architectural styles. It is one of the 18 *tusi* offices in the minority border areas of Yunnan, which is the one that has been preserved in better shape. In 1965, Yunnan provincial people's government approved it as one of the provinces key cultural relics units for protection. In 1985, it was built as Menglian County Ethnic and Historical Museum.[37] Xuanfusishu is a physical testimony of the Chinese *tusi* system. Other such offices are nonexistent now. A rebuilt gate wall is what is left of the Pinglu city in Mengmao.[38] The Xuanweishishu office has no traces to find in Xishuangbanna now. The Mu House in west Yunnans Lijiang is a rebuilt complex for tourists.

Menglians Dai people boast a lot of handwritten copies of folklores, mythology, stories, poetry, ethnic history, etc., of which the majority are collected in Menglian Xuanfusishu, as it is an ethnic and historical museum. There are more than one thousand pieces of cultural relics collected in the Xuanfusishu, such as the official clothes conferred to *tusi*s by the Qing court, letters of appointment, ivory seals, stamped letters, banners (one of them is a red flag, with Chinese characters *Menglian Xuanfusi Dao*), the gold umbrella, Chinese and Dai documents used by ancient *tusi*, the anti-poppy and drug license, the *tusi*s land and household registers, Dai-language classics (palm-leaf sutras and customary laws), long knives, guns, instruments of torture, utensils for sacrifices, handicrafts, the *tusi* and his family members articles of daily use, the common peoples tools of production, the clothing and their accessories, and the altar sacred to the God of *Meng*, and so on.[39]

2. How Han Bafa Found Menglian and Made a New History

Prof. Phukon visited the houses and relics in the museum, and took photos of the captions to the pictures on display in this government office complex. The pictures, like a tapestry, recounted a brief history of Menglians Dai people and other ethnic groups. The following numbered and quoted texts are from the pictures, and more details and my comments are offered below.

1. "In the Nanzhao (formerly Nanchao) kingdom during the Tang dynasty, Menglian was called Mangtianlian, and Menga was Mangtuhao. It is

were recorded in Chinese-language history books,[50] and it was also one of the hard and fast evidences that the Dai people in Menglian had their tributary relations with Chinese central regime.

5. “Nan Zhaomeng, Dao Pailes wife, was recorded in many history books for her tributes, together with those of Zhangguansi, to and the reward received from the imperial court in Beijing. She was widowed at 25 and never to be remarried. She helped the three Zhangguansi executives in handling public affairs and leading their subjects against external intrusions, and worked as a Princess Regent for handling administrative side. For those moving deeds, she received the emperors commendation and reward by conferring her the banners and flags.”

Zhao Nanmeng, meaning Queen Mother in the Dai language, had her real name of Nan Menmeng. She was born in 1440, and passed away in 1515 at the age of 75. She was born into a family of Pia Yalong in Menglei of Menglian. At 17, she was evenhanded in one matter, which was considered to be interfering with political affairs. So she was criticized. Boiling with rage, she shut herself up, not to meet any guests. Her fellow girls defended her against such an injustice. They did not sing songs, bringing no joy across the land and leaving it in the doldrums, for which Pia Yalong was so worried. When touring this land, Dao Paile was reported such a matter by Pia Yalong. Dao was seeking a lady who was able in attending to government affairs. So he gave her the name of Nan Hongfa before accepting her as one of his concubines. Nan Hongfa assisted Dao in administration for 8 years, and was ordered to be titled Zhao Nameng when Dao was on his deathbed. Since then, she had assisted her younger rulers for 50 years.[51]

In September 1493, the Ming dynasty Emperor Xiao Zong read the report from Yunnan: Zhao Nangmeng (namely Zhao Nanmeng), Dao Pailes wife in Menglian, widowed at 25 and preserving chastity for 28 years, was still working hard for the government at 53, whose deeds were so touching that a reward was requested to grant her. Xiao Zong was greatly rejoiced and handpicked imperial grant for such a reward. Yunnan authorities were ordered to commend her with silk, clothes, colored satin and other articles. The record of Zhao Nanmeng was still found in the Chinese-language books well into 1515 when she was aged 75, so well advanced in years.[52]

According to genealogy of Menglians *tusi* families, Zhao Nanmeng should have assisted 5, not 3, generations of *tusi* in governing the fiefdom.

What Dao Paile reckoned as important was not Zhao Nanmengs beauty (she was not rather good-looking) but her ability to govern. At that time, the

So the herdsman informed Han Piafa of this good piece of news. The next day he sent some people following the buffalos and found the flat land or river basin which was to be Menglian. At that time, the whole basin was still covered with vast virgin forests, and there were many ponds on both sides of the river valley, suitable for land reclamation of rice cultivation. Thus, Han Piafa led all his tribesmen in migrating from Banban mountain to the river valley, opening up the fields and cultivating rice. Menglian is called *Mengliang* in Dai language. *Meng* means a place, as a fiefdom, a basin or an administration, or even a country, while *liang* refers to the action of finding something. Mengli, Mulian or Menglian were so named after in a corrupted use.[44]

One more source: Ancestors of the Dai people in Menglian migrated from Mengmao, Dehong prefecture, and it was more than 800 years from Han Piafa to Dao Paihong, the last *tusi*. And ever since Han Piafa, the Dai peoples feudal system of suzerain or feudal lord system had emerged and developed in Menglian, which remained almost the same up to the Communist liberation in 1949. The Dai civilians had to bear the burden of more than 30 penal servitudes, including carrying sedan chairs and tending elephants.[45]

Again, legend has it that after the Yuan dynasty established Yunnan province in Yunnan, the Dai groups, including the Jinchi, submitted to the authority of the Yuan court. Of 7 tribes, Mengmaos headman Si Kanfa died, and his eldest son Zhao Manihan succeeded him, called Si Genfa; his second son Zhao Manizhang acted as the military chief, named Si Jingfa. In 1273 and 1277, Myanmars Pagan dynasty invaded Mengmao repeatedly. Si Genfa fled, while Si Jingfa and the Yuan troops defeated the Pagan army of 60,000 men, 800 elephants, and 10,000 horses. Si Jingfa was thus made the new chief, who renamed himself Han Bafa, meaning the honourable king who would open up new territories. In order to avoid the fratricide, Si Jingfa decided to lead his people to leave Mengmao in their eastward migration across the Nu river. One of the three columns offered to help a small tribe of the Wa to defeat their feud, another Wa tribe. Thus, they got the help in return from that Wa tribe, and finally found Menglian, their paradise.[46]

There are some questions to be verified: 1 It is said that Menglian was one part of Yongchang prefecture in the Dali kingdom in the Song dynasty when it was first known as Menglian, meaning “to have found a good place” in the Dai language. But according to *Book of Yunnan Recompiled*, “Kan Bafa (namely Han Bafa) opened up badlands, rallied ethnic minorities, guarded their territories for generations, and renamed the place Menglian.”[47] So when was the present-day Menglian first called Menglian? In the Song or Yuan

dynasty? 2 If Menglians native *tusi* system lasted 28 generations from Han Bafa to Dao Paihong, how many years it lasted? More than 500 or 800 years or exactly 660?

3. "On their march southward, an army brushed through Masa, now in Ximeng county, where the Wa tribes lived, and was well received with the Wa kings hospitality. The Dai Prince Han Bafa proposed a marriage to the Wa king's daughter. At the wedding party, the Wa people slaughtered elephants and buffalos and exchanged elephant tusks and buffalo horns as tokens or keepsakes, vowing: "The tusk will not dry up, and the horns are not to perish. They are to be inherited for many years to come and the Dai and Wa peoples are always relatives." Through the marriage Han Bafa strengthened his unity with indigenous peoples, consolidated his position, and established his regime - Mulianlu Junminfu in 1289."

In 1941, the last *tusi* Dao Paihong got married to Zhaonan Hannong, a Wa daughter from Myanmar. Intriguingly, the wives of the first and last *tusi*s were the Wa women, which seems to testify that the Dai and Wa peoples are always relatives. The Dai and the Wa divided their turfs as follows :

For Menglians Dai people, there is an intriguing anecdote about how they left Mengmao under Luchuan Xuanweisi (now Ruili in Dehong prefecture) and settled here in Menglian in the Yuan dynasty. At that time the indigenous people in Menglian were the Wa tribes, who were inured to the life in the hilly country, for dysentery was rife in the river valley. The Dai who migrated here asked the Wa for their own land as the turf. The two sides reached an agreement: Flooded land should go to the Dai while the mountainous areas where the fire could burn should belong to the Wa. The time when the Dai people completed the construction of Menglian city is in 1319 in the Yuan dynasty.[48]

4. "In the Ming and Qing dynasties, Menglians *tusi* maintained a close relationship with the Chinese imperial court, and exchanged continued tributes with the latter. In addition to the burden of tributes, tax, and requisitions demanded by the court, their internal affairs were largely not affected by any interventions of the court, and traditional Dai culture, religion, customs, language, etc. remained the same. In 1406, Dao Paisong sent his son to deliver an elephant to the court in Beijing. The imperial court thus set up Menglian Zhangguansi, a full sixth official rank. In 1709, Dao Paiding sent an elephant as a tribute to the imperial court in Beijing, and the emperor granted him a hereditary Menglian Xuanfusishu, a fourth official rank.

The native chieftain or *tusi* system is a form of political power in which the feudal dynasties ruled over ethnic minority areas. It is also an important measure for the central government to win over and use the upper circles of the local people. This system aims at restraining, that is, to appoint hereditary native chieftains or *tusi* who, on the premise that their relationships with the central dynasties are ensured, conducted in their own jurisdiction the effective and hereditary rule in their own original way. The native chieftain system originated in the Yuan dynasty, completed in the Ming dynasty, and followed in the Qing dynasty. In the Republic of China, although the policy of turning native chieftains into non-native chieftains was implemented, the native chieftain or *tusi* system continued.

In the Yuan dynasty, Menglians Dai was part of Jinchi Baiyi peoples in Yunnan province. In 1289, the Yuan dynasty set up Mulianlu Junminfu, appointing Han Bafa to be accountable for the local governance. He was the first native chieftain or *tusi* of Menglian through ages. In 1406, the Ming dynasty established Menglian Zhangguansi, which was the formal beginning of *tusi* system in Menglian, and the *tusi* was Dao Paisong of the 8th generation of Han Piafa (namely Han Bafa). Thus, Dao Paisong was the first personage recorded in the official history of the Ming dynasty. The *tusi* paid annual tributes of gold and silver, jewelry, elephants to the emperors. In 1514, Menglians Dai entered a typical society of feudal lords. The Qing dynasty continued to implement the Ming dynastys *tusi* system, setting up Zhangguansi to be under the jurisdiction of Yongchang prefecture. In 1709, the Qing dynasty court conferred a new title of Menglian Shixi Xuanfusi instead of Menglian Zhangguansi, bestowing gold seals, robes, banners and flags and so on. It consolidated the Dai *tusi* hereditary system. Menglian Xuanfusi regularly paid tributes to the Qing dynasty, which practice was uninterrupted well into the reign of the Emperor Yong Zheng. In 1887, the Qing court set up Zhenbian Zhiliting in Lancang, bringing Menglian and other places under its jurisdiction. Menglians *tusi*s were required each year to pay yearly taxes to Zhiliting. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, the policy of turning native chieftains into non-native chieftains was implemented, but the *tusi* system in border areas remained unchanged. During the period of the Republic of China, the Qing dynasty *tusi* system was still practiced in the minority areas.[49]

It is recorded in history that Dao Paisong, the 3rd native chieftain of Menglian, was named Dao Pai plus x by the Emperor Yong Le in 1406 in the Qing dynasty. So his future generations took this combination as their surname and middle name. It was the first time that the names of Menglian natives

Queen Suriyotai : Perhaps the most famous heroine of all in Thai history is Queen Suriyotai who lived during the 16th century. Myanmarians and Thai armies clashed savagely on elephant back, and when her husband was in extreme danger, she drove her own elephant in between the combatants to rescue him. Although she managed to save her husband, Queen Suriyotal was killed in the attempt. Inspired by her bravery, the Thais routed the Myanmarians and the victorious Thai army, led by her sons, escorted her body into Ayudhya.[65] She was not only a campaign wife, but also a fighter herself.

This independence and strength in the face of adversity or in taking of arms against an actual enemy is seen in the actions of Thai women in fiction as well. For example, in Prem Chayas play *Magic Lotus*, based on the fifteenth-century classic *Pra Law*, lovely ladies-in-waiting don mens clothing and fight to the death at the side of their lovers.[66]

I also learned of the Dai womens brave sisters in other countries. Trung sisters : In 391, the Trung sisters, i.e. Trung Trac and her sister Trung Nhi, inspired their Vietnamese people and succeeded in routing the Chinese troops and overthrowing Chinas rule.[67] The heroic women are also found in Chinese literature. Xishi was the first woman spy working for the State of Yue in defeating the State of Wu in the Spring and Autumn period.

Mulan : In the Northern dynasties, there was a folk song in praise of Mulan, a weaving girl who, for her father, was drafted into the army and fought against Rouran tribe armymen. Walt *Disney* Feature *Animation* made the story a popular animated film *entitled Mulan in* 1998.

Mu Guiying, She Taijun, and 12 widows: In the novel *Yangs Generals*, Mu Guiying, the wife of the Song dynasty General Yang Zongbao, was brave and resourceful, especially good at riding and shooting. She Taijun, the 50-year-old mother-in-law, led 12 widows of her family in the war against enemies.[68]

Fu Hao, the first female general, wife of Wu Ding, king of Shang more than 3,000 years ago in the Shang dynasty, repeatedly led troops on punitive expeditions to foreigners. She was the earliest female general recorded in the history of China. Lu Mu, the first peasant uprising female leader, who rose against the imperial court in A.D.17 in the Western Han dynasty. Princess Pingyang, Li Yuan's daughter, recruited the first detachment of women in Chinese history against the Sui dynasty in 617. Liang Hongyu, female general, blocked Jin soldiers in the Song dynasty. Qiu Jin, the most outstanding modern female democratic revolutionary, organized a failed uprising to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and was beheaded in 1907 in the late Qing dynasty.

central dynastic court was going on punitive expeditions to some local regimes (such as the three expeditions into Luchuan in west Yunnan), and the local regimes were endlessly at strife and were scrambling for power and benefits among themselves, which turned cause and effect with each other and made a complex political imbroglio. In order to save and develop themselves at such circumstances in Menglian, a package of effective policies and strategies must be mapped out and it was a governor of rare gifts and bold strategy who could develop and implement internal and external policies.[53]

In the history of the Dai or Thai people, there were many formidable heroines or women of exceptional ability, legendary or real. In mythology and legends, there are following persons in literature:

In ancient Xishuangbanna, in the devils times known as that of the Prince Pia Yima, there were twelve states or tribes in Longnan, now Jinghong, headed by Yaha Lipeng, the Dais female ancestor, under the rule of five powerful Princes of the Devils. She was followed by Pia Zhen who ruled Mengle and established Jinglong Jindian state in Xishuangbanna in 1180.[54] Yaha Lipeng was like N¨¹wa, one of the human ancestors, the first legendary queen who brought all tribes in China under her overall leadership.

In Xishuangbanna, there is a popular legend about Piaa Lawu. It tells that a woman, after eating a coconut left over by the buffalo king, was pregnant and gave birth to a boy, who was named Piaa Lawu, the Dais ancestor. In the Dais mythology of human origin, the more popular one is like this: When flooded, there was a big gourd rushed from afar. Out of the gourd came eight men, four of whom were turned later by a fairy lady into four women to marry the rest of the men, for which reason they came to be human ancestors.

The legend of Xishuangbanna tells the story of the celestial god Pia Ben who failed to arrange a good order of climates and seasons for the world, so the ancestor Ying Pia ordered the gods seven daughters to cut off their fathers head. Only the seventh daughter chopped off her fathers head with the crossbow made of her fathers head hair. However, once falling on the ground, the beheaded head ignited the raging fires, so the seven girls had to hold his father's head. Finally they decided to use an elephant head in connecting their fathers head and body. Since then, Pia Bens head had to be washed with water, hence the Songkran Festival. This is the most ancient explanation of the Songkran day.

Another widely circulated version in Xishuangbanna, Dehong and other places tells that long, long ago there was a fierce, brutal Prince of the Devils

who excelled in his abilities. The prince got married to 12 beautiful girls as his wives. The twelfth lady unplugged a hair off his head and broke his neck when he was fast asleep. However, the prince's head caught fires or stank to high heaven everywhere. The 12 ladies had to take turns holding the princes head. Although they had their fill of sufferings, the people were relieved of the disaster. In order to express their love of these 12 ladies, the Dai people annually give them a splash of water on the seventh day after Festival of Pure Brightness (or the Tomb-Sweeping Day).

Nanxi River, meaning mother river, a legend widely circulated in Xishuangbanna, is about seven princesses falling in love with seven young men and finally turning into countless butterflies. *Zhaoshutun* is a love poem, which describes the love story between Prince Zhaoshutun and Peacock-Feathered Princess,[55] with the focus is on the princess. The film adapted on the same story was renamed *Peacock-Feathered Princess*, also with more emphasis on the princess rather than on the prince. There are definitive historical records about some capable women. It is said that there was a small Mon state called Haripunjaya (Lampun or Lamphuon), which was called State of the Queen in *Man Shu* (Book of Barbarians) and *Yuan Shi* (History of the Yuan Dynasty). In 663, the monarch, Princess Camadevi, led 500 Buddhist monks and built Buddhist temples in Haripunjaya. It is the harbinger of the Buddhist dissemination in northern Siam.[56]

The daughter of the third *Zhaopianling* of Mengle, now Xishuangbanna, was married off to the Nan Na chieftain. Their son, Mangrai, born in Chiang Rai, established in present-day Chiang Mai the capital of his Nan Na, that is, the state of *Babaixifu* (Eight Hundred Wives).[57] It is recorded in *Tusi Zhuan* (Biography of Tusi) in *Ming Shi* (History of the Ming Dyansty*)* that "hereditary chieftains have 800 wives, with each leading one village, so named."[58]

There is another explanation of *Babaixifu:* It was the name of a *tusi*, which former territory was in east Shan State in Myanmar spanning from Salween river in the west and the Mekong in the east. In 1327 in the Yuan dynasty, parts of its areas were set up as Mengqing *Xuanweisi* which was renamed *Babai* and some other *xuanweisi* to bring all the territory under a unified leadership in 1331. It was in the reign of the Emperor Hong Wu that it was changed into *Babai Dadian Junmin* (army-civilian) *Xuanweisi.*[59] The story of *Babaixifu*: Jinghong was flooded by the swollen Lancang river, and 800 wives lived respectively on the nearby mountainsides, with each managing her own locality, so it was called *Babaixifu* ,i.e. Eight Hundred Wives.[60]

In Myanmar, in 1439, Luchuan rebels invaded Menglian. Nanmei Hanban, Mubang Xuanweisi s grandmother, led an army and drove the rebels into Menglian basin, fighting them to a standstill. In Menglian, soon after 1465, Zhao Nanmeng, the not-so-good-looking wife of *tusi* Dao Paile, repelled the invading soldiers from Mengzhe in Xishuangbanna.[61]

Gong Liyan, the chief of Kei group of followers escorting the Ming dynasty Emperor Yong Li (formerly Yung Li, the Ming claimant) who went into exile in Myanmar, got married to Nan Zhan (a.k.a. Nang Zhan in history books), a Dai daughter of Zhao Fa in Menggen (now Kengtung, Myanmar). Pretty as she was, she was well versed in polite letters and martial arts, doing business and guarding the mines, a No. 2 proprietress of Bonong Silver Factory in Mubang. In 1762, she categorically killed the deceptive, bullying and humiliating Dao Paichun, and led her troops back to Menggen.[62] Later, in 1765 when the Mooksoo (a.k.a. Alaungpaya) soldiers invaded Xishuangbanna, Liu Dechengs Qing army was defeated and pursued and attacked by the Mooksoo army men on the back of the elephant train, Nan Zhan, leading a Dai force, launched a surprise attack on those followers and expelled them.[63]

Examples of the strength of character of Thai women in the face of adversity are found in nearly every period of Thai history.

Thao Suranaree : In the town of Korat (Nakhon Ratchasima) there is a statue of Thao Suranaree (Khunying Mo). During the Ratanakosin period when her husband, the governor of the province, was away, a Laotian army invaded the area. By cunning and by heroic deeds, Thao Suranaree defeated the Laotians and saved the town.

Sisters Chan and Mook : Two of the bravest and most resourceful heroines of Thai history were two sisters Chan and Mook who lived in the island province of Phuket during the late 18th century. At a time when Myanmarian troops surrounded the town, the governor of the area died. The two sisters used fire to blacken and curl coconut-palm leaves and issued these "arms" to their troops. From a distance, in the eyes of the Myanmarians, these palm-1eaf "rifles were indeed mistaken for rifle barrels. The Myanmarians made several attacks on the town but the sisters rallied the people and set personal examples of bravery. Finally, after over a month of fruitless attacks, as a Thai army appeared on the scene, and the Myanmarians retreated. His Majesty, Rama I, Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulalok, gave the two sisters their special titles of Thao Thepkasattri (the eider sister) and Thao Srisoonthorn. A bronze statue of the sisters was erected in Phuket which still stands today.[64]

is a 28-part series produced in 2011, telling a story also about the ethnic Yi native woman chieftain Nazhu in northeast Yunnan with Sichuan and Guizhou at the turn of the Yuan and Ming dynasties 600 years ago.

6. "In 1493-1514, Menglian emerged strong and prosperous, attracting a lot of coming and going businessmen. Rumour had it that Buddhism was prevalent in Myanmar, so Zhangguansi assigned four officials to go to Ava (Myanmars ancient capital, a hallowed ground of Hinayana Buddhism), and ushered in Buddhist scriptures and statues. Since then, Buddhism gradually got popular among the Dai people in Menglian, wielding great influence on local politics, economy and culture, in which course of Buddhist propagation the Dai peoples written language was generated and developed."

The native chieftain of Menglian also sent missions to Ava and brought back Buddhism after Zhao Nanmengs initiation? As mentioned above, in 1481, Zhao Nanmeng sent her four headmen to embrace and bring back the true sutras from Ava, Myanmar, introducing Buddhism into Menglian. It remains to be verified.

Another source refers to the fact that in 1433, Dao Paiding, Menglians 8th native chieftain, sent his four headmen to Myanmar and invited several senior and venerable monks to build Buddhist temples. For the same reason, Buddhist temples are also known as *miansi*, meaning Manmarian temples.[81] This is how Hinayana Buddhism was introduced into Menglian.[82] This source is probably wrong: If it was in 1433 when *tusi* welcomed back the Buddhist scriptures, it should be the 6th generation of *tusi* Dao Pailuan who was alive in the Ming dynasty. And Dao Paiding was the 16th *tusi* of Menglian, who was living in the Qing dynasty. In 1433, Zhao Nanmeng was not yet born.

There is no documentation as to when Buddhism was introduced into the Dai community, for which there are different beliefs :

1. Around A.D. 1st century£ºAccording to the newly discovered Dai historical records, Hinayana Buddhism spread into Xishuangbanna from Myanmar via Damenglong in around 100 B.C.(*sic*) In 630 of Buddhist calendar (A.D.76), Xishuangbanna chief Pia Gela sent 12 monks to learn Buddhist scriptures in India before making further studies in Buddhist temples in Sri Lanka for another 6 years. Upon graduation as learner Buddhists, they returned to Jinghong with the Buddhist scriptures by way of Thailand, Kengtung and Menglong. Since then, Buddhism came to be popular in Menghai and Mengla as well.[83] I do believe that 100 B.C. should be A.D.100, because the story is set in 630 of Buddhist calendar, which is converted into 630-543=A.D. 87 of the Gregorian calendar, not A.D.76.

There were only thirty women cadres on the Long March in the main Army and a sprinkling of nurses and orderlies. But the Fourth Front Army included two thousand women and mustered a special womens combat regiment which fought some fierce and deadly battles. In December 1936 and March 1937 in Gansu en route to Xinjiang, the womens regiment was wiped out by the Moslems. The two thousand women were killed, tortured, raped, sold in the local slave markets.[69] That independent women regiments commander and political commissar Zhang Qinqiu survived the Long March, becoming the only famous female general of the Red Army. The well-known women were the Red Armys Qiongya guerrillas, called the Red Detachment of Women, on Hainan Island, where the Li ethnic people also lived, and possibly some of them were also included in the womens detachment.[70]

Zhao Yiman was the political commissar with the Second Regiment of the Third Army of Northeast China Anti-Japanese Allied Forces. She was captured by the Japanese army in 1936 and died a martyr in 1937. In October 1938, the eight women soldiers from the womens regiment in the 1st Division of the 5th Army of Northeast China Anti-Japanese Allied Forces rather threw themselves in rivers than submitted to the Japanese army. Li Zhen is the first female Major General of Chinas People's Liberation Army. Liu Hulan and Jiang Xueqin died a heroic death on the Kuomintangs execution ground in the civil war 1946-49.

In France, there was Joan of Arc, who led the French army against the British invasions in Hundred Years' War (1337 - 1453) between the British and French. She was finally arrested and executed. There are also amenable, resourceful and intelligent Dai women in history.

As mentioned above, Menglians Zhao Nanmeng, widowed at 25, unmarried, assisted a total of five *tusi* in attending to political affairs and led her subjects to fight against foreign invasions. Aged 75, she was the Princess Regent to a young *tusi*.

According to the Dai historical records, in 1481, Zhao Nanmeng sent four of her big-shot headmen to lead dozens of people, carrying four horses and gold, silver, satin and other gifts, to Ava of Myanmar, in order to bring back genuine Buddhist scriptures. The native chieftain of Ava reciprocated the mission with four elephant, the Tripitaka, Buddha statues, musical instruments used in Buddhist mass, etc. Since then, Buddhism had penetrated all aspects of the Dai life in the chieftain's areas, and their original religion that was as separable as fire and water had been gradually shaped like blending water and milk.[71]

Her Majesty Queen Rambhaipannee, the wife of the King Prajadhipok, was another helper in leadership. On June 24, 1932, a coup detat was staged by Kanarat or the Citizen Group in Bangkok for a constitutional monarch, and the King Prajadhipok, known as Rama VII, was invited to return to the capital. "At that time no one knew how critical the situation would have become, it could be as bad or even worse than the revolution overthrowing the monarchs in France and Russia with civil wars and loss of lives. Therefore when such an invitation arrived it was a very difficult decision whether to fight for the old order, to leave the country altogether or to return to the cry and accept such a change in status. When asked of her opinion regarding this vital decision, her Majesty Queen Rambhaipannee bravely decided to take the alternative of returning to the capital and cooperate with the Kanarat, the instigators of the coup, with the hope to put the country in order and thus avoiding any bloodsheds. Returning back to Bangkok in such critical situation might have meant going to be prosecuted by the coup. Nevertheless, the Great Queen of Thailand preferred death to losing majestic dignity by possible self-exile from Thailand. " The king returned to Bangkok and signed the constitution, granting the Constitution of Thai Kingdom with his blessing that it might be forever and a source of happiness and prosperity of the people and the beloved country as a whole. All of the Thai people admire Her Majesty the Queen Rambhaipannee and feel extremely grateful forever.[72] Thus the event is called a "bloodless revolution" in history books.

Former Thai Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra is the first woman prime minister in Thai history. Other women are also found in many fields. For example, the rubbing from a centuries-old temple mural reveals that the women working hard is nothing new. Mrs. Chalerm Vajarakrup, shown as a farm lady in the ploughing ceremony in 1964.[73]

As mentioned above, Princess Camadevi of Haripunjaya brought in Buddhism in 663. She is also said to be one of the most famous beauties in Thai history in the 7th century, spelled alternatively Chamadevi. Chamadevi was known for her beauty and charm but, unfortunately, she had transgressed a religion custom and was cursed with what can only be described as an extreme case of body odor. Thai legends assure readers that Queen Chamadevis repelling odor could be detected at a distance comparable to that measuring the sound of three trumpets of an elephant plus seven beatings of a gong. The scholar, Kraisri Nimmanahaeminda, has calculated that distance to be a total of sixteen miles.[74] Rojjana Phetkanha from Isan has become one of the most sought-after models in the world now.[75]

In China, the powerful women in history include Wu Zetian, the first empress of the Tang dynasty with her reign lasting from 690 to 705, and the Empress Dowager Ci Xi, the lady who held court behind a screen for four emperors of the Qing Dynasty up to 47 years, the longest time in China.[76]

In Chinese history, some feudal dynasties attempted to cement relations with rulers of ethnic minorities in border areas by marrying daughters of the Han imperial family to them. Wang Zhaojun was married to the Hun in Western dynasty, and Princess Wen Cheng was married to Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo in the Tang dynasty.

Cai Wenji was the woman writer in the Eastern Han dynasty; Liu Sanjie was Guangxis folk singer; Female-based film characters are ethnic Yi girl Ashima in *Ashima* and ethnic Bai girls in *Five Golden Flowers.* Dao Meilan is the famous Dai dancer from Xishuangbanna; Dancer Yang Liping, although a product of a Bai family in Dali, grew up with her exposure to the Dai cultural elements in Xishuangbanna. She is well-known for her role in peacock dance, for example, *Spirit of the Peacock*. She directed *Dynamic Yunnan,* a primordial multiple ethnic dance performance.[77]

There have been some famous women politicians in the international community. For example, the Queens of Victoria and Elizabeth II, former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and present Prime Minister Theresa May of the U.K.; the former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and first woman president Pratibha Devisingh Patil of India; Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan; Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike, the first woman prime minister not only of Bangladesh but also of the world; Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel peace prize winner in 1991, of Myanmar; former Prime Minister Park Geun-hye of South Korea, and many more.

Women do occupy an important position in human progress. Karl Marx writes to the effect that there is no great social change without the ferment or enzyme of women, and social progress is measured by the social position of women, including the bad-looking ones.[78] Frederick Engels quotes Jean Baptiste Joseph Fourier as saying that the degree of womens emancipation is the natural yardstick of measuring universal emancipation.[79]

The study of womens issues is an interesting research theme. Readers can refer to the works in the end note.[80] China s monthly *Women of China* in Chinese and English is worthwhile reading. Some movies and TV dramas were also worthwhile seeing or watching: Japanese films include *Sandakan No. 8* and *Oh! The Nomugi Pass;*TV drama *Shexiang Furen* (Lady Shexiang)

2. The Tang dynasty: Seen from the distribution of Buddhism throughout Yunnan, its upper limit should be roughly at the same time when Buddhism was disseminated into Nanzhao in the Tang dynasty. The Dai people accepted the influence of the Buddhist culture in the Tang Dynasty, which leads can also be provided by the fact that the Dai firstly used the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches as the way of numbering the years, and then replaced it by the beginning of an era. As of the establishment of Jinglong Jindian, Buddhism had been introduced into the Dai areas for a considerable long period of time.[84]

3. Since the mid-Ming dynasty: According to literatures, the Dai people generally believed in Buddhism as late as the middle of the Ming dynasty. It was after the mid-Ming dynasty in the 15th century when the Dai in Dehong area generally believed in Hinayana Buddhism, while the Dai in Xishuangbanna did the same in the middle of the Ming dynasty.[85]

The second source suggests that only after the second half of the 15th century did Hinayana Buddhism spread to Xishuangbanna via Kengtung.[86] It is valuable that Menglian provides the date when Buddhism was first introduced into its territory in the mid-Ming dynasty.

Speaking of Buddhist scriptures that also guides and standardize the Dai people s behavior, Id like to quote something about customary laws in Menglian. The chieftain Dao Paizhan and Zhao Nanmeng were avid readers of *The Laws of King Mangrai*, which is a combination of the Buddhist doctrines and the laws of the land. Dao Paizhan himself combed through local laws. In addition to the written laws, the local customary laws were compiled as a book *Customary Laws of Menglian*.[87] But it seems to be a paradox, because usually written laws are not customary.

Customary Laws of Menglian has 479 articles in 30 categories, some provisions of which are very interesting. For example, “Somebody got drunk at the selling point of liquor, and the seller is too busy with his business to send him home. If the drunkard dies after leaving the seller, the latter is to be imposed a fine of 300 silver dollars”; “there is a fight between a man armed with a weapon and the other man with a stick. If the man with the weapon dies, the man with the stick was not guilty; if the man with the stick dies, the man with the weapon was guilty”; “The son of an official who seduces the wife of another person is to pay a fine of 800 silver dollars”.[88] Menglians laws can be compared with other research results of the same kind.[89]

“Ever since the beginning of the Ming dynasty, Menglians *tusi* had found silver mines in Munai, and when Dao Paiding acted as the *tusi*, the

killed the womanizer Dao Paichun and why Menglian Xuanfusishu was burned down, known as Leap May Incident of Menglian.

12. “Owing to the Leap May Incident in Menglian, Gong Liyan was captured and sent under escort to be beheaded in the provincial capital of Yunnan. This resulted in the loss of Mubang Xuanweisis dependence on Gong, weakening and frustrating itself, and then it surrendered to Myanmar. In turn, thanks to the internal conflicts among the ruling clique, Menggen was brought under the control of Myanmar. It was via Mubang and Menggen that the Myanmarian army invaded Menglian, Mengding, Mengmian (present-day Shuangjiang county). They burned, killed and looted everywhere they went. In the reign of Emperor Qian Long, the Qing dynastys imperial court sent twice the government troops and local peoples on the expeditions into Myanmar, pressing and holding back the swollen arrogance on the part of Mooksoo dynasty."

13. "In 1882, the chieftain of Menggen in Myanmar mustered the forces in Mengyang and Menglei in their aggression into Menglian, and Menglian Xuanfusishu dispatched troops and intercepted them on the southern front. This war was fought intermittently, sometimes engaged in see-saw battles. In 1884, Menggen soldiers were defeated and left Menglian."

In 1882, Myanmars Menggen chieftain sent its troops and invaded Nayun, thus igniting the war between Menglian and Kengtung. The engagements lasted for more than two years. It was by using the Wa in Ximengs Masan and the Lahu in mountains that invaders were driven out.[92]

As early as 1763, the Alaungpaya dynastic court sent its men to levy money in Menglian and asked for tributes in Gengma. The aggression was defeated jointly by the Qing army and the Dai people. In the spring of 1767, the Alaungpaya dynasty again unleashed a full-scale aggression into Xishuangbanna, Menglian and Dehong of the Dai areas. In 1803, Gayula, the local soldiers from Jingmai, invaded Daluo and other places. The Alaungpaya court staged endless fights with Gayula soldiers in Menglian and some other places.[93]

14. "In 1873, Zhu Axia, a Lahu leader known as *Sanfozu*, mobilized the masses of people and occupied Ximeng. He delegated and deployed local leaders for the administration of village and religious affairs, thus establishing a theocratic rule integrating religion and politics, and Ximeng gradually separated itself from Menglian. In view of Menglians *tusi* becoming increasingly weak and unable to control the whole territory, the Qing court set up Zhenbianzhiliting. Until 1911, Menglian Xuanfusi came to be borderland *tusi*, who enjoyed a big reputation and possessed a less strength."

Han Chinese from inland China and local peoples flocked to Munai, mining and smelting silver, from which the *tusi* reaped a big margin of profits. The booming silver refinery gave an impetus to the economic development of the surrounding areas, and the horses and cattle caravans kept transporting materials in an endless stream all the year round from Menglian, Shangyun, Mengzhe, Mengding and other places to Munai."

8. "The economic development promoted the commodity exchanges, and miners of different ethnicities obtained silver rewards, accelerating the circulation of money. Menglian was turned into a distribution center of Chinese and foreign goods and local products, known as the place where the people from 9 *meng* (fiefdom) were coming and those from 10 *meng* were going, with marketplaces formed in areas where the evergreen trees, that is, banyans, grew contiguously."

9. "With its political, economic and diplomatic development, Menglian Xuanfusishu strengthened its governing institutions and established the Meeting Chamber, with its members hailing from all ethnic groups in the mountain areas under its jurisdiction. In its policies towards the local *tusi* in the mountains, *Xuanfusishu* adopted a practice of granting restraint and autonomy politically and promoting inclusiveness and co-prosperity culturally, thereby enhancing the understanding and solidarity between those peoples. Pictured here is a scene of the Bulang people paying taxes in Menglian."

10. "The establishment of native chieftains or *tusi* system brought about a relatively long-term stability in political situation in border minority areas, avoiding the damages caused by the turmoil of long-term wars so that the people would not be displaced from frequent migrations. They felt at ease so that generations after generations lived in a place for long-term production arrangements. Pictured here is a scene of the Lahu people living and working in peace and contentment in the mountains allocated to them by Menglian *tusi* after the war turmoil and migrations."

Now, the evaluation of the native chieftain system is more affirmative than before: 1 It brought about an unprecedented unity in China; 2 It managed to maintain the social stability of ethnic minority areas; and 3 It accelerated the cultural and educational development in ethnic minority areas. But in Myanmar the native chieftain system has a different heart-wrenching experience.

The Shan established a number of principalities, and their hereditary chiefs, or *saohpas* (*sawbwa* in Myanmarian), local rulers, managed to retain a large amount of sovereignty. In 1922 the British established the Federated

Shan States, which was not intended to enhance the power or the status of the chieftains (*saohpas*), but to bring the areas under British control. After the Second World War, the Supreme Council of the United Hill Peoples was founded, and its first president was Sao Shwe Thaike, the *saohpa* of Yawnghwe state, to safeguard the interest of the frontiers peoples. They and other frontier chiefs expected to retain internal autonomy in their traditional areas. But with the assassination on July 19, 1947 of General Aung San (the father of Aung San Suu Kyi), together with Sao Sam Htun, the Shan *saopha* of Mong Pawn, the Pangloung Agreement (that accepted the Shans right to secede from the proposed Union of Burma after ten-year period of independence should they be dissatisfied with the new federation) failed. In 1962, General Ne Win cancelled the hereditary rights of the *sabwa* princes.[90]

On August 31, 2016, Myanmars 21st Century Panglong Ethnic Conference was held in historic Pangloung. Some 700 representatives including 150 from respective armed groups were reported to have been present at it for ethnic reconciliation. But On March 7, 2017 the military clashes in Kokang (the first one took place in August 2009) caused many border people seeking refuge across the border in Nanshan town, Yunnan, China, which fact suggests that the conferences purpose has not been served yet. Compared with the case in Myanmar, Chinas administration of border ethnic areas and local ethnic chiefs has been more successful.

11. "In 1762, Gong Liyan, the noble, aristocratic descendant who went with the Ming dynastys Emperor Yong Li into exile in Myanmar was hunted by Myanmarian king of Mooksoo dynasty. When defeated, he ordered his wife Nan Zhang to lead his subordinates, one thousand strong, to surrender to Dao Paichun, Menglians *tusi*. Dao, greedy and indulging in creature comforts and a lustful man with a warm temperament, enraged Nan Zhang, who killed Dao himself and his 28 family members and set a fire on Xuanfusishu, the government offices, on the night of May 14, in a leap month. The subordinates who were dispersed in other places got gathered and organized in following Nan to Mengyang." Mooksoo is Alaungpaya dynasty, and Nan Zhang is Nang Zhan in history books. Here, Nan Zhang did not surrender to Dao Paichun, but sought refuge with him.

Dao Paichun disarmed Nan Zhangs subordinates of more than 1,000, reduced them to be slaves, put Nan herself under house arrest, and asked for liberal sums of money. What is more, he got married respectively with Nans two daughters as his concubines, and would marry Nan herself also as one more of his concubines.[91] This is the reason why she was enraged and

I bought a copy of *Nayun Daiwang Mishi* (The Dai Princes of Nayun£ºA Secret History), written by the local Dai woman writer Zhao Hannen. This book is a historical reportage, an account of Dai native chieftains from Han Bafa, the first one to Dao Paihong, the 28th and last one. It is also a full account of Han Bafas epic journey from Mengmao to Menglian. It adds more details of the Dai history in Menglian: (1)*Tusi*, the feudal hereditary system in Menglian lasted for 660 years, not more than 500 or 800 years as most people believed; and (2) As described above, Dao Paihong, the last Dai native chieftain, to be more exact, *tusi*, was appointed in April 1949 as the director of Ethnic Affairs Commission under Menglian Provisional People's Government. But late in November of the same year, the Kuomintang troops attacked Menglian city from across Myanmar, and its commander demanded 7,000 silver dollars as soldiers pay and provision. Intimidated by the army and unable to pay, Dao escaped with his four officials and family members and settled in Myanmar. He led his subordinates in opening up fields and growing crops. He had hoped to return to China, but failed for many reasons. There, in 1964 he died of a swollen bump on his chest.[101] It could have been a different story if he did contact with right Chinese officials. At least he could have lived a peaceful life in Menglian as did Dao Shixun, the last *tusi* of Xishuangbanna. His story adds a note of tragedy to the *tusi* history of Menglian.

To ferret out more interesting episodes, Zhaos book can be compared with Xishuangbannas *Le Shi* (A History of Lue),[102] *A Chronicle of Xishuangbanna for Nearly 100 Years*,[103] *The Whole Story of 44 Generations of Xishuangbannas Zhaopianling*,[104] and *The Genealogy of Xuanwei of Xishuangbanna*.[105] They are definitive history, chronicles in their true sense. I wonder if the Tai in Ahom have ever compiled any chronicles of the same kind, say, in *Pu-Lan-Chi*? After reading her reportage, I found myself steeped in the Dai saga of peace and wars, ploughshares and swords, blood and tears, a world of legends, crusades, vicissitudes, and popular history.

3. Retracing Han Bafas Epic March to Mengma and Menga

Emerging from the museum was like walking out of the Dais pages of history. It was a bright sunny day in the town. At 12:43, we started our trip to Menga, a border town on the China-Myanmar border.

15. "In 1878 when he was the *tusi*, Dao Paiquan had the Xuanfusishu complex rebuilt, which undertaking was completed in 1919. It took more than 40 years and consumed more than 100,000 taels of silver."

16. "In 1824, the Anglo-Burmese Wars broke out, and after its occupation of whole Myanmar in 1885, the British army waited opportune moment to violate our border areas. In 1934, the British army that ruled Myanmar committed armed aggressions against Banhong.[94] Dao Paihong, the last Dai *tusi* of Menglian, together with Lancangs celebrities, went to investigate the case and organized volunteers to resist the British aggressors, puncturing their arrogance."

In 1890, the British Empire organized two so-called large-scale exploration teams, and heavily armed, entered southwest China. One team started from northern Myanmar along the Salween river into Jiangao Mountain, and the southern team of more than 500 British armymen was headed by James George Scott, the notorious British spy, and invaded Menglian via Lancang and Ximeng. They quietly planted the British Union Jack on Baihe Hill near Menglian city. Scott, appearing as an occupier, shot guns in order to threat the local people to attend their meetings, blackmailing them to pledge allegiance to the British province of Myanmar. The local people, led by the Dai, charged uphill to the mountaintop, cut down the flagpole erected by the British invaders, and torn to pieces the Union Jack. Scott, unable to afford to incur the wrath of the brave and tough people, had to admit his defeat and withdrew his invading army. Wherever he went, Scott recorded details of road mileage, population, villages, and drew maps.[95] Scott had some of his books published which were to be frequently quoted.[96]

17. "In 1936, Britain and China held talks in Mengshuo on Yunnan-Myanmar border affairs. Dao Paihong sent his representatives to the talks and testified and clarified Menglian *tusi* s jurisdiction in the Awa hills in history, safeguarding the territorial sovereignty of China."

18. "In 1941, Dao Paihong was married to Zhao Nan Hanlong, the daughter of the Wa king at Manleng in Myanmar, as the formal wife, which strengthened its unity with other ethnic groups."

19. "In 1942, the Japanese aggressor troops occupied Myanmar, and one part of Kuomintangs Nationalist 93rd Division of the 6th Army withdrew to Menglian from Myanmar where they had been fighting against the Japanese army. Menglians *tusi* organized self-defense corps, posted guards along Nanka river and took precautions against the Japanese troops crossing of the river. The Dai *tusi* in upper circles actively supported the anti-Japanese campaigns."

20. "The ruling clique of the Dai elites headed by Dao Paihong in Menglian finally saw through the true face of the KMT agents, and at the critical moment when facing the decisive engagement of revolution against counterrevolution, he decided to send his men to contact the patriotic democrat Fu Xiaolou, expressing his willingness to make revolution."

"In January 1949, Menglian was liberated, and in April Lancang Interim Prefectural Commissioners Office was founded under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It announced the abolition of the *tusi* chieftain system and appointed Dao Paihong as the director of Ethnic Affairs Commission under Menglian Provisional People's Government. The 660 years of Menglian *tusi* rule, which had gone through Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties and the Republic of China, was terminated."

On April 4, 1949, Dao Paihong handed over the seal of Menglian Xuanfusi, expressing his willingness to accept the appointment by the people's government. This is the reason why he was appointed as the director of Ethnic Affairs Commission under Menglian Provisional People's Government.[97] It is put in some sources that Dao Paihong, Menglians 28th and last *tusi*, who was instigated and intimidated by Kuomintang, led his family members and fled to Myanmar in 1950, putting an end to the 800 years of Menglians *tusi* system ever since Han Piafa.[98] There are two inaccuracies: 1 Dao went to Myanmar in November 1949, not 1950; and 2 Menglian Xuanfusi *tusi* system lasted for only 660 years.

In Daos diaspora, there is a little of the Dalai Lama who fled Tibet to India in 1959, but there are some differences to varying degrees. It was out of the intimidation of the Kuomintang remnants that Dao lived in exile in Myanmar, and he had wanted to return to live in Menglian. For various reasons, his last wish failed to come true. He succumbed to an illness in Myanmar in 1964.[99] Fortunately, his widow Nan Weidi (Queen) visited and revisited Menglian in 1986, 2007 and 2011, and was warmly welcomed by the local government.

The fate of the Menglians chieftains is not the same, of whom some realized a smooth accession to the throne, some took the initiative to abdicate (e.g. Dao Paiyue), some died abroad (e.g. Dao Paigong, Dao Paiming and Dao Paihong, like the Emperor Yong Li who was driven into Myanmar only to be killed in Kunming), some were murdered by relatives (e.g. Dao Paihan killed his nephew Dao Paizhen, like the Ming Emperor Yong Le who attempted to kill his nephew Zhu Yunwen, the Emperor Hui Di or Jian Wen, later taking refuge in Yunnan. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Danish Prince Hamlet's uncle

murdered and succeeded his father). A 660-year-long history of the Menglian's *tusi* system does have so many stories, told and untold, which are as dramatic as Shakespeare's remarkable dramas. Now, two TV series about southwest Chinas *tusi* were produced. They are *Shexiang Furen* (Lady Shexiang) that tells Yi *tusi*'s story about 600 years ago at the turn of the Ming and Yuan dynasties, and *Mufu Fengyun* (Winds Across Mus Residence) spins a Naxi *tusi* yarn in the Ming dynasty. However, to my knowledge, no TV dramas of any kind that are a reflection of Menglians native chieftains or *tusi* have ever been produced so far.

There are some research sources available, and readers can refer *Yunnan Tusi Zhuan* (Biographies of *Tusi* in Yunnan) in *Ming Shi* (History of the Ming Dynasty); Tcheng Tings *Memoire sur les rites du marriage chez un chef aborigine de la region de Tien et de Kien* (Tusis Wedding Ceremonies in South Yunnan), published in 1905; Zheng Shaoxiongs *Kangdings Tusi and the Tibetan-Yi Corridor.*[100] Most important, *Menglian Xuanfusi Shi* (A History of Menglian *Xuanfusi*), translated and sorted out based on the Dai-language sources, has been published by Nationalities Publishing House of Yunnan.

Now, China *tusi* culture website (www.zgtswhyj.cc) has been launched. It was reported that ever since the beginning of 2013 Hunans Yongshun *tusi* site, on behalf of the Chinese *tusi* legacy, has been prepared for inscription as an intangible cultural heritage site. And Guizhou and Hubei have also joined the inscription. But in fact, *tusi* heritage in Yunnans Dai areas is more representative, with their largest number and longest history of *tusi* institutions set up in the Ming and Qing dynasties.

I promised Prof. Phukon to translate those captions, and the above is that required verbatim English translation. I believe that it was out of the desire to gain more understanding of Shukaphas long-lost *pi-nong* in Yunnan, China. Reading those pictures and their captions is like reading a popular history of Menglians Dai and other peoples. To the Indian guests, Menglian Xuanfusishu provides a clue of the Dai peoples migration from Mengmao, a heroic epic.

We also visited the spinning wheels, weaving looms, farm tools, etc. on display in the museum. Some books were on sale, such as *Mengma Dangan* (Archives of Mengma Town), and *Zhongguo Yunnan Menglian Daiwen Guji Bianmu* (Bibliography on Ancient Books Written in Dai Language in Menglian, Yunnan, China), etc.

17. Compiling Group of *A Survey of Menglian Dai, Lahu, and Wa Autonomous County*. op.cit. 43
18. Ibid. 50
19. Policy Research Center of CPC Committee in Yunnan Province, Office of the Compiling Committee of Chronicles of Yunnan Province, eds. op.cit.227
20. Zhang Haizhen. Menglians Nayun Town : A Green Gem in Borderland. Kunming : Yunnan People's Publishing House, 2006.28-30 (in Chinese)
21. Compiling Group of A *Survey of Menglian Dai, Lahu, and Wa Autonomous County.* op.cit. 7
22. Ibid. 74
23. Policy Research Center of CPC Committee in Yunnan Province, Office of the Compiling Committee of Chronicles of Yunnan Province, eds. op.cit.236
24. A system of brackets inserted between the top of a column and a crossbeam (each bracket being formed of a double bow-shaped arm, called *gong*, which supports a block of wood, called *dou*, on each side).
25. Zheng Jing. op.cit. 25
26. Compiling Group of *A Survey of Menglian Dai, Lahu, and Wa Autonomous County*. A Survey of Menglian Dai, Lahu, and Wa Autonomous County. Kunming : Nationalities Publishing House of Yunnan, 1986.83 (in Chinese); Zhang Haizhen. op.cit.17; Zheng Jing. op.cit. 1-2
27. Zheng Jing. op.cit. 25.
28. Zhang Haizhen. op.cit.17-18; Zheng Jing. op.cit.25.
29. Yu Jiahua, ed. Yunnan : Its Land and People. Kunming : Yunnan Education Publishing House, 1997. 296-297(in Chinese); Li Kunsheng, ed. Cultural Relics and Historic Sites in Yunnan. Kunming : Yunnan People's Publishing House, 1984.165 (in Chinese). Zhang Haizhen. op.cit.18; Zheng Jing. op.cit.27
30. Zheng Jing. op.cit. 27-30;Yu Jiahua, ed. op.cit. 297.
31. Zhang Haizhen. op.cit.18
32. Zheng Jing. op.cit.30
33. Zhang Haizhen. op.cit.24; Zheng Jing. op.cit.30
34. Compiling Group of *A Survey of Menglian Dai, Lahu, and Wa Autonomous County*. op.cit. 74
35. Zhang Haizhen. op.cit.21
36. Policy Research Center of CPC Committee in Yunnan Province, Office of the Compiling Committee of Chronicles of Yunnan Province, eds. op.cit.243
37. Zhang Haizhen. op.cit.17; Zheng Jing. op.cit.2; Policy Research Center of CPC Committee in Yunnan Province, Office of the Compiling Committee of Chronicles of Yunnan Province, eds. op.cit.243.
38. Jiang Yingliang. A History of the Dai. Chengdu : Nationalities Publishing House of Sichuan, 1983.149(in Chinese)
39. Compiling Group of *A Survey of Menglian Dai, Lahu, and Wa Autonomous County.* op.cit. 73; Yu Jiahua, ed. op. cit. 297; Zheng Jing. op.cit.31-32
40. *Book of Barbarians*, also known as *Book of Yunnan*, was written by Fan Chuo in the Tang dynasty. For its text, please refer Zhao L()fu. *Book of Yunnan* Collated and Annotated. Beijing : China Social Sciences Press, 1985. 170-172 (in Chinese); and G. H. Luce, trans., *Man Shu* (Book of the Southern Barbarians). Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 1961.
41. Zheng Jing. op.cit.3-4

On the road, we passed Mengma town at 13:31. Mengma is a transliteration of Dai name, meaning a settlement. As told above, Han Bafa led three Dai teams coming from Mengmao in search of a good place called Mangtianlian. One of the three teams came to a river basin, where they threw out another group of the Dai people, and the newcomers became the masters here. Mengma is just that river basin.[106]

The Lahu people in Paliang and Dongnai of Mengma began to believe in Christianity in the 1920s while their primitive or natural worship is still prevalent among most Lahu people.[107] Foreign Christian missionaries once established church schools in Paliang and Dongnai, etc. They created the written Lahu language in Latin alphabet. However in this kind of schools only a few Lahu scripts were taught, which were used in reading Bible only.[108]

The long knives or machetes that the Menglian natives use are mostly produced in Lahu villages of Paliang, for which reason the knives are called Lahu s Paliang knives. The steel knives are shaped like double-edged swords, which are very sharp, once exported to Laos.[109]

Menglians tropical area accounts for 81% of the total, suitable for the development of rubber, tea, *Amomum villosum* and other tropical crops. There are 65,000 mu of land good for growing rubber trees, which are concentrated in Nanka river basin. In addition to Menglian State rubber-growing farm, the private rubber plantations had been developed since 1981. As of the end of 1986, Menglian boasted 40,000 mu of rubber plantations, of which the private ones accounted for 29,000 mu. [110]

On July 19, 2008, an event of a mass-based emergency occurred in Manglang group, Menga village, Mengma town, Menglian county. During the conflict, the policemen who were performing their tasks were attacked and beaten by a mob of more than 500 people. The policemen were forced to use riot guns for self-defense, shooting dead two persons. This event also injured 41 police officers and 19 civilians, and damaged 9 law-enforcement vehicles to varying degrees. This is the well-known July 19 Incident of Menglian, reflecting the conflicts and contradictions between rubber-based state-run farms and private Dai rubber estates.[111]

At 14 : 10, my car rolled up to Menga village of Mengma town. As you know, Menga was called Mangtuhao in the Tang dynasty. It was the first place which that team of the Dai from Mengmao found before proceeding to Mengma. We saw the entry and exit passages, customs house, border checkpoint, and inspection and quarantine building complex. We also found a group of Dai villager returning from Myanmar in a minivan which was

packed with bamboo baskets and shoulder poles. They had sold their vegetables across the border in Myanmar.

Advertisements were found on the walls for imports of timbers from Myanmar, including teak, rosewood, red sandalwood, sandalwood, wenge and minerals as well. They were what Mengchunlin Trading Company was engaged in. According to the billboards, Meng'a is Chinas second-class port at national level, which opposite side is Myanmar's Panghsang city of Special Region No.2 (i.e. Wa State called among the Wa) , Shan State. Menga is also one of Chinas border economic cooperation zones. Since 2009, the Chinese border people have begun to sell food and vegetables across the border in Myanmar. Enterprises engaged in alternative development or poppy replacement programme are also in close contact.

This was a village consisting of shops. It seemed bigger than ordinary villages. A slogan put up on the streets of the town read: "A city between China and Myanmar." Flamboyant or flame trees (*Delonix regia)* were green, not yet in fiery blossoms. The blue sky was fleeced with white clouds. I could not figure out the river bank overgrown with fernleaf hedge bamboo groves I saw in November 1999. It was a peaceful scene of pretty and young Dai ladies carrying farm products.

After the joint demarcation between China and Myanmar in 1960, it was decided that Sino-Myanmar boundary at Menglian section should be 133.399 kilometers, with a total of 20 markers erected.[112] At Meng'a, we had our lunch in a restaurant. It was Sichuan food. The cooks didnt know much about how to cook as Malaya ordered. The boiled chicken had more bones than meat. The lady owner told us that she and her husband came from Yibing, Sichuan province. Now their land was lying waste back at their home village. Chinese villagers were migrating to eke out an existence in other cities. They were and are called migrant workers. I do like to learn something about villagers life in Assam.

There was a slogan that read something like Menga was to be built into a pilot zone for economic development and opening up to the outside world. If so, border economic cooperation would be expanded and more commodities and people would be exchanged between China, Myanmar and even India. It was hoped that the Dai and Tai peoples in Assam and Yunnan would visit each other more easily. You know Menglian is a multi-ethnic county named Menglian Dai, Lahu ad Wa Autonomous County.

At 15:43 after the lunch, Prof. Phukon and the rest of us resumed our trip west to Mengmao in Dehong prefecture of west Yunnan. Now we were

retracing Han Bafas route back to Mengmao, which was a journey to the beginning in this sense. Madam Shewalee presented me some small Assamese tangerines, as juicy as those in Yunnan. Hearing an un-English language being spoken, I asked them: "Well, what language are you speaking?" "Assamese," answered Prof. Phukon. It was not the Tai language in Assam, but for the first time I heard Assamese language exchanged between Prof. Phukon and Shewalee Malaya, bringing legendary Ahom so near in Yunnan, China.

To my surprise, in Han Bafas prodigious journey with his cavalcade from Mengmao there are some echoes of the exodus of the Jews led by Moses out of Egypt, and of Communist Red Armys Long March in 1934-35.

To be continued

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44. Compiling Group of *A Survey of Menglian Dai, Lahu, and Wa Autonomous County*. op.cit. 4-5.
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46. Zhao Hannen. op.cit. 9-22. It is like the case of the Red Army who helped the Xiao Yedans Guji Yi tribe in dealing with the latter's bitter enemy, Luohong tribe, and finally passed through the Yi area without a hitch on their Long March in May 1935 (Nie Rongzhen. Nie Rongzhen Remembers. Beijing : Chinese People's Liberation Army Publishing House, 1983.2 63 (in Chinese).
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48. Xie Yuanzhang (a.k.a. Cheah Yanchong or Yanyong Chiranakorn). Sixty Years of My Thai and Dai Researches. Kunming : Nationalities Publishing House of Yunnan, 2008.177 (in Chinese)
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The Psychological Function of Culture and Religion

Culture, understood as the collective programming of the mind, which distinguishes the members of one human group from another (Gert. Hofstede), respectively as shared personality features, shared believes, values, attitudes and behaviors provides several functions for its members, According to Triandis (2000, 146) culture functions to improve the adaptation of members of the culture to a particular ecology, and it includes the knowledge that people need to have in order to function effectively in their environment. However, the function of culture as a shared psychological defense is seldom mentioned, emphasized or even appreciated. This function of culture as a shared psychological defense is realized by means of the following two mental operations : 1Via the employment of shared, institutionalized, general accepted psychological defense mechanisms, and 2 via shared and general accepted obsessive and compulsive (O&C) thoughts and behaviors. These two basic mental operations may be institutionalized (incorporated) in secular values, behaviors and ideologies and / or in a religious system. For example, certain religious believes and the related rituals may function for its adherents as an unconscious shared socially and culturally constituted psychological defense. This concept has been developed and advocated primarily since thirty five years by Melford Spiro (1965, 1969, 1997)

The Study of Thai Personality and Behavior

The aim of this chapter is threefold. **First,** I will seek to present a description of Thai personality and interpersonal behavior based on the work of Suntaree Komin, Mentzer Hollis, and Steven Piker. Second, the personality and behavior patterns outlined will be explained with regard to their childhood origins. **Finally,** I will raise the question of a possible functional relationship between Thai personality and behavior patterns and the Thai social and religious system.

The Work of Suntaree Komin

Suntaree Komin (1991:1) describes the aim of her seminal publication entitled “Psychology of the Thai People : Values and Behavioral Pattern”, as follows :

> What are those social cultural forces that influence Thai social behaviors to the extent that constitute persistent behavioral patterns? And what are the resulting behavioral patterns that are illustrative of the behavior and personality of the Thai, making a systematic understanding of the Thai people possible. This is what this book is going to offer.

Why Buddhism ?
Is Religion So Important In Thai Culture ?

Michael Axel

Abstract

The aim of the article is to explore the cause of the overwhelming importance of Buddhism and religious matters in Thailand. The exploration is based on the culture and personality approach, psychoanalytic psychology of the self, the attachment theory and dynamic psychiatry. These approaches are used to interpret the psychological function of religion in general and the Thai religious system in particular. The exploration uses empirical data collected by Suntaree Komin (Bangkok), Steve Piker, and Mentzer Hollies. It will be shown that Thai adults are characterized by a very high degree of narcissistic vulnerability, or face concern as well as unstable interpersonal relationships, which, as a general pattern are interspersed with suspicion and mistrust.

The article will demonstrate that the Thai religious system serves as a collective psychological defense which contributes to nourishing, taming, and containing the emotionally vulnerable, predominantly male adult Thai. The article will furthermore illustrate this point of view by means of two examples: the need to reinforce the weakened traditional system of culturally constituted collective defense, owing to externally induced social and cultural changes, by means of new religious movements and the deliberate inculcation of the Buddhist world view and rituals in Thai adolescents.

Keywords

Psychoanalytic study of culture and religion - collective cultural defenses Thai culture and personality - Thai religious system industrialization and cultural change - emergence of new religious movements.

Introduction

Several years ago, I had the opportunity to talk with a Thai Buddhist monk about several topics concerning differences and similarities between German and Thai culture in general and about the many mutual, very often painful, misunderstandings between the members of these two cultures in particular. During one of our conversations, he unexpectedly asked me: “Why

are religious matters in general and Buddhism in particular so important in Thailand and Thai culture respectively?" At that time I was very surprised and unprepared for this question, especially as uttered by a Buddhist monk.

It is beyond all questions that religion has had an overwhelming importance in the history of Thailand, as well as in today's day-to-day life in the country's rural areas and even in its big modern cities (Kirsch 1977:245, Suntaree 1975 :98-99). In this sense *Podliisita* (1985:30) wrote:

> The history or Thai culture is so dominated by Buddhism that if we take away the Buddhist component (inclusive or Brahmanism and animism. page 47) there is little to say about it. In Thailand. the orientation towards Buddhism is important and all pervasive. From birth to death an individual is brought into involvement with various Buddhist rites and ceremonies as he/she passes through successive stages or the lifecycle.

I would like to reformulate and broaden the monk's question as follows:

Why are religious matters in Thailand, as also in many other nations and cultures extremely important, whereas in other nations and cultures religion is without any particular relevance?

The aim of this article is to explore this question briefly in general and to illustrate the answer suggested with reference to Thailand and or Thai culture as one exemplary case among several others.

Outline

The exploration is based on the culture and personality approach, psychoanalytic psychology of the self (Heinz Kohut), attachment theory (John Bowlby) and the concept of psychological defense (George E. Vaillant). The psychoanalytic/psychiatric concept of individual and especially shared collective, culturally constituted psychological defense and shared mechanisms of defense is of paramount importance for the proposed answer to the issue addressed here.

However, only a very brief outline of these concepts will be presented first. The psychoanalytic and psychiatric concepts that have been introduced to this point will be used as a background theory for the ensuing analysis of Thai personality, interpersonal behavior, religious system and culture. This analysis is based above all on the outstanding research of Suntaree Komin. Her contribution will be supported and deepened by the analyses of the Thai modal personality of Hollis Mentzer and the Thai interpersonal behavior of Steven Piker. I will seek to explain the cause of these personality characteristics

and typical interpersonal behavioral patterns identified by describing the typical Thai child-rearing pattern.

As the description will have made clear, the average adult Thai living in the countryside tends to be endowed with a very high degree of diffuse but covered trait anxiety, suppressed hostility, mistrust, and a desperate subconscious longing for a stable trustworthy attachment figure. In this situation, which is characterized by the experience of painful only hardly covered latent virulent affects, Buddhism, together with the other components of the Thai religious system, offers a way to relieve psychic strains. This relief is achieved by means of certain religion-based values, which are transformed into salient behavior patterns. The achievement of these behavior patterns finally results in a more stable and positive state of mind. In this part of the presentation I will try to show how the several components of the Thai religious system make possible an indirect satisfaction of unsatisfied deep desires on the one hand and the containment and repression of hostile affects on the other. Finally I will illustrate and prove this claim by means of two present-day examples: the widespread emergence of so-called new religious movements in Thailand and the deliberate inculcation of traditional religious values and practices in Thai youths.

lt might be necessary to state with emphasis at the beginning, that the basic proposition of this article, that the Thai religious system may functions as a culturally constituted psychological defense, is not a specific and unique aspect of this particular religious system. According to the author's opinion, all religious systems (Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam) may function more or less strongly as a culturally constituted psychological defense.

The Thai Religious System

The Thai religious system has been characterized as highly complex (Kirsch 1977, 241). It is a composite of indigenous (animistic) and non-indigenous (Buddhist and Brahmanic-Hinduistic) elements. This complex religious system dates back at least to 1292, when the well-known inscription of Rama Kamhaeng was composed. This coexistence of the three core elements mentioned has persisted throughout Thai history up to now. However, a description of the Thai religious system is beyond the scope of this paper. Please see Rajadhon (954, 1962, 1965, 1980), Podhisita (1985), Kirsch 1977), Tambiah (1970) and Terwiel (1976) for a description of the Thai religious systems and please see Piker (1968) for an assessment of its emotional quality.

Adopting and modifying the methodology of Milton Rokeach (for example 1973), Suntaree (1991: 132-213) deciphers and names the following nine features which constitute as a whole the Thai national character see table 1:

Table I : (I have grouped these nine features of the Thai national character under two main headings) :

1. Thai Personality Features/ Thai Individualism :	2. Thai Interpersonal and Group Behavior Patterns :
1.1 Ego orientation	2.1 Grateful relationship orientation
1.2 Religio-psychic orientation	2.2 Smooth interpersonal relationship orientation
1.3 Educational and competence orientation	2.3 Flexibility and adjustment orientation
1.4 Fun and pleasure orientation	2.4 Interdependence orientation
1.5 Achievement-task orientation	

A comprehensive outline of Suntarees work is unfortunately beyond the scope of this article. I will instead focus on the following two of Suntaree's nine features, which have a direct relevance for the chosen question : 1 Thai ego orientation, and 2 Thai religio-psychic orientation.

1. According to the findings of Suntaree (1991:133), the Thai are first and foremost ***ego-oriented***, characterized by the supreme value of being an independent being oneself as well as by a very high value on self-esteem.

> Thai people have a very big ego, a deep sense of independence, pride and dignity. They cannot tolerate any violation of the 'ego' self. Despite the cool and calm front, they can be easily provoked to strong emotional reactions, if the 'self' or anybody close to the 'self, like one's father or mother, is insulted. There are countless numbers of examples in the media. where people can readily injure or kill another person for seemingly trivial insults.

The understanding of the whole complex of Thai ego orientation can be broadened and clarified through the following additional notions : face, honor, dignity, pride, and narcissism (self-admiration, excessive self-admiration and self-centeredness). Since the "ego" of the Thai is so important and at the same time very vulnerable, it naturally follows that the Thai have developed an elaborate system of "avoidance mechanisms" to fend off

The Contribution of Hollis Mentzer

Mentzer (1973; Mentzer, Piker 1975 :31-36) conducted empirical psychological research exploring Thai modal personality in the late sixties using a system of analysis based on inferences of affects derived from Rorschach responses. According to Mentzer (1973, page 45), the perhaps best description of the Thai rural villager's general approach and response to the testing situation is contained in the spontaneous remark by a women: **"You took me from being *coei, coei* and made me think!"** Mentzer (1973:45) explained her utterance to the effect that the Thai do not generally have an introspective, inquiring, analytic attitude toward their inner emotional experiences. Being *chōōi chōōi* (which means calm, relaxed, untroubled, mind at ease) is a highly valued state not to. be disturbed by "too much thinking" *(khit maak).* Several subjects were so disturbed by the task that they wanted to stop before all ten cards had been viewed. A monk began chanting after completing eight cards, and several people complained of "headaches" after the procedures. The following paragraphs are largely adopted from Mentzer and Piker 1975:33-36).

> In the Rorschach assessment of Thai villager personality, the most prominent feature diagnosed by Mentzer is a **very high degree of trait anxiety**. According to Mentzer, anxiety is felt over hostility feelings against others.
>
> There is also a **strong component of hostility** in Thai personality. Distinctive features of hostility are the frequency of direct expression and its projection upon others. Direct expression indicates that a defensive structure against hostility is not firmly held or is not effectively developed. Much of the hostility is also projected onto others.
>
> **Preoccupation with one's own body** indicates that affects are turned narcissistically inward. Although bodily preoccupation can indicate a pathological process of withdrawal when used excessively, its main meaning is as an indication of the lack of affect invested in others and the objective world (Mentzer 1973 : 80-81).
>
> Rorschach responses indicate an **underlying dependent attitude** in object relations, reliance upon something or someone exterior to the self. The Thai show a high level of dependency needs which engender a tendency towards passive-submissive attitudes towards others. (Mentzer 1973:80-81). Mentzer (Mentzer and Piker 1975:34) notes

constantly present but unnecessary clashes. According to Phillips (1965), this hidden quality of Thai social interaction is not easy for foreigners to detect. All participants in any kind of interaction thus constantly monitor their, communication behavior to prevent under all circumstances even the slightest affront to the other side. The great vulnerability of the Thai ego is the root, the underlying force, of various key values of the Thai such as 'face-saving and face-giving', 'criticism-avoidance', 'constant exchange of smiles', 'the admiration of a cool heart in almost any kind of situation', and the value of *kreng tjai* (feeling consideration for another person). The accumulation of such daily behaviors leads to the famous harmonious social interactions of the Thai, which are often described as smooth as silk and for which the Thai are famous throughout the world.

2. Suntaree (1991: 171) begins her exploration into the **religio-psychic orientation** of the Thai by stating that there is no doubt that Buddhism has even today a conscious significant role in the everyday Thai life. Most Thai (93 %) perceive religion as personally important and as having a strong influence on their daily life. Thais are constantly engaged in merit-making and numerous other religious rituals. Working out one's karma is primarily an individual matter, despite the celebration of such merit-making activities in public. Thai daily merit making efforts are restricted almost only to so-called *karmic Buddhism*, which has a "this-worldly" orientation. The concept of *karma*, which theoretically belongs to the "other-worldly" sphere of the Thai religious system, is commonly used in everyday life activities. For the Thai this concept has an almost "after-event" character. Suntaree (1991: 176) notes that the actual usage of the concept of karma in everyday life is psychologically interesting and revealing. It is used to attribute the cause of one's failure and the cause of other's achievement to something beyond one's own capacities. Thus it helps to reduce tremendous psychological pressures on one's inability to measure up to one's achievement goals. Suntaree (1991: 178) summarizes the findings of her research on the subject as follows :

> It indicates that the concept of karma as a religious preaching to build a better life cycle is not in reality a guiding force in regulating Thai social behavior, but rather it serves psychologically a defense mechanism for a whole range of negative experience.

Aside from the day-to-day practice of "this-worldly" karmic Buddhism, the Thai believe in spirits, in astrology, and engage in a variety of magic, superstitious behaviors. This belief in supernatural power is a dominant

characteristic of the Thai which is irrespective of group difference. Manifestations of supernatural beliefs are prevalent in everyday rural and urban life. (Suntaree 1991: 181). The results of the Thai value studies reveal surprisingly that urban Bangkokians engage in certain superstitious behaviors more often than rural people; the educated Thai more than the uneducated; government officials of various levels and hawkers more than farmers. (Suntaree 1991: 183). Suntaree (1991: 184) raises the question of the reasons for the relatively widespread practice of superstitious behaviors, even in today's urban areas among the educated. However, she offers no answer, except an enumeration of several reasons why Thai people contact, for example a fortune-teller. She summarizes the chapter on Thai religious orientation as follows (1991: 185) :

> ..... it seems that Buddhism serves a psychological function for the Thai more than anything. It basically provides a psychological cushion, ... Psychologically, in times of crisis, even the most skeptical would appeal for supernatural assistance. The influence is deep, to the extent that even the Western educated Ph.D. scientists would refuse to fathom the scientific and religious conflicts, and would never forget to wear their charms and amulets when they travel, for instance.

Suntaree (1991) deciphered nine key elements of the Thai national character. Knowledge of these nine elements makes it already possible to classify the observable Thai behavior patterns, to appropriately interpret them, to explain them, and, finally, to predict them roughly. However, in my opinion it is still necessary to deepen the understanding of the following two aspects of the Thai national character: The Thai personality and the Thai style interpersonal relationships.

The Contribution of Western scholarship

Vietnam (Marquis 2000) and Thailand (Wakin 1992) were a major target of US applied social science research during the sixties and seventies, in order to improve the counterinsurgency operations in this area of those days. It can therefore be said that Thailand, Thai history, Thai religious systems, Thai political system and Thai culture is one of the most systematically and thoroughly explored areas in the world. This research has given rise to a huge body of studies covering almost every conceivable aspect of Thai life, society, and culture. In my opinion the content of these studies is still relevant (but not the aim at that time), and may serve at least as a starting point of new research projects or discussions.

age. This study also found that in Thai society mothers from lower socio-economic status families usually raised their children in the same way as they themselves were raised. They used both physical and psychological punishment in order to make their children obey them, ... Both too much and too little control may have unfavorable effects.

For my understanding, the following four points represent the essence of Wiladlak's description :

1. excessive indulgence and permissiveness vis-a-vis the infant up to toddlerhood;
2. high level of control, including also physical abuse of the child as a normal measure to compel it towards older persons in general;
3. a tendency to neglect children among rural and urban lower class families; and
4. a marked shift of the main aspect of child-rearing from indulgence to strict control when the child reaches the age of toddler hood.

These four key features of the Thai child-rearing pattern were also observed and described by Piker (1964, 1968b, 1975). Slote (1992; 1998) made similar observations in Vietnam. However, for the case of Thailand it is in my opinion necessary to draw attention to three additional aspects :

Constant Threat Faced by the Thai Child that it May be Given Away by its Parents

I was several times asked by members of particular Thai families which I visited whether I would like to take their child with me and rear it in the West. Similar situations have been described by Phillips (1965:87) and Piker (1975: 1 02). This kind of request is quite surprising and strange for Westerners, but it seems that such requests are by no means idiosyncratic in the Thai cultural context (Phillips 1964:87). Such requests were always made in the presence of the child, 'and in my case the parents took pains to be sure that the child understood what was being said. How should a Thai child be able to make sense of these - more or less sincere - jokes about his future? What does a Thai child learn from such offers about the nature and continuity of human ties, for example with his parents? Such offers to outsiders (may be

that there is ambivalence about these dependency feelings. There is only a partial identification with authoritarian roles; total submissiveness to authority is absent. Direct, total submission is expressed only in relation' to the prestigious religious role of the monk, and women express this type of dependency more frequently than males.

Mentzer (Mentzer and Piker 1975:34) discovered in his study that the negative affect or content nearly doubled the positive and neutral content. This indicates **affect-lability** or the **inability to handle affect** in a controlled manner.

Mentzer's (1973; Mentzer and Piker 1975) **study revealed a defensive structure that is not firmly developed. Emotions lie very near the point of overt expression**. The considerable high anxiety indicates that psychic energy is very much bound up in "fighting against" the push or break-through of negative emotions. Mentzer's research reassembles and supports Suntarees (1991) ego-orientation feature.

The Contribution of Piker

Piker's (1964:44) conducted in the early sixties empirical research in rural Thailand analyzing Thai typical interpersonal or interactional patterns. He (1964:44-132) described these salient interactional patterns at great length in his Ph.D. thesis, providing detailed descriptions and vivid illustrations of them. The following abridged presentation of Piker's research is largely adopted from Mentzer and Piker (1975:27-31).

Perceived indeterminacy of intentions. For most Thai villagers, it is self-evidently certain that the true intention of others cannot be reliably known. Villagers commonly narrate anecdotes involving sudden or unpredictable shifts in the behavior of others. These anecdotes are intended to exemplify the fundamental truth: one cannot know what is in the mind of another person.

Distrust of the motives of others. Even though villagers are convinced that the intentions of others cannot be reliably known, they nonetheless engage in serious speculation on this topic. The results of their speculations often provide small comfort. Thai villagers are widely prone to conclude that others wish them no good, and they suppose that the self-interest of others always takes primacy. According to Piker (Mentzer, Piker 1975, page 28), few villagers would be

astonished to perceive that another, with whom they had enjoyed only positive relations for years, perhaps even a member of their own family, had finally wronged or rejected them.

Valuation of the cool heart. How should or could a Thai villager approach human relations and friendship when he/she can not know in principle the intention of others, when he has to expect always the worst, and when he nevertheless longs for contact. According to Piker (1975, page 29), the widely adopted psychological solution to this dilemma is to attempt to be in the interpersonal world, but not entirely. In other words, Thai villagers refrain from investing emotions in human relations. If emotional involvement is avoided, the prospect of being rejected is not threatening. Refraining from investing situations with affect means to be chɔ̄ɔ̄i chɔ̄ɔ̄i, to remain indifferent and cool hearted.

Aversion to open or direct expression of antagonism. Every foreigner who has for a time contact with Thai people or who even for a short period visits a village and lives with Thai villagers is struck by the lightness, placidness, and smoothness of every social encounter. Thai villagers recognize this and value it. All villagers conscientiously attend to "social cosmetics" (Phillips, H. P. 1965), which usually keeps the daily social process on a pleasant plane. Suntaree Komin (1991) also mentioned this important aspect of Thai social encounters, but Piker (1975:30) analyses goes beyond the descriptive level, questioning the psychological function of such behaviors. According to him, "social cosmetics" has a defensive function. In maintaining the surface pleasantness of casual encounters, Thais reassure themselves and each other that they have nothing to fear.

Ambivalence toward dependency. The individualism of the Thai is obvious and has been already described in many cases (Suntaree 1991). However, according to Piker (1975:31; 1968), the individualism of a Thai villagers does not reflect a sense of autonomous mastery of his life. Piker (1975) explains the cause of Thai individualism as a result of their predominant mistrust and suspicion and not as the outcome of a healthy development finally leading to a mature, independent, and really autonomous adult personality.

The Thai Child-rearing Pattern

One of the basic cornerstones of the culture and personality approach is the assertion that, first, the personalities of adults of a certain culture share at least some common features, and, second, that these so-called modal or basic personalities features are the outgrowth of common, shared child-

rearing patterns (Piker 1994, 1998). These two cornerstones of the culture and personality approach serve as a background for the following compressed description of the child-rearing pattern in rural Thailand. It is however, due to lack of space, not, possible to describe comprehensively the typical Thai child-rearing patterns. I would like to cite instead in detail the Thai child psychologist Wiladlak Seedonrasmee (1985:336-337), on **Parental Control in Asian Societies** :

> In many Asian societies we may observe extremes of high and low control. For example, the Indian mother is inclined to overindulge her infant's wishes and demands, but from the fourth or fifth year onwards, the mother strictly disciplines her child, especially the boy. A north Indian proverb addresses **to** men (emphasis added by the author) what they have to face: 'treat a son like a King (raja) for the first five years, like a slave for the next ten and like a friend thereafter' (Kakar 1979). Similarly, a Japanese child is the favored one in the family during the first year. A child will get almost anything he wants if he cries for it long enough, ...
>
> Traditionally social organization in many Asian countries has tended to be of the authoritative type; children are expected to give absolute obedience to their parents and even as mature adults are subject to parental control. This authoritarian structure may reflect the traditional style of child rearing. People who have become used to being controlled by their parents may think nothing of being controlled. They accept it, and eventually use it when they have children. ....
>
> Many Asian parents tend to be highly restrictive ... (because M.A.) many parents do not want their children to create situations, which provoke aggressive reactions; hence, they try to place strict controls on the behavior, which might lead to such outcome. Also, if the father is aloof and authoritarian it may fall to the mother to introduce restrictive controls over the children's behavior in order that the father is not disturbed or threatened ....
>
> Other families use too little control because of the home environment. The crowed homes of poor Asian families may cause the parents to let their children go outside their homes. When children are far away from home, the parents cannot closely control them. Suvannnathat (1981) investigated patterns of child rearing of urban low income families in Bangkok and found that most mothers in slum areas let their children play out of sight from as young as three or four years of

> social structures and cultural systems (including the religious system. M.A.) provide for a resolution of these problems and alleviate the psychic stress borne at least one third of its members?" (Mentzer 1973: 81)

The relationship between the Thai cultural system and the social structure of rural Thailand, and its unconscious function as a way to alleviate psychic stress, was described and discussed by Phillip (1963), Piker (1968) and Mentzer (1973). I will discuss in the following main chapter of this article the defensive function of the Thai religious system as a way to alleviate psychic stress and to gain mental stability.

The Thai Religious System as a Collective Psychological Defense

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the three aspects of the Thai culture at large - the Thai modal personality, the Thai pattern of interpersonal relations and the Thai value system - are not only compatible with the religious system but that there is a bilateral, mutually reinforcing functional relationship between these two spheres. One the one hand, the three features of Thai culture cause and sustain the content and the emotional quality of the Thai religious system. On the other hand, the religious system provides a solution and means of alleviation for otherwise insoluble this-worldly strains of every day Thai life.

As a starting point, 1 will introduce Piker's (1973:53-59) and Spiro's contribution on this question. After this, 1 will generalize the propositions presented thus far referring to Stone (1994) and Galanter (1978, 1990); and finally, 1 will integrate these findings.

Pikers Contribution

As a rule, Buddhist monks are venerated by almost all Thais. However, Piker (1973) asked why this attitude is so unanimously shared among Thais? According to Piker (1973:55), Thai villagers venerate monks truly because they are able to renounce in large measure attachment to other people. Most laymen are unable or unwilling to make this effort to still the wide range of pleasurable and painful emotions which invariably attend interpersonal involvement. It is this attempt of the monks to renounce their this-worldly emotional interpersonal involvement, and their success in doing so, that is highly venerated by Thai adherents of Buddhism. The villager's feelings about this accomplishment of monks are summed up by perhaps the highest compliment he pays to monks: monks remain *chōōi chōōi* under all

Thais from Bangkok or Westerners) were often made for children around the age of five. The Thai child is during that stage of his development in any case already plunged into despair, because his former, nearly autocratic position within his family has now been effectively abrogated, and *110 viable or attractive alternative to dependency* is *made available to the child* (Piker 1968b:394). It must be especially painful for a child in this already difficult situation to repeatedly hear its parents offer to give it away. Furthermore, it is well documented that the selling of children into slavery was quite frequent until the mid of the nineteenth century in Thailand as well as in most other parts of Southeast Asia and that even today the practice of offering a child for adoption, without any direct exchange of money, is not unusual in Thailand (Terwiel 1984). Terwiel (1984) speaks in this connection of "informal, often even benign or mutual beneficial bondage," and Jackson (1995: 149) comments on the same subject as follows :

> It is not unusual for Thai children to leave their parents' house to live with other, usually wealthier relatives, friends, or acquaintances. Such moves, when the child is effectively adopted into the foster family, are often made to help the child in his or her education, but are sometimes simply for convenience or because the child wants to live with the foster family.

Phillips (1964:88) asked concerning this matter the following question: What does the Thai child learn from living and developing in such a psychological environment? It is

> ... that ... there is nothing sacrosanct about any human tie in Bang Chan (a village in rural Thailand, M.A.), even that which exists between parents and child. If necessity or personal predilection requires, then this tie too may be broken. What is perhaps most significant here, from a developmental point of view is that the breaking of the tie always exists as a realistic potentiality in the life of the child. Reared in an environment where he learns that no human tie need be permanent or sustaining, the developing child inevitably takes on some of these same pattems of expectation in his own dealings with others. Thus the villager who abandons his spouse or the employee who with little warning leaves his employer are acting in terms of patterns the prototypes of which they either actually experienced as children or came to expect as part of the realities of interpersonal relations in Bang Chan.

Gender-bound, Gender-specific Socialization Practices from the Age of around Three Years

Boys and girls alike are confronted with a new role within their family approximately from the age of three years. Both genders lose their privileged position, are forced into a new, less pleasurable status, which means first of all less attention and support from the parents. However, the way in which this difficult developmental stage of Thai children from the age of three is coped with depends on the gender. (Piker 1975) In this situation young girls are given little tasks in the kitchen or in the household, garden, or the family shop. Girls of this age are repeatedly presented with the opportunity to be helper of the mother (or of another adult female of the family) in all manner of household tasks. As a rule, young girls are normally eager to take up these little opportunities, because of the attraction of the maternal (or more general female) approbation which is now at this age conditional upon their doing so (Piker 1975: 100). The young girls' identification with this new role leads in the course of the development to a renewed attachment to a caring adult female. In my opinion a young girl is offered the possibility to substitute her first early, unconditional attachment towards her mother through a new, task-oriented, realistic one. Potential new attachment figures are again the mother, or quite often now the grandmother or another adult female (for example a sister of the mother). In this situation, the support and supply of affection is not any more unqualified than it had been during infancy, but it now depends more and more on the girl's performance.

For young boys, on the other hand, this developmental period is a period of absence of any kind of realistic tasks or responsibilities, and in my opinion most importantly, a period in which no alternative attachment figure is available, except his peer group outside the home or group of Buddhist novices already living in the local temple. In my opinion this gender-bound socialization practice may be the cause and at the same time the result of the traditional matrifocal family system in rural north-east Thailand and the remarkable dominance of females in many economic areas even in today's urban Thailand.

The practice of benign sexual stimulation or abuse of young children (before the age of toddlerhood)

One fact which was mentioned above repeatedly and which is unanimously supported by the research literature on Thai child-rearing practices is that the Thai infant and young child is subjected to continuous

and almost unqualified indulgence. I have observed several times that this overall indulgence also includes the repeated stimulation, kissing, touching of boys' and the girls' genitals. This practice is also reported in the Asia-related research literature. For example, Hickey (1964:111, cited after Forrest 1971) found that in rural Vietnam "fondling the genital is one means of calming the crying infant, and sex play appears to be common among the small children". This practice ends abruptly at the latest when the age of toddlerhood is reached. Beyond this age, however, young boys, or more exactly the genitals of young boys, are furthermore the target or the focus of continuous jokes, touching, teasing, etc., especially by the females of his families, indiscriminate of age. I have several times observed such incidents within Thai families and felt always very sorry for the quite irritated, helpless, and often despairing boys. In my opinion even such benign and pleasurable sexual stimulation during infancy and the joking about the boy's genitals up to and during toddlerhood may have a profound impact on Thai adult personality and interpersonal behavior. It seems to me that this kind of 'naturally' benign and pleasurable action may cause the so-called "erotization" (Yates 1982:482, Stone1989) of children and subsequently of all adult interaction. The almost total avoidance of contact between adults of different genders may be the result of such childhood experiences. I agree with DeMause (1991), that cultures which permit the culturally accepted practice of sexually colored actions between children and parents and / or adults may give rise to adults who are on the one hand promiscuous and on the other hand, and at the same time, obsessed with cleanness, purification, and asceticism (see also Masson 1976).

Implications of Thai National Character and Interpersonal Behavior Patterns for the Structure of Thai Society

The condensed description of Thai modal personality, interpersonal behavior, related cultural values, and the relationship between these three aspects of Thai culture and the child-rearing practice in Thailand gives rise to the following question: What are the consequences of these three features of Thai culture at large for the content and function of the Thai social structure and the religious system?

> "If this operational analysis of problems of affective areas in personality organization (of Thai people in rural Thailand, M.A.) is somewhere "near the mark" (predominately vulnerable and unstable, M.A.), the essential question to ask is in what ways do aspects of

may create or make its possible for its members to experience one or various psychological benefits through membership. Stone (1994 : 145-151) outlined the following psychological benefits of membership in religious organizations. They are in my opinion also relevant for Thai monks (text in italics is my illustration of the Buddhist Thai case) :

> **Containment of Unacceptable Impulses :** Many people who join religious groups do so out of the desire to curb impulses that either society or their original families consider unacceptable. The move into a - for example - strictly structured religious group may help the convert to gain control over his virulent, latent inadequate aggressions. *A remarkably high level of aggression and a tendency to be provoked by minor events characterizes both the Burmese and the Thai. Especially males from both cultures may become Buddhist monk and live* ill *a Buddhist temple in order to contain virulent affects which may be pressing for release.*
>
> **Gratification of Impulses :** Religious groups sometimes function as agencies for the sanctioning and reinforcement of impulses that would otherwise be denied gratification. The group, which may have a considerable influence on its members, may grant permission to normal impulses which are appropriate for adults (sexual life beyond reproduction) or may grant consent for impulses or desires which would be considered inappropriate in any different context. *In the case of Thai and Burmese culture the role of the monk permits such persons the satisfaction of regressed oral drives (Spiro 1965:109) without the need for all binding effort all their side.*
>
> **Firming up a Sense of Identity :** Many persons who join religious groups have problems in identity in such areas as gender, values, and / or occupational direction. *According to Jackson* (1995:82-83), *many Thai homosexuals attribute the cause of their homosexuality to having grown lip in a female-dominated family system and the absence of positive male role models in contemporary Thai society. Thai males who join all exclusive "males only" organization - the Buddhist sangha - may do so because of their unconscious desire to stabilize and improve their fragile sense of maleness.*
>
> **Providing Structure and a Sense of Purpose :** A religious organization may envelop a person with a fragile sense of self; its exterior framework or structure may compensate for inner deficiency. Religious groups, especially the tightly knit, family-like communities in which everyone knows everyone, may provide structure through

circumstances and they refrain from investing situations with affect (Piker 1973:55). The question emerges why this aim of Thai Buddhist monks to become indifferent toward interpersonal emotional matters is so difficult to achieve and yet so central to monks and why Thai adherents of Buddhism esteem particularly this accomplishment so highly. According to Piker (1973:55), any answer to this question requires analysis of the meaning of interpersonal involvement for Thai villagers, or, in other words, inquiry into the quality of frustrations and anxieties, which are inevitably connected with emotional interpersonal involvement. Thai people are, following Piker (1973, 56-58), caught on the horns of seemingly inescapable dilemma. They seek desperately trustworthy relationships, but they are absorbed with mistrust and suspicious vis-a-vis their neighbors and any potential attachment figure. Due to this dilemmas, many villagers question whether worldly interpersonal involvement is really worth it. To Piker (1973:59), however, monks seem to have accomplished the impossible :

> They have actually renounced involvements with others in most normal or mundane respects; they have stilled in large measure the wishes and needs which chain the layman to the toils and frustrations of work-a-day life; they have, in short, organized their lives and minds in such a way that the attainment of most goals, proximal as well as remote, actively pursued by them is *not* visibly contingent upon the intentions or responses of specific others, or the outcomes of social relationships.

And finally, in my opinion, they have succeeded in reaching the mental state of indifference, equanimity, cool heart or the *chōōi chōōi* state of mind. As a result of this difficult accomplishment, monks attain - in the villager's view - a level of existence which is markedly superior, both morally and psychologically. It is the villager's perception of both the magnitude of this accomplishment and its relevance to his own personality needs that provides the primary psychological basis for the veneration to monks (Piker 1973:59). In other words, Thai laymen venerate monks, because they have found a way out of seemingly otherwise unsolvable dilemma by means of remaining *chōōi chōōi* within a certain marked of area (the monastery) as a way of life. In my opinion, monks are able to "resolve" interpersonal obstacles through the successful deployment of at least one culturally accepted mechanism of defense, which helps to guard and immunize the monk's self against the inevitable normal blows of every day life. Remaining *chōōi chōōi* may create and stabilize a more positive sense of self, but it will by no means enable the

monk to work out his this-worldly interpersonal dilemmas. The *cliōōi chōōi* state of mind, which is highly esteemed in Buddhist cultures like Thailand, may resemble, in my opinion, the defense mechanism **asceticism.** This defense mechanism, which is especially susceptible to culture-bound evaluations, is defined as follows :

> "Asceticism aims at the elimination or avoidance of pleasurable experience and is directed against all consciously perceived physical enjoyment. Gratification comes from renunciation of needs and pleasures; hence biological or sensual satisfactions are forbidden, whereas non-sensual joy is countenanced. Asceticism may be part of an ethical, religious, or moral concern, and one may find a moralistic tone present in the judgments of self and others." (Vaillant 1986, Appendix V, Glossary of Defenses of Hauser and Colleagues, p. 138)

It can be concluded, that most Thai adherents of Buddhism may already achieve a sufficiently stable sense of self and control of their impulses by means of veneration of, or in other words (psychoanalytic terminology) **idealization,** of the Buddhist doctrine, the Buddhist Sangha as an institution or of individual monks whom they meet in their everyday life.

Spiro's Contribution

According to Piker (1973) and Spiro (1965), the following additional question emerges in connection with the above topic: "Why some (adherents of Buddhism, M.A.) elect to become and remain monks, where most do not, ...?" (Piker 1973:54). Spiro (1965, 1982) has addressed this question in his publications about Buddhism in Burma, which were based on his fieldwork carried out during 1961- 962. According to Spiro (1965: 107), the psychological analyses of the personality of Buddhist monks in Burma lead to the diagnosis of severe pathology (at least from a Western point of view, M.A.). The following aspects are diagnosed :

1. A very high degree of "defensiveness";
2. pathological regressed expression of aggressive and oral drives;
3. cautious avoidance of "emotionally laden" situations as a means of obviating the necessity of handling affect, for which there are no adequate resources;
4. a "hypochondriacal self-preoccupation" and "erotic self-cathexis", instead of a cathexis of others;
5. latent homosexuality;
6. above-average fear of female- or mother-figures.

Spiro (1965: 107) emphasizes in connection with the diagnosis of the Burmese monks that their diagnosis is similar to the diagnosis of the personality of average Burmese laymen (Tu 1964). Monks differ from laymen, not because they have different problems (quality), but because they have more of the same problems (quantity). Burmese monks do indeed show a remarkably higher level of intrapersonal conflicts and mental disturbances, but they do not as a rule develop an open, flourishing, full-blown psychiatry disorders. According to Spiro (1964: 1 08), an individual Burmese monk may could develop a full-blown psychiatry disorder outside the Buddhist temples, because his own psychological defenses are not in line with his high level of conflicts.

The Burmese, who have been characterized as latent hostile (Tu 1964), project their hostility, which otherwise would easily overwhelm them for no apparently adequate reason (from a Western point of view), on to other humans and on to spirits, ghosts and witches. It is, by means of this mental operation **(projection** and **splitting)** possible for the Burmese to experience himself and the Buddhist sphere of life as only good and the world of ghosts as only bad and dangerous.

There are striking parallels of Piker's (1975) and Mentzer's works with the description of Burmese personality and interpersonal behavior by Spiro (1964, 1969) and Tu (1964). In my opinion, Spiro's (1965) analysis and conclusions concerning the psychological function of Burmese Buddhism, Burmese monasticism and the Burmese concept of the superstitious universe inhabited by hostile spirits is also applicable to Thailand without any reservation.

Galanter's and Stone's Contribution

My following generalization of the findings presented thus far is largely inspired and adopted from Stone (1993) and Galanter (1978, 1990) commenting on the psychological function or benefits of active membership in cohesive religious groups in the Western cultural sphere, which are led by a real or a symbolic charismatic figure. Stone (1993) outlined several psychological benefits of active membership in religious groups, organizations or communities, which may lead to affiliation to such groups by persons who have a latent fragile sense of self. The religious orientation (for example Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam, or Christianity) or a specific doctrine or school within a major religious orientation is irrelevant to the emergence of these psychological benefits. Any religious organization, in any culture

LN: **Lucky or unlucky numbers:** *Yes.*
N: **Numbers that have special significance:** *Yes.*
C: **Colors that have a special significance:** *Orange Red.*
OA: **Ordering or arranging things so that they are in their proper place:** *Part of Buddhist rituals.*
AS: **Arranging people or things symmetrically or in some precise spatial configuration:** *Part of Buddhist rituals.*
AT: **Attention to a threshold or entrance:** *There are several thresholds within the compound of the temple.*
RA: **Repeating actions (i.e., going in and out of a door, up and down from a chair more than once):** *Part of Buddhist rituals*
He: **Stereotyped hoarding or collecting actions:** *Collecting of Buddha statues and amulets, etc.*
S: **Scrupulosity: extremely rigid and literal interpretation of a religious doctrine:** *On some instances, certain Thai Buddhist schools or factions are quite rigid.*
M: **Intrusive nonsense sounds, words, or music:** *On some cases as a result of intensive meditation.*

Extension of Dulaney and Fiske's collection of OCD features by Michael Axel

MS: **Memorizing holy scriptures, learning by heart:** *Buddhist novices are expected tomemorize Buddhist texts.*
RS: **Recitation of holy scriptures:** *Uttering mantras, chanting, etc.*

Validating the Evidence

Spiro (1965, 1997) emphasizes repeatedly in his writings that he does not consider culturally constituted psychological defense via the unconscious deployment of various defensive mental operations as pathological. Rather, the opposite is true: the successful, individual or collective deployment of culturally constituted psychological defensive operations prevents the outbreak of individual or collective psychopathology and /or social unrest. Spiro (1965) stresses that abnormal behavior (also from an *emic* point of view) can be expected to appear in a culture or society under at least one of the following three conditions :

1. When emotional conflict is idiosyncratic, i.e. cultural means are not available as potential bases for culturally constituted defense mechanisms;

programmed activities and strictly observed rituals that are performed each day at the same time. *In the case of Thai or Burmese monasteries, the strict daily routines (rising early in the morning, meditations at a fixed time, only one main meal before midday providing services for the neighboring community) may function as an external auxiliary structure that confines an inner amorphousness.*

Enhancement of Self-Esteem : Religious organizations, especially those which promote a certain elitist worldview or doctrine or claim possession of the ultimate truth, may play a significant role in enhancing the self-esteem of their members. The members of such an organization may identify with such ideas and develop the notion that they belong to a small group of chosen people and who feel pity for other poor, still ignorant human beings. *Watching TV several interviews with high-ranking, highly educated full-time Thai monks. I have had always the impression that these monks feel sorry for those who do not understand and accept the ultimate four noble truths, and who still kill mosquitoes. But I believe that this pity, especially for Westerners, is no more than disguised arrogance stemming from a sense of narcissistic grandeur and inflated self-esteem that result from an uncritical identification with this doctrine.*

Alleviation of Acute Despair *:* Almost all people who join cohesive, family-like religious groups suffer from more or less chronic feelings of hopelessness (Galanter 1978. 1990). This hopelessness is sometimes generalized, but in other cases a specific life event is often the propelling force behind the decision to seek out and join such groups. *Suntaree (1991:185) wrote ill connection with this topic that "psychologically, in times of crises, even lire most skeptical (Thai urban professional with a Ph.D. in science from a US American university, M.A.) would appeal for supernatural assistance" and may at least consult a religious professional (a Buddhist monk, fortune teller or moo khwan), or might even join a monastery for a limited time, or even forever.*

No matter what their cultural origin, people who join a religious group or any type of group or organization that reveals a certain number of typical characteristics (see below) may experience one or more of the above-mentioned psychological benefits of group membership. **This includes even terrorist groups** (Post 1984). Galanter (1978, 1990) speaks in connection

with this phenomenon of a so-called socio-psycho-biological "relief effect". The realization of this *relief effect* presupposes the following group characteristics (Galanter 1990:543-545) :

1. a high level of social cohesiveness;
2. an intensely held, internalized all-embracing belief system;
3. a profound influence on member behavior;
4. led by a real or symbolic charismatic attachment figure.

In my opinion, Burmese and Thai monasticism do possess such group characteristics, and they therefore make it possible for its members to experience one or many of the various psychological benefits which may add up to the emergence of the all-embracing "relief effect".

Integration

Finally, referring to the three interpretations outlined above, I wish to illustrate that the Thai religious system as a whole, and especially Thai monasticism, functions as a culturally constituted psychological defense deploying a wide range of 1 psychological mechanisms of defense and 2 O&C behavior and thought patterns. I refer here to empirical, practiced Thai Buddhism, for example as described by Terwiel (1976), not to the theoretical ideal.

1. Psychological Defense Mechanisms Especially Used by Thai Monks :

Autistic fantasies : Inducing autistic states by means of meditation (Alexander 1931).
Denial of the economic burden of one's monkhood for one's family or even for society (Spiro 1982:345).
Denial of sexual feelings and the need for emotional attachment.
Asceticism : Elimination of all pleasurable experiences.
Avoidance of conflict-laden experiences, open conflicts, and sexuality.
Intellectualization : Controlling affects and impulses by thinking or interpretation of abstract religious theories.

Used by Average Members of Thai Culture :

Displacement: Redirection of feelings toward safer objects or persons (kicking-the-neighbor's-dog, gossip epidemics)
Reaction formation : Showing feelings that are diametrically opposed to one's own authentic emotions (smiling instead of expressed anger, the 'killing smile').

Splitting : Compartmentalizing of the world into an exclusively good sphere (Buddhism) and an exclusively bad, dangerous sphere (ghosts, witches, outsider etc.). Idealization of the Buddhist doctrine, the Buddhist way of life, or the historical figure Buddha. **Projection :** Projection of one's own feelings (hostility) on to ghosts, deities, witches.

2. Obsessive Thoughts and Compulsive Behaviors which are part of Thai Buddhist Rituals and Way of Life

Based on Dulaney and Fiske's (1994:249-250) collection of O&C disorder features.
Bold text represents their general features;
Italics represent Thai O&C features according to Michael Axel

I: **Concern with inanimate items:** *Concern for amulets, Buddha statues, etc.*
CO: **Prescribed procedures for cleaning inanimate objects :** *Ritualized cleaning of religious objects.*
CD: **Concern with dirt, germs, etc. Concern for the polluting, unclean, or impure:** *Fear of menstruating women, female underwear.*
RC: **Actions to remove (avoiding, M.A.) contact with contaminants:** *Avoidance of physical contact between men and women in public and in principle (monks).*
CS: **Concern or disgust with bodily wastes or secretions:** *Concern for menstruation blood and vaginal discharge.*
RW: **Frequently repeated hand-washing, showering, bathing, brushing of teeth, or grooming:** *Ritual washing.*
T: **Touching something simply in order to touch:** *Repeated touching of holy objects*
FH: **Fear of harming others or the self:** *Yes.*
PH: **Special measures to prevent harm to the self or others:** *Wearing of amulets, tattoos, it is considered as inappropritue in Thai culture to give knifes as a gift etc.*
FT: **Fear that something terrible will happen (i.e., fire, death, illness of self or someone else):** *Latent fear of attacks from ghosts.*
CR: **Checking and rechecking to make sure of something:** *Wearing one protective amulet might be insufficient.*
FS: **Forbidden, aggressive, or perverse sexual thoughts, images, or impulses:** *Yes.*
VH: **Having violent or horrific imaginings:** *Yes.*
FB: **Fear of blurting out obscenities or insults, or doing something embarrassing, or of acting on criminal impulses:** *Yes.*
CN: **Having to count to a specific nlumber before being able to perform an action:** *Yes.*

2. when, under conditions of rapid social change, culturally constituted defense mechanisms are unavailable, either because older institutions have been discarded or because the new situation creates a new set of conflicts; and
3. when emotional conflict is modal and culturally means are available for conflict resolution, but these means have been inadequately taught or inadequately learned, (pp. 112-113)

I will support and illustrate the basic claim of this article that the Thai religious system, which represent the central core of Thai culture, functions as a culturally constituted psychological defense by means of two present-day examples :

1. The widespread emergence of so-called new religious movements and
2. the remarkably benign results of the deliberate inculcation of traditional values and Buddhist religious practices in Thai youth.

New Religious Movements in Thailand

Thailand experienced an incredibly high economic growth over the last thirty years, up to the Asian financial crisis, which took place in 1997, and in which the country developed from a largely agrarian community to an industrializing society (Nikon Chandravithum 1995, 1). This remarkable economic development has changed the fabric of Thai society and led to widespread dislocation of the rural population, redistribution of land, development of an export-oriented agriculture, urbanization, and the development of an urban workforce and an urban middle class. However, this rapid economic development has been never balanced, fair, or sound. Already in 1995, two years before the Asian financial crisis in 1997, Nikon Chandravithum (1995) described the social costs of becoming an industrialized society for the average Thai population as well as for the environment. Kulik and Wilson (1992:69) describe the emotional burden for the Thai people of this uneven, rapid economic development as follows :

> Modernization increases the tensions in the Thai psyche, leading to a surprisingly high incidence of neurosis as well as murder. Thailand is said to have one of the highest murder rates in the world, dominated by *crimes passionelles* ..." (acts committed in the heat of passion, intense emotion, intense or overpowering emotion such as love, joy, hatred. or anger; explanation by M.A.)

Hinduism, Judaism, Islam, etc. Thai culture in general, and the Thai religious system in particular, **is only one example among several others religious systems**. The Thai religious system was chosen by change in order to demonstrate the validity of the general concept of **Culturally Constituted Psychological Defense**. This concept was first conceptualized by Melford Spiro already forty years ago and which, in my opinion, hasn't found sufficient consideration in the current anthropological discourse.

This analysis has of course several limitations. First, the author of this paper is a representative of a Western, irreligious culture and its related cultural values; one who believes in empirical science. This may imply a certain bias, a distorted perception of the reality and life of a non-Western culture and religion. Furthermore, the utilized concepts were developed only by Western scholars and the used empirical data was already collected thirty to forty years ago (with the exception of the contribution of Suntaree Komin). In my opinion, there is an urgent need to collect up-to-date data on Thai personality, interpersonal behavior, and cultural values, using the same instruments that were deployed during the sixties and seventies (Sentence Completion Test, TAT, Rorschach, Rokeach Values Survey and its modification by Suntaree Komin) as well as adding new diagnostic systems (ICDIO, DSM IV) and its related instruments like Personality Disorder Inventories, or the Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI-R). An approach that might prove especially fruitful could be one that combines Western and Asian perspectives.

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In my opinion, the following question emerges here : Are today's changed importance and role of the traditional elements of Thai culture, including the religious system, still strong and compelling enough to provide satisfactory psychological defense which help to smoothen the emotional state of the Thai people? Or, alternatively, in the case of a weakening of the defensive capabilities of today's culture : Can certain new movements be identified that demand a resurgence and reinforcement of the compelling power of traditional social and religious values. Taylor (excerpt from the abstract, 1993:62) gives the following answer :

> As a consequence of some thirty years of uneven national development, a number of active rural and urban monks are now confronting such immediate concerns as the stresses and anxieties of urbanization, rural marginalization, and environmental degradation. This, Jim Taylor suggests, is helping to reshape and refine conventional religious soteriologies.

Thailand has experienced during the last twenty years, and even before the Asian financial crisis, the emergence of a considerable number of so-called revitalization movements, millenarian movements, or crisis cults (Taylor 1993, Jackson 1988, Keyes 1977). Such movements are far more likely to occur during times of social-cultural change, quite often caused by external forces, or any other kind of large-scale, overwhelming crisis. The common denominator of such movements is the reinforcement of traditional cultural values or the development of a new cultural gestalt which is compatible with the current emotional state and defensive needs of its members. In my opinion, the widespread emergence of new religious movements In Thailand in the course of Thai modernization and industrialization during the last fifty years, demanding as a rule a revival of traditional religious values, supports Spiro's (1965) above-mentioned proposition.

Buddhist Training for Thai Adolescent Youth

Spiro (1965:112-113) claims that individual and /or collective emotional conflicts and social unrest may occur when culturally constituted mechanism of defense are still available for the containment of psychic strains, but when these means are no longer adequately taught or learned. The importance and influence of the traditional socializing social institution in Thailand, for example the primary and the extended family, primary school, and the local Buddhist temple of the neighborhood, have been weakened during the process of modernization and industrialization. (Comp. Spielmann 1994; Limanonda 1995)

Therefore, in my opinion, it is not surprising to observe that Thailand has been experiencing a steady increase of the number of delinquent and drug addicted adolescent youths since the beginning of the process of modernization (Spielmann 1994; Tori and Emavardhana 1998). Thai adolescent delinquents are distinguished by feelings of impulsiveness, among other symptoms. In my opinion this impulsiveness and related criminal acts, which are often committed in the heat of passion, are brought about by an inadequate deployment of traditional individual and culturally constituted defense mechanisms.

Emavardhana and Tori (1997) and Montain, Tori, and Emavardhana (2000) have shown in their studies that the deliberate and systematic inculcation of traditional religious values and practices in (non-delinquent) Thai adolescent youth by means of Vipassana mediation retreat do indeed increase their coping capacity, their ability to use more mature defense mechanisms, and their overall psychological adjustment. These studies confirm, in my opinion, Spiro's (1965) assumption that inadequately taught and inadequately learned culturally constitute mechanisms of defense may give rise to individual and collective emotional and social instability. The deliberate subsequent inculcation of culturally constituted mechanisms of defense in adolescent Thai youth at risk for delinquent behavior may prevent them from possible future wrongdoing.

In my opinion, these two examples illustrate and support the assumption of this article that at least some features of Thai culture (the Thai modal personality, inter-personal behavior, and cultural values, and especially the Thai religious system as its core) may function as a culturally constituted psychological defense.

Summary, Conclusion, Limitations

The starting point of this paper was the unexpected question of a Thai monk, who was puzzled about the reasons for the overwhelming importance of Buddhism or religious matter in hailand or in Thai culture. The author of this paper has tried to demonstrate that the importance of religious matter in Thailand is not the outgrowth of a rational, deliberate and informed choice of the Thai people but the result of their unconscious defensive needs. However, in my opinion, it is necessary to state again, that this claimed defensive function of the Thai religious system is not a unique function of this chosen and analyzed particular religious system. This defensive function can be assumed by all religious systems on Earth, for example Christianity,

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Apart from the Han-Chinese, the Tai Lue are the only ethnic group in Sipsong Panna that has had a written language since ancient times. Some Buddhist Mon-Khmer speaking groups like the Bulang adopted the Tai Lue script for religious as well as secular purposes a relatively long time ago.[7] The Tai Lue script, a variant of the Dhamma script once widely used among Tai peoples of the Upper Mekong region, was introduced as an official script in 1955 in a simplified form.[8]

At the time of liberation by the Chinese Peoples Army in 1950, the population of Sipsong Panna was slightly over 200,000. Beginning in the 1950s, the population steadily increased. In 1956 Sipsong Panna had a population of 250,000 inhabitants, of which slightly more than fifty percent were Tai Lue. After the failure of the Great Leap Forward (1958 59), many Chinese from Hunan, Guizhou, and other poor provinces in southern China, migrated to Sipsong Panna where they worked on the rubber plantations. This migration was largely prompted by the establishment of state-run rubber farms in the border areas of Yunnan, in response to a shortage of rubber in China following the economic blockade by the United States. A second, mostly urban, wave of Chinese migrants arrived in 197071. They were mostly middle and high school Han Chinese students sent by the state to consolidate the border areas, but some of them left Sipsong Panna immediately after the abolition of the peoples communes in 1978. A third, though less significant, wave began in the early 1980s when large numbers of economic migrants entered Sipsong Panna following the reform policies of Deng Xiaoping. This was the first wave of Chinese migrants entering the prefecture without state orchestration.[9]

Fig. 1. Chao Maha Khanthawong (1925 2013) in his house, Ban Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung. (Photograph by Apiradee Techasiriwan)

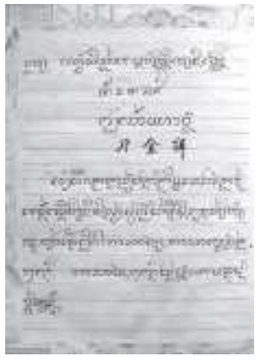

Fig. 2. Colophon of Khao Suek Lok Thi Song [(Sipsong Panna) in the Second World War] (MS 4).

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Tai Lue Identities in the Upper Mekong Valley
Glimpses from Mulberry Paper Manuscripts

Volker Grabowsky
Apiradee Techasiriwan

The Tai Lue are a small ethnic group comprising slightly less than one million people whose areas of settlement are widely scattered across the upper Mekong basin. Their traditional homeland is the autonomous Dai prefecture of Sipsong Panna in the far south of Yunnan, where the roughly 350,000 Tai Lue make up almost one-third of the population. There are probably as many as 200,000 Tai Lue in the eastern sections of the Burmese Shan State, especially in the Chiang Tung (Kengtung) region where they are intermingled with 150,000 Tai Khuen to whom they are linguistically closely related.[1] Less than 150,000 Tai Lue live in Northern Laos. Mueang Sing (Luang Namtha province) and Phong Saly (part of Sipsong Panna until 1895) are the areas with the highest concentration of Tai Lue. There are no reliable estimates concerning the Tai Lue population in Northern Thailand. Conservative estimates come close to 100,000 persons. This figure, however, only represents the Tai Lue communities that have consciously preserved the language and traditions of their ancestors. Other estimates, which also include assimilated Tai Lue whose forefathers had once been forcibly resettled from Sipsong Panna and Moeng Yong in Burma to places such as Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Mai and Nan during the first half of the nineteenth century, run as high as half a million.[2]

Colonialism and the formation of modern nation-states finally put an end to the traditional Tai Lue polities, such as the kingdom of Sipsong Panna, also known as Moeng Lue, and the principality of Chiang Khaeng further to the south in the Burma-Laos borderland.[3] However, the opening of borders and intensified cross-border exchanges of goods, ideas, and people in the age of globalization have brought about a revival of a Tai Lue network of religion, culture, and ethnic identity. This process is discussed in this paper by focusing on recent trends in the Tai Lue manuscript culture of Sipsong Panna. This culture was revived in the early 1980s following fifteen years of harsh suppression during the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Our study presents preliminary results of an ongoing project by the authors on the organization of historical knowledge in Tai Lue manuscripts from southwestern China and northern Laos.[4] This first overview is based upon paratexts - mainly colophons and prefaces - of selected manuscripts from a corpus of 153 dated and fifty-six undated manuscripts from Sipsong Panna and adjacent areas, such as Moeng Laem (Menglian) and Gengma, where the Tai Lue variant of the Dhamma script is still used.[5] Only a few of the dated manuscripts under study here are from the periods 1886-1949 (six manuscripts) and 1950-1966 (six manuscripts). The vast majority (141 manuscripts) bear witness to the revival of Tai Lue manuscript culture in the post-1980 period.

Sipsong Panna : The heartland of the Tai Lue people

The Sipsong Panna Dai (Tai) Autonomous Prefecture (Xishuang banna daizu zizhi zhou) was founded in 1953, four years after the proclamation of the Peoples Republic of China. It is located in southern Yunnan, in the northeast of Burma (Myanmar) and northwest of Laos, covering an area of almost 20,000 square kilometers with slightly more than one million inhabitants. About ninety-five percent of the autonomous prefectures territory is covered by mountains; less than one-third of the population, mainly members of various hill tribes such as the Hani, Lahu, and Bulang, live in mountainous areas. A relative majority of the population are Tai Lue rice-farmers (about thirty-five percent) living in the agriculturally productive plains which make up only five percent of the territory (see Thongthaem Nartchamnong 1989, 51-65). Chinese settlers live mostly in urban areas. The Mekong River, called Lan Cang Jiang by the Chinese, flows across Sipsong Panna in a northwest-southeast direction, dividing the region into two almost equal halves (Chia Yaencong 2005, 259-60; Yanyong Chiranakhon and Ratanaporn Setthakul 2001, 197).

The Tai Lue have traditionally been the dominant ethnic group in Sipsong Panna, which they consider to be their heartland. The Tai Lue refer to themselves with this ethnonym only when they want to distinguish themselves from other Tai peoples. Otherwise, the Tai Lue of Sipsong Panna call themselves Tai.[6] The Tai Lue, along with the Tai Nuea of the Dehong Autonomous Prefecture and several smaller Tai groups, such as the Tai Ya, are recognized by the Chinese under the titular nationality Dai. The Dai is one of the fifty-six officially recognised nationalities (*minzu*) and among politically motivated constructs of Chinese ethnographers. As a category, however, Dai has failed to provide any meaningful basis of self-identification for members of the Dai nationality who would consider themselves as Tai Nuea, Tai Ya, Tai Laem, or Tai Lue.

social relations with the Chinese nation-state. She predicts, rather, the reproduction of a premodern cultural hybridity in the post-socialist global era (Diana 2009, 212).

Tai Lue manuscript culture

The Tai Lue script is a variant of the Dhamma script (*tua akson tham*), which was probably developed from the ancient Mon alphabet through Hariphunchai. Though the diffusion of this script in the Upper Mekong region has still to be studied thoroughly, we can assume, based on our present state of knowledge, that the script spread from Lan Na to Chiang Rung and other parts of Sipsong Panna no later than the mid-fifteenth century, probably during the reign of King Tilok when Lan Na expanded politically and culturally into the Tai Lue-speaking areas. The Lao, Lan Na, and Tai Lue versions of the Dhamma script are very similar to one another, and the lexemes of the Lao, Lan Na and Tai Lue languages are to a very high degree identical.[17]

Manuscripts in these languages and scripts from Laos, Northern or Northeast Thailand, and Sipsong Panna can be read and, to a certain extent, understood by anyone literate in any one of them. Though a complete survey and documentation of extant Tai Lue manuscripts has yet to be carried out, their total number can be estimated at slightly over 10,000, of which a large amount are kept in monastic libraries while many others are parts of private collections. Whereas Northern Thai and Lao manuscripts are mostly written on palm-leaf, Tai Lue manuscripts, notably those pertaining to secular texts, use mulberry paper as the main writing support.[18]

A thriving manuscript culture came to an end in the Tai Lue heartland of Sipsong Panna when the Chinese communists seized power in Yunnan in 1950 and abolished the far-reaching political and cultural autonomy that Sipsong Panna and other minority regions had enjoyed for centuries under the so-called Pacification Commissionership (*tusi*) system. In 1953, the new rulers in Beijing established as part of the Simao Prefecture an Autonomous Prefecture of the Dai nationality in Sipsong Panna. To facilitate the learning of the Tai Lue language and script, particularly among non-Tai ethnic groups, including a growing number of Chinese immigrants, the Chinese authorities set up a commission of local scholars and bureaucrats to design a completely new Tai Lue alphabet that was officially introduced in 1955 (He Shaoying *et al.* 2008, 215; Isra Yanatan 2001, 45960). The simplified alphabet abolished the Pâli consonants, did away with the use of ligatures as well as of subscript and superscript symbols which are a typical feature of the Dhamma script,

After the demise of the Qing dynasty and the founding of the Republic of China, Chinese influence in Sipsong Panna steadily increased. Chinese officials were sent to the region to work alongside with and supervise Tai Lue officials appointed by the *chao fa* of Chiang Rung. During World War II Yunnan remained under the control of the Kuomintang government, which fought against Japanese troops in the south. As a frontier zone bordering the Shan state of Chiang Tung that came under Japanese control in 1942, Sipsong Panna was considered of vital strategic importance by the Chongqing government under Chiang Kai-shek. Kuomintang troops were stationed in almost all districts of Sipsong Panna and as a consequence, the local population suffered during the war.

This suffering is vividly remembered in the collective memory of the Tai Lue, as is reflected in various manuscripts composed by local scholars who recorded the hardships of that time in their personal recollections. Chao Maha Khanthawong, a former government official who lived in Chiang Rung, composed a text about the political events in his native province of Yunnan during World War II called *Khao Suek Lok Thi Song* [Sipsong Panna] in the Second World War (MS 4). This text, written in a notebook, was obviously not intended for wider circulation. It is a most interesting piece of private historiography which the author, Chao Maha Khanthawong (Fig. 1), dedicates to his own descendants, as he states in the colophon (Fig. 2):[10]

> [This manuscript] is dedicated to [my] offspring to study these stories thoroughly and gain knowledge of the evil deeds of the Kuomintang Chinese who oppressed the Tai people (*phasa tai*) and the highland peoples (*phasa chao hua mon*). The nationalities (*phasa*) of Sipsong Panna endured enormous sufferings.[11]

In January 1950, the Kuomintang administration collapsed in Yunnan, several months later than in the northern and central parts of China. The last ruler of Sipsong Panna, Chao Mom Kham Lue (alias Dao Shixun), who had ascended to the throne in 1944 at the age of sixteen, abdicated (for more details, see Liew-Herres *et al.* 2012, 7172). Eight centuries of Tai Lue statehood ended.

The Cultural Revolution, which officially started in 1966, brought upon major ruptures in the social, cultural and religious life of the Tai Lue as well as of other ethnic groups. Thousands of Tai Lue people fled to adjacent Tai-speaking areas in Burma (such as Moeng Yang, Phayak and Chiang Tung) and Laos (notably Mueang Sing), though the situation in these places was

far from being stable.[12] Mueang Sing, under the control of Pathet Lao forces since 1962, suffered itself from ultra-leftist mistakes of the local Pathet Lao leader, who was a native of neighbouring Moeng La in the southern part of Sipsong Panna and allegedly influenced by the Chinese Cultural Revolution. As a consequence, several thousand Tai Lue, including those refugees from Sipsong Panna, fled to areas under the control of the Royal Lao Government or even to Thailand.[13]

During the Cultural Revolution, numerous temples and pagodas were destroyed by the Red Guards and thousands of monks and novices forced to be defrocked. When the last supreme patriarch of Sipsong Panna, based at Wat Pa Che Maha Rajasathan in Chiang Rung, passed away in 1974, the highest religious position in the prefecture remained vacant for almost twenty years (see Casas 2008, 294). Japanese anthropologist Kiyoshi Hasegawa reports that in the 1950s there were 574 monasteries with almost 6,500 monks and novices in Sipsong Panna.[14] This number declined to 556 monasteries with 4,090 monks and novices in 1966. Fifteen years later, when the Chinese government allowed the restoration of temples and pagodas, only 145 monasteries with some 600 novices and far fewer monks had survived.

During the 1980s, Sipsong Panna experienced a remarkable cultural revival. In 1988, 474 village monasteries housed 642 monks and 4,980 novices (Hasegawa 2000). By 2000, the number of monasteries had further increased to 560, with a total of over 7,000 monks and novices (Davis 2006, 58). Based on his fieldwork undertaken in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Thomas Borchert concludes that most Tai Lue families still want their sons to ordain, if only to learn the old Tai Lue script. He estimates that in 2000, approximately fifteen percent of the male population between the ages of eight and twenty were ordained as novices in Sipsong Panna (Borchert 2008, 132).

Since then there have been some contrary trends. Families have become more and more reluctant to send their son(s) to a monastery for a long time because they fear it might be to their disadvantage in a booming economy that has become increasingly competitive. During two recent field trips to Sipsong Panna (in September 2012 and February 2013), Grabowsky observed that few novices expressed a wish to ordain as monks and stay in the monastery for long. In the border districts of Moeng Long and Moeng Phong, and even in Chiang Rung, there were quite a large number of monasteries whose monks came from adjacent Tai Lue areas in Burma, such as Moeng Yang, Moeng Luai, and Phayak in the Chiang Tung region, or from northwestern Laos.[15] In some, probably rare, cases non-local Tai

abbots, mostly from border areas belonging to Burma, are even employed by the local government to supervise the young novices who mostly still come from the nearby village. Theravada monks from outside China, whether or not they are employed by the government, have to ask for approval from the Bureau for the Management of Religious Affairs of Nationalities (Minzu zongjiao shiwu guanli ju), in order to remain as monks in Chinese territory. It is the overarching concern of the state authorities to incorporate monks, local or non-local, into the Chinese system of religious administration, to ensure that they do not cause any political trouble.[16]

Cross-border movements of Tai Lue population in the Upper Mekong valley are by no means restricted to the religious sphere. Movements related to economic exchanges have increased dramatically during the last decade. Trade between the districts of Moeng La and Moeng Phong in southern Sipsong Panna and the districts of Moeng Long and Mueang Sing in the northwestern Lao province of Luang Namtha has become quite impressive. When Grabowsky arrived at Ban Seo in February 2013, a small Tai village of roughly sixty households on the outskirts of Moeng Phong, to take a rest at the paternal house of a young Tai Lue colleague from Chiang Rung, a pick-up truck had just stopped in front of the house. The car was carrying dozens of rice bags each of which contained fifty kilograms of sticky rice. Grabowsky was surprised to learn that the rice traders came from Ban Don Chai, a Tai Lue village in the Lao district of Mueang Sing, only five kilometres from the Laos-China border. The two traders, obviously a couple, said that they came to Moeng Phong twice a week to sell rice. In Mueang Sing they would buy one bag of sticky rice for 200 Yuan and then sell it then in China for 240 Yuan. Thus their profit margin would be 40 Yuan for each rice bag. As their car could carry up to forty bags, their total profit would be up to 1,600 Yuan (200 Euros) for each trip. Moeng Phong has turned into a rice-deficit area as former rice land has been converted into banana groves, because bananas are now much more profitable than rice.

Some scholars have come to the conclusion that new forms of transnational connectivity allow the Tai Lue diaspora in Laos, Burma and elsewhere to associate themselves with their ancient homeland in Sipsong Panna (See Wasan Panyagaew 2005 and 2008; Cohen 2001). The emergence of a new Tai Lue identity across national borders has been challenged by Antonella Diana, whose field research demonstrates that at least the younger generation of Tai Lue in Yunnan increasingly identifies itself through their daily

Thailand. One of the monks had spent several years in a monastery in the Burmese border town of Tachileik (Th. Tha Khi Lek) opposite Mae Sai. When the monk opened the monastic library where dozens of new and a few old manuscripts were kept, my attention was drawn to a leporello manuscript, a recent copy (2000 AD) from Moeng Yong (a Tai Lue speaking area southeast of Chiang Tung) of the *Vessantara Jâtaka* which has been used in recent years for the popular *Mahachat* recitations not only in Wat Ban Kong Wat but also in other nearby monasteries.

The prominent role of monks and monasteries in the process of reviving Tai Lue manuscript culture is evident, while the role of lay scribes should not be ignored. Throughout Sipsong Panna, there are still several dozen lay scribes, the vast majority of them in their seventies and eighties, active in manuscript production. Chinese scholars have recently estimated that [t]here are about 5,700 books or volumes kept in temples and in private homes in the autonomous prefecture (He Shaoying *et al*. 2008, 215). Mulberry paper manuscripts bearing secular texts - such as dynastic and local chronicles, astrological treatises, and texts on divination and rituals are mostly copied, collated, and composed by these lay scribes of whom some had been ordained as novices and monks in their youth. Many of them had started their scribal career already before the Cultural Revolution and resumed it in the early 1980s. The following section, based on field work by Grabowsky, portrays four lay scribes with different biographical trajectories.

Fig. 3. Ai Saeng Kham at his house in Ban Mong Mangrai, Chiang Rung, copying a manuscript.-

simplified the shape of the remaining consonant and vowel graphemes, and lined up consonants, vowels and tone markers in one single line. Since then, the younger generation has been educated exclusively in the new script, which is also used for the typesetting of vernacular books and newspapers, such as the *Xishuang Banna Baoshi* (Sipsong Panna Newspaper), founded in 1957 (Isra Yanatan 2001, 461).[19] The script reform constituted a radical break with the past; those acquainted only with the new alphabet were unable to read texts written in the traditional Tai Lue Dhamma script, which was probably one of the goals or, at least, calculated side-effects of the simplification of script. As monastic education declined and practically came to a halt during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), very few Tai Lue people in Sipsong Panna are now still proficient in traditional literature. After the end of the Cultural Revolution, public pressure caused the Sipsong Panna Newspaper to switch back to the old Tai Lue script during the early 1990s, but already by 1995 it returned to the new Tai Lue script once again, probably due to pressure from the provincial government, as Sarah Davis surmises (Davis 2006, 66).[20]

Many Buddhist temples were destroyed and numerous valuable Tai Lue manuscripts were burned or lost during the decade-long persecution of local heritage. According to some informants, up to ninety percent of Tai Lue manuscripts were destroyed during this time, which was a dark age not only for the Tai Lue and other ethnic minorities in China, but also for the Han Chinese majority. It is worth mentioning that the destruction of Buddha images seems to have been carried out even more thoroughly. During our four field studies in Sipsong Panna between 2002 and 2013 we were unable to find even a single inscribed Buddha predating the Cultural Revolution in reopened and renovated monasteries throughout the region.

Nvertheless, a number of old Tai Lue manuscripts have survived, in many cases due to courageous laypeople who managed to hide them from the eyes of the Red Guards and zealous party officials. Manuscripts were sometimes buried, sometimes hidden in places were nobody would expect them, such as henhouses. In one case, reported from Jinggu county, a Tai Nuea minority area in Simao prefecture, courageous monks stored the precious manuscripts from their monastic library in a room which they had named Study Room of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.
No Red Guard dared to enter the place.[21]

Since the early 1980s, when China reopened its doors, a relatively scholarly atmosphere has gradually emerged, and the Tai Lue region, like

other places in China, is now enjoying a cultural renaissance. Local authorities and researchers in Sipsong Panna have begun to collect again and copy Tai Lue manuscripts, the largest collection of which is currently stored in the Cultural Office of Jinghong (Zhou Zheng Xie). It should also be noted that after the opening of borders with Burma in the early 1990s, manuscripts from Tai Lue-speaking Shan areas in eastern Burma, notably Chiang Tung, Moeng Yang, Moeng Yong, and Moeng Luai, have entered the southern border districts of Sipsong Panna (Isra Yanatan 2005, 191). Moreover, during the last three decades the Yunnan National Minorities Publishing House (Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe) has published a series of bilingual books containing Tai Nuea and Tai Lue literary and historical texts written in Tai Nuea script or the Tai Lue variant of the Dhamma script along with Chinese translations.[22]

In 1998, Japanese historian Kumiko Kato of the University of Nagoya and her Thai husband Isra Yanantan initiated the first survey of Tai Lue manuscripts in Sipsong Panna in collaboration with Ai Kham, a local scholar in charge of the collection held at Zhou Zheng Xie, and Chao Maha Khanthawong (Dao Jinxiang). They prepared a questionnaire to document the characteristic features of the surveyed manuscripts (language, script, date, writing material, etc.). The survey took place in 1999 and 2000.

> Ai Kham selected the persons suitable to undertake the survey in the different localities. These persons took the questionnaires to survey the places where manuscripts where kept, putting down the [relevant] information in the questionnaires. Then the [data] were returned to Chiang Rung. The number of manuscripts documented in this way amounted to roughly 6,000 entries. After the completion of the survey the collected data were recorded in a register of interesting documents in monasteries as well as private collections. (Kato and Isra Yanatan 2001, 150)

As Kato and Isra admit, the number of manuscripts surveyed and documented, as well as the reliability of the data collected, depended very much on the interest of the person completing the survey. The incompleteness and unreliability of the data is mirrored by the large number of manuscripts which lack information about the writing material (one fifth of the total), provenance, or number of fascicles and folios. Kato s catalogue (Kato 2001) indicates that their two-year project located a total of more than 6,500 manuscripts in monastic libraries and private collections.

A comprehensive survey and documentation of Tai manuscripts in Sipsong Pannas and adjacent Tai inhabited areas, including the microfilming of the most important holographs, is an urgent task. In spring 2004, the Yunnan Provincial Archives (Yunnan University) implemented a project to survey, catalogue and microfilm Tai Nuea manuscripts in Gengma County of Lingcang Prefecture (Yin Shaoting *et al.* 2002). A catalogue, published in 2005, contains synopses of almost 200 manuscripts, mostly written in Tai Nuea script while twenty-two manuscripts are of Tai-Lue Dhamma script provenance (Yin Shaoting and Daniels 2005). A few years later, in 2010, a catalogue of Tai manuscripts from the small autonomous county of Moeng Laem along the border to Burma, was published. This catalogue contained synopses of 142 manuscripts written in Tai Lue script along with facsimile copies of the title pages and, in some cases, also the last pages containing the colophons (Yin Lun *et al.* 2010). Another recent project of documenting and digitizing Tai manuscripts has been carried out by a team of researchers from Payap University (Chiang Mai) under the leadership of Dr. Ratanaporn Setthakul, one of the few Thai experts in Tai Lue history and culture. At the conclusion of this project in late 2012, at total of 210 manuscripts were collected in the Payap University Archives, where they are accessible in digitized form and partly also through transcriptions into modern Thai script to scholars and experts in the field.

In his recent study on the state of Buddhism in Sipsong Panna, Borchert argues that the survival of Buddhism and of Tai Lue scriptuality very much depends on the monastery as it has historically been the main institution for cultural reproduction (…) [T]he monastery rather than a court provided many of the key tools for long-term cultural reproduction (Borchert 2008, 134). We agree with Borcherts observation, which is supported by the large number of manuscripts either copied by monks or donated to monasteries during the last thirty years. Quite a large number of manuscripts - most of them bearing religious texts were copied from older extant manuscripts imported from areas outside of China, in many, though not all, cases by Tai monks coming from Burma, Laos, and Northern Thailand. In February 2013, in the village monastery of Ban Kong Wat, a Tai Lue village at the outskirts of Chiang Rung which has one of the oldest monasteries in Sipsong Panna, Grabowsky met two young monks who could speak some Thai. They were Shan from the Chiang Tung area and were able to read not only Shan script but also the Tai Lue and Tai Khuen variants of the Dhamma script. Their families had fled the Shan State and were now living in Chiang Rai province,

Ai Saeng Kham (Chiang Rung)

When Grabowsky arrived at his house in Ban Mong Mangrai (Chiang Rung) on 26 February 2013, Ai Saeng Khams wife invited him to the verandah of the upper floor where her husband was copying a mulberry paper manuscript. This was a lucky coincidence which allowed Grabowsky to take some photos documenting the writing process and the writing utensils. Ai Saeng Kham remembered him from his previous visit in 2005 and showed him the main living room where manuscripts were stored in several corners, some hanging on the walls. Ai Saeng Kham gave a lengthy interview, talking about his personal life and also about several matters related to the production of manuscripts. Ai Saeng Kham was born in June 1932 in Ban Chiang Pom, Chiang Rung. He himself has confirmed his year of birth in the colophon of a multiple-text manuscript (dated 201213) collecting various religious verses (*gâthâ*) which appears at the back cover folio: I, Ai Saeng Kham, am eighty-one years old (MS 10). Ai Saeng Kham was six when his mother died, and after the remarriage of his father the family moved to Ban Mong which is now on the outskirts of Chiang Rung city. He had two younger half-brothers - Ai Sang and Ai So - and a younger half-sister. At the age of ten, he ordained as a novice. After spending eight years in the local monastery, he disrobed at the age of eighteen. In the colophons of one of his more recent manuscripts (a mulberry paper manuscript recording the *Chronicle of Wat Phra Sing Luang, Chiang Mai* and consisting of seven sections) he also mentions his monastic names (MS 16) :

Fig. 4. Ai Saeng Noi alias Po Long Khan Kaeo and his wife at home in Ban Foei Lung, Moeng Long.

father and worked in a rubber plantation. Nan Chaen became a novice at the age of fifteen and stayed in a monastery for a total of nine years, the first five years as a novice, the following four years as a monk. At the age of twenty-four he left monkhood. Nan Chaen confirmed that the renewed interest in copying manuscripts started around 1980. He had been a scribe or copyist for fourteen years. In 2009, the authorities in Kunming organised a seminar on manuscript production and culture in nearby Ban Kaeng in which monks and local experts like himself participated.

Fig. 6. Ai Choi Cha Han (right) at this home in Moeng La.

Ai Choi Cha Han (Moeng La)

Ai Choi Cha Han, interviewed on 19 February 2013, was born in 1933 during the Republican era. His family originally came from Moeng Ham in the district of Chiang Rung.26 Although he never ordained as a monk or novice, he nevertheless learnt the Tai Lue script. He started to learn it in 1943, at the age of ten, together with a dozen other boys of his age, in an evening school. Since then he never ceased copying manuscripts. When he was younger he used to copy many manuscripts for other people as he was famous for his beautiful handwriting, which did not, however, prevent him from apologising in the colophons of several manuscripts for his alleg-edly bad and clumsy handwriting.[27] His favourite texts were blessings (*kham phon*), folktales and myths, and, most importantly, historical texts. Asked about the sources for his texts, Ai Choi Cha Han insisted that he never composed original texts himself but was always looking for interesting texts,

My monks name is Tipañña (lit. who [is endowed with] three [kinds of] wisdom), as a novice I was called Pha Com Si. My ordinary name is Ai Saeng Kham.

He started copying manuscripts three years after ordination, that is at the age of thirteen. During his life he copied undreds of manuscripts and still continues to do so. He has experience with very different kinds of writing support: palmleaf (difficult to make), mulberry paper, and industrial Chinese paper. Then Grabowsky asked questions related to the production process and the manuscript economy. Four folios of mulberry paper (each with two layers to be written recto and verso - cost 1.5 Yuan).[23] To finish a medium-sized manuscript (of about forty folios) he would need ten full days. His average annual output of manuscripts is four to six. It was his wish, Ai Saeng Kham stressed, to inspire younger people to continue his activities as scribe. Of his seven children - two sons and five daughters - only his younger son, Khanan Mok, now forty-six years old, has become a scribe himself. Khanan Mok learned the Dhamma script during his time as a monk. Unlike his father, who writes almost exclusively in the old Tai Lue script, the son prefers using the new script.

Ai Saeng Noi (Moeng Long)

Ai Saeng Noi, also as Po Long Khan Kaeo, lives in Ban Foei Lung (Moeng Long). On 13 September 2012, when we met him for the first time, he was already seventy-seven years old (thus he was born in 1934 or 1935), though the colophon of a manuscript he had copied indicated that he was born a bit earlier, around 1932.[24] Ai Saeng Noi started his career as a scribe at the early age of fourteen or fifteen when he was still a novice. Having left the monkhood, Ai Saeng Noi learned the Chinese script. Most mulberry paper manuscripts which Ai Saeng Noi copies bear texts pertaining to local history. His main motivation for writing or copying such texts was his determination to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of Moeng Long and Sipsong Panna for future generations. However, today young people are no longer interested in old manuscripts and in the Dhamma script. Those who still have an interest are mostly elderly people. Though Ai Saeng Noi could not count the exact number of manuscripts that he copied year by year, he estimated that in good years he copied up to twenty manuscripts in his spare time. In 2012, he did not use mulberry paper as writing support but only Western paper. Thick mulberry paper suitable for manuscript production is produced in Moeng Hai. In former times this high-quality mulberry paper

was also available in Chiang Rung and Moeng Long but nowadays mulberry trees are no longer planted in these places. At present, mulberry paper is available only in the three western *mueang* of Moeng Hai, Moeng Chae, and Mong Hun. According to Ai Saeng Noi, apart from manuscript production, mulberry paper was also used for wrapping tea leaves and fireworks.

Fig. 5. Nan Chaen at this home in Moeng Ham.

Nan Chaen (Moeng Ham)

Nan Chaen or Po Can Kaeo, interviewed in August 2012, lives in Ban Son Mon, Moeng Ham.[25] He is well experienced in copying palm-leaf manuscripts. These manuscripts are copied mostly from manuscripts made of Western paper. Nan Chaen told us that in 1966, a great flood had destroyed numerous mulberry paper manuscripts in the village. Since then, people preferred industrial paper as writing support. However, in the last few years, many people had approached him to copy texts on palm-leaf manuscripts. Over the years he had copied more than 100 bundles. One folio had five lines on each side. To inscribe five lines on one palm-leaf folio he needed at least thirty minutes. For a palm-leaf manuscript of seven folios (written on both sides on four lines) Nan Chaen would take one full working day. One folio (unwritten) costs about 0.6 to 1 Yuan, thus palm-leaf is quite an expensive writing support. The donors or sponsors of manuscripts are mostly Tai Lue, people but among his clients are also some Chinese from as far as Kunming. Twelve folios would be bound together to one fascicle. Nan Chaen, aged seventy-two, has three sons. The youngest son, Ai Choi, lived with his

of a manuscript. This term refers to the person who sponsors the making of the manuscript by employing a scribe before the manuscript is donated to a monastery or to monks (Veidlinger 2006, 126; see also Hinüber 2013, XLVIff.). In his book *Reading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand* Daniel Veidlinger lists a number of common colophon subjects (Veidlinger 2006, 164165) :

1. Whoever borrows this manuscript should bring it back. If the borrower keeps it, that person will be reborn as a hungry ghost (*peta*) (…)
2. It was very hard to make th[is] manuscript, so take care of it.
3. Take th[is] manuscript to worship (*prasong* or *pûjâ*).
4. May th[is] manuscript lead to *nibbâna*.
5. May the donor be born in Metteyyas time [and reach *nibbâna* then].
6. May th[is] manuscript support the *Sâsana* [for 5,000 years].
7. Written in order to get merit.
8. Do not try to alter th[is] manuscript.
9. Please correct any mistakes.
10. Please excuse the poor quality.
11. May the manuscript lead to wisdom and knowledge [of the Dhamma, Tipitaka etc.]

Although very few manuscripts contain all eleven subjects, a combination of them are typical at least for all manuscripts - both in Pâli and in the Tai vernacular - with a religious content. We cannot go into detail here, but it must be mentioned that the third subject is not without doubts. Veidlingers argument - based on Hundiustranslation of the Khmer-derived word *prasong* as to worship (from Skt. *praœamsa*) - that some colophons suggest a cult of the book (like known in the Mahayana tradition) is quite doubtful, as Hinüber has argued providing convincing evidence from a few Lan Na colophons (for example, *Kaccâyana*, 1673 AD) that *prasong* had the meaning of to use rather than to worship (Hinüber 1993, 228-230). Even in presentday Tai-Lao usage, *prasong* expresses an intention to make an offering, while *pûjâ* just means to offer as is reflected in expressions like *bucha kan thet*, to offer a homily.

Many formulas mark the colophons and the desires expressed in them. Since many of the colophons say little more than the title of the work and, in most cases, the date, it appears that lengthy, descriptive colophons need not

recorded in other manuscripts or in printed books which he collated according to his needs. For example, he once decided to write poems on the spirit cults in Sipsong Panna. Thus he collected texts on the topic from different districts and sub-districts (*mueang*), arguing that the spirit cults might not be the same in different *mueang*. But he refrained from deliberately changing the content of already existing texts as he did not feel authorised and competent enough to do so. A good example of such collation of texts is Ai Choi Cha Hans collection of eight poems pertaining to the calling of guardian spirits from six *mueang* in Sipsong Panna. In each of the six scribal colophons - at the end of each poem - he shortly discusses his sources and their reliability. At the end of the second poem he reveals his second name and his long career as government official :

> My name is Ai Sang Yong, Cans son. I became a government official in Moeng La where I have been living for more than fifty-four years.

Some of the scribes portrayed above have inserted some biographical elements in the paratexts of the manuscripts they copied or composed. As we have seen, these are in general very short remarks on their family environment, their place of origin, their professional background, and their ordination or non-ordination as monks and novices. They provide a complete but brief *curriculum vitae* in very rare instances. The only manuscript in our corpus in which the scribe, Phra Khen Saeng, discloses his life in considerable detail is a mulberry paper manuscript in leporello format from Moeng Ting (Gengma prefecture), entitled *Kammathan* (MS 3), elaborating a specific mode of Buddhist meditation. The scribe identifies himself as a monk and inserts lengthy remarks on his own monastic career within the main text, without highlighting them with decorative or structural visual elements as would be expected. Perhaps the scribe deliberately hid his biography for the prospective reader to stumble on it when studying the text carefully. Phra Khen Saeng mentions his name only in the colophon (Fig. 7) and notes his birthday, the date when he was ordained as a Buddhist monk, the dates when he rose successively to a higher rank in the Sangha administration, and finally the date when he finished copying the manuscript :

> In [C]S 1274 (191213 AD), the *tao cai* Dhamma year [which is] a *ruang rao* Tai year, at the auspicious time of six, I was born. In the *ka rao* Dhamma year [which is] a *moeng met* Tai year, [CS] 1295, on the seventh waning day of the second [lunar] month, the Mon [say] a Saturday, the Tai [say] a *rat rao* day (Friday 24 November 1933), I was ordained as a Buddhist monk.

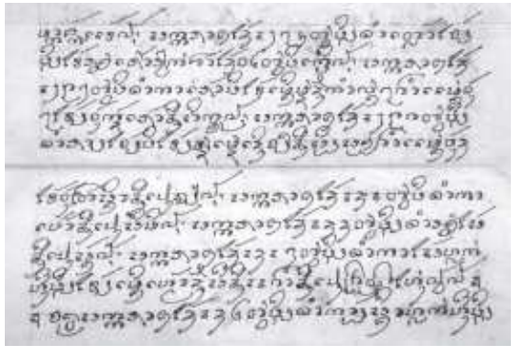

Fig. 7. Colophon of Kammathan [Kammatthana] *(MS 3), Moeng Ting, China.*

> In the *rawai cai* Dhamma year [which is] a *kat met* Tai year, [CS] 1298, on the twelfth waxing day of the first [lunar] month, the Mon [say] a Tuesday, the Tai [say] a *tao sa-nga* day (Tuesday 27 October 1936), I became a *thera* (abbot). In the *ka pao* Dhamma year, [CS] 13[1]1 (1949 50 AD) I became a *sami*. In the *ruang sai* Dhamma year, [CS] 13[1]3 (195152 AD), I became a [high-ranking member of the] Sangha. In the *ka sai* Dhamma year [which is] a *moeng mao* Tai year, [CS] 1315, on the eleventh waxing day of the forth [lunar] month (Sunday 14 February 1954), I became a *khuba*. In CS 13[1]6, in the *kap sanga* Dhamma year [which is] a *poek si* Tai year, on the ninth waxing day of the eleventh month (Monday 6 September 1954), I have written this manuscript, *Kammatthâna*.

It is difficult to estimate the number of scribes, sponsors or donors, and private collectors of manuscripts in Sipsong Panna and other Tai minority areas in Yunnan. There might be at least two to three dozen scribes still active. They are found everywhere in both urban and rural areas. It remains to be studied how the network of scribes and collectors is organised and how it perpetuates the circulation of texts as well as of manuscripts as physical objects. Some scribes at least mention the origin of the master copy or copies for their manuscript but rarely do they identify the names of fellow scribes who helped them collect the material nor do they usually provide information on certain texts.[28] Thus very few manuscripts in our corpus contain paratextual information which could be used to reconstruct such a network of scribes, collectors and sponsors. Nevertheless, a few accidental discoveries in the course of our fieldwork have provided some clues for further research on that topic. One of these lucky finds was a manuscript

copied in 1994 by Ai Saeng Noi from Bang Loei Lung in Moeng Long, who in the preface acknowledges his gratitude to twenty persons who provided their help (MS 21: *Khao Nithan Satsana Moeng Long Atikamma Latthabuli Thuan Sam* [Religious Legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Rathapuri, vol. 3]).[29] Eight of these persons, many of them probably fellow scribes, came from Ai Saeng Nois native village of Bang Loei Lung, one of the largest and oldest settlements in Moeng Long district :

Declaration of intent :

> This manuscript has been written over several months. The persons who made contributions to the draft version are as follows: Khanan Paeng Moeng [from] Chiang Chan, Po Ai Tun [from] Bang Foei Lung, Ai Chai Khon [from] Chiang Long, Ai Kham Phung [from] Chiang Mun, Khanan Ping [from] Chiang Mun, Khanan Ban [from] Chiang Chan, Po Thao Cha Bo [from] Chiang Nai, Po Thao Daeng, a traditional pharmacist (*mo ya*) [from] Chiang Nai, Po Thao Cha Kham Daeng [from] Chiang Nai, Po Thao Bun Noi [from] Chiang Long, Khanan Choi [from] Ban Tong, Po Thao On Kaeo [from] Ban Foei Lung, Po Thao Bun, a traditional pharmacist, [from] Ban Foei Lung, Ai Choi [from] Ban Foei Lung, Po Thao Chan [alias] Thao Khanan [No] Kaeo [from] Ban Foei Lung, Po Imon [from] Ban Foei Lung, Po Thao Daeng Sing [from] Ban Foei Lung, Khanan Taeng Yong [from] Ban Long Khue, Po On Paeng [from] Ban Foei Lung, [and] Po Kham Lung [from] Ban Foei Lung.

Scribal expressions in colophons of recent Tai Lue manuscripts

The Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts, directed by Harald Hundius, coins the following Lao term corresponding to colophon as follows: *Kham banthuek khong phu litcana* (note of the scribe).[30] It defines a colophon as:

> a section of writing, usually found at the end of a manuscript, which is added by the scribe, giving details such as the name of the scribe, the donor, the time, date, and place of completion of copying the text, personal remarks, etc. Colophons can also be found at the end of fascicles within a text or on the covers of paper manuscripts.[31]

As Hundius indicates in his definition, Tai-Lao manuscript tradition lacks a clear distinction between the writer or author of a manuscript and a copyist.[32] Tai Lue manuscripts usually use the terms *phu taem, phu khian* or *phu likkhita* for denoting the scribe who would call himself *kha* servant.[33] Besides, a number of colophons also mention a *phu sang*, literally the maker

that they have never ordained as a monk and a novice, and thus lack proper training in the old Tai Lue script. Only in exceptional cases does a scribe use a supernatural explanation for his own shortcomings. We find one scribe explaining that he had made misspellings, because either Guru [Jupiter] was in conjunction with Rahu or that Rahu was in conjunction with Guru (MS 19). This is a rather esoteric reflection of Vedic astrology, which considers Rahu both a cosmic influence swallowing the sun and causing eclipses, and an enemy of several planets, including Jupiter. Occasionally we find a scribe providing very personal details that explain - but do not justify - imperfect handwriting and delays in the copying process. A scribe from Ban Seo, an old Tai Lue settlement situation on the outskirts of Moeng Phong, a small district town situated some twenty kilometers from the Lao border, states (MS 2):

> I, Mai Kham [from] Ban Seo [in] Moeng Phong have copied *Kham Khap Khao Mahawong Taeng On* [Epic of Mahawong Taeng On]. Should someone takes it away to read it, he must bring it back and not keep it for himself. I finished my copying in the *tao si* year, [C]S 1374, on the fifteenth waning day of the eighth [lunar] month, a Monday, [the Tai say] a *kot set* day, at the auspicious time of six, during daytime at five minutes past 12 oclock.[38] I had to spend as long as forty-five days on the copying, because on some days I could not write, as I either had to drink sugar-cane juice when attending a housewarming party or as I had caught a cold. Dear all!

Fig. 8. Preface of Nangsue Phuen Moeng La [Moeng La Chronicle] *(MS 24).*

On the back cover folio of the colophon the scribe states that he is also the owner of his manuscript and pleas with readers who may want to borrow it: If someone takes this manuscript away to read it, he should bear

have been written had the scribe not wished to do so for some particular reason. Colophons by the same scribe usually express similar sentiments. For instance, the desire to be reborn during the time of the future Buddha Metteyya is rarely found in early manuscripts (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), but it becomes quite popular in the eighteenth century. As Veidlinger surmises (Veidlinger 2006, 165) :

> [t]his appears to reflect certain religious developments in the region, such as a possible rise in millenarianism spurred by deteriorating conditions under the Burmese.

The three wishes that seem evenly distributed over all periods are that the writing of the manuscript will eventually lead to *nibbâna* (the splendid city, the peak of *nibbâna*), that it will lead to obtaining merit (*puñña*) or rewards of merit (*phala ânisamsa*) either for the scribe, his family or other people, and that the copying of the manuscript or its sponsoring and donation to the Sangha will be a support for the Teachings of Buddha to remain in effect for 5,000 years, counted from Buddhas entering of the *parinibbâna*. This basic purpose is grounded in the widespread belief among the Tai and Lao that the complete degeneration of the Buddhas teachings will occur 5,000 years from his *parinibbâna*. The endowment with wisdom or the desire to be born again in the age of Buddha Metteyya are also among the most common desires (See Hinüber 2013, LV) as is found in one of the two colophons of a manuscript (MS 23) entitled *Mahâvipâka* (Tai *Mahawibak*, Great Retribution) :

> May I, the scribe, be endowed with wisdom in this life and any of my future lives. I wish to see the bright rays of Lord Ariya Metteyya, the coming liberator of mankind from suffering, some day in the future. May I not be prevented from this.

Among the Tai Lue manuscripts in our corpus there are numerous examples of colophons in which scribes have followed this basic formula. Unsurprisingly, nearly all of these manuscripts contain religious texts. A striking example of a colophon referring to the support of Buddhism as the major motivation for scribe and donor is a folding mulberry paper manuscript from Moeng Ting. The manuscript entitled *Tham Sut Luang* (The Great Sutra) was sponsored on 23 August 2002 by an usually large number of fifty households from the town of Wiang Tai (MS 22). While in the colophon preceding the main text the anonymous scribe expresses his humble wish to gain wisdom and salvation through his merit-making, the religious faithful

(*saddhâ*) of Wiang Tai, represented by the householders whose names are listed in the colophon following the main text, express their desire to obtain a wide range of religious benefits through the sponsoring and donation of the manuscript.

Colophon before the beginning of the main text

> [The manuscript has been] sponsored (*sang*, lit., made) [and] donated in the year [CS] 1364, a *tao sanga* Dhamma year [or] a *rai si* Tai year, on the fifteenth waxing day of the tenth [lunar] month, the Mon [say] a Saturday, the Tai [say] a *kap chai* day.[34] I copied (*taem*) it in order to gain wisdom in CS 1363, a *ruang sai* Dhamma year [or] a *dap mao* Tai year. May it bring salvation to me. *Namotassa bhagavato arahato sammâsamabuddhassa* : *Tham sut luang kun nong wiang tai*.

Colophon at the end of the main text

> The religious faithful of Wiang Tai // This *Tham Sut Luang* manuscript [was sponsored and donated] by the principal monastic supporters named [the names of fifty householders are listed]. Altogether they are forty-seven or forty-eight households from Wiang Tai. This whole group of households and people jointly sponsored and donated this manuscript to support the religion of Lord Gautama to remain in effect for 5,000 years. We, from all households and all families, wish to obtain the *magga-dhamma*, the *phala-dhamma* and the *nibbâna-dhamma*, a brilliantly shining golden bridge which may lead us through the act of *dâna* to the escape of suffering and to the reaching of happiness.35 Moreover, we make an offering to our parents, teachers, and close relatives and friends who have already passed away from this world. We pay respect to, and rejoice with, them [expressing the wish] that they escape suffering and find happiness. Furthermore, we all wish to be reborn [at a time when we can] see the bright light of Phra Sri Ariyamettaiya who will arrive in the future. Thus we will follow him entering the splendid golden city of *Nibbâna*. (…)

We sometimes find quite unusual and even idiosyncratic desires expressed in colophons. A manuscript from the small Tai Lue village of Ban Don Chai in the plain of Mueang Sing, dated 1983, is a good example. The scribe of this manuscript entitled *Khiao song mon* Two excellent parrots, calls himself a monk and first expresses his long-held wish to enter *nibbâna* but also asks for the fulfilment of a more modest goal in the short and medium run (MS 6) :

> May I be able to go to America in this or my next life. May I be bornagain as the child of a wealthy people.[36]

Against the backdrop of severe economic hardship following the Communist victory in Laos and the massive exodus of people from Laos to the USA, France, and other western countries during that period, the scribes desire appears quite understandable. In other cases, a scribe might ask for more non-material personal benefits, like the scribe of a mulberry paper manuscript from Moeng Laem, a small Tai Lue inhabited county northwest of Sipsong Panna near the border with Burma (MS 18, *Thotsa Panha Along Phae Kham* 'Ten Questions, the Jâtaka Tale of the Golden Raft'). The scribe, in asking for happiness in this life and all future existences, expresses his more profane desires as follows :

> May I be endowed with a handsome and courageous appearance and with wisdom. May I become a person endowed with knowledge, a learned scholar of the country.

The colophons reveal an interesting pattern related to the distribution of work and benefits: in the making of manuscripts, laymen and members of the Sangha, commoners, and members of the nobility co-operate closely for a common cause. As Hundius points out, they contribute in various ways, by helping to prepare or provide the writing material, by being a full-fledged sponsor, which included the procuring of payment (*kae kha mue*) for the scribes, by doing the writing itself, or by initiating and helping to organise the task, like the leading monastic supporters (*mûlasaddhâ*) as they are called in the colophons (Hundius 1990, 31).

Reading the colophons, with their often meticulous way of rendering the day and time when the writing was completed, one cannot help but surmise that the scribe considered the completion of the manuscript as an historical moment for himself. The wording of the colophon thus frequently conveys a feeling of elevation the scribe had experienced as part of the arduous process of producing the manuscript. Sometimes the scribe explicitly states that he has written the manuscript in his private home and that it should only be kept there and not be used outside his household. Moreover, even scribes with neat handwriting might apologise to the reader for their imperfect handwriting and possibly other shortcomings, such as the accidental omission or addition of letters, confusion of consonant and vowel graphemes, or the incorrect use of tone markers.[37] As reasons for their poor handwriting and spelling mistakes, scribes mention their lack of experience or the fact

> Anyone who copies, keeps, preserves, or pays respect to it, shall be awarded with all variety of benefits (*vuddhi*) and will become wealthy through the merit (*bun*) [and] the power (*aya*) of the Lord of Life (*chao chiwit*), through the merit of the Lord of the Land (*chao phaendin*), who was the chief of the Tai Lue people at his residence in the city of Chiang
>
> Rung. [Our] children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren to be born in the future shall, when fully grown, obtain happiness through our merit and power. We all, all of us, shall love each other as we are of the same people.

We have found two manuscripts in which the scribes openly condemn the cultural barbarism of the Cultural Revolution. Since both manuscripts are from the early and mid-1980s, when memories of the terror of the Red Guards were still fresh in memory, such courageous political statements are understandable. The first manuscript (MS 11), *Pop Pakkatuen* Divination, dated 16 April 1983, and rather exceptionally written in the new Tai Lue script, states in its Preface (Fig. 9) :

> Since time immemorial, the Tai people have a script, and countless different astrological treatises and calendars. these are found in large numbers. After liberation, [our traditions] were still well preserved by the inhabitants of the region. The education and knowledge of the [Tai] people were even further developed; they were like in former days. However, during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution when Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, who were counter-revolutionaries, held power, our customs, traditions, and language were destroyed. Calendars and books of all kinds, regardless whether good or bad, were burned in very large numbers. Our Tai nation lost numerous precious [manuscripts]: many were destroyed and very few survived. Very few [traditional] calendars were left. (…) To increase knowledge among our Tai nation and develop [our country] in the future, and for the sake of convenience for all of us Tai people, who start the new year in the sixth lunar month, this calendar has been printed. (…) It shall be distributed to all Tai Lue people, to be read and studied in the future.

in mind that he should not [consider any mistake he may find in it as a sinful wrongdoing]. Sometimes such pleas culminate in the scribe laying a curse in the wayward reader. An example is in the colophon of a local chronicle of Moeng La. Its scribe, Ai Choi Cha Han, whom we encountered as a most likeable and humorous elderly man, warns :

> Thieves, I wish on them thus: if someone ever takes [this manuscript] and refuses to give it back, may spirits molest his heart. May spirits set loose on him the devouring flames of a fever that be long in subsiding. If he has children, may they all die, so that there will be no one to take care of him the rest of his life.

Concerns of ethnic identity reflected in colophons and other paratexts

Ai Choi Cha Hans deep concerns are not surprising, considering the importance of the text for the transmission of traditional knowledge to future generations. This is expressed in the preface of *Nangsue Phuen Moeng La* The Moeng La Chronicle(Fig. 8), a mulberry paper manuscript running over twenty-five folios, written recto and verso, and containing twenty-four sections (MS 24) :

> This manuscript on the Chronicle of Moeng La has not been kept and guarded by any nobleman (*thao khun*) or commoner (*chao mueang*). I have written (*kot taem*) this Chronicle of Moeng La by interviewing elderly people as well as former officials (*thao ban khun mueang*) in many places. I have collected these stories for future generations to learn about the historyof Moeng La, the reason for its name, and about its founder. Whether I have written it correctly or not, I ask the elderly people of Moeng La not to blame me. Whenever someone reads this Chronicle of Moeng La, may he spread its contents to the people so they can express their gratitude (*kung khun*) towards their past Tai Lue ancestors in Moeng La.

There is a significant number of manuscripts (roughly one-tenth) which express concerns in the paratext about future generations access to the traditional knowledge of their ethnic group, notably to their language and script. These concerns are usually found in secular texts, such as dynastic histories, foundation legends, and local histories; rarely do they appear in religious manuscripts. Although these concerns are understandable given the harsh suppression of Buddhism and other feudal features of Tai Lue culture during the Cultural Revolution and even before, scribes seem to have occasionally voiced them even in pre-Communist times. One of the oldest

extant manuscripts from Sipsong Panna in our corpus, *Khao Nithan Pu Lang 3 Thao 12 Panna Pu Lang 3 Thao Mueang Man Tang Satcha Wacha Patiyan Tit-To Kan* The Legend of the *Pu Lang Sam*, Nobles of Sipsong Panna, and *Pu Lang Sam*, Nobles of Burma, Taking The Oath Of Allegiance, dated 10 March 1919,39 stresses in its colophon immediately preceding the main text (MS 5) :

> Here [I] will talk about the ancient customs (*buppachalit*) which the King (*somdet ong pha pen chao*) of Saenwifa has established in a codified form throughout the country. No ruler shall violate and abandon these customs. May they be remembered by our descendants until the 5,000 years [of the Buddhist religion] are completed.

This manuscript has been written in the early Republican period when the old *tusi* system was still largely intact but already under pressure from the Chinese authorities in Kunming (See Liew-Herres *et al.* 2012, 6970). The ruler of Sipsong Panna at Chiang Rung is, on the one hand, called not only by the traditional Tai title *somdet ong pha pen chao* king but also by the Tai rendering of the Chinese title *xuanwei shi* pacification commissioner, titles for a vassal ruler which would no longer occur in a manuscript written after 1949.

The future generations or descendants are usually addressed with kinship terms. The most frequent term is *luk-lan*, literally children [and] grandchildren; sometimes *len* great-grandchildren are added. The ambiguity of the term *luk-lanlen* leaves open whether the scribe, in some cases also the author, is referring to his own offspring or to younger generations of Tai Lue in general when he expresses his hope that traditional knowledge be preserved through the transmission of indigenous manuscripts. Some scribes clearly state that the very act of copying or compiling a manuscript ought to be appreciated as a means of preserving traditional knowledge and transmitting it to younger generations. They consider their work a contribution to the building of a body of knowledge, as we find in Ai Saeng Nois preface to his work *Phuen Mueang Atikamma Latthabuli Nuai Thi Nueng* The Chronicle of Atikamma Ram hapuri, vol. 1 (MS 12) :

> May [this manuscript] be a means of perpetuating our nation and may the younger generations pass it on to the future. Should there be any mistakes, do not hold it against me as a sin. May this manuscript bring prosperity to our nation and to myself instead, and should there be any mistakes in it, may other learned scholars correct them.

One of the most impressive examples demonstrating such concerns to preserve Tai Lue cultural heritage is found in a mulberry paper manuscript copied by a former government official from Moeng Long, named Ai Khan Kaeo, in June 1991, not long after his retirement as he reveals in the long preface to his Chronicle of Sipsong Panna. The main text, running over fifty-seven folios (not including the title folio), is one of the most fascinating local Tai chronicles we have seen so far. It is not one of the many extant versions of the dynastic history of Sipsong Panna with the focus on the capital Chiang Rung but rather a collection of local histories linking Sipsong Panna with the Tai world of the Upper Mekong. The author explains his broader perspective through the subtitle on the front cover folio (MS 8: *Phap Phuen Sipsong Panna Saenwi Fa Pen Phuen Tai Lue Hao Lae* Chronicle of the Pacification Commissioners of Sipsong Panna : A Tai Lue Chronicle) :

> The Chronicle of Sipsong Panna: a chronicle of the Tai Lue people. There are five *chiang*: Chiang Rung, Chiang Tung, Chiang Saen, Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and there are nine lakes (*nong*) and twelve gates (*patu*).

At this juncture we merely want to draw the readers attention to the preface. Here the scribe combines a plea to defend the Tai Lue cultural identity with an implicit criticism of Chinese government policy (MS 8) :

> This manuscript is copied from [a manuscript] of Chao Chapalawong from Chiang Rung, who lives in Wiang Phakhang. He is one of the three *khachoeng* officials in the capital, [member of] the Council of Nobles (*kao sanam*) in Chiang Rung. I myself am a commoner, not a member of the Council of nobles in the capital. (…) I [started] the copying in the *ruang met* year, CS 1353, on the thirteenth waning day of the eighth [lunar] month, which is the fourteenth day.[40] It is a Monday, a *ruang kai* day [according to the] Tai [tradition], at the auspicious time of five called *migasira*, in the evening.
>
> May you, the Tai Lue people, consider this manuscript a fundamental source of knowledge for our whole nation. It is well for all people to learn its contents. (…) I have copied it for the sake of our Tai Lue people, language and literature. May anyone who reads [this manuscript] take good care of it. May no one keep it for himself or do something bad with it. Those who will take a knife and tear it apart shall be destroyed. Those who will conceal it and do [other] wrong things with it shall indeed be punished.

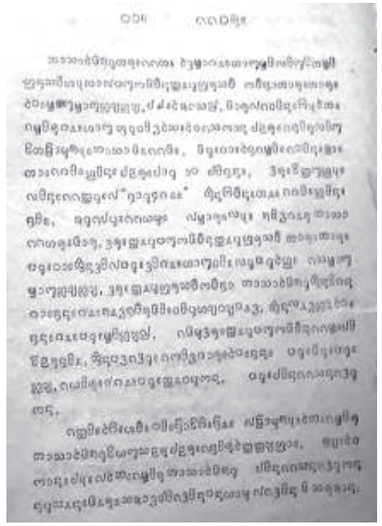

Fig. 9. First page of the preface of Pop Pakkatuen [Divination]. *The text is written in the simplified new Tai Lue script. (MS 11).*

The second manuscript (M 20: *Chao Sipsong Pang* The Twelve Eras of Rulers) contains a text about a mythical genealogy of Tai Lue rulers before Phaya Chueang founded the kingdom of Moeng Lue-Sipsong Panna (around 1180 AD). In an exceptionally elaborate preface, the editorial committee of this stencilled manuscript-copy, dated June 1986, provides background information on their work which resulted in the text. The first three paragraphs deal rather explicitly with government policies concerning the cultural heritage and literary traditions of ethnic minorities. At the beginning, they praise the general policies of the Communist authorities after the founding of the Peoples Republic of China :

> After the liberation of our country the members of all ethnic groups (*phai mueang chu phasa*) were treated equally by the government authorities in all fields. They were united under the Chinese working class (*chong ko kung sang*). The Central Committee of the Communist Party (*tang wui*) and the rank and file of the masses did their utmost to support all ethnic minorities, develop their education and elevate the level of knowledge, improve medical treatment, raise the standard of living, improve roads and infrastructure, [in sum] to build up everything.

Wat Long Phakham is one of the oldest - if not the oldest - monasteries in Moeng Long district (Luang Namtha province, Lao PDR) and situated in the village of the same name, not far from the district seat. It is interesting to note that the scribe of the mulberry paper manuscript is a senior monk from Moeng Phayak, which is half way between the Thai-Burmese border crossing at Mae Sai-Tachileik and the city of Chiang Tung. The population of Moeng Phayak is mixed Tai Khuen (the dominant ethnic group in Chiang Tung) and Tai Lue. Although the script used in the manuscript seems to be the Tai Lue rather than the Tai Khuen variant of the Dhamma script, the use of the leporello format, instead of binding of the folios along the upper edges as is typical for Tai Lue manuscripts, might have been influenced by Tai Khuen tradition. At any rate, it is not known how the manuscript found its way from Moeng Phayak in Burma to Moeng Long in Laos (perhaps via the Mae Sai and Chiang Khong-Huai Sai).

The opening of borders in a region which Andrew Walker has called economic quadrangle (Walker 1999 and 2000) since the late 1980s has brought about significant changes in a region traditionally dominated by the Tai Lue people. The movement of goods has been accompanied by the movement of people and ideas. This is most clearly reflected in the religious field as monks and novices belong to the most mobile, most revered and politically less dangerous groups in society. Wherever one enters a monastery or visits a private household in Tai Lue minority areas in China, Laos, Burma, and Thailand, one finds pictures of Khuba (Khruba) Bun Chum. This highly revered charismatic monk has initiated the construction or repair of numerous temples throughout the Tai Lue world. Despite his relatively young age, he has become an icon of Tai Lue ethnic identity.[44] Manuscripts are another item of exchange, giving testimony to the vitality of Tai Lue manuscript cultures. In contrast to many other regions of Buddhist Southeast Asia, such as Central Thailand, Tai Lue manuscripts are still being produced and in some areas, notably in Yunnan province, have even experienced a modest revival. The influx of monks from Tai Lue and Tai Khuen speaking areas in the eastern Shan state in Burma, northwestern Laos and northern Thailand since the early 1980s has contributed to this revival. Some of these mobile monks had relatives living at the Chinese side of the border or even descended from families who had fled Yunnan in the 1950s and 1960s. They acted as the vehicle for the transmission of texts in Sipsong Panna and other Tai speaking areas of Yunnan. Although most of the active scribes are now in

Next is a positive evaluation of Communist policy during the 1950s, which granted a great deal of autonomy to ethnic minorities such as the Tai Lue whose language became recognised officially in the Dai autonomous and whose literature flourished :

> On 23 January 1953, the Sipsong Panna Tai (Dai) Autonomous Region was established. Later, in 1956, the name was changed to Sipsong Panna Autonomous Tai (Dai) Prefecture. Furthermore, the Political Consultative Committee was officially founded as an institution. The traditional literature of the ethnic minorities flourished. People who appreciated traditional literature of the ethnic minorities collected large numbers of old manuscripts - both secular and religious - and material artefacts.

In the third paragraph the tragedy of the Cultural Revolution is deplored. This chaotic time is again associated with the Gang of Four whose radical policies resulted in a tremendous loss of manuscripts.

> Later, our country was plunged into chaos when the Gang of Four destroyed the people. At that time, people who studied traditional literature were prosecuted. The Gang of Four created confusion. All theancient material artefacts and old manuscripts were taken [by the Gang of Four] to be burned. Thus a huge amount of manuscripts were thrown into the fire. After the demise of the Gang of Four, this time of confusion still lasted until 1982 when the situation in the Dai Autonomous Prefecture of Sipsong Panna returned to normal. The study of traditional literature of the ethnic minorities revived.

We mentioned above that the revival of Tai Lue manuscript culture in Sipsong Panna was to a certain extent facilitated by the influx of manuscripts from neighbouring Tai-speaking regions, such as Mueang Sing in Laos and Chiang Tung in Burma. Luckily, this circulation of manuscripts crossing national borders has been documented in some scribal colophons. For example, one of the colophons of a religious manuscript from Moeng Nga, a Tai Khuen commune in Moeng Laem, identifies an older manuscript from nearby Moeng Yang in Burma as the source from which the copy was made. Another religious manuscript (MS 17), *Thamma Bun Luang* (On Great Merit), was copied by a monk from Moeng Len (northwest of the Burmese-Thai border town of Tachileik) and was brought by a man of possible Burmese origin called U Kham to Ban Nam Kaeo Luong, a Tai Nuea village situated close to Mueang Sing town where it was donated to the local monastery. The front cover folio states :

> *Thamma Bun Luang*, fascicle 1. Donated by U Kham to Wat Nam Kaeo Long.[41] I, Phra Bhikkhu Yi Long, copied [this manuscript] at Wat Ban Ha in Moeng Len. I finished copying it in the year CS 1354, on the eighth he fifth lunar month - 15 March 1993. May this be of religious benefit to help me to overcome suffering and obtain happiness both in this life and in [all] future lives until entering *nibbâna*. *Sâdhu sâdhu nibbânam yâcâmi*.

The journey of another Tai Lue manuscript, *Phuttha Boek* Opening the Eyes of the Buddha (MS 13), in northwestern Laos (now in Wat Long Phakham, Moeng Long) is told in the following scribal colophon, which precedes the main text (Fig. 10):[42]

Fig. 10. Colophon of Phuttha Boek [Opening the eyes of the Buddha] *(MS 13). Note that the colophon (upper folio) is written in a different ductus and different ink than the main text starting with the firstline of the lower folio.*

> I, Khandhvadî Bhikkhu Phra Chai, abbot of Wat Dong Long, have bought this *Phuttha Boek* manuscript from Phra Duang Saeng who resides in Ban Sao Hai in Moeng Phayak in the *ruang met* year [CS 1353] at the price of 11 piastres43, which is equivalent to 55 Yuan. I donated it to the monastery of Wat Long Moeng Long. Novice Chan and Novice Chong [donated?] a *Thamma Sutchawanna* manuscript with ten fascicles, a *Thotsachat* manuscript with ten fascicles (…). I, Phra Chai, make this donation to the stupa Chom Tong of Moeng Long asking that this will result in religious merit as a means of support until I reach *nibbâna*. (…) *Sudinnam vatame dânam buddhâbhisekam dhammasujâto cakavatilâja usamabhalogo no dasajâtaka dânam nibbâna paccayo hotu no niccam*.

their seventies or eighties, with comparatively few younger scribes in their fifties and sixties, there is some hope that this most precious manuscript culture will not fade away soon.

As in pre-revolutionary days, Tai Lue manuscripts are still being produced as an act of merit, which is reflected by numerous scribal and donors colophons. These colophons - usually expressed in formulaic phrases - stress not only how the donors want to support the teachings of the Buddha for the next 5,000 years, but also theirs and the scribes desire that the copying and sponsoring of the manuscript will lead to *nibbâna*. The colophons usually note the day and time of the completion of the manuscripts as an important moment for the scribe, most of whom had spent some time of their lives as novices or monks in a local monastery. Expressions of humility, especially when apologizing for imperfect handwriting, are another feature in scribal colophons.

The copying of manuscripts - be it on palm-leaf, mulberry paper or modern industrial paper - is an act to preserve cultural heritage and ethnic identity. This overarching concern is reflected particularly in colophons of manuscripts bearing historiographical works and texts which transmit various features of traditional knowledge like ancient myths, customs and rituals. In some cases we found quite straightforward political statements criticizing government policies, notably during the dark age of the Cultural Revolution. The political authorities in Kunming and Jinghong try to control the dissemination of Tai Lue language, literature, and history through print media; Tai Lue literary works are published either in Chinese translation or printed in the new Tai Lue script. With few exceptions, manuscripts are written in the old Tai Lue script, even if a scribe copied a text or part of a text from print-media. Given that within most of the Upper Mekong valley the only meaningful access to traditional knowledge would have to be facilitated through the centuries-old Dhamma script, the survival of Tai Lue (and other Tai) manuscript culture becomes an issue of vital importance.

The analysis of colophons in recently composed or copied manuscripts, especially of those containing texts which pertain to history, local customs and folktales, has demonstrated that many Tai Lue scribes consider their activities as an important contribution to transmit traditional knowledge to future generations. Some of them even dare to criticize openly the previous cultural policies of the Communist Party of China and the insufficient measures taken nowadays to preserve traditional culture and

MS 7 - *Phuen Moeng Laem [Moeng Laem Chronicle]*, manuscript-copy in Tai Laem language und Tai Lue script made by Po Saeng Sam, Wat That Long, Moeng Laem. 63 ff⁰ (1991 AD).

MS 8 - *Phap Phuen Sipsong Panna Saenwi Fa Pen Phuen Tai Lue Hao Lae [The Chronicle of the Pacification Commissioners of Sipsong Panna: A Tai Lue Chronicle]*. Tai Lue mulberry paper manuscript written and owned by Ai Khan Kaeo, Ban Foei Long, Moeng Long. 58 ff⁰ (1991 AD).

MS 9 - *Phap Phuen Moeng Sisip Chin* (*Chen*) *Chao Panna Moeng Hai [The Chronicle of the Forty Rulers of Panna Moeng Hai]*, Chao Solawong Maha Bunthan version, Tai Lue mulberry paper manuscript. 48 ff⁰ (1998 AD).

MS 10 - *Pop Kham Katha Tham Tanglai [All Kinds of Religious Spells]*. Tai Lue mulberry manuscript owned by Ai Saeng Kham, Ban Mong Mangrai, Chiang Rung, 12 ff⁰ (1985 AD).

MS 11 - *Pop Pakkatuen [Divination]*. Tai Lue manuscript written on industrial paper kept by Chao Maha Khanthawong, Chiang Rung. 79 ff⁰ (1983 AD).

MS 12 - *Phuen Mueang Atikamma Latthabuli Nuai Thi Nueng [The Chronicle of Atikamma Ram□hapuri, vol. 1]*. Tai Lue manuscript owned by Ai Saeng Noi, Ban Foei Lung, Moeng Long. 77 ff⁰ (1991 AD).

MS 13 - *Phuttha Boek [*Opening the Eyes *of the Buddha]*. Tai Lue mulberry manuscript from Wat Long Phakham, Luang Namtha, Laos, 49 ff⁰ (undated).

MS 14 - *Tamnan Ketcha Phabat Cheng Phakhang [The Chronicle of Buddha Footprint at Chiang Phakhang]*, 27 ff⁰ (1982 AD). Tai Lue mulberry paper manuscript, courtesy by Kumiko Kato and Isra Yanantan, 27 ff⁰ (1982 AD).

MS 15 - *Tamnan Tungkha Rasi* [The Chronicle of Tungarasî]. Tai Lue manuscript written on Western paper, owned by Ai No, Ban Kaeng, Moeng Ham. 64 ff⁰ (1994 AD).

MS 16 - *Tamnan Wat Pha Sing Luang Chiang Mai [The Chronicle of Wat Phra Sing Luang Chiang Mai]*. Tai Lue manuscript on western paper, Chao Maha Suliyawong, Ban Thin, Chiang Rung. 62 ff⁰ (2005 AD).

MS 17 - *Thamma Bun Luang [On Great Merit]*. Tai Lue mulberry paper manuscript from Ban Nam Kaeo Long, Mueang Sing, Laos. 68 ff⁰ (1992 AD).

MS 18 - *Thotsa Panha Along Phae Kham [Ten Questions, the Jataka Tale of the Golden Boat]*. Tai mulberry paper manuscript, written in Tai Lue script from Wat Ban Lan, Moeng Laem, Simao, Yunnan. 48 ff⁰ (2008 AD?).

MS 19 - *Wetsandon [Vessantara Jâtaka]*. Tai Lue mulberry paper manuscript, Wat Ban Kong Wat, Chiang Rung. 277 ff⁰ (2000 AD).

MS 20 - *Chao Sipsong Pang [The Twelve Eras of Rulers]*. Tai Lue manuscript on western paper. Chao Maha Khanthawong, Ban Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung, 81 ff⁰ (1986 AD).

MS 21 - *Khao Nithan Satsana Moeng Long Atikamma Latthabuli Thuan Sam [Religious Legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Rathapuri, vol. 3]*. Tai Lue mulberry paper manuscript written and owned by Ai Saeng Noi, Ban Foei Lung, Moeng Long, 74 ff⁰ (1994 AD).

MS 22 - *Tham Sut Luang [The Great Sermon]*. Tai mulberry paper manuscript written in Tai Lue script from Wat Kun Nong, Moeng Ting, Gengma county. 109 ff⁰ (2002 AD).

MS 23 - *Mahâvipâka [Maha Wibak, The Great Retribution]*. Tai Lue mulberry paper written in Tai Lue script. Weng (Wiang) Ho Kham, Moeng Laem, 35 ff⁰ (2002 AD).

MS 24 - *Nangsue Phuen Moeng La [Moeng La Chronicle]*. Tai Lue mulberry paper written in Tai Lue script written and owned by Ai Choi Cha Han, Moeng La, 25 ff⁰ (1996 AD).

literature. The old Tai Lue script and the manuscript culture based on mulberry paper as the main writing support are an important element in defining and defending the ethnic identity of the Tai Lue people in Sipsong Panna.

Acknowledgements

We are indebted to many people in Sipsong Panna and other Tai speaking areas in Yunnan for their kind support. Special thanks go to the late Chao Maha Khanthawong as well as to Ai Saeng Kham and Ai Choi Cha Han who gave us access to practically the entirety of their personal collection of manuscripts. Hanli Zhou and Yan Nuola (Ai No La) served as local interpreters on different occasions during three field trips in 2012-2014. Ratanaporn Setthakul and her staff at the Payap Archives (Chiang Mai) have also to be thanked for their generous support to get access to the Archives collection of Tai Lue manuscripts. Renoo Wichasin kindly helped us interpret difficult passages in several original Tai Lue texts. Furthermore, we would like to thank Christian Daniels and François Lagirarde for their insightful criticism of an earlier draft of this article. The many helpful comments and suggestions, especially with regard to difficult translation problems, of *Aséanie*s peer evaluators and the journals editor, Gérard Fouquet, are also highly appreciated. All mistakes and shortcoming are, however, our responsibility. Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to the onderforschungsbereich 950 (Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures) and the German Research Foundation (DFG) for having supported our research on Tai Lue manuscripts over several years.

Note on the transcription of Tai Lue terms

In initial position, the proto-Tai voiced unaspirated stops are pronounced in Tai Lue-like in Tai Yuan and Tai Khuen-as voiceless unaspirated sounds. Hence, the low class initials *g, *j, *d, and *b are pronounced /k/, /tɕ/, /t/, and /p/ in Tai Lue. Besides, Tai Lue no longer has diphthongs in the spoken language. The written language, however, has preserved an archaic orthography that keeps diphthongs which are pronounced as simple vowels or monophthongs. This is the case for the diphthongs /i:a/ and /u:a/, now pronounced /e/ and /o/ respectively. For the diphthong /ɯ:a/, pronounced /ə/ in Tai Lue, the graphemes that once represented the original diphthong are no longer used.

In the present article, for the romanisation of Tai Lue words, we have opted for a system based on the Tai Lue spelling making use of the conventions used by the Royal Thai Institute (*Ratchabanditayasathan*) for the Thai language, while indicating in brackets the Tai Lue pronunciation whenever deemed necessary.

We thus write for instance *luang* (pron. *long*), *thao* (pron. *tao*), Chiang Rung (pron. *cheng hung*), but we write, in general, personal names according to their original pronunciation.

However, while we write *moeng* every time this word is part of the name of a Tai Lue polity or refers specifically to such a polity, we write *mueang* whenever the word refers to the Tai polity system in general. Conversely, we stick to the more widespread spelling Sipsong Panna (instead of Sipsong Phanna) for the traditional name of Moeng Lue.

We feel that this option offers the advantage to fit with the more widespread transcriptions of geographical names and to be more convenient for readers already familiar with the Thai and Lao paradigms.

** This article is dedicated to the late Chao Maha Khanthawong (1925-2013), eminent Tai Lue scholar from Ban Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung.*

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MS 2 - *Kham Khap Khao Mahawong Taeng On [Epic of Mahawong Taeng On]*. Tai Lue mulberry paper manuscript copied and owned by Ai Mai Kham, Ban Seo, Moeng Phong. 66 ff^{0} (2013 AD).

MS 3 - *Kammathan [Kammatthâna]*. Moeng Ting. Mulberry paper manuscript written in Tai Lue script, Wat Kun Nong, Moeng Ting, Gengma county. 75 ff^{0}.

MS 4 - *Khao Suek Lok Thi Song [(Sipsong Panna) in the Second World War]*. Tai Lue manuscript, written on Western paper, owned by Chao Maha Khanthawong, Chiang Rung. 72 ff^{0} (undated).

MS 5 - *Khao Nithan Pu Lang 3 Thao 12 Panna Pu Lang 3 Thao Mueang Man Tang Satcha Wacha Patiyan Tit-To Kan [The Legend of the Pu Lang Sam, Nobles of Sipsong Panna, and Pu Lang Sam, Nobles of Burma, Taking the Oath of Allegiance]*. Tai Lue mulberry paper manuscript, Chiang Rung. 9 ff^{0} (1918 AD).

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Volker Grabowsky
Apiradee Techasiriwan

Notes :

1. For the romanisation of Tai Lue words, see the Note on the transcription of Tai Lue terms at the end of the paper.
2. For a useful introduction to the historical development of Tai scripts in the Burmese Shan State, see Sai Kam Mong 2004. The author subsumes all ethnic Tai groups in the region (Shan proper or Tai Yai, Tai Lue, Tai Khuen, etc.) under the generic term Shan.
3. One of the authors (Grabowsky), together with Foon Ming Liew-Herres and Renoo Wichasin, has written a thorough introduction to the history and society of Sipsong Panna prior to 1950, along with an annotated version of various extant versions of the *Chronicle of Sipsong Panna*. Sipsong Panna means twelve districts. The administrative division of Moeng Lue (Polity of the Tai Lue), as the country is still called by many local people, into twelve districts or *panna* occurred in 1570 when Moeng Lue came under dual suzerainty of China and Burma. For details, see Liew-Herres *et al.* 2012, 28-33.
   On the historiography and historical development of Chiang Khaeng, whose last capital was Mueang Sing (pron. Moeng Sing) in present-day Luang Namtha province of Laos, see Grabowskyand Renoo Wichasin 2008, and Grabowsky 1999 and 2003.
4. This project is part of Project Area A (Paratexts) of the Centre for the Studies of Manuscript Culture (Sonderforschungsbereich 950 of the German Research Foundation, DFG) which has been based at the University of Hamburg since the summer of 2011. The authors would like to express their gratitude to the Centre and to the DFG for having generously supported their research, including fieldwork in the region in 2012 and 2013. For details of the Tai Lue sub-project, see http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/ Projekte_e.html.
5. For a chronicle recording the history of Moeng Laem (Menglian), see MS 7. 63 ff^{0}. See Grabowsky 2008, 3841.
6. There is extensive ethnographic literature on the Tai Lue. A classic is Michael Moermans seminal paper Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who are the Lue? (Moerman 1965). More recent ethno-historical studies are Lemoine 1987; Hsieh 1989; Hasegawa 2000; Ratanaporn Setthakul 2000; and Davis 2006.

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7. We are grateful to Christian Daniels (personal communication, 16 March 2014) for indicating the wide-spread use of the Dhamma script among upland people, especially Mon-Khmer speaking groups, in all parts of southwestern Yunnan and in the Burmese Shan states.
8. William J. Hannas Dai Lue-English Dictionary (2012), based on the new, simplified Tai Lue script, proved to be a valuable tool for the authors in identifying, in particular, modern administrative terms.
9. The preceding paragraph relies on information provided by Christian Daniels (personal communication, 16 March 2014) whom we wish to thank for his insights.
10. Chao Maha Khanthawong was born in Chiang Rung in 1925 as the eldest child of a noble family of Burmese descent. When he was seven years old, Chao Maha Khanthawong ordained as novice, at the age of twenty he became monk. Seven years later he left monkhood and became a government official under the new Communist regime. After retirement in the mid-1980s, Chao Maha Khanthwong became one of the most prominent scribes and collectors of Tai Lue manuscripts. He died after a short illness at the age of eighty-eight in August 2013.
11. In Tai Lue, the word *phasa* (Skt. *bhâsâ)* does not convey the meaning of language, as is the case in many languages in the region. Instead, it refers to a group of people sharing the same language, that is an ethnic group. The Tai Lue term meaning language is *kham* (pronounced *kam*). In most cases we translated *phasa* as ethnic group, or simply people. In some contexts, we rendered it as nationality which has also a political connotation in Marxist-Leninist terminology. Chinese communist ethnographers have coined the term *minzu* (nationality) to designate ethnic groups in China.
12. See Wasan Panyagaew who states that Tai Lue groups already fled to Mueang Sing immediately after the Communists liberated Sipsong Panna in early 1950 (Wasan Panyagaew 2008, 310).
13. In his memoirs, *History of Mueang Sing,* a manuscript written in August 2002 on industrial paper, Mai Thamdi, a native of Mueang Sing who became district chief in the late 1990s and retired in 2004, states :

> The chief of the [Pathet Lao] administration at that time, Mai On, a native from Moeng La [in Sipsong Panna], exercised power through keeping the people of Mueang Sing under the threat of the gun barrel. Un Nok Kho was the head of the police. (&) The police chief and Mai On from Moeng La were the people who applied the ideology of the Chinese Cultural Revolution in Mueang Sing. People were arrested and executed without their guilt being proven. This imposed much hardship on the inhabitants of Mueang Sing who became very fearful and fled their ancestral homes seeking refuge behind the front line in areas controlled by the Royal Government forces in Bo Kaeo province.

14. Formoso quotes a Chinese source stating that in 1957, immediately before the Great Leap Forward, 1,034 monks and 6,606 novices were counted. These 7,640 conventuals were split up over 594 monasteries (Formoso 2008, 156).
15. Kojima Takahiro and Nathan Badenoch have recently observed a similar situation in the Tai Nuea-Jingpo autonomous prefecture of Dehong. According to their survey of twenty-nine temples in Ruili city in 2010, 60 71 percent of the monks were from Myanmar, including both Shan and Palaung, while 81 percent of novices crossed the border to take

> be forgiving that my handwriting is not smooth. Some letters are too small, others are too big, they are not the same size.

38. 1374 Jyesttha 29 = Monday 18 June 2012, which is a *kot set* day.
39. Date according to the colophon: the ninth waxing day of the fifth lunar month, [CS] 1280.
40. The corresponding date of the Gregorian calendar is 9 June 1991 (1353 Jyestha 27), a Sunday and *kot set* day. The following day, however, was a *ruang kai* day: Monday 10 June 1991
41. The name of the monastery, preceded by the Lao possessive adjective *khong*, is written in modern Lao script, instead of Tai Lue as is the case for the rest of the text.
42. This leporello manuscript, dated the seventh waning day of the fourth lunar month, the third day [according to the] Mon [tradition], CS 1349 [Tuesday 9 February 1988], comprises the main text written in black ink and two additions written in blue ink by two different scribes. It deals with the consecration rituals of newly-built Buddha images called *Phutta Boek*, opening the eyes of the Buddha. For rituals to consecrate Buddha images in Thailand, see Swearer 2004.
43. The piastre (Tai: *man*), originally a unit of measurement of weights, became the name of the Indochinese piastre in Northern Laos. The French in Indochina introduced the silver piastre in 1885 (see Grabowsky and Renoo Wichasin 2008, 161).
44. See Cohen 2001; Iijima 2009, 19. In February 2013, Grabowsky returned to That Chiang Tueng, the most important stupa in the region situated on a high hill overlooking the southeastern section of the plain of Mueang Sing. Several years ago, a monastery had been founded next to the stupa. The monastery had one monk and one novice. The monk, whose title was Thammapanya Yanasampanno (Dhammapaññā Yānasampañño), was a Tai Nuea villager from nearby Ban Kum who was in his late fifties. He had decided to ordain less than ten years ago not long after the death of his wife. When his children disapproved of his wish to marry with a Tai Dam woman, he decided to enter the monkhood instead. Pha Thammapanya was proud of having been a disciple of the charismatic Tai Lue monk Khuba Bun Chum. Altogether, hes spent five years with Khuba Bun Chum first in Tachileik and then in Mueang Ngao, Lampang province. See Diana 2009, 203.

Appendix 1: Map of Dai (Tai) Settlements in Yunnan

up residence on the Chinese side (Takahiro and Badenoch 2013, 114).

16. Christian Daniels (personal communication, 16 March 2014), on whose information the last paragraph is based, points out that this general concern of the Bureau also relates to the control of religious activities by other Buddhists, as well as followers of Daoism, Christianity and Islam.
17. This can bring about incorrect classifications of Tai manuscripts by researchers not sufficiently familiar with the regional variations of the Dhamma script. For example, almost all manuscripts listed by Wenk in his catalogue of Lao manuscripts in Germany (Wenk 1975) are in fact Lan Na manuscripts.
18. As to the state of mulberry paper manuscripts in Sipsong Panna, see Kato and Isra Yanatan 2001.
19. See also Apiradee Techasiriwan 2003, 710; so far the most in-depth study of the Tai Lue script(s) and writing system(s).
20. Interview of Grabowsky with Ai Un Tan, former editor of the Sipsong Panna newspaper who retired a couple of years ago, at his home on February 25, 2013.
21. We are grateful to Zhou Hanli, Simao, for providing us with this information
22. This series includes several versions of the Chronicle of Moeng Lue (Chinese: *Leshi*), discussed in detail in Liew-Herres 2004.
23. Ai Un Tan (born 1948), former editor-in-chief of the Sipsong Panna newspaper, who has become an active scribe after retirement, confirms Ai Saeng Kham's information about the price of mulberry paper. He recently bought 100 large folios of mulberry paper from Moeng Hun at the price of 120 Yuan. One large folio would be cut into four standard-sized folios used for writing manuscripts. However, this is a cheap price as Ai Un Tan bought these folios from someone who was not interested in making a profit by selling the paper. The standard prices might be at least twenty percent higher (Interview of Grabowsky with Ai Un Tan, former editor of the Sipsong Panna newspaper who retired a couple of years ago, at his home on 1 March 2014).
24. This is a mulberry paper manuscript (MS 15) entitled *Tamnan Tungkha Rasi* The Chronicle of Tungarasī which is divided into six bundles (*phuk*) indicating that the master copy for that manuscript was probably a palm-leaf manuscript. In the context of a mulberry paper manuscript the original meaning of *phuk* indicating the beginning of a new codocological unit changed to denote the start of a new chapter. The colophon at the end of the fifth *phuk* (here: chapter) states :

    > I [finished copying] in the *kap set* year, BE 2538, CS 1356, on the seventh waxing day of the fifth [lunar] month, the fourth day [according to the] Mon [tradition], a *poek set* day [according to the] Tai [tradition], at the auspicious time of four, when the drum is beaten. (8 March 1995) May this bring me benefit. My name is Ai Khan Kaeo, I live in Ban Foei Lung [in] Moeng Long. I am sixty-three years old.

25. Interview of Volker Grabowsky with Nan Chaen or Po Can Kaeo at his residence in Ban Son Mon in Moeng Ham on 16 September 2012.
26. This information does not come from the interview but is stated in the colophon which appears at the end of section four of a multiple-text manuscript recording six poems. The manuscript, dated 17 October 2012, bears the title *Kham Khap Hek Phi Mueang 6 Mueang 8 Bot* Eight Incantations for Invoking the Guardian Spirits of Six *Mueang* (MS 1).
27. For examples of apologies for real or alleged clumsy handwriting as a common topic in scribes colophons, see the next part of this paper. The colophon at the end of the fourth

poem states : My name is Ai Sang Yong, a native from Moeng Ham. I came to work in Moeng Paen.

28. A fine example of such acknowledgement of the origin of a master copy or other material used for compiling a new text is the preface to MS 13: *Phuen Mueang Atikamma Latthabuli Nuai Thi Nueng* 'The Chronicle of Atikamma Rathapuri, vol. 1. states:

    > In the eleventh [lunar] month of the year [CS] 1353, Ai Saeng Noi [alias] Po Kham Lue put draft records (*kak*) together to write this manuscript. The manuscript of Po Oi [from] Ban Ping served as the principal text, but the records kept by Po Long Ton [from Ban] Foei Lung [and] Po Oi Long Khue [were used as] additional material. I have to express my gratitude to all three of them.

29. There are a few more cases of acknowledgements, but they rarely provide such long lists of fellow scribes and contributors. Another example comparable to the one quoted above is a list of seventeen contributors (lit. [persons who] brought texts, adding and helping) provided in the preface of a manuscript copied by a scribe called Po Kham Lue who also comes from Ban Foei Lung in Moeng Long. However, the seventeenth person mentioned did not make any contribution to the manuscript but is given credit for casting the image of the Standing Buddha erected at the famous That No stupa of Ban Foei Lung.
30. From Pāli : *racati*, third person singular of *rac*, 'to write', 'to compose'.
31. See http://www.laomanuscripts.net/en/glossary.
32. Christian Daniels (personal communication, 16 March 2014) makes the observation that the same holds true for the Tai Nuea manuscript culture. Based on his work with manuscripts bearing mainly historical texts, he notes that authorship is usually never asserted in a colophon, though the names of some copyists do survive.
33. *Phu likkhita*. From Pāli: *likhita*, written, inscribed, past participle of *likhati*, third person singular of *likh*, to carve, to write, to inscribe (Rhys Davids 192122, p. 583).
34. 1364 Sravana 15 = Friday 23 August 2002, a *ka kai* day. Saturday 24 August 2002 is a *kap chai* day.
35. The Dhamma related to the path (*magga*) leading to the cessation of suffering; the Dhamma related to the fruition (*phala*) of any of the four transcending paths (leading to different stages of rebirth on the way to *nibbâna*, the fourth path being that of *arahant*, for example, a person who has achieved insight leading to salavation); and the Dhamma related to final liberation from the cycle of rebirths (*nibbâna)*.
36. See also the desire of the scribe of a *Sivijayapañha* manuscript from Wat Lai Hin (Lampang), dated CS 942 (158081 AD) stating: [M]ay I above all not be reborn as a poor man (...). See Hundius 1990, 134 who also states that [w]ishes for good health and not to be reborn as a poor man (...) rather represent an exception from his corpus of Pāli manuscripts from Lan Na (fifteenth to nineteenth centuries).
37. See for example, MS 14: *Tamnan Ketcha Phabat Chiang Phakhang* The Chronicle of Buddha Footprint at Chiang Phakhang. In the colophon (folio 27, lines 814) the scribe inserts his humble excuse for his bad handwriting immediately after the dating of the manuscript and his desire to maintain the Teachings of Buddha until the end of 5,000 years. He writes:

    > I have made spelling mistakes by either omitting or adding letters. I have changed the consonants /k/ and /w/ or used the wrong tone marks. For this I wish to apologize. May [the copying of this manuscript] be a support for me to get merit. Dear reader, please

The Shan king will appoint his brother to be *kʷm müang* or the king's assistant, taking care of the Seal- office. The eldest son of the king, the prince, will become the next king, but not the *kʷm müang*. Only if the king has no child could the *kʷm müang* become king.

Normally, the Shan king married a princess of the neighboring Shan kings to stabilize and secure his own kingdom. The princess will become the queen who will be in charge of the Royal Seal of the king. She was called in Shan "The Seal holding queen". Only the son of this Seal holding queen could become the king. If the king died while the prince was too young, the queen would be appointed as the acting ruler, and the young prince would be appointed as *kʷm müang*.

Nobles called the *ammaat* and *phrong müang* assisted the Shan king. These nobles were mainly from the king's family. The nobles entered the *hoo kham* (The Golden Palace) every 10-15 days for royal advice and entertainment. These nobles were assigned to be in charge of the army, palace security, tax collection, royal affairs, and secretariat, etc.

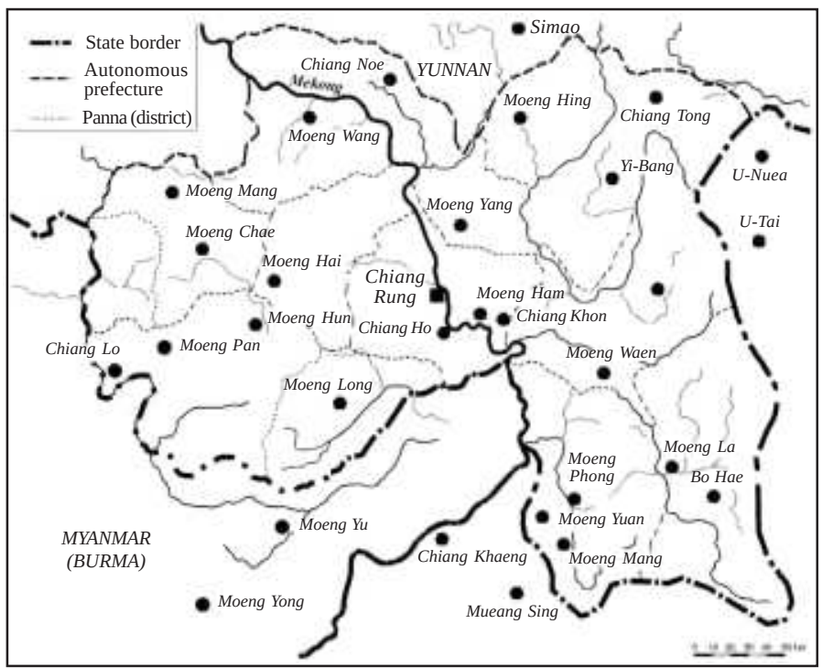
Shan nobles were hierarchically divided into 3 ranks. The highest rank was the *müang* rank, for example, *phrong müang*, *thao müang*, etc., who were mostly senior nobles. The second one was the *chum* rank and the lowest was the *Jing* rank. Most members of the royal family began their career with the *jing* rank and were later promoted to the *chum* and the *müang* ranks.

The king was the "Lord of the Water and Land ". The nobles received land and villages as their salary. The higher rank, the bigger land. Even the queen herself was given land and villages for her own personal expenses and laborers. Only some low ranking nobles obtained rice as their salary. These nobles did not pay taxes. But some of them were responsible for collecting taxes for the king.

Royal guards and soldiers came from two sources. Some came from the "slave villages" around the town. They were responsible solely for guarding the Golden Palace. Others were selected from young male villagers under the regulation that one out of every 3-5 men in a village had to be a soldier.

All royal laborers were taken from slave villages as well. These slave villages were given some plots of land to cultivate rice for their own consumption. They paid no tax but had to take care of duties inside and outside the Golden Palace.These villages specialized in and were responsible for horse-raising, elephant-raising, firewood cutting, water boiling, grass cutting, the royal guard, royal tomb watching, water-fetching, cooking, palace cleaning, etc., and acting as personal servants.

Appendix 2: Map of Sipsong Panna



Shan Customary Law

Sompong Witayasakpan

Introduction

The Shan were first mentioned in the Burmese history in the reign of Anawratha in the Pagan age. After the fall of the Pagan kingdom, the Shan kingdom began to rise. It was then called the White Flower Kingdom of Muang Mao HLong *(Müang Maao Luan*[1]*)* According to the Shan chronicles, under the reign of Süa Khan Fa, during the 12th-13th century the Mao kingdom was a very strong and powerful kingd om which ruled over vast areas from Assam to the regions of modern Burma and the southwestern part of China. *Müang Maao*, which is now in Dehong Prefecture, China, right next to the Burmese border, was the center of the Shan kingdom. Unfortunately, the kingdom did not last long after the challenge of the Chinese and Burmese empires. After the14th century the Shan kingdom began to fall. The kingdom was consequently divided into two parts. One was under Burmese rule, which is now the Burmese Shans, and the other was the Chinese Shans under Chinese rule. After that the Shan Kingdom never rose again.

The Shan, however, lived on in their vast land under the rule of the two countries. They still had their own petty kings who ruled over many principalities or towns. The Shan feudal or monarchical system was abolished only after World War II, the petty kings and their royal lines now live as commoners in- and outside the Shan lands (Sompong Witayasakpan1999).

Despite having lived under Burmese and Chinese rule for several hundreds of years, and having been heavily influenced by Burmese and Chinese cultures, the Shan still preserve their own identities, traditions, customs, and culture. This paper will give an account of the Shan customary laws, which have been practiced by both Burmese and Chinese Shan for quite some time. These customary laws reflect the Shan's beliefs, thoughts, ways of life, and also their social, economic and political systems. The information on the laws was gathered from various manuscripts of Shan chronicles, from Chinese accounts on the Chinese Shan, and from my own fieldwork interviews and observation during my stay in Dehong Prefecture in 1998/99.

The Shan Customary Laws

There has been an attempt to find the Shan Book of laws by Chinese scholars, but to their disappointment, they could not find any written laws like those found in Sipsongpanna, Lanna and other Tai states. The Chinese scholars thus concluded "in the Tai region in Dehong written materials related to the Tai laws are not found, only some oral accounts. This shows there is no written law in the Dai region in Dehong" (Zhang Xiaohui et al. 1990: 217). Zhang Xisheng et al. (1990: 328) have drawn the same conclusion. It seems true that there is no specific book of the Shan written laws, but if we read the Shan chronicles closely, the Shan Royal Family History of each principality and other Shan sources, what can be found is that these manuscripts contain various kinds of customary laws. These laws are obviously or implicitly spelled out. Also it can be observed during fieldwork that many of these customary laws are still widely practiced among the Shan even though there are no written records of these laws. These customary laws are the vital part of the Shan culture that has helped to tie together the structure of the Shan society.

Here we will classify the Shan customary laws into 5 categories, namely,

- court law,
- administrative law,
- local administrative law,
- community or village law, and
- family law.

The Customary Court Law

The Shan believe that their rulers are descendants of Heaven; thus they call their king the King of Heaven, i.e. *tjau faa* in Shan. There are other titles as well, such as *tjau khai faa* (the Egg of Heaven), *tjau luang* [Chao Hlong] (The king of the kings; the main king), *tjau phn din* (Lord of the Earth), and *tjau phng naam ngaam din* (Lord of the Water and Land). These terms or titles show how the Shans respect their kings. Obviously, most of the customary laws stem from this belief. The Shan believe that only royal descendants can be rulers of any principality. It is shown in the Müang Wan Chronicle (Sompong Witayasakpan 2001) that when a riot occurred in the town and the king was killed, then his son was "stolen" to hide in a village in order to save the royal line. When peace came, the son was then appointed the next king.

The Customary Administrative Law

The king was at the top of the hierarchy and wielded absolute power. He could give rewards to those who had done good deeds, and punish at will those who betrayed him or committed crimes, larceny, adultery, robbery, etc. The punishment ranged from death sentence, beating, fine, imprisonment, enslavement, etc.

The king appointed nobles to assist him in various duties, for example, those who took care of royal ceremonies, royal guards and army, royal elephants and horses, collecting taxes from markets around the Golden Palace, and running the royal affairs office, etc.

Influenced by the Chinese court, the royal office consisted of 6 departments, namely, the department of royal secretariat, the department of tea, the department of royal affairs, department of books, department of finance, department of royal guards. These departments could vary according to the king. The kingdom was divided into regions. Each region was under the rule of one of these nobles. The nobles could directly rule the region, or they had some lower-ranking nobles rule the region and collect taxes for them.

Each year there were at least two important royal ceremonies, that is, the khwan *müang* spirit worship ceremony and the Royal Seal cleaning ceremony. All nobles and local officials had to attend the ceremonies.

The Customary Local Administrative Law

The existence and the power of the Golden Palace depended on how tightly the king was able to control his manpower and land. The Shan king had to set up a very effective hierarchical structure of local administration. In the age of the "White Flower Kingdom" of *müang maao luang*[2], almost all the satellite principalities were subjected to the then king, Süa Khan Faa, because of the tight control of the petty state rulers and good management of manpower and land, which resulted in abundant tribute, wealth, weapons and armed forces. The administrative system of the later period that had been transferred from generation to generation was that the king sent his own nobles to take charge of populous lands and towns for tax collection, manpower recruitment, and keeping the peace.

The kingdom was divided into regions *(kwaan).* A noble *lam müang* controlled each region. The region was then divided into sub-regions *(süng* or *kang).* Each sub-region consisted of many villages. The head of each sub-region *(ho kang)*[3] was selected by the headmen of villages, and was appointed by the king. A big sub-region head could appoint an assistant

year or at least once in their lifetime in order to show that they are good Buddhists, generous, kind and ready to give away money and food to the public. When such a Buddhist merit making feast was organized, the whole village was invited to join the ceremony. Nowadays, since the Chinese revolution ip 1949, this ceremony is becoming more and more seldom because it is viewed as extravagant spending.

In a nutshell, it can be obviously seen that the community or the village was a very important factor in shaping villagers' views and behaviors. The community set up standard values and norms, and the violation of these would result in various types of social punishment.

The Customary Family Law

The basic unit of the community and village is the family. The Shan family is male dominant, influenced by the Chinese patriarchy. It is written in the Müang Wan chronicle that "a wife should obey and respect her husband and the husband has to be kind and generous to his wife". But in reality, the women are raised to do all the housework, while men are raised to do only certain work. There are places in the family that only men can occupy, not women; for example, the senior male always occupies a seat at the head of the table. Nobody else can take that seat at all.

In the Chinese Shan family, the division of labor is quite strict. Cooking is always a job for females, especially the daughter-in-law. She has to get up early and cook for everybody, and eat in the kitchen only after all members have finished eating. In other words, the women's place is always in the kitchen. They are not allowed to join at the table with guests. Females are also not allowed to lie down or sleep in the middle room, which is considered the living room of the family.

Traditionally, a married girl moves to live at her husband's. Once she is in the new family, she has to serve almost everybody in the new family. She has to start cooking in place of the husband's mother, and doing other housework. Females committing adultery is considered as a very serious crime. If the wife was caught red-handed, the husband, in the old days, was allowed to beat her to death. If a wife asks for a divorce, she has to return the dowry to the husband. The divorce process is quite complex in traditional Chinese Shan traditions. Every party concerned is called up to witness the divorce. Bamboo is used to mark types of divorce. If the man wants the dowry back, there is one mark on the bamboo. If there are two marks, it

haang kang. The ordinary sub-region head was called *phuu hiang,* which means the head of thousand people. If he had an assistant, he himself was called *hua hiang,* and his assistant *haang hiang.*

The lowest rank of the local administration was the village headman *phuu kᵛ.* The headman had an accountant (Chele) to take note of the number of people, the plots of land, the number of cattle, the tax that each household had to pay, etc. The headman also had other assistants called *phuu muong*[4] and *phuu phrong* to help announce royal decrees, or other announcements.

These local administrators were assigned plots of land to cultivate rice and plants and had to pay tax to the nobles and to the king. At the same time, they were responsible for collecting to collect taxes, recruiting men and labor for the nobles and the Golden Palace. After the harvest season, headmen had to send rice and produce to the nobles and the king's barn. This is why, the king was also called the *tjau jee luang* (Big Barn Owner).

In practice, these local administrators were quite self-sufficient and powerful. They maintained peace and happiness of the villagers. They functioned as judges, policemen, and the real leaders of a local community. Yet, they had to pay respect to the king on special occasions, for example, in the spirit worship ceremony, royal wedding ceremony, New Year's ceremony, etc.

The Customary CommunityVillage Law

The Shan villagers' lives revolved around the Buddhist temple and supernatural beliefs. Each community, if not in every village, had a Buddhist monastery, and of course a village spirit house. Each year villagers worshipped the village spirit by closing the village for a whole day. Certain regulations were imposed. Outsiders were forbidden to enter the village. Everybody had to participate in the ceremony, and had to strictly obey the regulations and taboos. If there was any social or personal event, for example, having guests, wedding, traveling, having a newborn baby, etc., the village spirit had to be informed.

A monastery formed the center of the community. The king granted a piece of land and villages for the benefit of the monastery. The headman, thus, had to assign villagers to tend the land and cultivate rice and give all the yields and produce to the monastery. Also it was the villagers' responsibility to give alms and food to monks, and to take care of the monastery, i.e. to build shrines, stupas, and other buildings in the monastery. In some areas, the village was divided into groups in order to take turn feeding monks and taking care of the monastery.

In a village or a community, besides a headman, a group of senior people was loosely set up as a senior committee, which was called *thau baan kᵛ sun.* This committee was responsible for keeping an eye on the headman's management and administration, and for being local jurors or judges of the village. In other words, they helped keep peace and justice, and made sure that the village and villagers were going in the right direction according to village's traditions and customs. Cases were brought to this senior committee to be considered and judged. For example, if a woman committed adultery, the senior committee convened and judged the case. If the case was considered very serious for the village, then the women had to 'clean up the village' by performing a ritual and giving a feast or a banquet for the whole village. This was considered a very heavy sentence, a harsh punishment by the society because the woman had to provide a lot of meat, rice, and money for this. She would become poor overnight.

Committing crimes, addiction to drugs, robbery and stealing were considered serious wrongdoings. The punishment agreed among the senior committee and the villagers was as follows: beating to death, expulsion from the village, and heavy fines. Generally, village life was rather peaceful. Punishment by social sanction for villagers is considered the most serious. If a person was unable to remain in his or her own village, it was likely that other villages would reject him or her as well. Thus social norms, traditions and customs were very crucial for the villagers' life and behavior.

Dressing can be seen as a part of the social regulations or rules. In China, only the young Shan girls wear black pants and black blouses, with braided hair around their head. Once they get married, they wear a tube skirt, and their hair is knotted on top of their head. When they grew old, the knotted hair moved to the lower back of the head. Dressing against this norm was considered improper.

Young men and women in each village usually formed a youth group. The aim was to provide their youth labor for public activities, such as constructing roads, digging public wells, helping with the harvest, and cultivating and harvesting public or monastery rice fields. They also provided help for weddings, funerals, celebrations, and other village activities.

Senior villagers were expected to spend most of their time at the monastery. It was rare to see old people in the field. Old people were expected to make merit by holding *poi* or festive merit making activity at least once a

border mobilities and connectivities have also become more routinized and flexible. In addition, this is needed, I argue, to look for a new direction on Tai Studies in Lan Na Culture Area.

2. A New Look at Old Lan Na Culture Area

In his remarkable work, *The Making of South East Asia* (1966), George Coóedes points out convincingly that during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, groups of human beings who were later called Tai-speaking peoples were already in mainland Indochina. However, their 'southward migration' to this region, he emphasises, should be considered like a flow, not a southwards invasion or a migration forced by the Mongol troops as usually taken for granted by ordinary Thai. The Tai peoples lived in what is now called mainland southeast Asia for almost a century, before establishing their states and alliances, and conquering and expanding their power over the indigenous empires (Pagan, Lava or Dvaravati, Angkor, and Champa), which were in decline. It was probably in the late 12th century that the early Tai states began to form their power in the upper Mekong (Wyatt 2003: 33-34). However, it is not until the late 13th century that we have a clear scenario of the Tai states of Payao, Chiang Mai, and Sukhothai. The three rulers of these (new) powers met and concluded their alliance against the Mongols in 1287 (ibid: 39), who at that time were launching a southwards expansion campaign to southern Yunnan.

According to Coóedes (1966) and Wyatt (2003), the Tai states were built upon their appropriation and consolidation of two cultures: Chinese and Indian (see also Leach 1960). The most significant new element they incorporated, however, was Theravada Buddhism, which distinguished Tai culture from the former powers. These hybridized states then expanded their powers over the indigenous peoples, rapidly turning themselves into the new rulers of this region, particularly from the mid-13th century to the late 16th century. At the state level, intermarriage with family members of the indigenous rulers, kings daughters or sisters in particular, was the most important strategy used by the Tai rulers to exercise their remote powers, social control and power regulations through state mechanisms in everyday life. Tai-Kha relations, which Condominas (1990: 29-92) called Tai-ization, were also applied effectively (the term Tai itself is political in origin). These two processes were the most crucial tactics the Tai employed to expand their power (Turton 2000a). The Tai states, in short, were hybrid.

means that if the woman gets married to another man, she has to return the wedding money to her old husband. Three marks mean that the female does not have to return the dowry whether she gets married anew or not.

The eldest son of the family inherits the land, wealth and debts from the father. Before the revolution, the land could not be sold because it belonged to the king. The family had to work hard in order to pay tax.

If the family wants to expand the cultivating land, they have to cut the grass, till the land and go to the headman for permission. Once they are allowed, the first three years they do not have to pay tax, but they have to pay tax after that.

Conclusion

In modem urban society, it seems that rules, regulations, and laws are necessarily written and publicly announced to all members of society. Without them, our society can turn into chaos. Our society thus requires police officers to enforce the laws, and to punish the lawbreakers. We even need lawyers and judges to help maintain justice.

In the Shan community, written laws seem to be unnecessary. Traditions, customs, and beliefs all together make a very strong and effective customary law for the community. Members of the community are well aware of what is right, what is wrong, what should be done, and what should be avoided. There are, moreover, community organizations that monitor and control the behavior of their members. Many Shan chronicles always emphasize the sayings,

> …. this has been done by great grandfathers, great grandmothers, and grandfathers and grandmothers and we have to maintain and pass on what the great grandfathers, the great grandmothers, grandfathers and grandmothers had done for us".

The great kingdom of the Shan has gone, but their customary law still lives on today.

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Tai Studies in the Borderlands of Upper Mekong : A New Look at Old Lan Na Culture Area[1]

Wasan Panyagaew

1. Introduction

Lan Na Culture Area used in this paper, is the borderlands of the upper Mekong region that covers present areas of Northern Thailand, Northern Laos, Eastern Shan States of Burma and Southern Yunnan of China. Linguistically, in this border region, there are three majority sub groups of Tai speaking peoples. These Southwest Tai speaking groups were historically belonged to traditional Tai states of Lan Na, Sipsong Panna, and Lan Xang. For centuries, these Tai states, peoples and societies have advanced, transformed, and even newly re-formed under a spatial historical process of the region, particularly since European colonial regimes and the formation of modern nation state took place, in late 19th centuries. Some Tai states could able to form into their new countries, namely Thailand and Laos, some other states have just become parts of the modern- nation states and their peoples have become a member of minority on the new nations (of China and Myanmar). Since the 1990s a global process and regional integration, which significantly push and pull this borderlands of the upper Mekong into the world economy, also reinforced and intensified the speeds of change in these Tai peoples, cultures, and societies.

In this paper, I explore writings on Tai Studies in this Lan Na Culture Area. First, I attempt to explore works that touch on the origin of Tai states, their cultures and societies, showing formation and transformation of these Tai states and its peoples. In a sense this part thus will show how Tai Studies in Lan Na Culture Area produced and reproduced a history of the Tai peoples. Second, the paper further investigates on the political economy of knowledge construction on Tai peoples, cultures and societies. In particular, I will give an overall view of Thai Studies after World War II, in particular works that produced by Thai and Chinese scholars, officers, or even journalists, which have politically competed each other to create an imagery and connectivity between the Tais and the Thais. Third, I try to suggest a new direction on Tai studies in the Lan Na Culture Area, in particular in this final part I try to review the topics that have been researched since 1990s onwards, when regulations on state borders have been lifted and changed. Recently, cross-

By the late 13th century, these hybridized Tai states were strongly established. They were centred in the upper Chao Praya and the upper Mekong. Sukhothai was established in the mid-12th century and expanded its power strongly around 1280s to mid-1290s, while Yonaka later known as Lan Na, centred in Chiang Mai (established in 1296), from around the mid-12th century to the mid-16th century. In the early 14th century, a newer Tai state, Lan Xang, was established (in 1319 on the east bank of the Mekong, centred in Chiang Thong (or Luang Phrabang). These Tai states then transformed and differentiated themselves, culturally and historically, in their own ways, under different geo-political conditions.

Sukhothai declined and later became part of Ayutthaya. This new Tai state, Ayutthaya, first established in 1351, was influenced very much by the Khmer and later became Siam. Lan Na, which was significantly influenced by the Sinhalese sect of Theravada Buddhism, directly transported from Sri Lanka (Swearer and Sommai 1978), ruled over the upper Mekong, during its Golden Age. Its power and territories extended to Chiang Tung, in present Shan state of Burma, and Chiang Hung in southern Yunnan of present day China. According to Hans Penth, the period of this Golden Age of Lan Na, particularly from the mid-15th century to the 1620s, is exemplified in its written script, the Tai script, or Dhamma script, which accompanied Theravada Buddhism as it spread throughout this upper Mekong region. *The region of Dhamma script'*, or what I call *Lan Na Culture Area*, here included the Tai states that centred their power in Chiang Mai, Chiang Tung, Chiang Hung and Chiang Thong (Luang Phrabang).

We should note that although this Tai (Dhamma) script was later localised and became less uniform, the peoples in this Lan Na Culture Area historically learned and used this Tai script system, both in their religious and secular worlds. In Lan Na, its usage lasted until the mid 20th century. In the upper Mekong region, Keng Tung state, old Sipsong Panna, and Lan Xang of Luang Prabang, the Dhamma script has been used in their religious worlds until today. Recently in northern Thailand, this Dhamma script system has been revived. The script is therefore becoming increasingly a great mediator amongst the Tai peoples in this region, though its popularity among the public is still limited.

During this period, the differentiated Tai states had long battles with each other, the two powerful kingdoms of Lan Na and Ayutthaya in particular. According to Coóedes (1966), at least two kings of Ayutthaya died on the battlefield during this long warfare. In the mid-16th century the Tai states in

present northern Laos) were surrendered to French Indochina, two years after the 1893 treaty between Siam and France (Stuart-Fox 1995). The Lue principality, locally known as Muang U (in northern Laos), was ceded to the French in 1895, by the Qing dynasty (Sipsong Panna Chronicle 1986) together with half of Muang Sing on the east bank of the Mekong river after the French-Siamese crisis in 1895, while another part on the west bank was ceded to British Burma (Grabowsky 2003).

For years, a major part of Lue territory was frozen in between three powers, the British, the French and the Chinese (see also Chandran 1971, Hirshfield 1968). Chiang Hung, and particularly the other five principalities of Sipsong Panna on the west bank of the Mekong, had first been claimed as part of British Burma by the commissioner, Sir James George Scott (Scott 1936). Almost all of the Lue principalities, however, were surrendered to the Chinese empire at the end of the 19th century, and were finally encompassed as a south-western frontier of China in the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, while Lan Na had been consolidated and transformed into the northern part of Siam since the late 19th century, which later became Thailand (cf. Thongchai 1994, Wyatt 2003), Lue country, in contrast, had its territories broken apart into three colonies of the Chinese empire, British Burma, and French Indochina. The international lines created at the end of the 19th century eventually scattered and disconnected the Lue, particularly the people of Sipsong Panna, into four countries. The advent of European colonialism, therefore, shaped the nation building of Siam and Laos (also modern China and Burma), but separated Lue territories, ending the Lue confederation state of Sipsong Panna.

In the early 20th century, Chiang Hung was incorporated into the Republic of China (1912-1948). This period began when a Han governor arrived to rule over the Lue polities in this southern frontier region and established his administrative headquarters in Chiang Hung, which resulted in the construction and formation of the new town, locally called Chiang Mai, on the west bank of the Mekong, in 1911. Today this new town has become the centre of Jinghong city and the capital of Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, in modern China.

3. Political Economy of Knowledge Production on Tai Studies

Thai Studies was established by Luariston Sharp, at Cornell University (in 1947), a few years after World War II ended in Southeast Asia. Along with the American's interests in what was known as Southeast Asia this area

the upper Mekong were defeated and brought under the control of the Burman kingdom, which was at that time able to regain its power after a century of decline and internal chaos. Lan Xang transferred its capital from Luang Prabang to Vientiane, in 1559. The power of the Tai states alliance in the upper Mekong declined and they came under the power of the Burman empire for about two hundred years.

This historical turn led to a reshaping of the Lue confederation states, and its satellite town networks (of Chiang Hung, Muang Long, Muang Yong, Chiang Kheng, Muang U, Chiang Law, Muang Che, Muang Hai, and Muang Hun for example), ranging from north to south and east to west, on both sides of the Mekong. Under this changing historical process, the two southern principalities of Chiang Kheng and Muang Yong later became the vassals of Ava, while other Lue principalities, loosely structured under Chiang Hung, formed the new confederation state of Sipsong Panna , and began tributary relationships with two powerful empires: the Burman and the Ming dynasty, via Yunnan (Hsieh 1995: 313-314). *It was during this period that 'Sipsong Panna' as a name first existed, in a history of the Tai peoples, in the late 1570s* (Sipsong Panna Royal Chronicle 2001: 163-165, Yanyong and Ratanaporn 2001: 77). In other words, it was during this period that the history of the Lue confederation state of Sipsong Panna properly began.

The peoples of Chiang Tung, Sipsong Panna, Lan Na, and Lan Xang were recruited to form part of the military forces to support the Burman in their conquest of the Tai state of the central plain of Chao Praya (Ayutthaya). From the late 16th century to the late 18th century Ayutthaya was defeated several times by these Burman-led forces, the most severe defeat being in 1767. As Wijeyewardene pointed out the Burman destruction of Ayutthya in 1767 & in my view marked the beginning of the modern history of mainland Southeast Asia (1990: 67).

In the late 18th century, after its great destruction, the peoples of Ayutthaya, led by their leader, Phya Thaksin, were able to recover their country. Having regained their power, the new rulers of the Chao Praya plain kingdom, later called Siam, attempted to incorporate Lan Na. This was fundamentally to prevent any further attacks by the Burman. The rulers of the petty Tai states in the north region of Lan Na nevertheless delayed their decision (to incorporate with the Siamese rulers) strategically until the the mid-1770s (Coóedes 1966: 164-165).

These wars of independence and decades of battles led to the principalities of Lan Na being abandoned. Peoples were removed to Burman lands, or took flight in the forest. Chiang Mai, the former capital centre of Lan Na, became a deserted city for about twenty years. After this warfare Lan Na was divided into two regions, one led by Chiang Mai, and the other led by Muang Nan. The late 18th century to the early 19th century, was a significant period during which many of the peoples of Chiang Tung state and the Lue confederation states of Sipsong Panna were forced to resettle in present northern Thailand. The Tai rulers, led by the prince of Chiang Mai and the prince of Muang Nan, battled with several Tai principalities along the upper region on both sides of the Mekong, to build the **New Lan Na**. For decades, the rulers of these two centers of New Lan Na had recruited a large number of Tai peoples from the upper Mekong for resettlement in their territories (Grabowsky 1999, Kraisri 1978; Rattanaporn 1995, 2000). The Siamese ruler during that period had also waged a campaign against the new centre of Lan Xang. Vientiane was sacked and burnt down at least twice in the pre-modern Siam period (Coóedes 1966: 139-192). 2 These wars resulted in the forced resettlement of Lao people across the natural border from the east bank of the Mekong river to the west, in present northeastern Thailand. Lan Xang became a Siamese dependency until the French conquered this region in the mid 19th century (see Stuart-Fox 1997).

The coming of age of the European colonial powers in mainland Southeast Asia in the 19th century began to segregate peoples in this region, demarcating new frontiers, which were later to become national borders. This coming of age of European colonialisms, nevertheless, brought about an almost unprecedented period of peace and stability that enabled many of the long-distance trade and people movements to continue, which to some extent provided some of the key conditions for long-distance networks in these frontier regions to flourish.3 It seems that, from that time onwards, although the Tai alliance declined at the top level, at the bottom, local connections of pilgrimages, seasonal long-distance trade, and kinship, and movements of people along these networks, back and forth, around this borderlands area of the upper Mekong region continued to be strong.

Territories of the Tai states (e.g. Chiang Tung, Muang Yong, and Chiang Kheng) on the west bank of the Mekong, which were at that time the vassals of Ava, were claimed by the British when they finally annexed the Burman kingdom, in the 1890s, after the third Anglo-Burmese war. On the east bank of the Mekong, Lan Xang kingdom and some other Lue principalities (in

studies flourishingly expanded through American universities during the Cold War, in the 1960s (Keyes 2017). Nevertheless, the writings on studying Tai peoples, cultures, and societies in the upper Mekong region, had been produced by European Colonial explorers and Siamese officers for a century earlier. In the early 19th century, European explorers, commissioner, and American missionaries had gradually come into the Mekong region, using the existing tracksor trade routes to explore almost all areas throughout these regions. Simultaneously, they observed and learned about indigenous peoples and their primitive cultures for decades, for example Captain William Couperus McLeod in March 1837, Sir James G. Scott in the 1860s, the French Commission led by Commander de Lagróee in September-October 1867, Daniel McGilvary and Robert Irwin in early 1893, and William C. Dodd in 1897, and from the late 1910s to the 1930s.4 Most of them portrayed, described, and represented several aspects of Tai country (and its inhabitants), particularly Chiang Hung, the oldest Lue principality on the west bank of the Mekong, from what they had seen and interpreted. Their writings were published or presented in the journal. In a sense, this travel writing is a kind of work that, to borrow from Edward Said, followed to the Orientalist tradition. In Siam, the study of history, religion, language, origin and transformation of traditional Tai state in the upper Mekong region, where mainland Southeast Asia meets. Southwest China, was well developed about a decade after the establishment of The Siam Society (under Royal Patronage), in 1904. The aim of Siam society, Led by Prince Damrongrachanupap, was to cooperate with Thai (Siamese before 1939) and foreign scholars to promote knowledge of Thailand (changed from Siam in 1939) and its surrounding region. The article about north Siam was first published in Journal of Siam Society, in 1911, and about a few decades later, in 1932, the article on Ethnology of Lan Na, The Hill Tribes of Northern Siam (Notes) was then published by Erik Seidenfaden. Writings on Tai studies in Lan Na Culture Area, in Siam, at the beginning thus still confined within the elites circle. Up until 1950s that we saw the writings about the north, which were written by a self-taught anthropologist, Kaishri Nimmanaheminda and Boonchauy Srisawat who had background of their childhood in northern Thailand. It was during, Prime Minister Piboons regime when the Pan Thai ideology was promoted and popularly accepted by the educated Thais. In this period, Luangvijitwathagans writing on the Thai Race, (which he, in fact, translated and reworked from William C. Dodds work that was published a few decades earlier) aimed to produce a sense of Thainess, creating Thai nation, was

at that time is sure to be a rare experience in anyones life, and a traveller from north China will be asked many questions upon return (Lan 1981: 1). He stated :

> *On afternoon at the end of March 1978 I received a phone call from the Beijing Central Nationalities Institute. "I've got good news for you. You're invited to attend the Water plashing Festival at Xishuangbanna from April 13 to 15," came a familiar voice. It was that of a person I knew was working with the Dai nationality particularly, and so I cleared my desk and on the tenth of April set out for Xishuangbanna in a surge of excitement.* (ibid: 2)

From Beijing, Zheng took a flight to Kunming (in less than three hours), caught another airplane to Simao (in less than an hour), then travelled by car along the road in the mountainous areas of southern Yunnan to Jinghong, which took about four hours.

In a similar way, six years later, in 1984, Sujit Wongthet, a Thai journalist based in Bangkok, had his first chance to visit Sipsong Panna.5 In his travelling notebook, *Were the Thai Not From Anywhere Else?*, which was published soon after his return in that year, Sujit noted:

> *On 12 March 1984, while I was busy putting a backpack on my shoulder..[and] was about to leave my house to go to Bangkok airport for a trip to attend a seminar on the history of Puket town, the postman came in, handing over a letter from Jia Yanjong to me. In the letter Mr. Jia stated, 'I have good news for you. You're invited by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies [in Kunming] to attend the Water Splashing Festival at Xishuangbanna and the Third month market fair at Dali..'* (1984: 3-4)6

Similarly to Zheng, Sujit emphasised that at that time it was also a rare experience in anyones life among ordinary Thai to have a chance to visit Sipsong Panna.7 Having consulted his seniors and colleagues, explaining to them that this rare opportunity to visit Yunnan would not simply be for his individual travel but also to accompany a group from the Commission of Thai History Investigation (who were also invited by the Yunnan Institute) to explore historical traces and evidence of the history of the Thai race and origin in southwest China, Sujit received great support from his seniors and colleagues. For example, Thai Airways sponsored him with a free return ticket, Bangkok-Beijing, while a domestic flight in China (Beijing-Kunming

structurally dominant. This Thai Race ideology has long been influential in Thai society until recently. For what would later, have been perceived as pioneer works in Lan Na Studies, these kinds of work, thus, on the one hand authored by local scholars, such as Khraisri Nimmanaheminda and Boonchauy Srisawad, on the other hand, these works were written under the popularity of Pan Thai ideology. Boonchauy Srisawads *Thirties Race in Chiang Rai* first published in 1950 and *Thai Sipsong Panna* (2 volumes) published in 1955, or about 5 years later. And just one year later Boonsingh Boonkham, who was the Head officer of Thai governments education units in Chiang Rai, Chiang Tung, and Lan Xang provinces, during World War II, also published his book, *Travels in Chiang Tung and Salawin's Confederation states* (1951). This work evidently was written from his memoirs during wartime, when Chiang Tung, present in Shan state of Burma and Lan Xang, presently Sayaburi district in western Laos, were then belonged to Thailands territory. The point here is that Thais writings on Tai Studies since the beginning initiated and is part of the State ideology. This point will appear more precisely, when we enter to the Cold War periods in upper mainland Southeast Asia.

In 1965, the Tribal Research Centre was established, just a year after Chiang Mai University, the first regional state university in Thailand opened in 1964, and it was known that this was part of Thai-American governments cooperation in fighting with the Communist movement, which at that time popularly surrounded the Thai national territory. Through the Tribal Research Centre and academic exchange programs through CMU, during that periods scholars from American and Australian universities had come to research on Tai and non-Tai peoples in Northern region of Thailand for a decade. Those works, which were written by Peter Hinton, Konrad Kingshill, William Geddes, Lucian Hanks, Donald K. Swearer, Paul T. Cohen, Andrew Turton, Charles F. Keyes, and Jack M. Potters have become the pioneer and prominent works of Tai Studies in Lan Na Culture Area today. To mention just a few, these works included, Michel Moremans Ethnic Identity in a Complex Civilization: Who Are the Lue? (1965), Charles F. Keyess great work on Buddhist Pilgrimage Centers and the Twelve-Year Cycle: Northern Thai Moral Orders in Space and Time (1975), and Donald K. Swearers study on *Wat Haripunjaya* (1976), and David K. Wyatts *Thailand: A Short History* (1984).

While Thai Studies, from outside, helped to expand knowledge boundary about Thailand, in particular to expose and demystify that Thai society is not homogenous but is multicultural. As Thai Studies scholar have

agreed today, Thailand is a multicultural nation, the study of the Thai Race, to search for the Thai origin and reproducing Thai-ness and pan-Thai ideology, by the state officers or government funding has been continued and significantly promoted. This was evident in 1980s when Thai governments Prime Minister Office, through the Commission of Thai History Investigation, supported the Translation project on Tai Studies in China and a study of Tai peoples who lived outside the Thai soils. During this periods we witnessed several Thai publications on Tai Studies which published by Thai government office, for example Li Fujins Note on Sipsong Panna (1984), and Chaocheng Yang and Jang Yuan Chings The Dai Race (1987). Also, a pioneer work on Tai studies on the Tai peoples outside Thailand by a prominent Thai scholar, Banchob Bandhu Medha *Kale Man Tai* (1977), which was supported by Thai government. This Thai government led project nevertheless did not happen in a vacuum, but within the changing contexts of Thailand China diplomatic relation and the initial regional cooperation after the first Cold War period (after 1975) in mainland Southeast Asia (cf. Keyes 2017). Paradoxically, while the Thai scholars and state officers, who worked on Tai Studies, searched for the origin of Thai nation and a promotion of pan Thai ideology, the Chinese communist academics, who must work for the Party, thus, attempted to prevent any threats to their territory and national security, although in a way of academic collaboration. Since the 1980s, at the time, which was just a few years after the end of Cultural Revolution in 1976, Tai/Thai Studies in the upper Mekong region thus became an academic battlefield between Thai and Chinese scholars. Not surprisingly, Sipsong Panna, where China meets Laos and Burma, one among the former four Tai states of the upper Mekong, was such a battle place. As this reflected on the travelling stories to the Lue country in the 1980s, when the region was first opened for visitors and foreigners, after the two silent decades behind the bamboo wall, particularly the Thai and Chinese visitors, as I will discuss for instance, below.

Chiang Hung/Jinghong the battle field on Tai Studies

In the early 1980s, Chiang Hung or Jinghong in Chinese was still relatively isolated from other parts of mainland China, culturally and geographically. There was only one road, from Simao, that all foreign tourists and visitors had to use to make their journeys to this mysterious town in the jungle on the Lancang River. Zheng Lan, a Chinese journalist based in Beijing, for instance, noted in his book, *Travels Through Xishuangbanna: China's Subtropical Home of Many Nationalities* (1981), that a trip to this subtropical paradise

4. New directions on Tai studies in 'Lan Na Culture Area'?

Since the 1980s, the Lue country was initially portrayed by Han writers (Zheng Lan in his publication, for example) as well as by the local government and investors in Xishuangbanna tourism (in their tourist campaigns), as a subtropical paradise, and Chiang Hung/Jinghong was transformed into the centre of this subtropical region in southwest China. Ten years after that, a new iconography was constructed through the erotic images of Dai women, adding another aspect to this borderland, as a site of sexual desire (Evans 2000: 167-170, Hyde 2001, Keyes 1992: 21, 24). This aspect is implicitly and explicitly represented in tourist advertising, catalogues, hotel postcards, and banners which are posted in, around the city, and in the tourist spots around Xishuangbanna. To express his concerns about this paradoxical issue, Grant Evans wrote, interestingly, that :

> *The sexualization of Dai women in the Han imagination can be seen in the ubiquitous imagery of Dai women bathing half-naked in the rivers. …*
>
> *..and when we were in Muang [Ham] in the middle of 1996 we saw a banner stretched across the road saying: 'See women bathing down by the river after 5. p.m.!' We enquired from the local Dai about this and they claimed that it was Han women hired by tourist promoters. (2000: 169)*

In the discourse of development and tourism, the Dai minorities have been presented as uncivilised, backward and undeveloped, and sexualised, symbolically as inferior women in relation to Han at both societal and everyday levels (Gladney 1994, Hyde 2001). Regionally, Lue cultural identity has also been objectified, as Charles F. Keyes (1992) has remarked, so that Lueness in the upper Mekong region has now been transformed into what he calls a marketable identity. Modern development projects in Xishuangbanna in the 1990s have been provocatively interpreted by Hyde as a story of how Jinghong became a city of sex tourism, providing Han Chinese male tourists with a lucrative sex tourist destination (2001: 144).

In her study of HIV/Aids and migrant prostitutes in Xishuangbanna, Hyde demonstrates that Dai women are now constructed and represented as sexual objects in an erotic mythology which is read by Han consumers through a tourist discourse (ibid: 155-161). What the male tourists come to consume in this city, Hyde maintains, are Dai women, although the majority of prostitutes are not Dai but women from Sichuan and Guizhou dressed in Dai clothing to attract Han male customers (ibid: 144).

return) and many rolls of photographic film were given to him by a prominent Thai politician of the time. A group of journalist colleagues in his publishing house gave him some pocket money (ibid: 4-5). Sujits first journey to Jinghong in April 1984 went almost exactly along the same route as Zhang had gone through about six years earlier.[8]

Making their journeys from Beijing to Jinghong in the early period of Chinas open door policy via this route the Chinese and Thai journalists, Zheng and Sujit, both spent about four hours on airplanes and about four hours on the road from Simao (Lan 1978: 2; Sujit 1984: 5-11). While the former arrived in Jinghong on April 11, 1978, the latter reached this small developing town on the west bank of the Mekong six years later late in the afternoon of April 12, 1984.

Most interestingly, these two journalists saw and described their views of this mysterious land differently. Whereas Zheng represented Xishuangbanna in his 1981 publication as a primitive country and a subtropical paradise at the edge of modern China, Sujit approached Sipsong Panna (although in fact he only visited Jinghong and its surrounding areas) as a site for tracing the roots and routes of Thai culture and history. These different ways of seeing were clearly reflected in their accounts of their travels and represented on the covers of the books of these two journalists (see photos below). Intertextually, both Han and Thai similarly looked at Lue country as a mysterious land that had something to be discovered, but in contrasting directions.

Whereas the Chinese journalist pays attention to nature, wildlife, and exotic scenarios, the Thai focuses his interests on local customs, traditions, and familiar cultures.

Zheng's and Sujit's travelling book covers

These different ways of seeing peoples and things in Lue country can also be discovered in accounts by the Thai and Han visitors. In Feng Dongs article, Xishuangbanna Today (1982) and Kraisris letter, Visiting Sipsong Panna (April 16, 1983) for example, the former visited this place in October 1981 and published his article about six months after that (in April 1982). The latter, a prominent scholar of Lan Na Studies, originally wrote his letter in Yunnan during his journey to Xishuangbanna and Kunming with about 30 members of The Siam Society, led by Sulak Sivalak, which included Thai and Westerners, in April 1983, one year earlier than Sujits journey took place.

However, while Sujit used the Bangkok-Beijing air link for his trip to Sipsong Panna, as mentioned above, Kraisri and his colleagues used the Bangkok-Hong Kong connection for their journey to Lue country. In April 1983, The Siam Society group started their expedition by taking a flight to Hong Kong, where they caught a train into mainland China, to Guangzhou, which took about 3 hours. From this capital of Guangdong Province, they travelled by a small airplane for about two and a half hours to Kunming, where they connected with another plane to Simao. From Simao, by bus, they made the tough journey along the mountainous areas along the same road used by the other travellers to the capital town of Xishuangbanna.

International mobility at that time, therefore, was restricted to the elite, and fiercely controlled. From 1978 to the mid 1980s, a lot of foreign tourists, journalists, and visitors, like those consideredabove, mostly invited by Chinese government offices or academic institutions (the group of the Siam Society from Thailand, for example), were welcomed to Xishuangbanna. However, after their arrival very few of them were allowed to move freely. Their trips and visits were limited in both time and place; they were restricted to certain routes and destinations, which had been arranged earlier.

For Sujit and other foreign visitors (about 200 of them from Hong Kong, Japan, and Western countries, as Sujit noted) in April 1984, for example, the few designated places and cultural performances they could visit and observe included the Dai New Year festival on the west bank of the Mekong (north of Jinghong), the New Year fair and cultural activities at Ban Tin Park (then situated outside Jinghong town), Ban Chiang Lahn (located in between the town and Ban Tin) and Ban Gong Laung (about 10 kilometres out of the town to the southwest). These official regulations on routes and destinations imposed on all foreign tourists and visitors to Xishuangbanna at that time were precisely noted by Stanley Oziewicz (1983)9 in the early 1980s;

> *.. even if you get permission to travel to Xishuangbanna, the authorities won't let you drive the [70][10] kilometres to Damenglong [Dai: Muang Long] from Jinghong. The officials claim that the road is too rough, but a better guess might be that even though China has reasonably civil relations with Burma, Damenglong is probably 15 kilometres too close to the frontier.*

Such restrictions contrasted with the permission provided to Chinese citizens, who were mostly journalists, scientists, social scientists, and natural explorers. The trips of these groups of domestic visitors were therefore far wider and longer than those of overseas visitors.

Zheng Lan, as mentioned earlier, who spent two weeks on his first visit to Xishuangbanna in 1978, for example, not only had the chance to visit Jinghong and its surrounding villages of both Dai and other minorities, but also went to Muang Ham and Muang La before returning to Beijing to write his travel book.11 While Feng Dong, another Chinese who visited Xishuangbanna in October 1981, apart from Jinghong and its nearby communities, went to Muang Long to observe the celebration of the finish of the Buddhist lent period. This was the first time (Dong 1982: 80) this tradition had been held for many years as it had been forbidden for a decade during the Cultural Revolution.

These differing travel policies for citizens and non-citizens in rural China until the mid-1980s show how peoples mobility, for both elite and ordinary folks, still really remained a matter for the Chinese state. For the modern nation-state controls on mobility are not simply a means of organising labour, attracting capital, achieving diplomacy, but also of safeguarding national security, particularly the physical mobility of non-citizens from outside its territory, and or perhaps shaping its history (as a nation see also Hsieh 1996)[12].

However, we would emphasise here that the states discursive practices of nation-building which operate almost invisibly through its citizens daily lives, the ways of life and stories that people take for granted, are the most effective ways in which the modern state achieves and maintains its authority. It is a regulating process through the messages and meanings of things and stories which are absorbed into everyday conversations through which the state can best exercise its power to control (to tame, to embrace, to mobilise) its peoples effectively, though not absolutely.[13]

	1989	:	"Ethnicity, Culture and Development Among Some Minorities of the Peoples Republic of China", in *Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups in China*, edited by Chien Chiao and Nicholas Tapp, Hong Kong: New Asia Academic Bulletin, Volume VIII: 1-9.
McCarthy, Susan	2000	:	"Ethno-Religious Mobilisation and Citizenship Discourse in Peoples Republic of China", *Asian Ethnicity*, Vol. 1, No. 2: 107-116.
	2004	:	"Gods of Wealth, Temples of Prosperity: Party-State Participation in the Minority Cultural Revival", *China: An international Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1: 28-52.
McGilvary, Daniel	1912	:	*A half century among the Siamese and the Lao*, New York: F.H. Revell.
Moerman, Michael	1965	:	"Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who are the Lue?", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 67, No. 5 (Part 1): 1215-1230.
	1966	:	"Ban Pings Temple: The Centre of a Loosely Structured Society", Berkeley: Center for Southeast Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Reprinted No. 213.
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	1975	:	"Chiang Khams Trade in the 'Old Days'" in *Change and Persistence in Thai Society*, edited by G. William Skinner and A. Thomas Kirsch, Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 151-171.
Ratanaporn Sethakul	2000	:	"Tai Lue of Sipsongpanna and Muang Nan in the Nineteenth Century", in *Civility and Savagery*, edited by Andrew Turton: 319-329.
Reynolds, Craig J.	1998	:	"Globalisation and Cultural Nationalism in Modern Thailand", in *Southeast Asian identities*, edited by Joel S. Kahn, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies: 115-145.
Siu, Helen F.	1989	:	"Recycling Rituals: Politics and Popular Culture in Contemporary Rural China" in *Unofficial China*, edited by Perry Link, Richard Madsen, and Paul G. Pickowicz, London: Westview Press: 121-137.
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	1997	:	*A History of Laos*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Swearer, Donald K.	1976	:	*Wat Haripuñjaya*, Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press.
Swearer, Donald K. and Sommai Premchit	1978	:	"The Relation between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand" in *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma*, edited by Bardwell L. Smith, PA: Anima Books: 20-33.
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The new campaign and discourse of what we might refer to as Sipsong Panna as the little Thailand is another process that is re-constructing and transforming the image of Xishuangbanna as a whole in the Han tourists imagination. This new project of cultural affiliation and historic connections between the Lue and the Thai is reflected and manifested through everyd aydiscourses, tourist guidebooks, TV ads, and the Han tourists consumption of Thailand T-shirts, for example, which are popularly, distributed in Jinghong city and tourist spots around the prefecture.

Among those who work on Tai/Thai Studies, recently I found that American anthropologist Charles F. Keyes has made a valuable contribution to Tai Studies, in particular the study of peoples in mainland Southeast Asia. Tai Studies or the study of Tai cultures conducted by Keyes (1975, 1992, 2002) has focused in particular on the destiny of the Tai peoples within a historical context, power relations, modernization, and the formation of the modern nation-state. This Weberian approach has inevitably led Keyes to pay attention to the study of the politics of ethnicity. Keyess investigation on the politics of ethnicity is nevertheless selective and tends to be emphasized by his analysis of the state, as the actor, rather than everyday practices mobilized by ordinary peoples. I argue that to continue Keyess legacy on Tai Studies one must pay attention to the study of identity politics and the practice of everyday life. This academic extension not only shows us Keyess contribution (and limitation) to the study of Tai cultures but also an alternative direction of Tai Studies, the study that should pay attention to Tai culture and society under the powerful circumstance of regionalization and the global flows of capital, commodities, people, and information across national borders.

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The Dispersion of the Khamti

B. J. Terwiel

The Khamtis are Shans who, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, lived in and around Mueang Kong [Mogaung] in Upper Burma, a major town in what later became the Kachin State. Three hundred years ago, it was the centre of a Shan principality. From the middle of the seventeenth century onwards the Burmese dominated the region. In 752 A.D., after Alaungpaya ascended the throne, the region was invaded and partly destroyed. Apparently, this was the trigger that caused a large number of Khamtis to migrate almost 300 kilometres northwards, settling in a spacious valley of the Mali River, a tributary of the Irrawaddy, in latitude 27 and 28 degrees north. This valley was situated east of the frontier with Assam. Their region became known to the Assamese as Bor Khamti or Great Khamti Land."[2] In Western sources these are known as the Khamti Long (Tai: also meaning the Great Khamti). Two distinct meanings of the word Khamti were reported in 1890 by the Assistant Political Officer Jack Francis Needham, namely :
"Tied to the Place" and "Golden Locality", and most sources have chosen the latter as the real meaning.[3]

In the Mali River Valley the Khamtis established seven small principalities. Edmund Leach drew all of them on a map: Lonkyein, Manse, and Mannü in the northern part of the valley; Putao in the middle; and Kanglao, Müngyek and Langnu in the south.[4] In the literature there are many variant spellings of these names. Of these settlements, Putao was the most important.[5] At present this is the most northern town of Myanmar, in the Kachin State, with some 60,000 inhabitants.

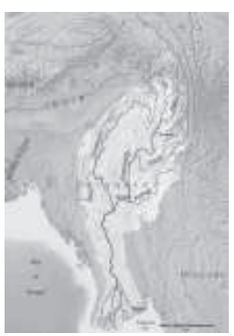

Figure 1: The Mali River can be seen near the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy

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Notes

1. Paper presented at 13th International Conference on Thai Studies, 15-18 July 2017. Chiang Mai. Thailand.
2. The Siamese ruler also brought the Emerald Buddha from Vientiane after he defeated and destroyed this Lan Xangs capital city in the late 18th century. In his new royal palace the Siamese king also build Wat Phrakaew or the Temple of the Emerald Buddha in 1779, to house the Buddhist sacred object, very similarly to what King Chaichetthathiraj had done when he built Ho Pra Kaew in Vientiane in 1559. The King of Lan Xang moved his centre from Luang Prabang, with the Emerald Buddha that he had brought from Chiang Mai the capital of his twin Lan Na kingdom, to establish his new capital in Vientiane.
3. Andrew Walker, personal communication.
4. Captain William Couperus McLeod in March 1837 (The McLeods 1837 journal [CMJ] in Grabowsky and Turton 2003: 370-397), Sir James G. Scott in the 1860s (1936), The French Commission led by Commander de Lag(r)ee in September-October 1867 (de Car(n)e [1872]: 166-209, Garnier [1885]: 47-103), J. Coryton (1875), Lord Lamington (1891), Daniel McGilvary and Robert Irwin in early 1893 (McGilvary 1912), R.G. Woodthorpe (1896, 1897) Fred W. Carey (1899, 1900), and William C. Dodd in 1897, and from the late 1910s to the 1930s (Dodd: 1923: 181-199).
5. Although he had been to Kunming in 1975 with the Thai PM Krukrit Pramoj.
6. My translation.
7. A few months before he received the invitation from the Chinese institute, Sujit himself had actually acquired information about the possibility of travelling to visit Sipsong Panna from Mr. Jia, who had sent an article about this minority region in China to be published by Sujits publishing house. However, he gave up because of complicated processes, he said.
8. Due to the limited flights from Thailand and designated routes from Yunnan to this borderland of modern China, Sujit records that he took a flight from Bangkok up north to Beijing, rather than to Hong Kong. He then took another flight southwards to Kunming, where Mr. Jia came to pick him up. He was accommodated at Cuihu Hotel (Green Lake Hotel) in the city and stayed overnight in this capital of Yunnan. The next day, in the late morning, Sujit and Mr. Jia took a flight from Kunming to Simao. From this city, by car, they travelled through the mountainous areas for about 176 kilometres to the capital town of Xishuangbanna.
9. http://www.theglobeandmail.com.
10. Stanley Oziewicz incorrectly noted that the distance between Jinghong and Muang Long was 110 kms. It is in fact about 70 kms.
11. Perhaps Zheng also went to Muang Long and Muang Hai, as shown through photos of the sites in these two areas in his book. However, he did not mention any trips to these areas in his writing.
12. One can compare this to the United States after the 9/11 tragedy. Although no one really knows what happened or how it changed the U.S Department of Defence and the Department of Foreign affairs, we can still speculate that the national budget and number of security and intelligence staff in this democratic state have since then increased enormously to develop new technologies and mechanisms for regulating and controlling the movement of people, in and out, of this country. The amount of money spent on this may be much more than the GDP of one developing nation in southern Africa.
13. As I have discussed elsewhere, in China, controls on peoples mobility, fixing citizens in certain places (e.g. peasants in the rural areas, minorities in the hinterlands) through the *hukou* system, is one of the most fundamental mechanisms the communist state has used to create and constitute the Chinese nation. Of course, as many scholars have illustrated, a modern state basically needs to create, disseminate, maintain, and transform its nationhood globally in order to construct the nation (Anderson 1991) and to differentiate its national identity from others, both internal and external (Schein 1997, Thongchai 1994, 2000, 2000a). Thus, apart from mobility, other things also have to be policed and regulated by the state.

The old territory of the Hkamti Long lies now in the utmost north of present-day Kachin State. Their main town still is Putao. At present it can only be reached by road during summer (for nationals) but it is accessible year-round by air if there are sufficient tourists to justify a plane. The area around Putao is famous among naturalists for the variety of endemic birds and rare orchids, which grow naturally. Many orchid lovers are especially attracted by the so-called "Black Orchid" that can be found in the mountains east and west of Putao. Hkakabo Razi and other snow-capped mountains are visible from Putao.

During the past two centuries the Khamtis dispersed in several waves from their northern valley. One group moved to Assam, not long after their arrival in Bor Khamti, these are usually known as the Sadiya Khamtis. In 1790 another split occurred among the Khamti Long, a group under the leadership of Tao No Ah sought their fortune on the upper Chindwin (these are sometimes known as Singaling Khamtis).[6] In 1990 the total population of the various groups of Khamti Shans was estimated to be around 70,000, but in 2000 a recalculated figure came to 13,100, of which 4,235 lived in several areas of Myanmar, the rest lived dispersed in Assam.

In this contribution I shall limit myself to the history of the original Khamti Long, and address possible reasons for their wide dispersal.

The Khamti Long :

The first Europeans to visit the Khamti Long were Lieutenants Wilcox[7] and Burlton in 1825.[8] Wilcox's first impressions when entering the valley were most favourable : "…passing through a narrow belt of jungle, we entered on a cultivated plain of a mile or more in width, (to us an Eden!) and were delighted with the appearance at the further end of a nest of comfortable houses."9 He heard that "the capital" was a good day's journey distant. This proved to be anche, and he tells that its inhabitants were at that time at war with the Khamti of "Múng Khamti" (another name for the main settlement Putao). Wilcox notes that various major Khamti settlements were surrounded by a strong palisade. He finds them isolated, surrounded by Singpho [Kachin] tribes.

His report reveals the presence of internecine warfare and mutual aggression, which, he tells us, had endured for the last fifty years, without either side having gained a aterial advantage over the other. If his information is true, this would mean that the Khamti began battling each other soon after finding and conquering the Mali River Valley.

In the late nineteenth century, when explorers were regarded by the romantic public as modern heroes, the Khamti Long were of interest to explorers. A special attraction was the quest to find the source of the Irrawaddy River. Almost sixty years after Wilcox, in 1884-1885, the region was visited by Major C. R. C. Macgregor and Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, in 1892-1893 came J. Errol Gray and finally in 1895 Prince Henry of Orléans, all leaving copious notes of their experiences.

Both Woodthorpe and Macgregor were quick to report their findings. The latter published a lecture he held on December 13th 1886 on his experiences.[14] Arrived at Langnu, he was warned of Singpho robbers and conducted to the "Raja". After an amusing and satisfactory interview, they were shown over the stockade town. They were told that slaves had built the stockade. In a larger stockaded town called "Langdao" they met another "Raja". It was then that messengers of the Lukun, the chief Raja of the Khamtis, invited them to the metropolis at Putao. Ponies were brought, muskets discharged, gongs beaten, banners and gilt umbrellas were waved overhead by an enthusiastic escort…. A *darbar* [reception] was held in their honour, the chief raja sat cross-legged on a curiously carved wooden couch, which was flanked by gilt representations of dragons and covered with a crimson cloth…

The whole valley they estimated to be some 25 miles long and 12 wide, divided into three plateaus: Langnu the most southern, Manche[15] on the northern, Putao in the middle. The number of Khamtis they estimated to exceed 12,000, divided in 13 villages, the chief ones Putao and Manche. The soil of the valley was very fertile, very large crops of rice were grown and stored in excellent granaries.

Macgregor mentions frequent blood feuds between members of different communities, and also that the Khamtis had a lively dread of the surrounding Singphos, The next visitor was. J. Errol Gray, a tea planter from Assam, who spent more than two months in the valley.[16]

On 18 January 1893 Gray had an audience of the Langnu Rajah. He entered the village which was surrounded by a double palisade through a narrow gate. The palisade was from 12 to 14 feet high made of split trees roughly hewn to the shape of planks and interlaced with bamboo plinths. … From the entrance of the gateway to the Rajah's house there was a continuous one plank bridge raised about a foot above the ground, this was to avoid soiling the feet in the muddy dirt caused by the numerous pigs and cattle that roamed about the inside of the stockade enclosure. He noticed that the houses were large commodious structures built on piles 4 to 5 feet above

Wilcox: "Our friends had, but a few months before our arrival, suffered the loss of the larger village Múng Khamti, which had long been their capital, and they informed us that they were now debating measures…".[10] Wilcox also reports that the whole valley, while governed by a local Rajah [a Khamti chief], paid tribute to a resident Burmese "Phokun".[11] What the relationship with the Burmese overlord entailed is illustrated when he writes that a list of all presents that had been given was made so that the chiefs of other Khamti settlements could not accuse them to the Burmese of having received less than their equal share. His Khamti host was also under great apprehension that the Burmese, when informed of this visit by British officers, would suspect him of having invited us over, in order to arrange for the removal of the Khamtis into our own territories.[12] Apparently, the Khamti Long as well as their Burmese overlords had heard that the Sadiya Khamti were closely allied to the British, as an ancillary military force.

The next voyager planning to visit the Khamti Long was T. T. Cooper, the British agent at Bhamo. However, both Cooper's attempts to reach the Mali valley failed. Nevertheless, during 1870, as part of his preparation for one of his expeditions, he lived for some time in a Khamti village near the Assamese town of Sadiya, from where reported some interesting details, not found elsewhere :

> … The Khamtees are divided into innumerable clans, each clan having its own village and chief … each clan is recognised by the pattern of the waist cloths worn by the men. That of Chowsam numbered about forty houses, scattered about without any attempt at regularity. Flooring and walls consist of closely interlaced bamboo work, and the roofs are thatched with grass, the eaves projecting below the level of the floor.
>
> … At either end of every village there is a large house set apart for a singular purpose. At the age of puberty all the girls are sent from the house of their parents to one of these buildings called the House of the Virgins, and reserved entirely for the dwelling-place of unmarried women. From the time that the young girl enters this place she never sleeps anywhere else until married. Rising at daylight in the morning she repairs to the house of her parents, spends the day there assisting in the household duties, and returns to her sleeping place with the other unmarried females at sun-down. As with the girls so with the boys. They occupy the house at the opposite end of the village, and every youth, though he spends the day in the house of his father, at night must return to the bachelor's' sleeping place.

> The Virgins' House is sacred, and no man is supposed to enter there; indeed, the vigilance of the old maids who have outlived the age of romance, prevents any proceeding which might be termed scandalous, and the morality of a Khamtee village is a pleasing contemplation.
>
> … The costume of the men consists of a close-fitting jacket of white cotton, with tight long sleeves rolled up over the wrists, and buttoned down the chest; a piece of checked cotton cloth secured around the waist, and several yards in length, is looped up between the legs, giving somewhat the appearance of Turks' trousers, while a very white strip of cloth is twisted and tied round the head in the shape of a puggaree [a turban], with the ends sticking up over the forehead, the hair being twisted into a knot on the top of the head.[13]

Figure 2: T. T. Cooper, an intrepid explorer

Late 19th Century: Macgregor, Woodthorpe, Gray, and Henry of Frléans

The Khamti Long territory lay so far north (just south of the present Chinese border) that it was beyond the borders of the British Mandalay Division for after the fall of the Konbaung Dynasty in 1885 when the Shan states submitted to British rule it was not brought under direct British rule. Therefore, they lived in a kind of no-man's land.

Figure 4: Frank Kingdon-Ward, Botanist and author (1885-1958)

The botanist and explorer Francis Kingdon Ward presents an even more dismal picture of the descendants of those who conquered the valley several centuries ago:

Conclusions :

Almost all visitors noted the feuding, internecine warfare, incessant fighting, apparently going back to the very moment the Khamti migrated up north around 1750. There seem to be at least four or five factors that contributed to this unfortunate situation. In the first place, when they took control of the valley, the seven settlements each retained an independent chieftain. At no time in their history did they succeed to submit to a central authority.

The incessant internecine conflicts occasionally caused large groups to abandon the Mali valley altogether. This loss of population must have drastically weakened those who remained, leaving them open to incursions and raids from the surrounding hill peoples, who had beendispossessed in the first place.

A third factor, specifically addressed by Errol Gray and Francis Ward is the excessive consumption of opium. During the early nineteenth century the Sadiya Khamtis were also reported to be "very fond of opium".[23]

A fourth aspect is their system of slavery. As T. T. Cooper remarked in 1870: "As slavery is an institution among them, well-to-do Khamtees never labour…" The men strutted about with their sword at their side, having little more to do than hunting game and plotting raids.

the level of the ground, and far superior to the buildings he had seen on the Assam frontier in the villages of either Khamtis or Singphos. The Rajah's house did not differ materially from the others surrounding it, except that it was larger and more solid looking and was raised on higher piles. The approach to the audience chamber was up a very massive flight of stairs made of squared logs; the chamber itself was a room of some 35 to 40 feet wide and 45 to 50 feet in length with a half-dome-shaped roof; it had two large fire-places, in both of which fires were burning. Opposite the door by which he had entered and on the other side of the room there was an enclosed space in which the Rajah's throne was situated. The entrance to this enclosure was by a narrow gate on either side of which were stands containing guns, spears, swords, shields, helmets, and other warlike paraphernalia. The throne was merely a raised dais covered over with a rug on which was embroidered the design of a tiger. … [The Rajah] saw many Khamtis of the Lunkieng caste in his party; this posed a difficulty, because the Lunkiengs were enemies of the Lukkuns….

The disunity among the Khamtis, remarked upon by previous explorers, is elaborated upon in his account in the *Geographical Journal*: "…there is little unity among the Khamtis. They are split up into clans, each caring only for itself. If one village is raided by the Singphos, the neighbouring [Khamti] villages will not help defend it. The Lukkun Rajah, though nominally the ruler of the whole valley, had practically little authority outside his own community.[17] At the village of Lungkieng the headman expressed a wish to go to Assam with his whole village, provided Mr. Gray would take them under his protection, otherwise they dared not go for fear of the Singphos.

In addition Gray noted that every Khamti village had a large extent of poppy cultivation, generally in its immediate vicinity; and that very few Khamtis were abstainers from this drug.[18]

Figure 3: Henri Philippe Marie d'Orléans (1867-1901)

Two years later came Prince Henry d'Orléans, well-known for his earlier intrepid voyaging in Mainland Southeast Asia. When he first saw the Khamti Long valley in 1895, like his predecessors, he was favourably impressed :

> …As far as the eye could reach stretched rice-fields, yellow as the plains of Lombardy. A splendid territory, fertile in soil, and abundant in water, where tropical and temperate culture flourish side by side, and the inhabitants are protected on three fronts by mountains. That they are fairly opulent was to be assumed from the silver bracelets of the children and the small silver coins used as buttons. Indeed, nothing would appear to be lacking to the happiness of the people of Khamti….[19]
>
> …The outskirts of the town were occupied by fenced rectangular gardens, in which chiefly women were hoeing; the soil looked extremely rich and well tended. Between them and the village were rows of small bamboo rice granaries on piles about 3 feet from the ground. Passing them we came to the enceinte, which consisted of a stockade made of wattled bamboos 12 feet high, supported on the inner face by an embankment. This palisade was armed at one-third and again at two-thirds of its height by projecting sharpened stakes like *chevaux de frises*. It was pierced by narrow entrances closed by a gate formed in most cases of a solid baulk of timber.
>
> Once inside, the detached houses did not admit of streets; but in all directions ran narrow plank causeways a foot or so from earth, necessary in the rains. The roofs were thatched and sloping, with a conical excrescence at either end, and in the centre a small gable like a bonnet, that allowed light to enter and smoke to escape. At one extremity of the building was an open platform under the eaves, which admitted more light horizontally. Each dwelling ran from 80 to 130 feet in length, and was erected on piles, which formed commodious pens underneath for the
>
> livestock. The whole village was arranged on a system of parallels. From one point of view, with screens hiding the foundation posts, the place seemed a conglomeration of circular huts or big molehills as one sees in Africa. With their thatch they gave me the illusion at a distance of some herd of hairy mammoths, arrested in their course by a sudden paralysis of nature.

> The palace dominated the rest of the village, and was surrounded by small gardens within a paling. Save in point of size, it was very similar to the other domiciles, but had a second roof with two dragons carved in wood at the corners. We were ushered into a spacious hall beside the terrace. Tall wooden columns 27 feet high ran up to the roof, and the chamber was shut off from the rest of the house by a bamboo partition, on which were hung black Hindu bucklers studded
>
> with gold and some lances. The beams were decorated with figures of tigers and monkeys painted red, and on the lower parts of the pillars were fastened horns of animals draped with strips of calico of bright hues. In rear of this fringe stood the royal throne. It was made of a long chest, on the front panel of which was depicted a cavalcade of gods or warriors, mounted on strange beasts, evidently of Hindu design. On either side of its base twin serpents reared their heads slightly in advance of a grotesque squatting wooden effigy, in whose hands were a sword and a lance. Behind, a trophy of flint- and match-locks was arranged…[20]

Early Twentieth Century Visitors : Pritchard and Kingdom Ward

It was in 1912 that a visit by Captain B.E.A. Pritchard took place. He arrived on 27 March 1912 in the Khamti village Kan Kiu. Pritchard's comments are more differentiated than most casual observers :

> p. 533: "The Hkamti Shans and their country have been eulogized by most travellers, who have naturally been delighted with a people so civilized, after journeys where Kachins, Kahnungs, and Lisus have been met with, while the country is a land 'flowing with milk and honey' compared to the more or less barren land one traverses to reach it. But, regarded as a remnant of the once great and powerful Tai kingdom, the people do not impress one so favourably. They are a decaying race, and the country might produce much more and a much greater variety of crops than it does. The 'great gold land' is indeed a fertile one, with great possibilities. What it most requires is a population…..
>
> an examination of the history of the Shan race will reveal the fact that their present marked characteristic, a social disruptive tendency, has always been their weak point…
>
> p. 534: …to throw light on the present situation at Hkamti Long. Its seven *sauhpas* are in constant disagreement with one another; and the feuds which arise from this cause are bound, sooner or later, to effect the disruption of the state of Hkamti Long.[21]

The Meaning of 'History' or 'Past'
Understanding Tai-Lue Cultural Revival Movement

Yuji Baba

1. Introduction

Until now, I have studied the culture and society of the Tai-Lue people, a branch of the Tai-speaking group, which is dispersed across mainland Southeast Asia. Tai-lue formed the Sipsong Panna chiefdom in Southwestern China, now in Yunnan province. Most of the Tai-Lue in Northern Thailand migrated from Sipsong Panna, their original place, in the nineteenth century. Since the migration, they have assimilated with their neighboring Tai groups, especially the Tai-Yuan, the majority group of Northern Thailand, who share linguistic and cultural similarities.

I have continued to conduct research especially in three Tai-Lue villages (N, T and D) in The Thawangpha district, Nan province of Northern Thailand. The original place of the Tai-Lue of these villages is Muang La in Sipsong Panna.

My main concern in researching Tai-Lue culture is the guardian spirit ritual, which is called *Chao Luong Muong La*. Since they migrated to Thawangpha, they have celebrated this ritual together for a period of three days every three years. At the ritual, they celebrate several guardian spirits who constitute the pantheon of *Chao Luong Muong La,* the chief spirits. It used to be held at the ritual site situated in N village.

In this paper, first I focus on the way of expression of their migration history in the changing process of the guardian spirit ritual in the 90's in these three Tai Lue villages, and then focus on the case of N village, I refer to the role of guardian spirit *Choo Luong Muong La* as their historical symbol in the mutual aid networks of the villagers living within and outside the village, and examine the meaning of their "History" or "Past" for maintaining their community[1.]

2. Changing ritual and the way of expression of "History"

This guardian spirit ritual in Tai-Lue villages has undergone changes, particularly since the Movement for Cultural Revival, connected with the rural development program started in the early 1990s. In 1990, the ritual was enlarged to promote it amongst outsiders including tourists, and by school

The fifth factor may well be the most important one. Repeatedly we read about the existence of clans among the Khamti. Cooper stated that each clan had its own village and chief. What Cooper and other observers failed to note, is that these were strictly exogamous patrilineal clans, and that, when a group hived off, it concerned a whole clan. The first group to leave the Mali River area to settle near Sadiya were the Namsuum clan, the second were Chaophuu. Altogether there are some fifty or sixty Khamti clan names.[24] Three of them, the Lukkun, the Manche and Lungkhien were reported to be identical with a Khamti settlement. The fact that all males in a settlement were prohibited to marry women in their village may well help explain the existence of a young women's house at one end of the village and a young men's house at the other end. The strict exogamy may have led to raids and abductions, which in turn would cause long-term animosity and grudges. But our ethnographic data are too shallow to make a firm conclusion as to the validity of this fifth aspect.

We have examined the history of an unusual group of Shans, who have often been depicted as living in a kind of isolated Eden. A closer look has shown a less than ideal reality. If we have come closer to understanding why whole clans decided to move and disperse, many of these across the border region to Assam, the chief purpose of this lecture has been achieved.[25]

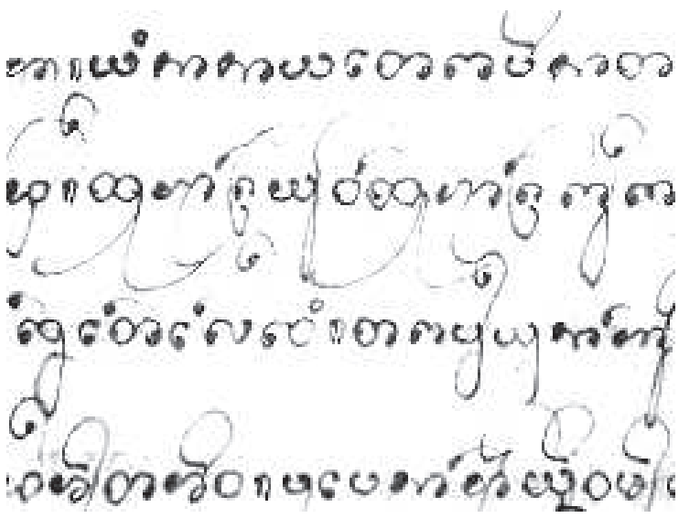

Figure 5: A sample of the Khamti script

Notes and references

1. In this contribution, to avoid confusion, the alternative spelling Hkamti has been avoided, except in direct quotations.
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3. J. Needham, *Outline Grammar of the Khamti Language…*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, 1894, p. i.
4. E. R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, 1954, p. 33.
5. Sai Aung Tun says that the name is pronounced by the Khamti as "Pu Taung", the name of a pious old Shan who led his people to settle in the region. Sai Aung Tun, "The Khamti (Tai) Settlement in Khamti Long", *Indian Journal of Tai Studies*, Vol. 4, 2004, p. 14.
6. Sai Aung Tun, "The Khamti (Tai) Settlement in Khamti Long", p. 18.
7. Richard Wilcox (1802-1848) was trained as surveyor. In 1829 he was recruited to take part in the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (in 1831, then aged 29, he was nominated as Deputy Surveyor-General, but eventually the post was given to an older man). In 1835 the Nawab of the princely state of Awadh appointed him as head of the Lucknow Observatory, which he built out with great success. One year after his untimely death in 1848 the observatory was closed.
8. First extracts were published in the *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, 7, 1827, pp. 63-68. 'Abstract of the Journal of the Proceedings of Lieutenant Wilcox, now engaged in a Survey of the North-east of Assam' *Edinburgh Journal of Science*, 7, 1827, pp. 63-68. The full account by Wilcox is called: 'Survey of Asam and the Neighbouring Countries, executed in 1825-6-7-8', *Asiatic Researches*, 17, (1832) pp. 314-469.
9. 'Survey of Asam', pp. 430-431.
10. *Ibid*., p. 435.
11. The Burmese king Bagyidaw (r. 1819-1837) had sent an expedition to the area in order to ensure that the Khamti sent tribute. Sai Aung Tun, *op. cit*., p. 16.
12. 'Survey of Asam', p. 447.
13. Thomas Thornville Cooper, *The Mishmee Hills; an Account of a journey made in an attempt to penetrate Thibet from Assam to open up new routes for commerce*, London: H.S. King & Co, 1873, pp. 146-149. Cooper was murdered in 1878 (by a soldier in his own guard).
14. The first notice was published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 7, No.8 (Aug., 1885), pp. 541-542. Robert Gosset Woodthorpe published "The Country of the Shans" in the *Geographical Journal*, 7, no.6, June 1896, pp. 577-602. More details can be found in C. R. Macgregor, "Journey of the Expedition under Colonel Woodthorpe, R. E. from Upper Assam to the Irawadi, and return over the Patkoi Range", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 9, 1, January 1887, pp. 19-42. See also C. Macgregor, Rough Notes on the traditions, customs etc. of the Singphos and Khamptis, *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 7, 1894, pp. 172-174
15. Woodthorpe writes Manchi, but we have standardized the name to Manche.
16. His experiences are published in *Diary of a Journey to the Bor Khamti Country and sources of the Irawadi, made by Mr. J. Errol Gray, season 1892-93, from Assam*. G.C. Press, 1893 and in 'Mr. Errol Gray's Journey from Assam to the Sources of the Irawadi', *Geographical Journal*, Vol 3 No 3 March 1894, pp. 221-228.
17. 'Mr. Errol Gray's Journey', pp. 226-227.
18. Ibid., p. 226

19. Henry d'Orléans, *From Tonkin to India by the Sources of the Irawady, January '95-January '96* (Transl. Hamlet Bent) (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company), 1898, p. 311. His account of his stay with the Khamtis runs to p. 327.
20. Ibid., pp. 315-316.
21. B. E. A. Pritchard: "A Journey from Myitkyina to Sadiya via the N'mai Hka and Hkamti Long", *The Geographical Journal*, 43, No 5, May 1914, pp. 521-535
22. Francis Kingdon Ward, *In farthest Burma: the record of an arduous journey of exploration and research through the unknown frontier territory of Burma and Tibet*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, and London: Seeley, Service & Co, 1921, p. 232. Ward is the only visitor mentioning the conversion to Buddhism (pp. 236-237): … about the year 1860… a Buddhist priest came from Burma and converted the Shans of the Hukong valley to Buddhism… and the Hkamti Shans did likewise. Therefore we find many pagodas, all overgrown with trees, at Putao, some on the outskirts of the villages, others standing aloof in the paddy fields.
23. As reported by R. M. Lahiri, *The Annexation of Assam*, Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1975, p. 37, citing Captain Jenkins.
24. Details of the use of clan names among the Ahom, the Khamyang, Phakey and Khamti can be found in B. J. Terwiel, *The Tai of Assam and Ancient Tai Ritua*l, Vol 1 Life-Cycle Rituals, Gaya: Centre for South East Asian Studies, 1980, pp. 48-50.
25. In 1980 I had the opportunity to visit a Khamti community in North Lakhimpur (Assam). An account of that visit could be the topic of a future contribution.

communities had led to a loss of their function of transmitting tradition. Under these circumstances, village museum construction became a boom all over the country to transmit the traditional culture. Three Tai Lue villages built their own museums as well (Chart 1). Most of them are restored traditional style houses. The museum of N village was built earliest among them. Not only these Tai Lue villages but Tai Puan village (F village) and Keun village (NM village) in Pakha sub-district in Thawangpha built a village museum too[6]. These are also movements of stressing community identity connected to the rural development policy. "Being Lue" as a strategic label at the village level is placed in this cultural revival movement[7].

Chart 1 : Village Folk Museums in three Tai Lue villages in Thawangpa

	N		D	T
1	1984~1992	Folk Musium	1999 Folk Musium and Guest House Folk Musium and	1997 Folk Museum
2	2002~	Folk Musium	2008 Guest House	
3	2007~	Folk Musium and Guest House		

Recently there are many migrants from N village who live in other provinces for work or schooling, and the guardian spirit ritual is one of the few occasions when villagers who live in other provinces come back to their birth place. The villagers who live in other provinces make sure they are recognized as members of N village by joining the activities of the ritual.

The increase of migrants from N village made the networks of mutual aid via their relatedness (personalized and dispersed networks of family, friends and kin) (Carsten 1997) for the local people extend to outside the village as an administrative unit [(8)]. Most of the villagers living both inside and outside of the village connecting these mutual aid networks feel a sense of belonging to the village and express communal sentiment by sharing the community symbol, the guardian spirit *Chao Luong Muong La*, which commemorates their original place. It forms the network community of N village[9].

It can be seen that the mutual aid networks have a vague outskirt. The ratio to come in contact with the village of the migrants from N village varies. Some migrants feel the sense of belonging to the village but some lack it,

teachers who visited their origins, Muang La. But only N village, which led the enlargement of the ritual, benefited from it. Therefore, a psychological conflict occurred between N village and D village. D village could not benefit from the enlargement of the ritual even though the village plays an important role in the ritual: the descendants of the chief of their origins, Muang La, and many of the spirits comprising the pantheon of *Chao Luong Muong La*, live in D village. In 1996, the ritual site split into two separate places, N village and 0 village. T village joins the ritual held in N village.

Through the changing process of the ritual, various historical monuments have appeared, such as the statue of *Chao Luong Muong La* (N village, 1984), the spirit shrine of *Chao Luong Anu Pharp* (D village, 1991), the shrine of *Chao Luong Muong La* (D village, 1996), the portrait of *Chao Luong Anu Pharp* (D village, 1996), the statue of *Chao Luong Muong La* riding a horse (D village, 2000), the statue of *Chao Luong Anu Pharp* (D village, 2014) and the statue of *Don Phutom* (T village, 2011)[2].

These monuments commemorate two historical heroes, *Chao Luong Muong La* and *Chao Luong Anupharp*. They do not appear in the old documents which describe historical events, but exist through memory in Tai Lue villages. *Chao Luong Munag La* is a guardian spirit for the three villages, and is said to be the chief of Muang La and to have died on the battle field. *Chao Luong Anupharp* is said to have been the leader of the Tai Lue when they migrated to Thawangpha.

In 1984, the statue of *Chao Luang Muang La*, the chief spirit, was erected at the ritual site in N village, instead of the original spirit shrine with a red roof. At that time, a commemorative document was published. It includes the history of the Tai Lue migration translated from an old written document in Tai Lue script into modern Thai (Pechun 1994, pp.9-12). This old written document was found in N village and describes the migration history from Muang la, Sipsong Panna to Muang La. In this translated version, it is mentioned that N village was the first settlers' village. In the end, it mentions that D village and T village separated from N village, and that WP village (now in Chiang Kham district in Phayao province) also separated from N village. However, this part is not found in the old written document at all.

However, D villagers claim that D village was the first settlers' village for the following reason: the legend of *Chao Luang Anupharp*, who is said to have been the leader of the Tai Lue and who lived in D village when they migrated to Thawangpha, exists in D village. According to this legend, his residence was in the territory of D village and his lands were in D village and

T village. N village and D village both claim to be the first to be settled, and express their migration history each from their own standpoint. The construction of *Chao Luang Muang La's* statue, and the migration history translated into modern Thai in the commemorative publication are one of the claims of history by N village. In addition, many historical monuments, which appeared one after another in D village, are part of their opposing movement. The construction of the spirit shrine of *Chao Luang Anupharp* was D Village's first movement toward cultural independence from N village, using their own historical hero. After the ritual splitting, D villagers constructed the shrine and the statue of *Chao Luang Muang La.* Then, they succeeded in establishing their own historical hero separate from that of N village.

There is a story of *Chao Luang Anupharp* in D village. In olden times, *Chao Luang Anupharp* killed many villagers, so D village is not rich, and never will be so because of the effect of his karma. One day, one young boy of D village, who worked in Bangkok, said that a fortuneteller told him how to solve the poverty problem of D village. The fortuneteller said that a special shrine of *Chao Luong Anupharp* must be built to subdue his wandering soul.

Although the two heroes are Tai Lue historical heroes, this movement of constructing monuments through village-development competition shows the unity of building a village identity more than a Tai Lue identity.

Which is the first settler, N village or D village? What is the historical fact? Here, I try to examine the question using historical evidence. Actually, Dvillage may be the first settlers' village for the following reasons:

1. According to the legend of *Chao Luong Anupharp* in D village, his residence was in the territory of D village, and his lands were in D village and T village. There are villagers in D village who inherited the lands of *Chao Luong Anupharp.*
2. Before the Tai Lue settled in the Thawangpha basin, there were Burmese temples called Wat Man. The ruins of the temples were in T village and near D village. Before the Tai Lue migrated to Thawangpha, this area was ruled by the Burmese as were other parts of Northern Thailand. So it can be said that people had lived in the surroundings of D and T villages before the Tai Lue migrated to Thawangpha.
3. In the surrounding area of N village, the course of the Nan River winds among many swamps and traces of old watercourses. It shows that this area is floodable.

Taking into consideration the three points mentioned above, it is more likely that N village was settled after D village.

This is the historical reconstruction of the Tai Lue migration from a historian's perspective, but the Tai Lue people themselves don't care and are not interested in such an explanation, and historical facts are irrelevant to them. They claim another history that has been memorized, interpreted and passed on from their own standpoint as mentioned before [3].

3. Community Identity and "History"

Now a days the culture of Tai-Lue villages is assimilated into the culture of the Tai-Yuan, the majority people of Northern Thailand, and influenced by the national culture. The villagers do not need to care whether they are Tai-Lue or not in their daily life. The purpose of stressing a special feature of the village is for differentiating it from other villages. "Being Lue" is no longer ethnic identity at the individual level in daily life, but a strategic label at the village level.

The meaning of the historical symbol of N village, *Chao Luang Muang La* has changed during recent decades. It was the symbol of historical memory of migration from Sipsong Panna, but now it is the symbol of a community label differentiating it from other villages in the context of rural development competition rather than the consciousness of connecting with their original place. Although they still keep the memory of their migration history, now they don't care aboutTai Lue authenticity such as expressed in the performance at the guardian spirit ritual (Baba 2011)[4], and don't care about historical truth with evidence in the meaning of historical studies as mentioned before.

The pantheon of *Chao Lang Muang La* consists of many spirits under the control of the main spirit, *Chao Lang Muang La.* It recounts the story of the army troop who escaped from the original place. The villagers inherited some spirits of the pantheon as their ancestral spirits along both paternal and maternal lines, so each villager connected as the spirit as a member of the imagined army troop which commemorates their migration history from Sipsong Panna. However, through the changing process of this ritual during the 90's, young people were less particular about their own guardian spirit, and some of them do not even know their own spirit.

In the 1990s, the government promoted cultural decentralization as part of its broader policy of democratization, and declared that local wisdom was to be considered as significant part of the "National Culture." Government officials and some intellectuals claimed that the disruption of traditional

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I focused on the cases in which "history" or "past" become a subject. Through the case of the conflict between N village and 0 village, I pointed out that there are different interpretations of their migration history depending on the village. It aims to establish community identity by narrating their migration history from their viewpoint. Through the case of the friction between N village and BMT, I pointed out the difference of characteristic of community, the community which makes much account of the past to maintain the connection of villagers and the community which transcended time without feelings toward a past. In the cases which I describe in this paper, there are many viewpoints of history or past: the historian's viewpoint vs. indigenous people's view point, villagers' viewpoint vs. official viewpoint. Here I emphasize what is the reality of history or what is the role of consciousness of a past for villagers.

The symbol of community, *Chao Luong Muong La* who has the legend of migration has meaning as the symbol of community; "village" as the administrative unit in the context of rural development, on the other hand, means the pivot of the mutual aid networks which give the villagers communal sentiment, which can be called the network community.

For the villagers, the mutual aid networks are important in daily life, so they might feel the reality of history in *Chao Luong Muong La* as the pivot of the mutual aid networks, and by this, as far as it exists, they can keep the sentiment of belonging to the village.

Chao Luong Muong La with the several Tai lue traditional cultures continues to exist by the cultural revivalism as the part of the rural development policy, and by this, continues to be the
pivot of the mutual aid network functioning in an everyday life. In this way, their consciousness of the "past" is in the policy and daily life which cross each other.

In N village, the mutual aid networks beyond the "village" as an administrative unit are formed by the increase of villagers going out to other areas, including the city. While the guardian spirit *Chao Luong Muong La* brings the communal sentiment to villagers who attend these mutual aid networks, there are the people who are losing the Tai lue consciousness and sentiment of belonging to N village at the periphery of these mutual aid networks. They don't care about the history of migration from Sipsong Panna so much either and are losing such historical consciousness. This is also the fluctuation of the people in the continuity of urban area and rural area.

and there are some who don't contact N village so much, so their historical consciousness about Tai Lue migration also varies depending on the ratio to come in contact with the village.

On the other hand, the government tried to use family and community as an unofficial social protection mechanism to keep social security after the Economic Crisis. However, they ignored such mutual aid networks not only for villagers inside but also for those outside the village, who often returned to the village. It is beyond the community as a bounded territory and an administrative unit, and is a local inherent security system which is different from the security system encouraged by government policy. When they stress the community identity as rural development strategy, it is based on the village as an administrative unit.

In the 90's, each of the three Tai Lue villages stressed their traditional culture by cultural revivalism as rural development policy to differentiate from other villages as mentioned before. They perform Tai Lue cultural performance on many occasions such as the guardian spirit ritual.
The label ofTal Lue indicates constructing community identity as they lose Tai Lue consciousness in daily life.

In the late 90's, In Nan province and Thawangpha district, the Cultural Counsel of Province and District tried to reform the culture through the movement of preserving local wisdom as mentioned before, and tried to seek the advice of the" elderly familiar with traditional culture. Through this process, some selected elderly got a role for transmitting traditional knowledge to the next generation, but the ordinary elderly was marginalized[10.]

Through the movement of cultural revivalism, the Tai Lue villagers constructed a community identity using their migration history, but it is different from the historical consciousness of the individual. The ordinary people don't care about transmitting tradition to the next generation in daily life. *Chao Luang Muang La* who has the legend of migration gives the N villagers the communal sentiment in their mutual aid networks. For them, mutual aid networks are important in daily life, so they might feel the reality of history in *Chao Luang Muang La* as the pivot of the mutual aid networks, and by this, as far as it exists, they can keep the sentiment of belonging to the village. That's why without *Chao Luang Muang La*, the mutual aid networks cannot survive.

4. Friction between BMT and N village

To examine the relationship between village history and the characteristics of village further, I will describe the opposition between N village and the new religious group which appeared recently near N village.

This new religious group called BMT which built a pagoda and practices Buddhistic austerities appeared on the hill behind N village from around 2010[11]. Many believers who gather in these ascetic practice grounds are mainly from the big cities such as Bangkok or Chiang Mai. Most of them have a dissatisfaction with city life. The believers observe the five precepts of Buddhism, wear white clothing and routinely perform introspective meditation. In addition, the donation for huge pagoda construction is one of the important activities, mostly by believers from big cities such as Bangkok and Chiang Mai who belong to the relatively rich middle class.

More than 20 households of believers of BMT have established an original community inside N village. As for the land of this community which BMT borrowed from the government for ascetic practice ground for believers including the outside monks has not been registered because of the lack of an agreement formation with the local people that is necessary. Their borrowing land has been taken up as a problem, and opposition between BMTand N village continues now. As for this opposition, a problem of the land becomes the focus officially, but there is a true reason to make it an inveterate one.

BMT required the house number registration for making the believers to be the villagers of N village. Their house number registration was accepted by N village in the early days, but as the population ratio of the BMT believers in the N village became higher, N villagers began to fear for the possibility that the sovereignty of the village had been robbed by BMT. In the BMT community, a farm and a nursing facility were established apart from ascetic practices ground as if the independent village, and their life style and activity that are different from the life of the N village recall a rumor of water pollution. In addition, BMT does not accept the culture of the N village, particularly an animal sacrificial ceremony to be carried out in *Chao Luong Muong La* ritual because it is against their religious precepts of non-killing. BMT criticized the customs of N village as "we also violated religious precepts including drinking and the animal killing in the old days, but could stop it by ascetic practices". Their criticism made N villagers angry, and the negotiations broke down[12].

Most of the believers of BMT have several personal problems in their city life and might lose a place of belonging. On the other hand, the monk K who is vice-abbot of N temple, and is a high school principal for novices in T village, located on the opposite side of N village across the Nan River, began the original educational program mainly with organic farming from 2013 for the personnel training that could engage in agriculture after laicization in this area. This educational program is an activity for helping people to establish a place of belonging in this area[13]. The monk K aims to make a system in which people can live enough inside of the village to evade the crisis of survival of the village. It is also a trial to secure a place of belonging for Yuji Baba Kyoto Bunkyo Universityvillagers.

The guardian spirit who expresses "the past", the history of their migration is the symbol of the network and plays a key role of connection. The tradition of the Tai Lue culture is attempting to perpetuate in their recent cultural revival movement but the desire to such future converts to uneasiness by crisis of continuation of the village caused by the decline of agriculture. The organic farming curriculum of the monk K is in the trial that is going to break off this situation.

BMT is the community which transcended time without feelings toward a "past", which assume religious precepts and pagoda erection. The opposition with BMT and N village which refers to "the past" as traditional culture depends on the difference in characteristics of such a community. Religious precepts and a pagoda are important to BMT which is the transcended time community subsuming various people, so the "traditional culture" of N village is not within their interest. That is why they downplay "traditional culture" of the N village and do not accept it. Not only that, they criticize the life of N village itself as not based on religious precepts and do not accept its value.

Through the friction with BMT, the people of N village noticed again the importance of keeping their traditional culture. They continue to promote their traditional products such as clothes and dance and music actively in recent events held by the sub-district government. The new religion that subsumed the people escaped from the city has caused trouble with N village. Their criticism of the ritual of *Chao Luong Muong La* gives a sense of impending crisis for the existence of the mutual aid networks for N villagers. At the same time as trial and error of the regional revitalization through agriculture is accomplished in order to prevent the city outflow of the villagers, and to subsume people to return to the farm. The fluctuation of people in the continuity of urban area and rural areas is reflected here.

The Comparative Method in the study of the Ahom manuscripts

Poppy Gogoi

1. Introduction

A scientific study of Ahom has become very important in order to have a proper understanding of the ancient Ahom manuscripts. And since it is no longer a spoken language anymore, a comparative study of related languages can be a useful method in deciphering the Ahom texts. The comparative method is one of the effective methods for the study of related languages in the field of historical linguistics[1] and it can be very useful in the study of the Ahom manuscripts. To present this view, this paper aims to show how the comparative method can be a useful tool in the study of dead languages with reference to Ahom. This discussion is thus carried out in the following sections. In section 2, an overview of the comparative method along with two other methods used in the diachronic study of languages is given, section 3 then discusses the relevance of the comparative method in the study of Tai languages. Section 4, discusses the advantages of the comparative method over the other two methods i.e., the Internal Reconstruction and Dixons Areal Diffusion. This is further supported by the case study of Ahom. Section 5 finally provides a conclusion of the whole paper.

2. Different approaches to Historical Linguistics

There have been many methods in historical linguistics for the study of languages in different periods of time. In this paper, however, I have chosen three of the methods which have played a significant role in the study of languages. These methods being- the Comparative method, the Internal Reconstruction method and Dixons Punctuated Equilibrium of areal diffusion.

2.1 The Comparative Method

The comparative method looks for systematic correspondences in identifying genetic links among languages. The genetic links can be phonological, morphological as well as syntactic correspondences. In other words, relatedness between languages is established on the basis of a comparison of words, grammatical structures or morphological or

In the movement of transmitting the traditional culture to the next generation in the context of the cultural revival movement, the elderly tends to be more positive for the traditional succession than the young generation. The life of the individual is now different from olden times, and the movement of the next generation is not sure.

Notes

1. This paper is based mainly on my former papers (Baba 2009, 2014, 2015).
2. *Don Phutom* is a guardian spirit for T village and its neighboring villages. He is the leader of another Tai Lue group who migrated from Pua area, situated in the north of Thawangpa. The construction of the statue of *Don Phutom* was performed in the original cultural revivalism of T village.
3. Nowadays, most people cannot understand the written documents of their history in Tai Lue script. In the changing process of the ritual, the new media such as translation into modern Thai and the historical monuments appeared, and the old written documents were marginalized. Through these media, it became easier for ordinary people to understand the knowledge of the ritual and the history of their migration. These new media planned by the leaders of rural development are the sources of history which have been interpreted in the context of rural development.
   Chusak also pays attention to this event and focuses on the aspect of the natural resource struggle between and D village and point outs “Politics of resources is politics of the culture” (Chusak 2003, p.l64)
4. In the *Chao Luong Muong La* ritual. the elderly Northern Thai traditional music group and young people’s Northern Thai traditional music group play Northern Thai traditional music but not Tal-Lue traditional music. In the night stage show, several performing arts which are not related to tradition are performed. These express the idea that the performing arts in the guardian spirit ritual are never compelled to keep traditional Tai-Lue style (Baba 2011).
5. The Community Culture School led by Chattip Natsupha is based on this idea (Chattip 1991).
6. D village belongs to Siphum sub-district, Thawangpha district.
7. Some village museums are not only for transmitting traditional culture but also for providing a guest house for tourists (Chart 1).
8. People who contact these mutual aid networks are not limited to Tai Lue people because of increasing inter-marriage with non-Tai Lue people.
9. Walker proposes the concept of “Tai Modern Community”, which is relevant to the case of theTai Lue in this paper. “Tai Modern Community” is not a bounded territorial unit but rather an unbounded network that has communal sentiment, and which is not opposed to state power and a market economy (Walker 2011).
10. ln this process, in N village, the marginalized ordinary elderly found new activities in the’ ritual and other occasions in the village. Although the elderly, except the selected elderly by cultural policy, lost the role of transmitting the traditional way of life to the next generation, they got a new role and formed the culture of elderly separated from young generation. It might be a grass roots cultural revivalism which is different from official cultural revivalism.
11. Supreme God *Po Phu* is situated above Buddha, and the portraits of people with various powers including King *Naresuon*, King *Thaksin*, Rama the Fifth and the pictures of monks with fame such as *Budda Dasa* are put on the altar, and the Goddess of Mercy images are

built in the precincts, and there is a display of photographs expressing supernatural phenomena. It appears to be an original religious world that differs from that of the ordinary Buddhist temple.

12. This event occurred at the meeting for the N villagers and the believers of BMT in 2015.3. I joined this meeting and observed this event directly.
13. However, because it was difficult to train a farmer immediately, he changed his education policy as follows: novice students learn for the ability of life including learning of organic farming methods; after graduation, each can choose their favorite occupation regardless of the inside and outside of the village, if in doing so, after getting old they can come back to the village to be farmers. Learning organic farming methods can apply various subjects such as mathematics, science, and culture at the same time, so if they learn farming methods they can acquire the power for living.

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4.2.1 Internal Reconstruction: Internal Reconstruction as mentioned above aims at arriving in conclusions by comparing features within the language under observation itself. But, it may not be of much importance in the study of Ahom. The first and foremost reason being, Ahom is no longer a spoken language to trace back the changes that must have occurred in the language. Only written texts of Ahom are available and since Ahoms had the tradition of scribing or copying manuscripts to pass on the texts from one generation to another, it is very difficult to encounter any change that must have happening in the language. Further, even if, minor graphemic variations may occur, it is not possible to account whether the change is real or just an error committed by the scriber. However, from personal work on the translation of the manuscripts such variations are very rare to find.

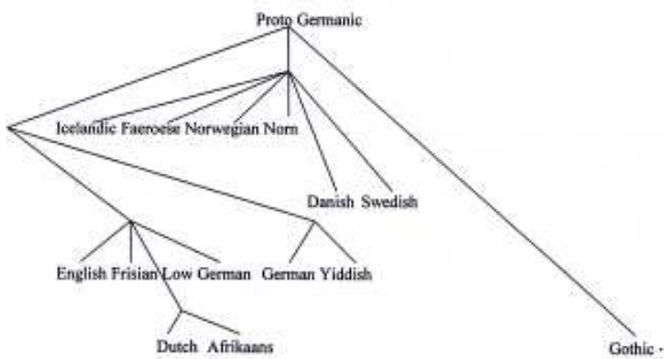
4.2.2 Dixons Punctuated Equilibrium: The reason for Dixons punctuated equilibrium for not being of much relevance in the study of Ahom is almost same as the internal reconstruction method. It is possible to make observations on language diffusion only when the language is still a spoken language. According to Dixons state of linguistic equilibrium, no one language (or dialect of a language) would have any extended period of prestige (Dixon, 1997) and that there will be diffusion of linguistic properties leading to languages becoming more and more similar.

In contrast to Dixons state of linguistic equilibrium, Ahom was established as the standard language after Ahom kingdom was established in the Brahmaputra valley in Assam. This is evident from the wide range of Tai Ahom manuscripts available which have historical accounts of various events or happenings in the Ahom period. All these manuscripts are written in Ahom script. The most relevant of these manuscripts being the Ahom lexicons Bar Amra and Loti Amra which are Ahom to Assamese dictionaries written in the Ahom script Thus, it shows that the Ahom language held more prestige than the other languages, mainly Assamese which is presently the standard language of Assam. And towards the end of the Ahom reign, Ahom ceased to be spoken gradually and all the Ahom speakers took up Assamese as their mother tongue. In such an instance, the theory language diffusion does not appear to be helpful as one language became totally extinct after being taken over by the other contact language and that there are no proper records of the transition stage from one language to another.

Lastly, Dixon and others argue that later diffusion obscures genetic relationships and invalidates the comparative method and the family tree

phonological features. Languages having shared features are very likely to be members of the same language family.

The Tree Model: Language Family Trees are always associated with the comparative method. The tree model was first introduced by the German linguist August Schleicher in the middle of the 19th century. It helps us to examine the relation between different the members of a language family and to predict the languages in a family tree that are closely or distantly related. In particular, it aims to examine the shared innovations, changes which have appeared in some members but not in the others. In other words, languages which do not share a particular innovation or change must have split off early from the other languages in the family which do not share the particular change and that languages sharing common innovations must have split off at a later date having a common ancestor. This can better explained with the help of the following tree diagram of the Germanic language family tree.



Proto Germanic Tree Model (Trask 1996)

The above tree model of Proto- Germanic helps us to understand that relationship of the languages in the Proto- Germanic language family. It can be observed that the language Gothic split off very early from the other languages of the family tree. From this it can be comprehended that it is language similar features between Gothic and the other languages are relatively less. Whereas, on the other hand, Dutch and Afrikaans share a lot of similar features as it appears that split between these two languages is very recent. Thus, the family tree model is of great relevance in sub grouping languages and at analyzing language related features.

2.2 The Internal Reconstruction Method

The Internal Reconstruction method seeks to arrive at conclusions by comparing features within a single language. Using this method, changes occurred in a particular aspect of a language can be traced back by comparing features within the language. It tries to trace back the proto forms by looking at the existing features which may be an indication of a past form. This method is very helpful in the study of a language with no known or distantly related languages.

2.3 Dixons Punctuated Equilibrium approach of areal diffusion

The two main key concepts of Dixons Punctuated Equilibrium are Linguistic Equilibrium and Punctuation of the Linguistic Equilibrium. Linguistic Equilibrium referring to a state of equilibrium during which many languages co-exist in a more or less harmonious way without any major changes taking place. And Punctuation of the Linguistic equilibrium refers to drastic changes arising in the state of equilibrium. From time to time the state of equilibrium is punctuated by some cataclysmic event; this will engender sweeping changes in the linguistic situation and may trigger a multiple split and expansion. The punctuation may be due to some natural event (floods, drought, volcanic eruption), or to the emergence of an aggressive political or religious group, or to entry into new and pristine territory (Dixon, 1997) He argued that in the state of co existence languages may undergo considerable similarities in the phonological systems, the phoneme inventories and many widespread words which may make classification of languages very difficult. He argues that the family tree model of the comparative method helps to show the splits occurring in languages, with languages diverging from a common proto language but fails to explain the subtle changes undergoing in languages in the period of equilibrium.

3. Why the Comparative method?

As stated by Anthony Diller, To a large extent, the Tai languages gain their cohesion and family status from the comparative method of historical linguistic reconstruction (Diller 1998). The wide range of shared vocabulary and others features among the languages under the Tai language group makes upholds the comparative method to be the most deserving approach in the study of Tai languages. The existence of a large shared vocabulary, a high degree of regularity of correspondence relationships across virtually all tonal systems, along with other highly regular segmental correspondences, is

responsible for the success of the comparative method as applied to the Tai languages and accounts for why most linguists are confident of the utility of a Tai grouping structurally, even if some may prefer a different name (Diller, 1998). Further, the study of a dead language is possible only with the help of the comparative method by making comparisons with its cognates to arrive at possible conclusions. This is further explained in detail with the case study of Ahom, which is no longer a spoken language.

4. Ahom as a case study

In order to further emphasize on the relevance of the comparative method in the study of historical linguistics, a case study of Ahom is presented with supported views.

4.1 A brief introduction to the Ahoms

The Ahoms came to Assam from Mau Lung in 1228 across the Patkai range and established a strong kingdom in the Brahmaputra valley. They ruled in this area for a period of more than 600 years. Their language, Tai Ahom belongs to the south western group of the Tai Kadai language family (Chamberlain, 1975). It is an isolating mono syllabic language. It can also be assumed that Ahom was a tonal language in the past. In their long stay the Ahoms almost forgot their language and the few who know it have only a partial view of it. It may have been due to the fact that after the establishment of the Ahom kingdom in the Assam valley the Ahoms were not in contact with the other Tais like Tai Phake, Aiton, Khamti, Khamyang, Turung etc. These are the other Tai communities that have migrated to Assam in different periods of time and have managed to retain their own languages respectively. However, the Ahoms had a rich writing tradition in the form of manuscripts made from the Sasi barks (Aquillaria Agallocha). And these manuscripts were passed on from one generation to another. A single word in Ahom may have more than six different meanings which make it difficult to arrive at appropriate meanings of words in translating them.

4.2 Why not the other two approaches in the study of Ahom?

Before explaining the reasons behind the relevance of the comparative method in the study of Ahom, some points arguing against the use of the Internal Reconstruction method and Dixon s Punctuated Equilibrium are discussed below :

East and Southeast Asia : Folklore and Cultural Affinity with northeast India A case study of Manipur

T. Tomba Singh

For a systematic comparative folklore and cultural studies, the concepts of cultural area, zone, type and subdivisions are important. But, cultural subdivisions are taken to be more meaningful to some scholars. There are eminent scholars who opines that a useful standard for the classification of regions is offered by culture (in the anthropological sense), although it should be noted that in Asia, as elsewhere, cultural subdivisions are at times more meaningful than broad and general categories. Moreover, the configurations of culture do not always coincide with the distribution of races and languages.[1] In this context, the subdivisions such as Eastern Asia, Western Asia and Southeast Asia etc. are culturally meaningful. The Southeast Asia content in Manipuri culture and folklore may, virtually be ascertained and acknowledged, with comparative, approach.

The *Puyas* (mss), gods, spirits and deities available in Manipur and that of *Tai* and *Malayo-Polynesian* region can be compared as we may compare the material culture. The *Lai-Haraoba* or the cult of spirits with invocation and propitiation which was current in *Indonesian* past may be compared with that of Manipur. While taking up research works on early *Polynesians* and *Austronesians,* the *Champaka Austronesians* of the early *Champaka Kingdom* and the *Chakmas* and people of Chittagong hill tracts, it was found that the *Chakmas* and the *Champaka* people who were in Cambodia had got strong racial and cultural affinity. Earlier we have referred to *Kumbaba* for the *Chakmas* in *Sekmai* of Manipur.[2] The legend of *Sekmais* indicates a Buddhist monk-like character or a monk head to be their cultural hero or the ancestral head.[3] Again, *Kumbaba* gives *Kangngamong (Kangmong)* people of Manipur to be *Khakis.*[4]

The *Pundits* of Manipur claim the people of *Phayeng, Sekmai, Andro, Leimaram, Chairen, Thongjao, Tairenpokpi* to be *Chakpas.* However, we find that they speak different languages. *Andro and Phayeng People* are culturally different with more linguistic affinity. *Sekmai People* are more Buddhist oriented while *Andro People* had influences of Buddhism, Islam

model; however, diffusion, just like other innovations, leaves its traces which can often be picked up by appropriate and detailed reconstruction (Bowen and Koch 2004b:4-5). Thus, it is a problem with the kind and quantity of data and not with the theory.

4.2.3 The Comparative Method in the study of Ahom: The comparative method appears to be the most suitable approach in the study of a dead language like Ahom. Possible translations of the Ahom manuscripts can be done only with the help of comparison with other related languages. In addition, since the tones are not marked in the Ahom manuscripts it is difficult to arrive at proper meanings of the texts as one single word may generate more than 7 to 8 meanings.

Another justification for the use of the comparative method in the study of Ahom can be discussed with the help of the following tree model of the classification of the Southwestern Tai by Chamberlain.

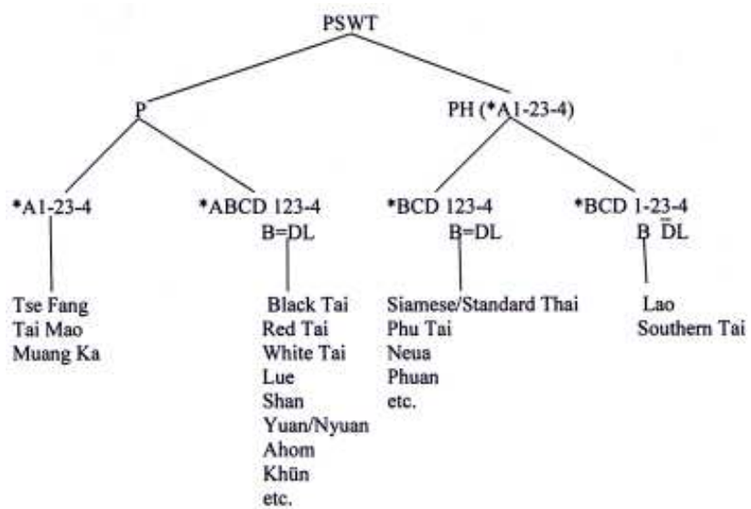


Figure 1: Classification of Southwestern Tai Dialects
(adapted from Chamberlain 1975: 50)

On the basis of the initial consonants, Chamberlain has classified the southwestern Tai dialects into two subgroups on the basis of the initial consonant development, i.e., the P group in which the consonant developed to be

unaspirated voiceless stops (*b, *d, *g> p, t, k) and PH group in which the proto initial voiced stops developed to be aspirated voiceless stops (*b, *d, *g > p^h, t^h, k^h). It is also to be noted that Chamberlains above given classification of the southwestern Proto Tai also discusses about the tone groups that these languages fall into but since the tones of Ahom are not marked, the tonal description is not discussed in this paper. Following this classification, if a comparison is made between some of the basic words of languages from each group, the relatedness between languages belonging to the same subgroup as well differences between languages belonging to two different sub groups can be noticed. This can be observed in the following table.

Words	Ahom	P group- Shan	PH group- Thai
father	/pɔ/	/pɔ/	/pʰɔ/
elder	/pi/	/pi/	/pʰi/
place	/ti/	/ti/	/tʰi/

In the above group of basic words, it can be observed that Shan belonging to the P group has the initial consonant is voiceless unaspirated voiceless stop whereas Thai belonging to the PH group has aspirated voiceless stops. And it can be noticed that Ahom belonging to the same subgroup as Shan maintains the same pattern as Shan although it is only retained in the script. But it does show the close relatedness of Ahom to Shan than to Thai. On the other hand, since all the languages belong to the same ancestor parent language, the words are almost the same except the minor differences. This establishes that although Ahom is no longer a spoken language further study on Ahom can be done by careful comparative analysis. And this comparative analysis has to be done in collaboration with graphemic analysis. Graphemic analysis is a linguistic study involving a writing system. It aims to describe orthographic units in the system and graphotactics that make each element in the writing system connected systematically (Bussmann 2006; Coulmas, 1999). With the help of this comparative method translation of some of the Ahom manuscripts are already in process and a few namely, the manuscript Nemimang is complete. The manuscript Nemimang has been done by Dr. Stephen Morey who has been working on the Tai languages of India for more 20 years. The translation is mainly done using Shan as the intermediate language (Gogoi, 2015).

5. Conclusion

The comparative method is not at odds with language diffusion and borrowing, it helps in arriving at conclusions to detect what is inherited and what is diffused in a language. The resilience and the power of the comparative method lie in its sensitivity to similarity due both to genetic filiations and areal diffusion alike. Both are historical models, and the goal of comparison is history (Watkins, 2001:59). And hence, proper study of a dead language like Ahom can be done more efficiently using this method.

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Notes

1. Historical Linguistics is the study of language change through time. Historical linguistics is also sometimes called *diachronic linguistics* (from Greek *dia* - 'through' + *chronos* 'time' + *ic),* since historical linguistics is concerned with change in language or languages over time (Campbell 1998). Thus, Historical Linguistics refers to the study of language change over a period of time.

and Hinduism. The *Phayeng People* has got influences *of Tai people* while *Leimaram and Chairen* are *Meitei* and *Hindu* oriented as we find them in their cultural remnants and practices.

In *Lai-Haraoba* of Manipur, more specifically in its *Kanglei* type, the spirit of birth is called upon from water for impregnation. To our surprise, the ancient ritual of pregnancy of the early *Austronesians* in *Champaka* and a section of *Chakmas* had this customary practice. From river and water-bodies, strings of thread were spread to the pregnant women to call upon the soul spirits. This fact naturally suggests *Lai-ikouba* ritual of birth in *Kanglei Lai-Haraoba* or *Lai-Haraoba* ritual to be of *Austronesians* origin.[5] The *Puyas* (mss) of Manipur have a specific character of reflection in mythological hagiographic set-up. We can compare this with a number of works op *Polynesian* mythology and oral tradition transmitted verbatim from priest to priest.

There are Views of great scholars who opine that oral literature of the *Polynesia* reflects surprisingly monotonous uniformity in the physical and mental characters, the speech, the social and religious institutions of its Indonesian inhabitants. The oral literature is partly historical and traditional, but mainly sacred and religious-cosmogonies and Theogonies merging into semi-divine dynastic genealogies, all based on an underlying system of primitive religious notions, without some knowledge of which it is impossible to understand them. The *Polynesian* manuscripts are so great in number and volume their volume and variety also. Scholars opine that that the Polynesian range of thought is next to or besides the Buddhist, the most extensive in the world, stretching through the length and breadth of the pacific ocean and even further up to Micronesia and Melanesia as far as Malaya. It is again given that mythologies are meaningless without a knowledge of the religious substratum on which they are raised.[6] This shows that approaches and methods used for the study of *Polynesian* mythology are important and meaningful in understanding the *Manipuri Puyas* (mss). The above nature of *Polynesian* and Indonesian folklore will virtually be observed in Manipuri folklore available in the form of *Puyas* (mss). *Sanamahi* cult is widespread in Manipur. Dunng my childhood, boyhood and teenage period, I had overheard dialogue and narration sessions on *Sanamahi* from the elders. One of the pieces in the narratives was about the marriage of *Sanamahi* with his own mother. The same folklore and interpretation of it can be found in Indonesia.

general precept that pregnant women must not eat pungent, stimulating, hot things to avoid hot, unhealthy child.[15]

6. Among the *Dayaks* drinking each other's blood by the parties for peace can be seen. In *Java* the blood has a special power. Sores and wounds are applied with saliva for treatment. To cure numbness saliva is also used as a medicine.[16]

7. Breath is an important soul.[17] *Indonesians* will blow a breathe on sick and dying people. It was also believed that by physical contact with a person, one could transfer off a skin disease to 'the person in case the infection came through a contact.

8. *Aloda (Halmahera)* tale tells about keeping soul in a bottle. Such type of motif is found in the Manipuri tales also. *Dayaks, Niassins, Achinese, Ankolians, Javanese, Malays* have beliefs, on shadow as mentioned above. Throughout the Malay Archipelago and Manipur no one must stand on a person's shadow, stab through or tread on it.

9. For *Dayaks, Torajas, Macassars, Javanese, Ankolians, Toba and Battak,* when a child who has not received a name dies, it is buried into the earth without any ceremonies. Among some tribes, there's a convention that persons attending a corpse must keep awake throughout the night so that their souls may not be robbed. A sick is not allowed to sleep for the same purpose. For an oppressive dream, there will be an offering ritual to call back the soul. Suddenly making a person awake is considered bad for the soul to return to the body. Stepping across a sleeping person is prohibited for the same and as a bad manner. Fright, want and discontent also can make the soul move to another place. So beating a child is not always advisable. Bits, of tape are tied round the wrists to prevent loss of soul-substance amongst *Torrajas, Dayaks, Minangkabaus, Niasssins* and *Battak.* The soul-substance 'goes in and out through mouth, nostrils, ears, and the crown of the head through fontanel: The 'soul-substance may flow toward other persons or be carried away by others. So, there is: a custom of refusing a stranger to the mother and child during confinement and a period after it as in the case of *Achinese, Dayaks, Macassars, Javanese* and *Manipuri.* Women must abstain from merry-making festivities during their husband's travelling amongst central and southern *Celebes and Manipuris.*The *Indonesians* are afraid of being photographed for fear of losing soul substance. To lure away other soul substance using enticement with sorcery with rice, and eggs. etc., it can be seen, in the case of lurking the soul-substances of foes. They may also be carried away by the souls of the

We may directly come, for the purpose to the writings of great scholars who comment that there is a poetic expression of an idea current among the Indonesians that man has arisen by conjunction of Sun and Earth. It is also strongly propounded among the *Minahassians.* The first human being, a woman, is moulded from the earth, and is impregnated by the west wind. She bears a son, who wanders about on the earth, and, meeting her afterwards, but not knowing her to be his mother married her, and in this way becomes the progenitor of the first man. The sun *Toar,* is merely the sun, who in the morning arises from his Mother, the Earth, and in the evening returns to her again as her husband.[7] The motif of circumambulation *of Pakhangba* may again be compared with *Siva Purana* of the *Hindus.*

The star in the east at dawn, the hill in the west or a star in the evening when the sun sets to sleep with earth may be depicted as mother and child relationship or man and wife relationship of sun and earth, or the sun and the star at dawn etc. The role of *Korou* and *Malem (Korouna Ipane Malemna Imane* -in *Manipuri)* i.e. *Korou* (the sky) as father and Malem (the earth) as mother is prevalent widespread in Indonesian cultural set-up.

'Sumangat'; 'Sumangga'. for souls among the *Malay* peoples, for *Batta* tribes in *Sumantra 'tendi','tondi', yitma, suikma* and *njawa (Jiwa)* and *(Man-Ningsa)* for *Balinese* people *nitu, anitu* for *Moluccas: anga (Anggo)* in central-*celebes, Andja* in southern *Laos, Andian, Luwa* for *Dayak* and *Borneo* etc for soul may be compared with *Via, Bia, Piya, Bla,* etc., and a number of soul equivalents in *Manipuri* folklore.[8]

We may reproduce some of the Indonesian beliefs for comparison with the people of Manipur though it sounds a general concept of many of the indigenous peoples:[9]

1. All parts of the human body; head, bowel, liver and blood, etc., and its secretions are important for the soul. The placenta and umbilical cord are also important for the soul. The placenta is carefully preserved. The piece of the umbilical cord that has fallen off is preserved by the *Indonesian* and administered as medicine when the child is ill.

2. Indonesians are afraid of cutting the hair for loss of soul. When a Javanese has lost two or more children by death, he does not shave the head of the next child. Battaks are afraid to make their long hair cut even after introduction of Christianity. In case of wound or diseases the mother rubs her child with her hair. The *Dayak* parents protest against the cutting of hair of school children. Hair is laid at the foot of the fruit trees. It is believed, whatever happens to the hair happens also to the man: This idea is behind

sorcery among the *Indonesians. Dayaks* sacrifice some of their hair when they have returned uninjured from war. *Sekmai* people sacrifice some of the hair of the child for security reason. A general form of sacrifice in the *Malay* Archipelago is the cutting off the hair of children. Frequently, however, a lock of hair is spared as if to retain soul. The sacrifice of hair at the time of death is common. The relatives offer this hair sacrifices so that they may be undisturbed by the soul of the death as we find it amongst the people of *Mollucus, Halmahera, Timor, Bali, Dayak, Engano, Malay, Battak, and Malagasy.*

3. A great care is taken for nail parings so that it may not fall to the unwanted hands and evil spirits. Among many of the tribes the nails must not be cut after sunset.[10]

4. Teeth are also important for soul. The knocking out of teeth (central Celebes, Formosa, and Engano), is associated with the throwing up of the teeth in the skillful way above the roof of the house so that the child reaches its height in his or her life. This can be seen in *Javanese, Manipuris* and other groups. The teeth are blackened to hide from spirits. We find this custom of making teeth black among the *Maring* people also.

5. Many *Dayak* tribes spit on an offering to avoid evil spirits. Spitting is also practiced to get rid of something impure or sinful. A Battak spits when a corpse is carried passing them like Manipuris. Saliva is also used in sorcery. It is believed that the souls reside also in the sweat. Water in which a garment of the husband is washed, is used to shorten the confinement period of a mother.

Even the soils from the soles of a person, is sometimes used to injure him by sorcery in case of *Malays, Battak,* and *Galelanese.*[11] Tears, according to tales among the *Torajas, Javanese, Galelanese,* could restore life to the deceased. Urine is used as medicine to restore life amongst *Javanese Kailians, Macassars, Battak* and *Dayak.* In Ankola and Halmahera a young man urinates upon the urine of a girl of his choice to win her love.[12] Among Macassars and Torajas faeces are used to heal wounds. *Karo Battak* uses night soils in black-arts. *Indonesians* do not take the flesh of many animals for fear of physical or mental character of the animal transferred to their children. Many *Indonesian* people call rice the strength giver of the soul.[13] If a person's shadow falls on food, the food must not-be eaten, else the soul substance of the person is also eaten as seen amongst *Atche, Halmahera* and *Manipuri* etc. For cannibalism the prevailing idea was to eat a particular part of the body of the victim to strengthen the same part in him.[14] It is a

deceased relatives. A sick person will find out the location where he got ill first and from that place the soul is called upon. After burial, the departed, soul is accused of robbing other souls. In this case, it is to be brought back from the grave.[18]

If a spirit has taken away the soul-substance, it is revealed by sorcery or dreams with the help of a medium. A mother may call back the soul-substance of her child, sometimes accompanying this by the sound with which chickens are 'called. The mother may also tamed it up with a basket. If a person comes back home feeling ill, the place where the soul-substance was possibly got lost is to be located. By a relative with the sick person's cloth the soul-substance is caught and brought all the way back to the ailing person. It may also be caught with a piece of cotton or a twig of a tree and brought back by touching the sick man's head with it. Sometimes it is caught with a doll or bowl of rice.[19] Thread or a string of beads may be used as a ladder of the soul-substance. Writing one's name on a coffin even may cause injury to the soul.

10. The return or leaving events of a soul-substance may be marked with sneezing. There is a widespread belief that a sick man will recover when he sneezes[20] as it signals the returning of the vital soul-substance or leaving off an evil spirit or soul-substance from the body. The wishes pronounced by a mother when her child sneezes is a precaution against any would be carrying away etc of the soul substance as seen amongst *Torajas*, *Javanese*, *Battak*, *Dayaks* and *Manipuris*. For grown-ups,[21] sneezing indicates thinking of friends for him or harmful wishes from the enemies. For such cases, imprecative utterances are frequently used. When a spirit bas caught the soul-substance, a doll represents the sick person to be offered as a substitute of the soul to the spirit. The doll is named as ransom, or substitute[22], price for which something is paid. The doll is registered for the sick first with 'the sick-person's hair, a thread of cloth from the patient, some saliva, some scraping of nail or skin or by simply pressing it against not to torment the real patient again.[23]

11. For *Indonesians*, if all attempts to cure the sick fail, they believe that the spirit has taken the soul-substance to spot from where man cannot bring it back. To restore it again, a skilled, priest may, even take help of another spirit or spirits. Priests or priestesses feigned to lie down simply, or sleep. They use language of their own, a non-sensical language or pseudo language, foreign language and circumlocution specially for their role and status.

deeds in life can change into a tiger, and protect their descendants. Stones are taken as bones of earth. There are also stone fetishes.[29] Old heirlooms also gradually became fetishes in the Archipelago on condition that the, ancestors used them.[30] The objects are taken sacred and nobody would think of selling them.[31] The earthen pots of the Dayaks seen all through are kept as sacred because of their supernatural power. The state ornaments are also taken as fetishes.[32]

18. The native princes and persons of extra-ordinary power became fetishes and objects of doration.[33] They are taken to have descended from heaven (i.e. princes, etc.) It is taken that they have white blood.[34] Their curse alone is enough to ruin farmland and so forth.[35] A Raja's word can destroy a field or make it fertile in the same way that the *Manipuris* believed.[36] The *Javanese* and *Malays* in Sumatra worship turtle dove, though it is taken to be due to Hindu influences. The *Indonesians* and the *Manipuris* are afraid of death of woman in childbed. Some tribes tie thumbs and big toes together so as to save the living souls. Some groups of people use ashes, etc., on the eyes of the corpse to blind the dead soul. Another method of separating the dead from living is bathing of the dead body. Partial bathing also can be seen. Some take bathing in the river on boat, thrice. Among Minahassians, the dead is carried around the house a few times by running fast that can be compared with the old custom of *Moirang* people. Some tribes take the corpse through a hole made by breaking the wall of the house,[37] again as we find it amongst a section of Moirang people in Manipur.

19. During the mourning, no noise, dancing or singing, music, pounding or usual work, etc. is made. They wear old worn clothes. To avoid revenge by the spirit of death, they must have their hair cut or shaved off. Some distant relatives also submit to this rule. Their heads are covered to avoid easy recognition. There is also abstinence from particular food stuffs and normal daily food. Some observe this practice till the feast of dead. The human sacrifice was prevalent for persons of high rank in the earlier days, a comparably unique custom, and there were also tribes who used to keep watchmen or slaves in the grave for some days.

To perform a human sacrifice, the *Torajas* go out for head hunting or buy a slave from another tribe for the purpose. In some tribes, the bodies of the victims are burnt and the ashes thus collected are placed with the corpse in the coffin. A victim may also be buried under the pole erected in honour of the dead. The Indonesians think to sacrifice at least an animal very important for themselves. Such a belief can be seen dominating in the Archipelago[38]

12. A personal soul-substance may be segregated and move in the form-of an animal e.g. a tiger (changed from witches or ware-wolves etc.) in Malacca, Sumatra, Java etc. They believe that only the soul-substance transforms into an animal and the body remains at home. The soul-substance may enter into a house as a rat, dog, snake, millipede, owl, etc for giving injury to the inmates of a house by eating the soul-substance e.g. parts and organs of the body. A man becomes a lycanthrope by inheritance or by transmission as found in *central Timor, central Celebes, Dayaks,* and *Malays* by pronouncing certain charms as in Java and Bali or by offering to evil spirits as in *Halmaherra*. A lycanthrope cannot be easily recognized. Sometimes she may be known by twisted feet as amongst Arches, standing on his head or by want of groove under the nose. The witch or vampire can fly using internal organs as wings even. She works by night for her expedition. If she has not returned to her body before day break she dies. Indonesians try to protect their, houses from witches with all means, the most common being the hanging up of some thorny boughs as practised in Manipur.

13. Their folklore tells birth of animals e.g. deer from woman. On the contrary, animals e.g. monkeys, deer etc may also bring forth human beings as in *Malays*. Men use the soul-substance of the animals to strengthen them or to accumulate certain specific power from the animals. They believe that bones of crows make a person dexterous in stealing. Even it can make man invisible as Celebes people believe it. There are many tales of buried bones grown up into trees in Indonesia as found in Manipur. Skulls of deer and other animals are hung up to call the soul-substance of their fellows. The blood of animals is shed for sacrifices. Blood and excretions of animals are used as medicines also. Dogs are taken to have a human and personal soul-substance by the-hunters. Buffalos, cows and dogs are called upon through their soul-substance. As a rule, a select animal is taken to be a herd-leader and is neither killed nor sold.

14. Plants are taken to have soul-substances. There are stories about trees that were once, born originally as men. Metruoxylon and Arenga Saacharifera were men in origin. Some trees or plants are taken to have strong soul-substances as in Oracaena Terminalis. This tree is taken sacred and used by the priests for their sacred proceedings. This name indicates the field of application in treatment. Fruit bearing trees are taken as persons. The soul-substance of the paddy is also called upon for a good harvest. It visits the field as a bird or a snake. Care is taken not to startle the soul of the rice at the moment of the cut in the field. A small bundle is made out of rice

plants to be the rice mother which keeps back the soul, substance of other rice.[24] With great show of honor the rice-mother is carried home, and preserved in the barn with the other rice as practised in Manipur, too. In order to prevent the plant or tree from growing up high, it is planted in the afternoon or evening hours. A person who has many children and grandchildren etc.[25] plants a fruit bearing tree to bear much fruit. The Battak believes that camphor tree has a soul or spirit and the camphor seekers use a special verbal magical composition so that it may not hide its camphor crystals from them. In Mollucus, clove tree is taken as mother and child.[26]

15. Gold seekers take care of themselves against possible sickness created with revanchism from the souls of the gold. The tin explorers avoid everything that will frighten the soul of the tin. A larger lump of diamond or other rare materials, it is believed, attracts small ones. They use hard nuts, objects, fruits etc to harden soul-substance.

16. It is generally believed that when a child strongly resembles parents, he or she must die because of transference of the soul-substance. If a child looks same with the deceased, it is taken that the dead one has been incarnated in the child as believed in *Javanese, Balinese, Niassians* and *Dayaks*. It is also transmitted to plants and animal. Ancestors who violated the moral laws became beasts of prey even. The deceased is also taken to live with animals, etc., for example, birds and animals, snakes, house lizards arid mice in their next lives. Deer, swine, firefly, are also taken as important for soul-substance of man.

The soul-substance may leave a sleeping person as a cricket as believed amongst Sudanese and Galelonese. The cricket or a blowfly comes to take the living to the land of death, or show the, way. It is also, taken that the soul of a person who died abroad visits to take a living relative for the land of death. Such beliefs are found amongst *Ankola, Nias* and *Manipuris*. Birds are also taken as incarnations of dead. Mice biting clothes, etc., are taken as dead relatives coming to take the soul of the living to the land of death. Snakes and reptiles are thought as dead persons. Their entering into home is taken as arrival to snatch away an inmate to the land of death. They believe in the transmigration of soul and in the transformation of man into an animal.[27]

17. Crocodile is an object of universal worship for *Indonesians* in addition to the other animals. In some places it is called grandfather. Wherever tigers are found as in Java, Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, they are worshiped or assumed to be ancestors. They are called grandfathers[28] and are never hunted. The *Timor Battak* believe that only aged people with exemplary

for a funeral. The Andro people of Manipur sacrifice a pig and it is known as *Khuju-sal'* - the cattle to work with.

20. When a person dies abroad, a part of his body, his hair or clothes may be brought with some soil from the spot where he died. The third day is very important, as they believe that the soul recognises his dead body only after the third day as seen in the custom of *Sekmai* people. A hut is built in the grave with a bed of slate where his property is exhibited. Light is burnt every evening aud the bed of slate remains for three to forty days. In case of non-finding of the corpse, a doll may represent it. The collection of bone and burial of it or to put it away in a cave are important[39] events for the feast of dead.

21. One tribe may practice different customs of disposal of dead e.g., burying the dead in the ground or placing it on a scaffold or in a tree. Corpses are also burnt among the *Dayaks, Battak* and Balinese. A section of the *Dayaks* buries the body first and then extracts the bones to be burnt at the festival of death. *Karo Battak* and some northern tribes bum the bones of their dead, and ashes and remnants of the bones are gathered in earthen pots and entombed. The *Marga* diversion of them let small vessels of bone ashes float down the river. Investigation reports give that burning the dead was not an Indonesian custom but an introduction from *indus.* There are different customary versions to lead the soul to the land of death with feasts of dead. In central Celebes, the souls are first summoned. On the next day, the bones are dug up and cleaned and wrapped up in bast. Among some tribes, they are provided with masks of human face. These collections of bones are placed in huts erected for the purpose in the secondary burial site.[40] These customs are found in Manipur and there is written account (mss) about them.

The *'tiwah* or feast of the dead of the *Dayaks* in the southern and eastern divisions of orneo is very extensive. Three days before the feast commences, a box containing the bones is placed in a hut built for the purpose, where it is decorated and where the dead person receives something to eat. The priest summons *Tampon telon,* the *Dayak Charon,* to transfer the soul to the Land of souls. He, in his song informs the gathering people, the places he reaches on his journey as he leads the soul. At this feast the bones of those who have been buried in the earth are dug up, and with a festive procession they are carried to the *Sandong,* the family grave (see also *Kumbaba* for the same custom in Manipur). They cross the water in native boats. When the bones have been entombed in the family grave, the

year a sacrificial feast is held at the time when he is supposed to descend to earth to make it fruitful. For the *Torajas Pui mpalaburu* is the sun that also sees everything and punishes. The length of a life is observed from burning torch, a measure of rice, a rope, or a plant. Some tribes take the moon as a war spirit's home, the abode of a rice spirit, the abode of a woman (for the *Papuans).* Heaven or High Mountain is also taken as abode of gods and of white figures. So white hens and buffaloes are offered, Heaven and sky was so close to earth. But an old woman husked injudiciously and made them higher up just like the Manipur tradition.[50]

29. There are also people who believe in the intermediate gods who can give assistance to them. They call upon such spirits and gods to help them. Mountains are taken to be leading to heavens. In southern *Celebes, Karaeng lowes*[51] *(Karang Lai* in common parlance of the Manipur tradition: *Linga* and *Yoni)* is worshipped for its domination over all life and death, health, the success of the merchant, the longing for a child, the wishes of a gambler, arranging and management of someone with illness, all ideas of fortune and prosperity like a lone concept from the Hindus.

30. Trees e.g. some species of fiends etc, mountains, rivers etc are also taken to be abode of spirits. The *Indonesian* offer to the tree spirit before they cut a tree,[52] as in the case of *Hijan-Hirao* in Manipur tradition. The spirits may appear in the form of animals, birds, and snakes or in any possible shape. Pungent, bad smelling things like onion-organic and ginger roots, fire, etc., are repelling agents, as in the Manipur tradition.

31. In the folklore of *Polynesia,* there is a folktale that narrates about a snake as a spirit that lays in wait to impregnate a mortal woman. This motif of snake impregnating women is also found in Manipur. The snake *Pakhangba* impregnating many women working in the farms in the hills and mountains and taking rest in the farm-sheds constructed can be found - in the folk tales of Manipur. It describes the commonness of the motif in this cultural region.[53]

32. In the Indonesian studies of the Pre-Islamic Indonesians, the cult of snake, python, dragon or reptile as ancestors may be examined and therein we find this cult with an episode of selecting a wife for the spirit which can be compared *with Kanglei- Thokpa* episode of the Manipuri *Ldi-Haraoba* in *Kanglei* style, In *Kanglei* stye, an episode in search of a wife for the spirit amongst the women present in the festival marks the same motif and theme. This snake cult can also be seen as drawings on the bier as an offering to guide the soul to the ancestor for a peaceful and harmless return. This can

priestesses dance round it, and pray the souls of those who have previously been entered in this grave to welcome kindly the newly arrived soul. The ceremony is concluded with a sumptuous banquet.[41]

22. On the way to the land of souls of dead, it is believed that souls are treated warmly or with punishments in accordance with his behaviour in his life. As the sun crosses the sea or the river and the space everyday, on its way to the land of dead souls under the earth, the belief of crossing is being conceptualised. For the crossing, the coffin signals a vessel, even a boat or a canoe. The permission for entry to the higher land of souls is granted for people having certain attributes such as observance of the marriage duty, bravery, generosity and his wealth etc. Deaths with suicide, killing in war, cholera, smallpox, leprosy and accidents, are not honoured with proper rituals and feasts. The land of souls is either in the western direction or under the earth. The nature of death and the character in one's life will determine the locality in the land of souls. The soul dies three, seven or nine times for some tribes.[42] For some other tribes, it changes into water or dew, a tree or a grass, a fruit or a blossom to incarnate or born as a new man.

23. In Java, every village worships the soul of the man who founded the village or first cultivated the land quite comparable with the custom in Manipur. A feast is held in the beginning of a year in his honour. Some tribes make sacrifice to him when a disaster is imminent. A soul of a man who has made great economic and political changes or changed the state of these things is worshipped or adored e.g., the first tiller of the soil, the first smith,[43] a chieftain reformer or conqueror.

24. When a dog howls with a wailing tune without reason, it is believed, it sees a soul or a spirit. Chickens and cats are also believed to have the same power to see the spirits. Some cultural doctors or priests show the footprints of the spirits in the ashes, scattered on the floor for the purpose. The visiting of the souls ate shown with the noise of some one moving in the house, etc., or drop, household articles on the floor of the house.[44]

25. Nearly all Indonesian tribes worship the souls in the homes as ancestors of the family. There are also ancestral and presiding souls that look after 'the whole village. These are the souls of heroes, chiefs and brave warriors who defended or ruled over their village or the country in their lifetime. A house or temple is built for them. Food and prayers are offered for the family ancestral spirit in the house. The attic or the ridge of the house-roof are also believed to be the places where the souls are supposed to reside. The skulls of ancestors, deceased chiefs, and people of rank in

the family are used at the premises of the house to indicate the honourable position of the house. At the times of illness a cord is spread from the graves into the house to cure the sick, which is a form of calling upon the souls. The skulls kept in the house are connected with the idea of happiness and prosperity of the family. There are many groups of people using images of ancestors made of stone, gold and ivory, kept in the houses as a part of their tradition.[45]

In the Philippine islands and Borneo, the souls of the deceased ones are represented by means of pots for their cult. They used the heirlooms and the objects that were used by the departed souls as mediums.[46]

26. A message from the soul of the departed is given through a medium into which a spirit enters as practised in Leimaram, Pheiyeng etc of Manipur as *Mangdaba.* When the medium is a person the word Shaman *(Amaibi* in Manipur) is used. Through the possession of the spirit, the Shaman acts. Sometimes people used to give a verbal or sound magic to expel the spirit.

When the body or the limbs begin to tremble, it marks the arrival or entry of the spirit into the *Shaman.* The trembling passes into various phases to end with calming down of the medium to address the questions raised. The *Shaman,* used as a mouthpiece for the spirits, dances to the tune of drums.[47]

27. There is a tradition of Priesthood and *Shamanism* rolled into one as a combined profession which may also be practised as an independent profession. The *Shaman* may perhaps be completely unconscious of what he or she professes. A priest may speak another tongue as inspired by a particular spirit. For the *Indonesians,* the gods, spirits and deities may be treated as the image of nature.There may be gods in connection with the origin of man An individual may rise to the status of god. Both *Hindu* and *Islamic* or foreign names are found existing with the concepts *of Batara Guru, Ala, Tia, Mahatara, Betara* or *Pitara, Bathala, Allah Taala* in *Hatalla, Lahatalla* and *Ltala,* etc.[48] Mahatara and Jata are the sun and earth. The *Battak* people believe that the first men were born from the daughter who may be symbolised form of earth. The daughter of the chief God descended on earth after having moulded Her in the ocean with the help of Her father.[49]

28. In the eastern part of the Archipelago, the cult of the nature is widespread. The chief God is the sun. He sees everything and makes the world happy and fruitful, punishes the wrong doers. In the Mollucus, people worship creator and preserver God under the symbol of a lamp. Once a

6. Manipur has a big number of manuscripts of folklore materials like Polynesians arid Austronesians, And see James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York (n.d.), Vel. II, p. 4.37.. Also see, Robert W. Williamson, 'Polynesia' in. James Hastings (ed.) *ibid.*, Vol, X Pp 103-112.
7. In addition to Polynesians, Micronesians, see Albert C. Kruijt, "Indonesians in *ibid* p.24
8. Anggo, Piya possibly a corrupted form of via can be heard from the mouth of a priest, a cultural doctor in Manipur; interview with Wangoo Baji, age 70 yrs., Wangoo 7th March 1990. .
9. Such a strong with Indonesian may again be taken to be of psychic unity of mankind and of same cultural ecology. However, it stands again to proof with cultural specifics.
10. The same belief connected with nail parings is found in Manipur.
11. No difference found with the practice in Manipur.
12. In the field work in Chakpa areas, the same belief was found. But, it can be taken also as of psychic nature of mankind.
13. Rice as a giver of soul is a common sense knowledge for people depending on rice.
14. Amongst some Islamic groups in Manipur, taking a part of the body of the slain enemy is considered a means to make the killer free from the sin of killing. But, the general concept that the consumption of similar organs or parts can improve one's organ or parts is also found in Manipur. The belief system associated with one's 'shadow' in Indonesia can be found in Manipur.
15. It is psychic nature of pregnant women to avoid many things. However, those practices in Indonesia are similarly found in Manipur.
16. The same belief with blood and saliva and the same practice is prevalent in Manipur.
17. Even some consider the breathe as the only great soul as it can not be seen when a person dies. See also T. Tomba, *Leirikr Nonglon*, Imphal, Tomba, 1977 pp. 1-20.
18. This belief of losing soul substance with photography was widely prevalent in Manipur. Manipuris were afraid of taking photograph of themselves as British Officials have reported.
19. Many forms of calling upon the souls can be seen. Such forms are found practised in the cultural medicine in Manipur.
20. The same practice and belief with sneezing, with the utterance of a name of a deity or god and a wish-phrase.
21. The same belief and practice is seen in Manipur.
22. There are different versions in culture medicine and this is one of the versions.
23. This is a common practice in cultural medicine of Manipur.
24. No difference in belief and practice found in Manipur. However, it is one of the versions.
25. This can be seen mostly in rural areas of Manipur as an extension of magic and animism.
26. In Manipur also special care is taken with special language. But we also find mother-child relationship in Manipur.
27. Many folktales of Manipur reflect the idea.
28. In Manipur tigers are called *Idhou* literally meaning grand' father and great grand father. The tiger is also used as a seat of Goddess *Panthoibi*.
29. Stones are used as fetishes. Stones of different shapes including oval ones etc., are seen as fetishes. Also see See also Chandrasekhar (ed.) *Nunglon Thambal*, Imphal, Meitei Mayek Organising and Research Association (MMOARA), Imphal, pp. 1-24.
30. Old heirlooms, for example, a metal container, used by an aged parent or grand parent during their life time is seen preserved as a fetish.
31 . During the mourning ritual of the death, great care is taken, it is found to own the heirloom, preserve it not to sell again for one's prosperity.

be seen at Sekmai, Andro, etc., in case we refer to their mortuary behaviour. Making tombs for the bone and collection of it etc., can be seen for the royal family in Manipur in addition to the existing same behaviour of the *Phayeng* people of Manipur. This confirms unity of the folk custom of the Manipuris and *Austronesians (Malayo-Polynesians).* We may compare this with the, entries in *Kumbaba, Sakok Lamlen* (mss), etc., for confirmation.[54]

33. In thenlonic prayer to the lord *Khamlangba* and in all available thenlonic versions of the spirits connected *with Khamlangba* and spirits of Ironsmithy in Manipur, it is given that *Khamlangba* arrived with thirty-two of his associates.Of them *Mayang maiba, Samloiba, Wasokpa, Apheraja, Thangyal Kamba, Loka, Sumkatao* may be mentioned. Again *Kodan, Hari Narayan, Misatao, Ramanarayan, Hari, Ngaikhonba, Taiyem, Tai Puba, Katipuba, Tulsiram, Devendro, Taba, Ukhunjao, Mayang Iruppa*, etc., came to join them. Toponymic legends and myths tell about *Chakpa Maharaba* and pythons, and also *Khamlangba's* marriage with *Kalika*, etc.[55]

Cheitharol Kumbaba - the royal chronicle of Manipur, registered the above figures as prisoners of war: "In Sakabda 1246 (1324 CE), *Kongyangba* became king. There was a war at western *Kongyangphai* and (the king) won. The prisoners, of war were Nongchup Kongyang Ningthou (the king of western *Kongyang)* and, many others. There was also a war waged against Mayang invaders at *Kouba Hinglen Ching.* The prisoners of war were *Mayang Maiba, Samloiba, Apheraja, Thangyan Kanba, Tingkoraja Wa Sakpa, Kaka.Sumtao, Aring-Arang Tao*, etc.[56]

The record of *Kumbaba* shows the arrival of Apheraja, etc., in the 13th-14th century A.D. The first war might have been before Mongol invasion or just after the Mongol invasion. Against this background, we may note that up to the upper Gangetic basin, Mongoloids were wide spread before (5th century. Many scholars write about the Indian origin of Austronesians *(Malayo-Polynesiansi)* and also the Indian influences of *Austronesians (Malayo-Polynesians).* Inspite of a doubt on their Indian origin, Indian and Hindu influences on them are not debatable.

34. The *Wachetlon Puya* (mss) describes the sun and earth as man and wife. The external orifices of the body were wonders of the mankind in the early epoch of the human history. The greatest wonder for them was organs of reproduction. This aspect of *Austronesians (Malayo-polynestany)* folklore is described in the, spirit of our *Puyas* (mss) also.[57]

35. The origin myth of *Andro* mentions about *Rig, Yadu, Shan and Atharva Vedas, Satya, Tetra, Dwapur Kali Yuga.* Ravana is again named

'Paichaba' -as in an enculturation process. The essence of vedic knowledge is exemplified in Subika. Wearing hair is seen as a ball in the front for father and the same at the back of the head as mother to prove Indonesian or *Austronesian Malayo-Polynesian)* origin. Guru is identified in the *Hindu* model as a representative of the universe. We can also find *Atiya, Asiba* and four-headed *Tarang Luwangsu* in the scripture of the *Andro.people.* The tortoise motif used to collect earth and soil can be seen in the Austronesian *(Malayo-Polynesia)* creation myth. The concept of decimal count *as 'Maikei Tara, 'Ningthou Pongba Tara'* and also nine *'Lai-bangthous',* 363 *'Umanglais,* etc., are given in the *Chakpa* folklore of Manipur. Again *Vishnu, Sagoltongba, Allah, Kaching Karai, Phura (Phra), Tara, Sawanglai, Awakodomlai,* etc., are also given as gods, spirits and deities in the same scripture. Again this is merged with 'two brothers from heaven'- a *Tai* motif of inhabitation and migration. One may argue that such a creative mythologisation might have been made later with the advent of *Hinduism.* But there are facts that can accommodate the early acculturation of Hindu ideas or Hindu and foreign names for local concepts merging one onto the other can be seen.[58]

36. The cult of harmony with direction spirits[59] (we find also amongst *Red Indians) of the Manipuris,* the cult of fire with hyms to fire,[60] the fetishism of fetishes as evidenced in *'Sayakot*[61] and the cult of the sun as in *Yukourol*[62] or other fetishes as in *Nongsaba.*[63] *Khunthong Nganbi*[64] and other family and clan fetishes e.g. that of *Heirem*[65] and *Soubon*[66] mark the fetishism and cults in the area. Hongnemba also depicts heliocentrism,[67] like *Ahonglon.* Animal fetishes can also be seen as in *Sa-yai.*[68] The mother cult of the earth and re-identification with *'Karaeng Lowai (Karang Laiy)'* of Malayo-Polynesians mentioned above can be seen in *Leimaren Naoyom.* This may be compared with the cult of Sita as *Leibakleima* in *Thinungei* of Manipur in association with *Rama* as *Umanglai* -a forest spirit in adaptation to *Hindu* gods so as to adopt Manipur culture. There are also mountain, river and tree spirits that even merges with fetishism and helio-centrism and are being instrumentalised to win over wealth, prisoners of war and other war booties, agricultural harvest, etc. Such a merger can also be seen in *Thangching spirit* and the spirit at *Mantak.*[69] Many of the elders might be knowing *about Karaeng Lowai (Karang-Lai?).* This author has heard in his boyhood of uttering *Karang-Lai* in Manipur from the mouth ofa priest to identify the image formation at Mondum and in some other places of Manipur in line with *Lingayat* or *Saivaite* fashion.

Before we go into further details of culture of East Asia and Southeast Asia, we may look into the importance of the study as some peoples of Manipur including the highlanders claim that they have originated from an *Austronesian* stock with strong support of scholars like MC Govern, W.C smith, P. Vidal De La Blache, Keane, Shakespeare and a number of foreign scholars.[70] In fact the Austronesian cultural layer in addition to *Mon Khmer Austroasiatic* culture is a very important factor for the *study of Manipuri* culture.

Again, as the word *Sagei* with a connotation of family and clan points to the Myanmarese cultural landscape and *yumnak (yum/im/in,* in *Kuki, Paite, Mizo* and *Kuki-Chin* languages denoting a house extendable semantically into a family and *nak/nok* in *yumank* coming from *Ao* and other groups of highlanders in Manipur and northeast India indicate the same meaning, we are motivated to a study of Myanmar for cultural and folklore affinity with Manipur, *'Che'* in Cambodia means 'sister' as in Manipur and *Puthi* means a Buddhist; *Phombihan Luang* in Laos pronounced *as, Pombihan Luwang* as in Manipur tradition with many similar cultural specifics in Laos; *Tengdongyan* (a place name in Manipur and Korea) and many other toponyms of this region being similar with Korea which was earlier known as *Ko-ry-o/Kho-ry-o(Khorai),* etc., will move us to other areas for culture affinity with the peoples of Manipur as next part of our investigation.

However, as there is a theory of *Austronesian* origin of the *Tai* people we need to study *Tai* folklore and culture to find out the folklore and cultural affinity with the people of Manipur.

Notes and references

1. Division into cultural zone are meaningful not only in anthropology but also culture and folklore as race, language and culture are not always synonymous. See Hyman Kublin, "Asia, in Bernard Cayne (ed.) Encyclopaedia Americana, 1973 Edn. Vol.2 Pp 440-442.
2. A person has to give his identity to be a substitute of the country to the ruling king on the new year's celebration. Because of a possible change in his community and cultural affiliation from the earlier one, a Sekmai man has to give his real identity as a descendent of *Chakma Riba.* See Ibungohal and Khelchandra (1967) *Cheitharol Kumbaba,* F.U.P. Imphal, pp.262.
3. Sekmai legend shows a costume of a Budhist Great Grandpa. See also their specific customs in W. Lukhoi (ed.) *Lai Haraoba. Imphal,* L. Ashokumar, Imphal, p.23.0
4. Khakis are also treated as Chinese. As yet, no. proper ethnic identity of the Khakis, has been established in the local area.
5. The same ritual was also found amongst the people of Chitagong hill tract in connection with pregnancy and child birth.

32. Use of state ornament as fetish is meaningful as it can make a good relationship between ruler and ruled i.e. between the owner of the fetishes and the rulers.
33. The same belief is seen in Manipur with adoration of royal blood as if they are fetishes.
34. The same belief addressing the royal blood as *Angouba* (white) is found.
35. The belief that only a curse of the king is enough to destroy the crops of the village or the community can, be seen in Manipur like the Indonesians. This idea can be seen in the folk tales of hill areas of Manipur also.
36. Royal power to destroy a field or make it fertile shows a common political and historical folklore in both Indonesia and Manipur.
37. This practice was prevalent amongst a section of Moirang people of Manipur.
38. A simple erection of two poles with a horizontal bar can be seen at the mortuary site of Andros in Manipur. Remnants of the idea of erecting a pole can also be seen in the folklore of Manipur.
39. The mortuary behaviour of the people of Phayeng, Sekmai, and Andro in particular and the Chakpa people in general in Manipur can be looked into for comparison with Austronesians. See T. Tomba, *Chakpa Mourning Custom and Songs* (Ph.D. thesis), Manipur University, 1992.
40. This bone collection can be seen in the royal mortuary practice and of Chakpa Phayeng people of Manipur. The basking of the bone was made for five days. *Ibid.* Also see Yenkhom Bheigya (Trscr) *Sakok Lamlen Ahanba and Meihouron*, Imphal, Brajamani, Yaiskul 1988, p.5.
41. The secondary burial at the family tomb can be seen at Pheiyeng, T. Tomba, n.39. As per entries in the royal cronicle of Manipur, all buried bones were dugged out during the reign of king Charairongba (1697-1709 A.D.). A mound for the bone of king Meidingu Paikhomba was made. Another mound for the bone of king Charairongba was also made. In. the year 1719 Circa, the bones of all people, as written in the royal cronicle, including that of Haobamcha Pukhramba was dugged out. See L. Ibungohal and N. Khelchandra (ed.), *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, Imphal, Manipur Sahitya Parishad, Imphal, 1967, pp. 50,61,68.
42. The number seven in number symbolism of Manipur is unique, and a man is believed to have a birth for seven *times-Mapok Taret* for seven lives.
43. The concept of *Lammaba, Tumaba, Lamsenba, Tusemba*, etc., can be seen along the line of first tiller of soil or the first settler. The worship of King Khagemba as a deity in Kyamgei locality, near Manipur University and the worship of Khamlangba, the iron-smith at Kakching of Manipur may be studied. See Manipur State Kala Academy, *Festival of Manipuri Lai Haraoba* (Souvenir) in Manipur, Imphal, MSKA, Imphal 1973, pp. 9-19; Kh. Chandrasekhar, *Inatki Harao Kumhei*, Imphal, MMORAM, Naoremthong, 1994 p.29; T. Tomba, *Cheiraoba*, Imphal, CMS, Imphal 1992; Mutum Jhulon, *Shahitya Itihas* (In Manipuri), Imphal, Rasbihari, Imphal, 1950 p. 32.
44. In cultural medicine, foot prints are seen in the ashes spread; prints and impression of other varieties are also seen in calendaric ritual session. The belief connected with the howling of the dogs is the same in Manipur.
45. The idea of worshiping presiding spirit or the deities of the villages is widespread in Manipur. However, ancestral cult of Sanamahi. The ancestor cult takes a different form in Manipur. In the case of presiding sprits or deities of local areas thought to be ancestors by the people, the masks are found use to represent them.
46. The souls of departed ones represented by heirlooms kept in adoration can be found in Manipur. The owner of such heirlooms, it is believed, will get prosperous. This idea and belief is still existing.

47. She or he shamans in Manipur are known as *Maibies.* Outsiders foreign to this culture may think giving a blow of breathe when the priest gives a verbal magic to a shaman to expel the spirit.
48. The Andro people use different names of Gods of different religions and Tangkhul people calls La and Ala for god. See Manipur State kala Academy, n.43, pp. 19-39.
49. Comparison can be made with *Leishemlons* in Manipur and be account of *Leimarel,* etc., see Y. Bheigya, *Leithak Leikharol,* Imphal, Manipuri Sahitya Parishad, 1967, pp. 1-23.
50. The same tail of heaven and earth and the husking of rice is found in Manipur. The concept *of* white as ruling and high power is also found in Manipur. .
51. The image at *Thongam Mondum* is being identified as *Karang Lai* by a group of priest and cultural doctors in Manipur. Interview with Wan goo Baji; 13 March 1990.
52. In Manipur, there is a famous genre known ·as *Hijan Hirao* that describes the cutting and falling down of a- tree to make a boat. See W. Lukhoi, n.3. pp. 121,-136.
53. This motive can be seen- in the hill areas of Manipur. Interview with Capt. R. Thoma, Chandel, April 1990. The same motive is also found in the valley. See Bernard S Cayne' (ed.), *Encyclopedia Americana,* New York, Americana Corp., New York, 1973, Vol. 25 p. 102.
54. Bier decoration at Andro and Pheiyeng are less elaborate in comparison with that of Sekmai in the recent days. All of them use snake and dragon like motives. However secondary burial at family tombs with collected bones as seen at Phayeng of Manipur is most elaborate. *Kanglei Thokpa in Lai Haraoba* of Manipur selecting a wife for the spirit is also an elaborate one. However, it has been _restrained with a strong opposition for selecting married women. Hence it has been forbidden in some areas. See Y. Bheigya, n40; Ibungohal and Khelchandra, nAl; Also see W. Lukhoi (ed.), n.3 pp. 91-94.·
55. The account given about the origin and migration of Kakching people can be compared with the names furnished in the royal cronic1e and may be dated as in 13/l4th century A.D. See N. Amuyaima, *Kakching Khunthok Lon,* Kakching, Amuyaima, Kakching, 1987 pp. 12-15; Premananda, *Kakchingi Kharadang,* (A few words on Kakching- in Manipuri), Kakching, P. Kunjo, Kakching, 1975, p. 2-3; Ibungohal and Khelchandra n. 41 p. 8.
56. It is given that Kakching people migrated into Manipur in 12th century if we refer Premananda's view. However, .the names of Kakching people appear in the royal cronic1e in a latter period i.e. 13/l4th century. This is also taken as entry from the east in 12th century and again entry from the west in 13/l4th century passing through Tripura.
57. There are a lot of indications on the importance given to the external orifices of the body. See Amuyaima Pundit, *Wachetlon,* Kakching, Srilekhak, Kakching, 1991, p.2; T. Tomba (ed.), *Leirik Nonglon,* Imphal, 1977, p. 2.
58. In the genealogical record of Andro people Hindu names such as Dhamando, Ramando, etc., can be seen. There are other Hindu names also in the tradition. See L. Cheiteinya, "Androgi Haraoba" in Manipur State Kala Academy, *Manipuri Lai Haraobagi Festival* - A souvenir (in Manipuri), Imphal, 1973, pp. 19-24.
59. Kh. Yaima Pundit, *Ariba Sinthong,* Imphal, Ibomcha (Pub.), Impbal, p. 24.
60. Fire worship is common for the old world. See *Ibid,* p. 23.
61 . Sayakot may be taken as a granary of fetishes. *Ibid,* p. 24.
62. Yukourol may be seen as a heliocentric cult that reflect the past heritage. See *Ibid,* p. 32.
63. *Nongsaba like Thangjing* may be investigated for fetishism. See Ibomcha, *Nongsaba Khungoirol,* lmphal, Ibomcha (Pub.), Imphal; 1993.
64. *Khunthong Nganbi* can also be studied from the point of fetishism. See Thoiba, "Kunchan Ariba", in Chandrashekhar (ed.), *Umang Lai Khunda,* Vol. IX June- Sept. no. 35/36, AMUHC, 1990, pp. 2]-36.

65. Again a question arises on the fetish cult of the heirems. *Ibid.*
67. This mythological folk songs (Soubon Yairen) Sbow the cult of the sun, Buddhism and Hinduism, rolled into one with magical tales. See N Amuyaima, *Soubon Yairen Chanu,* Kakching, Amuyaima (Pub.), Kakching (Manipur), 1982.
68. Haliocentrism in its early form with dances and offerings can be found in Manipur. Kh. Yaima, n 59, pp. 14-21; pp. 6-7.
68. The concept of fetish carrier animal is unique. Kh. Yaima, n 59, p. 31.\
69. Thangjingcan also be studied as a fetish turned deity. See also, O. Bhogeshor, *Moirang Ningthourol Lambuba* (an account of Moirang Kings of Manipur in Manipuri), Part I, Imphal, Khogeshor (Pub.), Imphal, pp. 1-2.
70. There are views stating that Manipuri people in both valley and hill areas are of Chinese origin. In opposition to that there are also views that, Manipuris are of Southeast Asian origin. See R.R. Shimray, Origin and Culture of the Nagas, New Delhi, Mrs. P. Shimray (Pub.), New Delhi,]995, pp. 12-30.