“REMEMBERING TOGETHER”: HUAYTOM COMMUNITY
AND THE USE OF NARRATIVE IN A TIME OF TRANSITION

Patawee Promsen

A thesis submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in the Department of American Studies (Folklore).

Chapel Hill
2016

Approved by:
Patricia Sawin
Glenn Hinson
Leedom Lefferts
ABSTRACT

Patawee Promsen:
“Remembering Together”: Huaytom Community
And the use of Narrative in a time of Transition
(Under the direction of Patricia Sawin)

This thesis examines how the Karen people of Huaytom community in Li District, Lamphun Province, Thailand use narratives as a means to keep their charismatic leader, Kruba Wong, present in their lives.

Kruba Wong was a monk who founded the community in 1971, directed the community for almost thirty years, and is still influential to the Karen villagers until now even though he died in 2000. This thesis explores the ways in which these people deal with a transition: a time when Kruba Wong is not there with them anymore. In this situation, the Karen of Huaytom have their own ways to make their leader present and to avoid the need for a new leader. Their collective memories of Kruba Wong, their passionate feelings toward him, and their beliefs in him lead them to tell the stories about him. And by telling, retelling, and commemorating these stories, the people of Huaytom revive Kruba Wong and maintain a situation in which he has never really left them.
To my parents, Supan and Woraporn Promsen,  
whose love and support have guided me through the darkness.

With appreciation to the Karen people of Huaytom,  
whose hospitality, cordiality, and stories made this thesis possible.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not be successful without the help of my consultants, my committee members, and my family.

From my first visit to the village in 2012 as a journalist to the current visits as a research student, the Karen people of Huaytom welcomed me with hospitality and cordiality even many of whom I met and talked with did not exactly know why I was there in the village. Each time I stepped into the community, I could feel the warmth and kindness spreading throughout the village. As a minority group in Thailand whose voices are waiting to be heard, they are eager yet humble to tell their own stories and histories to me who is completely an outsider.

I thank my thesis committee who have inspired and supported me over these two years during my study at UNC-Chapel Hill. My deep gratitude is to my chief advisor, Patricia Sawin. My thesis would not have become possible without her help, support, patience, and understanding throughout the past two years, from my first day at UNC Folklore Program until now. I thank Glenn Hinson, who welcomed me to the world of ethnography and encouraged me to start this project. This thesis could not be successful without Leedom Lefferts whose knowledge and dedication made this thesis become real. I am thankful to all the faculty members and professors I studied with, who have guided me to the world of folklore and expressive culture and the better understanding of the world we live.

My deepest gratitude is for my family, whose love and support have inspired and motivated me to start, continue and complete this project. I thank my father who always suggests me interesting ideas about my research. I thank my mother who never gets tired of
helping me as much as possible, including staying in the village with me during my fieldwork.

A special thank you to my friends who have shared my happiness and shed my tears during these two years. Without them, my life would be very much harder than it has been.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF CONSULTANTS AND INDEX TO INTERVIEWS ........................................ ix
LIST OF FIGURES ............................................................................................................. x
INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 1
  Theories .............................................................................................................................. 2
  Methods ............................................................................................................................. 12

CHAPTER 1: A BRIEF HISTORY OF HUAYTOM COMMUNITY ............................. 18
  Who are the Karen? ........................................................................................................ 23
  A Meritorious Monk named Kruba Wong ..................................................................... 29
  The Foundation of Huaytom Village ............................................................................ 31

CHAPTER 2: HUAYTOM IN A TIME OF TRANSITION ........................................... 35
  Kruba’s Charisma ............................................................................................................ 40
  Collective Memory of Kruba Wong .............................................................................. 43
  Belief: The Karen’s Religion as it is lived .................................................................... 46

CHAPTER 3: COMMEMORATION ............................................................................. 51
  Oral to Written Text: The Moving Stories ................................................................... 52
  Nostalgia and the Selection of Memories ..................................................................... 58
  Memory to History: Personal Narrative to Historical Legend .................................... 62

CONCLUSION ..................................................................................................................... 70

AFTERWORD .................................................................................................................... 73
APPENDIX .......................................................................................................................... 75
# LIST OF CONSULTANTS

And

INDEX TO INTERVIEWS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Interview Context</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Initials &amp; Paragraph Numbers</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maitree Tansookwongsa</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>Chai-Baan</td>
<td>July 4, 2015</td>
<td>MT, 1-15</td>
<td>75-81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>Chai-Baan</td>
<td>July 5, 2015</td>
<td>NK, 1-41</td>
<td>81-97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan Gasore (Thepsirin Thawinwarangkoon)</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>His house</td>
<td>July 5, 2015</td>
<td>NG, 1-29</td>
<td>97-109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sureeporn Pongsakamon</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>Her house</td>
<td>December 19, 2015</td>
<td>SP, 1-19</td>
<td>109-119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peipore Rermtrakoonmai</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>His house</td>
<td>December 20, 2015</td>
<td>PR, 1-16</td>
<td>119-128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barada Kiawkhacheeprai</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>Huaytom Temple</td>
<td>December 21, 2015</td>
<td>BK, 1-26</td>
<td>128-141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wimon Sookdang</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>Huaytom Temple</td>
<td>December 21, 2015</td>
<td>WS, 1-19</td>
<td>141-153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppatham Sangakit</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>Huaytom Temple</td>
<td>December 22, 2015</td>
<td>US, 1-27</td>
<td>153-166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boonsri Sofia</td>
<td>In person</td>
<td>His house</td>
<td>December 23, 2015</td>
<td>BS, 1-17</td>
<td>166-174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Lamphun Province and Thailand (view 1)</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Lamphun Province and Thailand (view 2)</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Lamphun Province and Thailand (view 3)</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>A view of Huaytom Community from Google Earth</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>A map of Huaytom Community</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>The mountainous landscape of Li District, Lamphun (view 1)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>The mountainous landscape of Li District, Lamphun (view 2)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>Karen houses (view 1)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>Karen houses (view 2)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>Roads in the village (view 1)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Roads in the village (view 2)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Ngaepore and his friends at Chai-Baan</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>A building locate the Buddha’s footprints and the mural</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>Karen people of Huaytom in Krua-Tarn ceremony</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>A forum “A story of a Thai ‘Karen’ in America Part1”</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>A forum “Using the term ‘Karen’ when reviewing a trip” (view 1)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>A forum “Using the term ‘Karen’ when reviewing a trip” (view 2)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>Kruba Wong’s main statue in Huaytom temple</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>Sriviangchai Stupa</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Ngaepore with the rosary</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Kruba Wong’s mummified body</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Barada telling a story of young Kruba Wong</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2.4 An evening meditation at Chai-Baan.................................................48
Figure 2.5 An altar at Sureeporn's house (view 1).................................................50
Figure 2.6 An altar at Sureeporn's house (view 2).................................................50
Figure 3.1 A parade on Krua-Tarn ceremony.........................................................51
Figure 3.2 A book written by Kruba Wong in 1979 (view 1).................................55
Figure 3.3 A book written by Kruba Wong in 1979 (view 2).................................55
Figure 3.4 A book written by Kruba Wong in 1979 (view 3).................................55
Figure 3.5 A book written by the monk (view 1)......................................................57
Figure 3.6 A book written by the monk (view 2)......................................................57
Figure 3.7 Poeypore, a Karen who watches the holy spring.................................60
Figure 3.8 Several patterns of textiles at the handicraft center..........................65
Figure 3.9 Wimon at Nambormoi village.............................................................66
Figure 3.10 Students learning a traditional Karen music...................................68
Figure 3.11 Kruba Wong’s statue at Monthon Wongsa temple.............................70
Figure 1.1-1.3 Lamphun Province and Thailand. Map by Google Maps: www.maps.google.com
Figure 1.4 A view of Huaytom Community from Google Earth

Figure 1.5 A Map of Huaytom Community
INTRODUCTION

“If we remember him, he will never forget us,” said Nan Gasore, a 62-year-old Karen man, describing Kruba Wong, the deceased leader of the Huaytom community.

Kruba Wong was a Buddhist monk who devoted his life to marginalized people in Northern Thailand, and who founded the Karen community called Huaytom, located in Li District, Lamphun Province, Thailand. People in the community regard him as a meritorious saint because he successfully converted the Karen from animists to Buddhists. As a community leader, he not only chose the location for the town and directed its early residents in constructing essential buildings, but also gained supernatural and sacred power that protected the community both physically and spiritually. After spending several weeks in this community, I was attracted by how frequently and seriously the villagers tell stories about Kruba Wong to each other and to visitors.

This thesis examines the distinctive significance of Kruba Wong to the Karen people of Huaytom community. The ways they remember, tell, and retell stories about Kruba Wong reveal not only their identities and senses of their community, but also their beliefs. In this research, I argue that even though Kruba Wong died, belief keeps him alive. Commemoration through storytelling is, therefore, not their means to preserve him, but the expression of their faith in him, as for them he is present, even though he has already been dead for 16 years.

For this thesis, I conducted a series of interviews with nine Karen individuals whose ages and roles in the community vary. Among these people, two are monks, four are older adults whose ages range from sixties to eighties, and three are younger adults in their mid-thirties.
In this thesis, I demonstrate several ways in which the Huaytom Karen construct their identities through commemorative activities, especially storytelling. The theories and methods sections below provide the background of how I have come to the argument I make in the thesis. After that comes a brief background of the Huaytom community. The questions of who Kruba Wong is, who are the Karen, and what the Huaytom community looks like are provided in this chapter. Chapter 2 is mainly about Huaytom in a time of transition, focusing on how the Karen maintain their faith in Kruba Wong in the time after he has just died. Kruba Wong's charisma, the Karen’s memory of Kruba Wong, and their expressions of beliefs are discussed in this chapter. The last chapter demonstrates the variety of commemorations found in the village and the means by which each group of people remember and reconstruct Kruba Wong through their commemorative activities. This chapter also suggests the process in which story becomes representative of Kruba. Narrative not only plays an important role in a time of transition, but also in the future where the social and economic purposes might probably be as important as religious and cultural purposes.

THEORIES

COMMENORATION

This thesis is built around a series of folkloristic, anthropological, and oral history theories in order to answer my preliminary question: Why do the Karen of Huaytom community choose to tell stories of Kruba Wong? In answering this question, I start with Ray Cashman’s idea of commemoration. In his work concerning storytelling in Aghyaran, a small town in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland, near the border with the Republic of Ireland, Ray Cashman devoted nine years researching the occasions in which the storytelling events exist and people’s
motivations and needs for telling the stories. The connections to my thesis research I see are the ways by which the people of Aghyaran construct stories and successfully use these stories to maintain both their individual identities and their community.

Cashman uses the term “commemoration” to suggest the act of remembering together: the process engaged in by any community realizing itself through bids to represent a shared past (Cashman, 2008: 234). Commemorative activities such as exchanging local anecdotes at “wakes” and “ceilis”, notes Cashman, are for the purposes of asserting community yet preserving and reminding each other of past ways. This storytelling can also teach younger generations about “how their ancestors lived so that they will take less for granted” (Cashman, 2008: 243).

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

One lesson that has always been passed on to the younger generations in Huaytom community is Kruba’s magical and supernatural power. His deeds and his words established him in the Huaytom community as what Max Weber calls a “charismatic leader” (Weber, 1968). The celebrations and commemorations are formed because of the united belief in the charisma Kruba had.

In his work concerning leadership and authority, Max Weber suggests the term “charisma” should mean the certain quality of an individual personality that derives from the individual’s “virtue, supernatural and exceptional powers or qualities” (Weber, 1947). These qualities make a charismatic leader unique, different from the ordinary men, and more appealing than the other two types of leadership: the legal and the traditional.

In order for someone to be a charismatic leader, according to Weber, followers must hold an unquestioned belief in their leader. People felt affection for Kruba Wong and use this charisma to tie themselves to him. As Karl Holl puts it, charismatic leaders in religious contexts
might or might not attempt to go beyond their own sphere of religious practice, but charisma carries with it its own authorization (Holl in Adair-Toteff, 2015: 135). Therefore “the monk who had charisma had the capacity to judge others and to show them the right path to take” (Holl in Adair-Toteff, 2015: 135).

Weber also suggests that since people believe in charismatic leaders because of their “extraordinariness”, when the leader loses his extraordinary power or dies, the charisma fails. This means that this type of leadership is almost inevitably “short lived” (Ghosh, 2015). When the charismatic leader is gone, there will almost always be a transference to another leader or to another type of leadership. However, this thesis proposes a third option, developed by the people of Huaytom, that it is not necessary for a community to always have to find a new leader when the previous one died.

MEMORY TO REMEMBERING

Even though Kruba Wong died and he did not plan for a transference or “a succession,” the charisma of Kruba Wong does not fail in the way Weber suggests. The Karen keep Kruba Wong’s charisma present by remembering and telling his stories.

Jacquelyn Dowd Hall suggests in “You must Remember This: Autobiography as Social Critique” (1998) that there are four types of memory: personal memory, social memory, history, and political imagination (442-443). According to Hall, personal memories are the chains of association that seem to come unbidden to the mind, rely on concrete images, and split and telescope time (442); social memories are the shared, informal, contested stories that simultaneously describe and act on our social world (443); followed by history as the accounts we reconstruct from the documentary traces of an absent past (443); while the last type, political imagination, is the hope for a different future that inspires and is inspired by the study of the past
(443). She suggests that there is fluidity between these memories, giving an example that the personal memories, when organized into narratives that contrast the “there and then” with the “here and now”, can be seen as informal histories (444). By repeating these memories in the form of stories, members of the Huaytom community transform Kruba Wong’s actions from subjectively recollected events to what Della Pollock calls “embodied memory acts”, a way of “moving memory into re-membering” (Pollock, 2005: 2).

Memory, therefore, plays an important role in the community. Shared memories about Kruba Wong lead community members to various commemorative forms in the community. The ordinary events that happened in the community, Kruba Wong’s everyday actions, and his rules and regulations are thus filtered and redefined through the process of remembering and retelling. The result is that they become a set of official stories that are both sustaining to the villagers and compelling enough to attract visitors.

NOSTALGIA AND SCREEN MEMORY

Nostalgia is another means the Huaytom Karen use to remember the past. The Huaytom Karen state emphatically that they used to be poor, uneducated, and subjugated, but that this has turned out to be an advantage rather than a miserable past, because it has given them chances to: 1) meet Kruba Wong and help him when he was in trouble and 2) follow Kruba Wong here and have a brand new life. Nostalgia therefore becomes their means for turning memories of their life history into stories and making the past remain real. It helps them look at the difficulties in the past as a good time and to make up for what has been lost, their collective powerlessness as the minority group in Thailand.

Even when people look at the past in a romanticized way, it is still important to look at those memories to see what these people value. As Alessandro Portelli asserts, “the importance
of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it” (1991: 50), as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge (see also Shircliffe, 2001: 62).

From this idea, nostalgia can be defined as “homesickness—a yearning for something past that is no longer recoverable” (Shircliffe, 2001: 62). As he passed away, the feeling of security faded away with him for at least some Huaytom residents. As Ngaepore stated, “When we know that Kruba has gone, we felt… oh… shocked. We were scared, because we didn’t know how Huaytom would change if we didn’t have Kruba with us.” (NK, para 41) In order to maintain their sense of security, this group of people brings back the good memories they shared with their leader.

In the process of remembering for a particular purpose, individuals select particular memories and form them in a new way. Sigmund Freud illustrates the idea of “screen memories,” suggesting that we always construct our life histories retrospectively. According to Freud, our memories about the past “show us our earliest years not as they were but as they appeared at the later periods when the memories were aroused.” And in the period of arousal, the memories do not “emerge” but are “formed” (Freud, 1899: 322).

According to Hall’s idea of memory, it is worth noting that not only personal memory but also social memory play crucial roles in the community. The young adults in the village, for example, use memory as a means to negotiate with the visitors and the outsiders. In this kind of situation, “social memory” is constructed. The memory of these young people about Kruba Wong and its purpose of remembering makes it unique. According to David W. Blight, “the sense of social memory in any region or group depends on how much of its collective, cognitive energy is devoted to the work of selecting and imposing meaning on the past, how much effort it extends in remembering and forgetting as social units” (2000: 348).
Huaytom individuals remember Kruba Wong in their own ways, some in a more personal way, some in a more political way. There are diverse answers to the question of what Kruba Wong really means to them. But in whatever role they prefer to see him, these stories take them to the same basic plot lines: The Karen commemorate Kruba Wong because he was a holy, charismatic leader who gave them a new life and therefore deserves to receive both faith and love. Thus he continues to live with them.

BELIEF AND VERNACULAR RELIGION

While memory and nostalgia motivate people to commemorate Kruba Wong, belief leads people to tell stories of Kruba Wong. According to Linda Dégh, belief cannot be collected but “it lives in the minds, not on the lips, of people - it is a convention tacitly shared by a community” (2001: 82).

Leonard Primiano offers the term “vernacular religion” to mean religion as it is lived: as human beings encounter, understand, interpret, and practice it (Primiano, 1995: 44). According to him, a vernacular religion can prove to us that there exists more than just an “official” religion in a community. But verbal, behavioral, material, and any other form of expressive culture, come from the varieties of people’s religious beliefs. Because vernacular religion contains contents and motivations of individuals’ actual beliefs, it should not be “juxtaposed to the religion of social leaders or intellectual cognoscenti” (Primiano, 1995: 47). In this situation, a belief system found in a community formed by a charismatic leader is much different from those of legal or traditional leaders, because it contains elements that stand in the opposite side of rational and systematic thoughts and behaviors. According to Weber, rational discipline eradicates charisma (Weber 1968: 1149).
Vernacular beliefs and charisma therefore share the same concept: they are not held by an organized group (Lantis, 1960: 204), but rather are ways of communicating, thinking, behaving within “a particular cultural circumstance” (Primiano, 1995: 42).

The legends about Kruba Wong and storytelling activities in Huaytom village connect closely to this belief system. The legends are the products of the vernacular religious beliefs yet they themselves keep these beliefs viable by displaying religion as it is lived.

**TRADITION**

As charisma, memories, and beliefs correlate, commemoration becomes the ultimate goal of this collaborative work. According to Cashman, commemoration does not appear only in the form of storytelling, its attempts can be seen through other forms of expressive culture, for example, for the people of Aghyran, the annual Orange parade, the traditional horse plowing competition, or the folk crafts fairs. For the people of Huaytom, this includes the annual cloth-changing ritual on May 17th, the annual Kathina ceremony in November, the Karen folk music, and the foodways. These commemorative forms are worth noting because they evidence the belief systems behind these people’s lives. However, I choose to focus primarily on the storytelling events in this thesis.

As Amy Shuman puts it, remembering and commemoration can evoke a sense of loss and a desire to retrieve what remains (Shuman, 2001: 70). Cashman, however, suggests that commemoration not only happens for the purpose of preserving the past, but also expresses a desire to assert community (Cashman, 2008: 243).

Raymond Williams looks at tradition as a process of creation. In “Traditions, Institutions and Formations”, he suggests that people see and create not just a tradition but a selective tradition: “an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is
then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification” (Williams, 1977: 115). Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin’s work on “Tradition, Genuine or Spurious” (1984) reinforces Williams’s idea by asking whether a practice or belief regarded as traditional can be considered genuine when it is placed in new contexts and settings. Handler and Linnekin suggest that tradition is not “handed down from the past, as a thing or collection of things; it is symbolically reinvented in an ongoing present” (280).

SENSE OF PLACE

Another effort of commemoration is to assert local community. Cashman demonstrates how much place and geography mean to people. Given the example from his fieldwork, he finds the energy people devote to place is an attempt to “define themselves as a group through commemoration of a shared past and shared identity” (Cashman, 2008: 245).

Following what Eudora Welty calls “the blessing of being located” (Welty in Blight, 2000: 348), sense of place constructs our life history and identity as it gives us a sense of who we are. In “Wisdom sits in Places,” Keith Basso talks about the meanings of place in people’s lives. He illustrates how place is involved in the construction of memory and identity. Basso did fieldwork with the Apache in Arizona for more than thirty years to collect place-names and he found out that knowledge of place is linked to knowledge of self. It also links to “grasping one’s position in the larger scheme of things, including one’s own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person” (Basso, 1996: 34). For the people in Huaytom, place is important to them not only because they are the ones who physically constructed it, but also because the memory of their new life and their charismatic leader are tied with this place. The Huaytom temple, the village center, the Sriviangchai Stupa, and many places in the village
therefore exist not simply physical structures but as “lived relationships” between the place and the Karen.

MOVING STORIES

In order to pass on the storytelling tradition, the people of Huaytom have several ways to form their commemorative activities. For example, the old people usually tell the stories of Kruba Wong to the younger people when they go to the monasteries together on Buddhist holy days, the monks tell and retell these stories to each other and to their followers, and the adults teach the children the community history by persuading them to become tour guides. One thing they also usually do is to transform the oral tradition to the written text. Kruba Wong himself wrote down his personal experiences and his knowledge for the monks in the Northern Thai dialect. The way the stories travel from one context to another becomes a vehicle for remembering and commemorating in this village.

As Amy Shuman puts it, “When stories travel beyond their owners, the messages they convey are larger than an individual incident or an individual life” (2001: 6). In this case, the stories go further from the personal stories of Kruba Wong, stories that he told to his close disciples, to a larger scale. They become guidelines for the monks, functioning as teaching models about which those monks often talk.

In this case, the personal experience narrative of Kruba Wong shows how “experiential meaning” (Braid, 1996) works. Even though the listeners don’t have the same kind of experience as the original teller, narrative gives them the opportunity to understand the owner by its coherent, followable accounts of perceived past experience (Braid, 1996: 6). The process of following a narrative gives the readers or listeners the chance to understand those experiences by thinking that even though it is not true, it somehow “could be true”.
However, even though secondhand bearers can perceive themselves as though they were in those times with Kruba Wong, the interpretation of experience will never be the same. According to Shuman, “stories very rarely stay with their owners,” but “what might be the most compelling feature of storytelling is the possibility that its power to transfer and transform will change the meaning of experience” (Shuman, 2001: 6).

Shuman also gives several examples such as children dying or child abuse narratives, asking that in such a situation of sharing these narratives, how ownership is claimed and what territory is included in the claim and do tellers have rights to claim their ownership of narrative? As Shuman notes, “all stories about things that shouldn’t happen share a problem about how to talk about tragedies without romanticizing or somehow distancing the events from one’s own experience” (Shuman, 2005: 20). Even the stories of Kruba Wong are not tragedies; they share Shuman’s model of the necessity of a critique of empathy. As the stories travel, what should be asked is that: Do the stories become weaker or stronger when they travel too far from the owner? Storytelling about personal experience, asserts Shuman, has “subversive potential”, but “personal narrative is not of itself an antidote to the dominant narrative” (2005: 21). Thus stories from the margin reinscribe the center and their marginality by “calling attention to their marginality in an attempt to undermine the center” (Shuman, 2005: 21).

The models of moving stories and experiential meaning enable us to recognize that the oral and non-oral reinforce each other. Written versions, material culture, and religious practices all work together with the oral stories to tell the secondhand Karen bearers of tradition that this is Kruba Wong, the meritorious and admirable monk who protected us so they should do whatever forms of commemoration are necessary to keep him alive.
In an examination of why and how Huaytom Karen choose to tell stories of Kruba Wong, I use these theoretical insights as guidelines although I discovered that these do not apply perfectly in this case. I have come to realize that stories in this community function as more than just stories, but stories show how these people find out about their beliefs and how they reveal it.

METHODS

As part of my career as a journalist, I was sent on assignment to write about the Huaytom Karen’s annual ceremony, Krua-Tarn. I stepped into this community for the first time in December 2012 to join the ceremony. The Krua-Tarn ceremony is derived from the Theravada Buddhist “Kathina,” a religious ceremony found throughout Theravada Buddhist Southeast Asian countries. Krua-Tarn/Kathina is mainly about donations. During the festival, Buddhists bring donations to temples, especially new robes for the monks. During the ceremony in Huaytom, the Karen form a huge parade containing their donations and march from their village center to the Sriviangchai Stupa.

Several times during my first stay, I noticed that this community is a place full of stories and storytelling events. Huaytom Karen frequently use narrative, especially narrative about Kruba Wong and the sacred places that he built, as a way to define their identity as a unique group of Karen and their community as a sacred and utopian space, different from what is typically Karen in other communities. The rich and compelling stories I witnessed the first time I was there made me aware of the power of narrative when it is transmitted collectively in the public sphere.
From that point on, my interest in the Karen and the hill people grew. As a travel journalist, I had an opportunity to travel to several other places where the hill people were treated unequally and struggled to redefine their identity.

I had a chance to go back to the Huaytom community twice in 2015. I spent the summer working with community members and found that at least three different kinds of narratives are told there. The first are origin myths, recounting how the Huaytom community was created; these are magic and mythical tales about the sacred place in the community. The second are religious tales, narratives about the Buddha and other monks who came here in the past and have influenced the community. The third are culture hero tales, which are narratives about Kruba Wong. Even though these three kinds of narratives connect closely within the community, I chose to pay attention mainly to the culture hero tales that talk about Kruba Wong, because they are the strongest stories and could unveil the Huaytom Karen’s worldview through the lens of narrative.

I initially worked with three main consultants who were eager to pass on stories about Kruba Wong. They are the village center guard Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai, the monk Maitree Tansukwongsa, and the farmer Nan Gasore or Thepsirin Thavinvarangkul. These three consultants are all Karen who have strong attachments to Kruba Wong and were eager to tell the stories they knew to me. I started doing fieldwork by going to the Chai-Baan and met Ngaepore there. He works there as a guard, keeping the key for entering the place. Everyone who wants to get in must ask him permission. Talking with him broadened my knowledge and vision about the village and the Karen. Ngaepore invited me to join the morning food offerings at the pavilion next to Chai-Baan. It was at that activity that I met Maitree, my second consultant. He is a Karen monk at the Monthon Wongsa temple: another temple situated at the entrance of the
village and built by Kruba Wong. My conversations with Nan Gasore were more extensive than those with the other two consultants because he was always willing to be the storyteller. I heard his name from an article in a Thai newspaper, saying that he was a close disciple of Kruba Wong. During our conversation, Nan Gasore never got tired of telling me the village legends and anecdotes.

In December 2015, I came back to the village with hopes of talking more with my three consultants. This time I met several other interesting people who were willing to share their memories about Kruba Wong. I ended up having nine people as my consultants. During my fieldwork, I realized that I was exploring and presenting the whole community through the world of just nine people whose stories might or might not be the same as those of the other twenty two thousand people whom I didn’t have a chance to talk to.

I started with contacting Sureeporn, about whom Wimon told me the last time I entered the village (July 2015) that she opened her house for a home-stay project. Unfortunately, her house was full at that time and was in high demand so she couldn’t accept me. This time, December 2015, a Korean researcher had just decided to check out so there was a place for me. I started talking with Sureeporn, who was eager to give me village information. She suggested that I talk to Peipore Rermtrakoonmai, who later became my interlocutor. I also had a chance to meet Barada Kiawkhacheeprai, a tour guide, as suggested by Sureeporn. Barada was free from her harvest and also available to talk to me. I told Barada I was collecting stories of Kruba Wong and wanted to talk to whoever had stories about him in mind. I asked her to act as if I were a tourist coming to this village for the first time and to tell me those stories of Kruba Wong and the village as she told them to the tourists. She took me to Huaytom temple and told me stories along the way. I asked her if I could meet the monks; thus she invited me to meet
Uppatham Sangakit, claiming that she was familiar with him and could arrange a meeting for me. That is the way I met Uppatham Sangakit, who also became my consultant.

After asking advice from Wimon Sookdang, a Karen who is a member of Nasai Sub-District Administrative Organization (SAO), by phone several times since June 2015, on December 21, 2015, I had an opportunity to meet him in person. He took me to the Royal Project Foundation, Nambornoi sub-village, and invited me to meet the chief of the Nasai Sub-District Administrative Organization. He also suggested I should meet Boonsri Sofia, claiming that Boonsri was a close disciple of Kruba Wong and able to ‘speak Thai fluently.’

As an outsider, I was pushed and pulled to meet the “assigned” individuals in the village. My ethnographic work is therefore not fully a choice of my own, but instead, a scheme designed by a group of people working together to construct “Huaytom stories” in their own preferred meanings. I now realize that by talking with these “selected” individuals the kind of information and insight I would get from them is selective. I believe that what they chose to share with me is the positive information, which probably similar to the positive history they teach to their children. In the village, there are several ways to pass on the “Karen stories and tradition” to the children. Kruba Wong’s life history is one of those stories that is added to the teaching both in everyday life and in school. Children get positive information from their parents and teachers and thus want to continue telling Kruba Wong’s stories. I believe the same thing has happened to me, who became impressed and could somehow help transmit these stories to the world.

According to Barada, setting up themselves as teachers prevents the children from learning the “wrong version” of the Karen history and identity from the outside.

I started each of the interviews by telling my consultants that I was a graduate student collecting stories of Kruba Wong and that was why I wanted to talk to them as they were the
ones who knew him well. Some talked to me in Thai while some preferred speaking Northern Thai. Because most of the people I chose to interview were primarily “screened” by each previous consultant, all of them were eager to talk with me. I assume they realized that with the information they provided, I would gain an impressive feeling about their village.

During my stay, I used a voice recorder and recorded some video just in case I might have a chance to use it in the future. But when entering into the sacred places or participating in the holy events (for example, their morning prayer in the temple), I put down the recorder and camera and wrote field notes instead. Because of their help, I collected many tales that led me to the analytical part of this thesis.

The consultants with whom I eventually conducted interviews are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT</td>
<td>Maitree Tansookwongsa</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Monk at MonthonWongsa Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>Uppatham Sangakit</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Monk at Huaytom Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>Boonsri Sofia</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Retired Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NG</td>
<td>Nan Gasore (Thepsirin Thawinwarangkun)</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK</td>
<td>Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Guard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Peipore Rermtrakoonmai</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BK</td>
<td>Barada Kiawkhacheeprai</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Tour Guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Sureeporn Pongsakamon</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Owner of Home-Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS</td>
<td>Wimon Sookdang</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Village Tourism Organization Leader</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(These and all subsequent photographs by author.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wimon Sookdang</th>
<th>Maitree Tansookwongsa</th>
<th>Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.jpg" alt="Wimon Sookdang" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.jpg" alt="Maitree Tansookwongsa" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.jpg" alt="Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thepsirin Thawinwarangkoon</td>
<td>Sureeporn Pongsakamon</td>
<td>Peipore Rermtrakoonmai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image4.jpg" alt="Thepsirin Thawinwarangkoon" /></td>
<td><img src="image5.jpg" alt="Sureeporn Pongsakamon" /></td>
<td><img src="image6.jpg" alt="Peipore Rermtrakoonmai" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barada Kiawkhacheeprai</td>
<td>Uppatham Sangakit</td>
<td>Boonsri Sofia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image7.jpg" alt="Barada Kiawkhacheeprai" /></td>
<td><img src="image8.jpg" alt="Uppatham Sangakit" /></td>
<td><img src="image9.jpg" alt="Boonsri Sofia" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1: A BRIEF HISTORY OF HUAYTOM COMMUNITY

“When he [Kruba Wong] was young and was just ordained by Kruba Prommachak, they both once traveled here. Kruba Wong then asked his teacher why he didn’t renovate this place like many other places that they passed by. Kruba Prommachak then said, “It is your duty to build this place.” In those days Kruba Wong wondered how a novice like him could play such an important role. Kruba Wong always expressed his doubt on that day to his disciples. It is a miracle that when he grew up, he could really come back and develop this place.”

- Barada Kiawkhacheeprai, 2015 (BK, para 16)

Figure 1.6-1.7 The mountainous landscape of Li District, Lamphun.
Stepping into this community, one clearly sees a vast landscape of plains surrounded by mountains and hills. Different from other Karen villages, Huaytom village is located in the lowlands of Li District, Lamphun Province, in the northern region of Thailand, where it is accessible by public road and transportation.

Located in tropical Asia, Huaytom is in an infertile area covered with sandy loam. Beneath the loam lies laterite, which makes the entire plain dry all year round. Water scarcity is thus a critical issue among the Karen residents, which can be traced back from a large amount of myths and legends about water.

In the past forty years, Karen from many groups have come to live together, making Huaytom to recently become the largest Karen community in Thailand with its estimated 22,000 Karen population, practicing Buddhism.

From Chiang Mai Province, it takes 80 miles to reach Huaytom. Highway 106 leads to Li District, Lamphun Province in about two and a half hours. Driving south along the Highway 106, you will see Monthon Wongsa at the 7-kilometer marker. Make a right turn at the road next to Monthon Wongsa and drive 3 miles further and you will arrive at the community.

The Huaytom plan is well organized, the roads are symmetrically divided into segments. The construction was planned and directed by Kruba Wong himself. Huaytom is not a small village like one might expect when hearing the word “village,” but rather a huge community with an area of 9,500 acres, surrounded by plains and hills.
In the village, people live close to each other. The houses usually have low roofs and are built of wood. The backyards are vast and clean. Almost every house is surrounded by plants and flowers. Thus, everywhere in the village you can still find shade, even though the land is considered dry all year round. In the middle of the village is situated Chai-Baan (Thai: ใจบ้าน); the sacred place functions as a village center. “Chai” in Thai means “heart” and “baan” means “home”. The place name reveals how people of Huaytom look at this place: it is a place where every heart (everyone) in the home (community) gather together. Thus it is one of the most important places for the Karen villagers. It is a place where Kruba Wong used to meditate and
called for water for the villagers. The villagers come here to donate food offerings to the monks and the deities every morning and to meditate every evening.

Near Chai-Baan is located the handicraft center where folk arts and crafts, especially Karen textiles and silver accessories, are displayed for sale. The center is supported by the Royal Project Foundation, the foundation directed by His Majesty King Bhumibol. The foundation headquarters itself is some 2 miles away from the handicraft center. Established in 1978, it is a non-profit organization to help support the villagers by teaching them to grow alternative plants and vegetables.

Close to the Royal Project is Nambornoi village. It is a sub-village of Huaytom community where about 50 Karen households choose to abandon their modern and urban lives to
live an old traditional Karen way. They have denied themselves electricity and all kinds of modern utilities and practice strict Buddhism.

The Huaytom temple functions quite the same as the Chai-Baan in providing the Karen moral and social support. The temple is located only five blocks away from the Chai-Baan and is a large temple compared to the typical temple in Thailand. There are 30 buildings on the temple grounds. Most activities take place, however, at the main pavilion building where Kruba Wong’s mummified body is kept in a glass casket.

After he died in 2000, the Karen and outside followers agreed to keep his body in the temple without cremation. As his body does not decompose, the faith in him grows every day. There are a large number of Buddhist followers who believe that the monk’s body will not decay because he meditated strictly enough to be able to get rid of the wastes in the mind, thus the pure mind effects the pure body.

Besides the remarkable mummified body of Kruba Wong, Huaytom temple attracts visitors by its renowned Buddha’s footprints. That is why the temple’s full name is “Wat Prabat Huaytom” as “prabat” means the Buddha’s footprint. Souvenirs such as amulets, bead necklaces, and photos of Kruba Wong can be bought here.
Apart from the monasteries, statues of Kruba Wong are also found throughout the village. Everywhere there is a statue, there will be flowers and offerings from the Karen placed in front of it, as a way to worship their beloved leader. In almost every house there are also photos of Kruba Wong hanging on the wall or placed with the photos of the King and the Buddha. These three figures: the King, the Buddha, and Kruba Wong, are equally important to these people who are called by the Thai, “the Karen”.

**WHO ARE THE KAREN?**

“I am an immigrant. I am from Chiang Mai. I was here since I was fifteen years old. Right now I’m sixty-two. I have been here since 1971. We are the first generation who migrated from Omkoi District, Chiang Mai. We struggled to live in the remote area in the thick forest... We moved here because we have a deep bond with Krubas.”

- Nan Gasore, 2015 (NG, para1)
Before going into more details about the community, let us go into the background about the Karen. Who are the Karen? Why were they in need of help by Kruba Wong? The Karen spoke a number of Sino-Tibetan languages and participated in several different cultures prior to the coming of Western colonialism. Evidently European colonialism grouped these different peoples together in Myanmar and Thailand, terming them Karen. These people originally lived in Myanmar’s Karen state, located at the borders of the Irrawaddy and eastern regions of Myanmar/Burma. Beginning in the 13th Century, large numbers of Karen migrated to take up residence at the edges of what is now Northern Thailand (Keyes, 1979: 31) particularly in Tak, Maehongson, Chiang Mai, and Lamphun provinces, raising livestock and growing crops. While the majority of Karen practice Theravada Buddhism today, some are Christian, and many are Animist.

As the Karen didn’t like to attract the attention of other people, they deliberately lived in remote areas out of the way of stronger groups (Renard, 2003: 2), surrounding their villages with bamboo poles and living in longhouses. As Ronald Renard describes, the simple physical structure of the longhouse facilitated their frequent moves and represents their defensive nature since “not only would they move to avoid danger from marauding groups, but they also migrated following outbreaks of smallpox or other contagious deadly diseases” (Renard, 2003: 4).

Harry Marshall (1922) suggests that the term “Karen” is a collective term which derives from various terms the Burmese and Tai (Thai, Lao, Shan, northern Thai) people use to call forest people. However, as Luangaramsri puts it, the “Karen” never used these terms themselves (Luangaramsri, 2003: 23). Instead, they call themselves by their own names, for example, the Karen in Thailand called themselves “Pgagayaw”, with “Pga” means “human” and “gayaw” means “simple” to proclaim their rights as human beings.
The relationship between the Karen and the modern Thai state is precarious. The Karen have historically been viewed by people in the center as peripheral, living in the border areas. In the early 19th century, there was an idea that the hill people were “isolated remnants” who “have remained in the hills, and, in the absence of the later civilising influences” (Graham, 1913: 104). The history of the relation between the Karen and the Thai can be traced back since the 18th Century when all the peripheral people were categorized as “hill people” and later charged by the government as forest encroachers (Luangaramsri, 2003: 21). This notion of hill people began at the same period as the Thai tried to construct their “modern” nation-state on a European model. In the process of constructing the state, the hill people were constructed and categorized as uncivilized others in the pre-colonial period (Stott, 1991; Thongchai, 1994 in Luangaramsri, 2003).

Figure 1.14 Karen people of Huaytom at the annual Krua-tarn/kathina ceremony (December 2012)
Not only are the Karen unequally treated by the Thai Kingdom, they have been historically discriminated against by the Northern Thai (Lanna) who live in the same region of the North. Despite their close contact with the Northern Thai (Lanna) dating back into the twentieth century, the Karen still are classified as the minority group. The term “khon pa” (Thai: คนป่า) was sometimes used along with “chao khao” (Thai: ชาวเขา; “chao” means “people” and “khao” means “hill”) among the Northern Thai to call the hill people with “khon” means “people” and “pa” means forest (meaning “wild, uncivilized”), while they call themselves “khon muang” with “muang” as “city” (meaning “civilized”). The dichotomy of pa/muang (forest/city), according to Luangaramsri, represents the Lanna and Thai state’s (re)conceptualization of the border people in the Cold War climate in which nationalist ideology was intensified (Luangaramsri, 2003: 29). “Khon pa” is used to refer to nine ethnic minorities, including the Karen, even though some of these tribes are no longer mountain dwellers (Vienne 1989: 36).

Thai media and publications portray the Karen as “shy and awkward, not astute as other tribes” (Office of Secretary of National Psychological Operations-OSNCPO, 1974:79 in Luangaramsri: 2003:31). One government department proposed that the hill people “don’t submit themselves to external influence to change their traditional customs” (ibid). An article in Thairat newspaper, written by Doi Dokphin in 1973, also says that “there seems to be no promising sign that the chao khao way of life has changed into chao rao at all” (Thairath, 17

---

1 According to Saratsawadi Ongsakun in Prawattisat Lanna (Lanna History, 1996). During the reign of Prince Kawila of Lanna Kingdom, the Karen had a good relationship with the Kingdom as they played an important role as “the guardians of the forest for the valley state powers” (Jorgensen 1998). This role developed from Prince Kawila’s policy to control peripheral polities and it was the beginning of autonomous tributary relationships (Ongsakun, 1996: 339).

2 The nine groups are the Karen, Hmong, Lisu, Akha, Lahu, Yao, Kamu, H’tin, and Lua (Luangaramsri, 2003: 30)
November 1973 in Luangaramsri: 2003:31). This sentence deals with the variable meaning of words; “khao” in Thai can also mean “them” as well as “mountain,” while “rao” means “us”. Thus these words show how Central Thai perceived the hill people in the past. In order to convert the hill people to be civilized, the government agency released a policy that there would be “no hill tribes but only Thai” (Luangaramsri: 2003:31), officially changing the “others” to “us”.

The “them-us” dichotomy continues from the early construction of the modern Siamese/Thai state until now. The word “Karen” is widely used among Thai as a metaphor to refer to an individual who seems awkward and/or clumsy, usually used when that person travels out of Thailand to “first world” countries, for example to the United States or Western Europe, and feels awkward, alien, deviant from that society. This metaphor is broadly used in everyday conversations and often appears in Thai social media.

Figure 1.16-1.17 Another forum from www.pantip.com “Using the term “Karen” when reviewing a trip”. The poster asks whether it is appropriate for the trip reviewers to call themselves Karen when traveling abroad. In his opinion, it is not fun at all to use “Karen” as a negative metaphor. The top comment in this forum argues that: “Are the Karen in the hills civilized? I notice that some tribes of these people don’t even have a chance to see the sea.” URL: http://pantip.com/topic/32195517, posted June 15, 2014. Accessed May 21, 2016.

Thai state discourse has always represented the Karen as benign yet submissive hill people. And despite the Karen attempt to reclaim their identity, their status as neither “full citizens of Thailand nor totally alien others” (Keyes, 1979: 53) continues.
The Karen of Huaytom, moving from uplands to lowland, claim that their way of life differs from the typical Karen in the countryside. They put their efforts into promoting their village as a sustainable living community as well as a religious tourist attraction, a place where the ideal Buddha land is revived.

With additional support from the Royal Project Foundation directed by King Bhumibol of Thailand, the village becomes famous and distinctive because it is tied to the leader, the monk who formed and directed the community, Kruba Wong.

**A MERITORIOUS MONK NAMED KRUBA WONG**

“The villagers say that the reasons Kruba Wong was kind to the Karen are because; Firstly, Kruba Wong followed his leader, Kruba Srivichai’s principle; Secondly, there was an accusation within the priesthood and Kruba Srivichai was arrested. Kruba Wong had to run way from the temple in Lamphun Province because most people in Lamphun were Northern Thai. They didn’t like Krubas. Only the Karen helped Kruba at that time. They hid Kruba Wong from the Northern Thai. They gave him shelter. Before Kruba lived with the Karen, he did not have tattoos. But when he stayed there, and you know, every Karen male would have tattoos on his body, Kruba let the Karen do the tattoos for him. In this case, we considered him, and he considered himself, as Karen offspring.

- Barada Kiawkhacheeprai, 2015 (BK, para 14)
Kruba Wong, or Kruba Chaiyawongsa Pattana (Thai: ครูบาชัยยะวงศาพัฒนา), was born April 22, 1913, in Baan Kor village in Li District, Lamphun Province. Kruba Wong was ordained when he was twenty years old and later became a devoted disciple of Kruba Srivichai, the most famous and admirable Buddhist saint in Northern Thailand (Bowie, 2014: 712). Beginning in 1934, Kruba Wong followed Kruba Srivichai throughout Chiang Mai and the Northern part of Thailand preaching and helping people. The most famous activity they did was constructing the road to Doi Suthep Mountain. People revered them so much that it led to jealousy with the local monkhood. Kruba Srivichai was finally accused of not attending the monk’s district councils and not obeying its orders (Yoko, 2004: 241). The charges also suggest he had a “secular
interest” (Bowie, 2014: 716). As his teacher was jailed, Kruba Wong fled from Chiang Mai, heading west to live in Tak Province for a period of time.

It was at that time (1934-1939) that Kruba Wong met the Karen who lived in the uplands of Tak Province. During those years, through his strict meditation and his devotion to the Karen, the young monk earned the honorary title “Kruba,” which means “esteemed teacher,” a monk of high merit who can represent the source of merit for lay followers (Yoko, 2004: 240). This title is widespread in the Northern Thailand Buddhist community.

THE FOUNDATION OF HUAYTOM VILLAGE

“Once the Karen moved here, they brought with them weapons for hunting. Kruba didn’t want them to hunt anymore, so he initiated a ceremony called Tarn-Taen-Tarn-Chai. In this ceremony, everyone had to bring every tool they used for hunting in here, piled them up, and made a vow together they would never hunt again.”

- Barada Kiawkhacheeprai, 2015 (BK, para 18)

In 1945, Kruba Wong returned to his home District of Li, Lamphun. The Karen, recognizing that Kruba Wong had settled down there, gradually migrated from Tak, Chiang Mai, and the nearby places to Li District, Lamphun. Around 1971, the Huaytom community in Li District was officially recognized. Today it has 10 sub-villages and a Karen population estimated at 22,000 and is now considered one of the largest and strongest Karen communities in Thailand.

In the early years in Huaytom, Kruba Wong led the Karen to build religious monasteries and created community rules for them to follow. Kruba Wong also solved the water scarcity problem for the villagers by, claimed the villagers, meditating and praying in front of the Buddha’s image at the Chai-Baan and by having the villagers dig a pond which, they believe, did not need to be as deep as usual because of Kruga Wong's merit. In order for Karen newcomers
to live in the community, they had to follow the basic rules of not consuming meat, drinking alcohol, and worshipping spirits. The denial of meat consumption for this group of people, notes Hayami Yoko, is not merely a form of asceticism, but also implies a denial of their status quo (Yoko, 2002: 306). Paul T. Cohen also explains that the “forest monks,” Kruba, gain a reputation from their followers and are praised as holy men both because of their strict meditation derived from the forest monk tradition and because of their “active involvement in worldly affairs” (Cohen, 2002) such as building monasteries. During construction, Kruba Wong would preach Buddhist sermons and his magical powers were frequently presented. These construction activities were essential to the Karen followers not only because they provided opportunities for the followers to “contribute labor and thus earn merit” (Yoko, 2004: 240), but also because they gave them, claimed my consultants, the building skills for making a living in the future. As Kruba Wong supported all enterprises in the community, he provided “the possibility of an alternative way of life” (Yoko, 2004: 243). Hayami Yoko notes that this alternative is both “antithetical to the mainstream of Thai life and the customary hill Karen ritual life” (244). I argue that most of them do not try to reinforce their traditional way of life as much as try to be a part of a modern world, to be equal to Thai and Northern Thai. The “coming out of the forest” discourse thus serves them for the purpose of identity reconstruction.

Huaytom village today is not only a place for the followers’ devotion, but also a spot that attracts tourists from around the Kingdom. People are guided to visit the village and see the beauty of Huaytom temple, the sacred Buddha’s footprints, a holy spring created by the Buddha, and much more. The Royal Project foundation is there to support the Karen in their living, making weaving and dying from naturally extracted dye possible career paths. The tourists keep coming to the village to see how this religious community makes their sustainable living under
Kruba Wong’s contribution and under Royal patronage. According to Mikael Gravers, the village constitutes a field of merit, functioning as “a moral fortification in a globalised world, with royal protection and charismatic leadership” (Gravers, 2012: 358).

Kruba Wong, through his practice and his preaching, gained a reputation from both Karen and wealthy urban pilgrims and tourists. The best example of how much he is influential to his followers shows in the construction of Sriviangchai Stupa, for which the urban followers donated the money for merit and the Karen gave their labor to earn merit. They constructed a 71-meter-high stupa, an imitation of the renowned Shwedagon Stupa in Rangoon (Yangon), Myanmar, by their own labors.

![Figure 1.19 Srivangchai Stupa.](image)

It seems that, at that time, they had finally reached the point that everything was perfectly set: the migration ended; water scarcity was not a problem anymore; they had monasteries to pray for; they had their leader. The ideal life of the Huaytom community seemed to cease, however, when their leader passed away in 2000. People seemed to encounter a hard time when
Kruba Wong died and, as Weber predicted in cases of charismatic leadership, no one could replace him in leading the community.
CHAPTER 2: HUAYTOM IN A TIME OF TRANSITION

“I told them to keep calm and behave the same as when Kruba was still alive. Be the same and have unity in everything we do. Eat the same way. Don’t forget the honesty that Kruba repeatedly told us. Practice Dharma the same. Don’t abandon the monasteries. Offer foods to the monks in the morning. Pray and clean the monasteries in the evening. If we behave the same, no one can harm us.”

- Nan Gasore, 2015 (NG, para 24)

After speaking with nine Karen people with different roles in the community, I noticed that different people remember Kruba Wong as a leader in different ways and that there are at least three roles Kruba Wong plays in their lives: as teacher, as spiritual leader, and as social leader, depending on the social role of the consultant.

The first group consists of monks, who look at Kruba Wong as a teacher. This group sees Kruba Wong as a role model who exemplifies how to behave properly as a monk. As a Northern Thai monk, gaining a reputation from lay Buddhists requires references and connections, so that if a monk claims that his practices derived from Kruba’s norm, he will more easily be accepted by the people.

Two monks I met and interviewed at Huaytom stated that they inherited the teachings and history of Kruba Wong from older monks. Thus what they remember about Kruba Wong is different from the other two groups. For them, Kruba Wong was not someone who made changes to their social life; nor was he someone who offered the ideal place to live and who influenced their self-perception. Instead, he is a teacher or mentor who successfully did something important before. His disciplines will be a guide for acting properly as holy men in this
community. Uppatham Sangakit, the monk of the Huaytom temple, told me about the monks’
trend in building monasteries, following the example of Kruba Wong.

There are two hundred novices [in Huaytom]. Several of them come from other
communities. They follow their relatives here. Their relatives live here so their parents
ask the relatives to take care of their children. […] During the rains retreat period, there
are twenty-nine monks [in Huaytom]. But after the retreat period, they leave. They
travel to the mountains, building temples like Kruba. They follow Kruba’s discipline in
pilgrimage. Those who have skills can also build the stupas as a remembrance. […] You
know, sometimes we just found an ordinary place and we decided to build a temple there.
(US, para 19)

Uppatham Sangakit and Maitree, the two monks with whom I conversed, said that they
learned many things and knew many stories from the book that Kruba Wong wrote for them.

Here is how Uppatham Sangakit referred to the book:

There are many things about him [Kruba] that I don't know. It was because I didn’t read
it from his book [that] Kruba wrote it. … You can find it at the temples where Kruba
built. He wrote his autobiography in Northern Thai. When Kruba spoke, he spoke in the
way we couldn’t remember. We should have a voice recorder at that time so we could
record his voice. I do regret we didn’t do that. (US, para 15)

Maitree, the young monk, also stated that he knew the local legends from the book:

PP: How do you know all these legends?
MT: I learn from the book Kruba Wong wrote. He wrote an autobiography.
PP: Where did you get it? Where did you ordained?
MT: Here at Huaytom temple.
PP: I just want to know how these stories are transmitted. Did you and other people
also hear these stories from your parents?
MT: Yes, I did. I also have a book that is written in Northern Thai dialect. It is at
Monton Wongs, the temple where I live. If one day you can go there, I will show you
the book. There are stories of the Buddha coming to this place in that book. It is Kruba
Wong’s journal and autobiography. Many stories of him are in that book. (MT, para 8)

The book these two monks mentioned is written in Northern Thai. It is worth noting here
that only monks now use the Northern Thai dialect. So why did Kruba choose to write his story
in Northern Thai? It was probably because he wanted to pass on the stories and monk traditions
specifically to monks. Therefore, for this group, it is a matter of education.
The second group of Huaytom residents remembers Kruba Wong as a spiritual leader who brought virtue back to both their individual lives and the life of the community. This group consists of four older adults who were the first generation who migrated to Huaytom village. Ngaepore, one of my first consultants, mentioned Kruba as a holy person who has great virtue. And because of his virtue, he has a right to be an ideal leader for the community.

Kruba said that Anicca, Dhukka, and Anatta are three facts we can’t run away from. He said when he died, the descendants had to keep these disciplines. They should go on paying homage to the Buddha. But Kruba’s spirit comes back and forth. He keeps watching his descendants. (NK, para 8)

In Ngaepore’s worldview, Kruba Wong not only used to be here, but he is still here, existing in the Huaytom community. As such, his role as a spiritual leader continues and will never fade away. His leader takes control over him.

Boonsri, similarly, recently retired from his farming life to fully devote his life for Kruba. He talked about his desire to have a new wife after he got divorced, but because of the rules Kruba suggest to him, he chose to live alone instead. Even though the official Buddhist discipline does not state that one cannot have a new partner if he lost the previous one, Boonsri’s interpretation is worth mentioning as it shows his strict adherence to religious principles set forth by the leader. In this case, his perception of self was grounded in his perception of virtue embodied by Kruba Wong.
Figure 2.1 Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai with his “rosary”  
(for use when meditating and praying for Kruba Wong)

The last role that I want to suggest Kruba Wong filled is as social leader. It is worth noting that this group of people are all younger adults whose ages range in their thirties. Wimon, my informants who works as a member of the Li District Administration Organization, talks about how Kruba Wong brought social uplift work to the community. It is interesting that every time I tried to ask him a spiritual question, he always responded with the social aspects of that question. For example,

PP: I heard that the Karen also moved here because of escaping the flood. Is that true?  
WS: Just some of them. Those people came from Tambon Banna, San-Ngao District, Tak Province. Some of them are also from Maesod, Maehongsorn, Doi Tao, Omkoi, and Mae La Noi. So Huaytom is a community where people from different places come to live together. It makes an advantage when it comes to the issue of textile.

PP: So the main reason people moved here is Kruba Wong?  
WS: Yes, it’s because of Kruba. They followed Kruba. When people from different places gathered here together, they exchanged the patterns of the textiles.

PP: Do Huaytom have a unique pattern of textile?
WS: Now we have ten distinct patterns. The ministry of culture has already approved these patterns. Each pattern has its unique design. (WS, para 11)

Barada is another person who talks about Kruba Wong as a real person who made Karen lives better. As an active member of the community, she emphasizes—when speaking to outsiders—the social uplift work Kruba Wong did for them. For instance, she talks about the Li hospital that Kruba built, which helps many Karen from being subjugated to Northern Thai doctors.

There was an incident when our people got sick and they went to see a doctor outside the village. They were Karen so they couldn’t understand what the doctors who were Northern Thai said. The hospital then treated them badly. Sometimes they treated us good, many times so bad. We were severely ill but they gave us some medicines that couldn’t really help. Kruba Wong then felt pity for us. He decided to build a hospital for us. He decided to hire doctors from Bangkok who were his followers to station here.

Anyway, the doctors from Li hospital refused to admit Kruba Wong’s idea. Because the new hospital Kruba Wong built was larger and more beautiful than the hospital they worked. They asked Kruba Wong for a chance. They wanted to work in the new hospital. They said they would treat us better. So Kruba gave them a second chance. (BK, para 23-24)

As these groups embrace the significance of Kruba Wong highly, it has never been easy for them when they realized that Kruba Wong is gone. Kruba Wong was ill for several years before he passed away, so the anxiety of lacking the leader appeared then and rose day by day until he died in 2000. The death of the leader is thus the major factor in leading people to tell the stories of him. Another factor that leads people to remember is the outsider world, which can vary from the Northern Thai who are their “neighbors,” to the Thai who live far away, but are the majority in the land in which these Karen live.

Nan Gasore, the farmer, told me how the whole community felt when Kruba passed away:

Many people asked me how we would live our lives after Kruba died. The answer is just live the same. Kruba died when he was eighty-four years old. People kept wondering
how they would survive without Kruba. Many people were frightened and cried a lot. They missed Kruba because Kruba was always there with them. Many people were afraid that after Kruba died, other people outside would exploit us. (NG, para 23)

Ngaepore also talked about the time when Kruba died:

When we knew that Kruba died, we felt… oh… shocked. We were scared, because we didn’t know how Huaytom would change if we didn’t have Kruba with us. (NK, para 41)

In such a situation, we can observe a transition between the world led by the leader and the world without him. At the early stage of transition, the anxiety of lacking the leader and the fear that outsiders would exploit them might lead to the ways the Karen would try to commemorate Kruba Wong. But later during the transition, Huaytom people show that the anxiety of lacking the leader is not the one and only inspiration of telling stories, for the stories they tell show their united belief that Kruba Wong is not really gone. Even after Kruba Wong died, there are at least three things that remain the same: 1) Kruba Wong’s charisma, 2) the collective memories of Kruba Wong, and 3) their beliefs in him. In this situation, commemoration happens as a result of their attempts to hold onto these qualifications.

Because of this transition I answer my preliminary question: why they are eager to remember him? I argue that the Huaytom villagers’ determination to remember and commemorate Kruba Wong might stem first from their anxiety over lacking the leader, but the main factors come from Kruba’s charisma, their collective memory of Kruba, and their faith and belief in him.

KRUBA’S CHARISMA

“When Kruba spoke, he spoke in the way we couldn’t remember. We should have a voice recorder at that time so we could record his voice. I do regret we didn’t do that. He spoke with mercy. Every time I was sad, I would go see him, listen to him, and I would get better. Just being close to him made me feel better. He had many followers. It seems like he hardly had time to rest. Everyone kept coming to see him.”

- Uppatham Sangakit, 2015 (US, para 15)
“Why are people so engrossed in remembering this leader?” and “Why is Kruba Wong so important that they remember him highly and want to hold so tightly to his memory?” In answering these questions, Max Weber’s idea of charismatic leadership returns.

Kruba Wong did not gain charisma by announcing his virtue, he did it by preaching and practicing: following the norm of “Kruba” in the Northern Thai Kruba tradition. Kwanchewan Buadaeng (2003) states that in order for a monk to sustain the Kruba tradition or “Kruba movement,” one must demonstrate at least three qualities: be a real “ton bun” (Thai: ตนบุญ) who can demonstrate his supernatural power, join construction activities, and have a large number of followers from several ethnic groups and communities (Buadaeng, 2003: 265-267). Kruba Wong thus gained a reputation from his Karen followers for several different qualities and contributions.

However, it is interesting to see that even though Kruba Wong passed away almost twenty years ago, no new charismatic leader has appeared in the community. Instead, these groups of Karen still maintain their faith in their leader, even though he is not alive. The older adults regularly quote his speeches and preachings, while the younger generation employs their parents’ memories to describe their own interpretation of leadership.

Barada, a tour guide, demonstrated Kruba’s charisma by telling me the way she thinks of Kruba’s urine as a sacred thing.

\[\text{3 A Kruba movement, according to Buadaeng, is “the movement led by a Kruba to construct and renovate Buddhist monasteries in many place” (Buadaeng, 2003: 265)}\]

\[\text{4 “Ton bun” is a Northern Thai (Lanna) term that refers to a charismatic figure who “combines the Bodhisattava ideal with sacral kingship and is still alive in these modern times” (Buadaeng, 2003: 264) Katherine Bowie notes that a ton bun can also be understood as a precursor or incarnation of the future Buddha. (Bowie, 2014: 683)}\]
BK: I used to come see Kruba and get a snack from him. I should keep it! But at that time I ate it all. (laugh) I should keep it to worship. But I forgot. I was so young. I was so delighted I got it from Kruba, so I suddenly ate it. I couldn’t think of keeping it. I regret it right now. But I had his urine. I got it from one of his followers. He gave it to me. It was not rotten or stinking. It was so clear. I always drank it and sprayed it on my head. But it is exhausted. I still keep the bottle on the altar though. I have to admit that it was salty, but it was very clear.

PP: How did that person get his urine?

BK: He followed him and he got it. I used to put it on the altar. Whenever I had a nightmare or missed him, I drank it. Sometimes I let my children drink it. (US, para 26)

From this excerpt, we can sense the strong, passionate feeling Barada has for Kruba Wong. This passionate feeling is so powerful that it turns one’s perception of urine from excretion to valuable.

Charisma, according to Max Weber, appears not only in the form of demonstration of magic by the leader, but can be seen from the act that the followers have a strong faith in and rely on him in every circumstance. Boonsri, a retired farmer, said to me:
We dug the ponds so we finally had water. We didn’t have to dig so deep for the water to spring up, say, just only seven to eight sok. (Eight sok = four or five meters-author) After we have water, Kruba said we should build the monasteries. But the area we planned to build the temple was a riverbank. So we had to carry the soil from another place to cover up this area. We kept asking Kruba if we could really build it on the riverbank. Kruba said it was possible and we would get much virtue from doing this. We would gain so much virtue. So we dug it although we couldn't imagine how this would become a real temple. (BS, para 4)

According to Boonsri’s memory about the migration and construction period, Kruba Wong’s charismatic qualification emerges even in the midst of doubt. Despite the Karen unsureness whether the construction would be successful, they let the charismatic leader lead them to whatever path he wished to take.

COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF KRUBA WONG

“The monk said that the plane crashed in the air and then it fell for estimated three kilometers. When we knew the plane crashed, we thought of nothing except trying to pray for Kruba. We whispered “Buddho Dhammo Sango, Kruba Wong, Kruba Wong”. We were terribly frightened. We thought he would die. Too Kay said later that at that time he grabbed Kruba’s wrist but he didn’t respond. Kruba didn’t move. He wasn’t frightened. He seemed very calm when Too Kay held his wrist. He wasn’t harmed.”

- Peipore Rermtrakoonmai, 2015 (PR, para 15)

How many ways can individuals remember a particular thing in their lives? Besides remembering the events, what else do people tend to remember? As an ethnographer, I collected stories about Kruba Wong from different people. I realized later that there are three especially popular stories that have been transmitted throughout the village: the first is the story of Kruba Wong when he was young; the second tells about his construction of monasteries; and the last speaks about Kruba’s disciplines and his magical power, which I will call here Kruba’s education.
The story of Kruba Wong when he was young is one of the popular stories broadcast in the village. Nan Gasore, the Karen farmer who is always willing to tell stories of Kruba Wong, narrates the hard time when Kruba Wong fled from the city:

While Kruba Sivichai was arrested and Kruba Khao Pi was forced to leave the monkhood, Kruba Wong ran away to the mountainous area. He was only twelve or thirteen years old right then. The other monks pursued him, asking people if they saw the “little monk” around there. Luckily, Kruba Wong could hide from them. He fled from Chiang Mai to Mue Tung District and lived with the hill people there. It was a remote area in Tak Province where the other monks could not find him. He lived with the Karen and other hill people who worshipped spirits and were animists.

Kruba Wong lived there that way. There was neither temple nor monastery, not even a Buddha image. He formed his own sand stupa to celebrate Buddhism. He prayed every night. When the night came, he moved from the village center to sleep near the river to hide from the monks who sought him. Many monks came and asked for the Buddhist novice, but the hill people said they saw no one, so Kruba Wong survived every time. It was because of the hill people. (NG, para 8-9)

The second group of stories describes the time the Karen migrated here and helped Kruba Wong build Buddhist monasteries. This was the transition when people moved from their homes in the uplands to the new place in the lowland and had just converted from animism to Buddhism. This was also the period of integration, where all the old traditional beliefs merged with the new ones. People from different places gathered together and created new meanings for this newly established community.
Peipore, a member of the first generation who migrated to Huaytom, talks about that period of time in a more personal way, using the eyewitness motif to state how close his relationships to Kruba and what those experiences were.

I just came here because Kruba told us to. After we had lunch, Kruba would tell us to cut down the trees. Right now we don’t have to cut them that much. But in the past, all we had to do was cutting the trees. At Chai-Baan we didn’t use the backhoe to dig the land. We used our own labor. We dug up the soil and took it outside the area. However, we later had the backhoe. I can’t remember how many days we used the backhoe. Kruba Wong spent much money renting it. “I’ve lost my money,” he said. We didn’t understand what he said and meant, so we looked for the lost money. We kept looking for the money but it turned out that we misunderstood. (laugh) (PR, para 11)
The last group of popular stories is the story of Kruba Wong’s magical power and his preachings. When a visitor comes to the village, he or she cannot leave without hearing these collections of stories. Boonsri, the retired farmer who is now devoting his life to the temple, talks about Kruba Wong’s discipline with a great affection:

Nowadays I go to the temple to offer the help. But the outsiders sometimes don’t understand what I do. I go there not because I want to exploit anything from the temple. I just want to help. Kruba has gone, so I want to help. Going there makes me feel as if I meet Kruba. I do whatever Kruba wants me to do. Sometimes I ask the visitor where they live. I just want to talk with them but they don’t understand. I don’t try to force them to donate to the temple. But some people give me some money as a reward. But I don’t keep it with me. I donate it to the temple so we will have money to renovate the places. When we start building a new place, we will have enough money. I follow Kruba. Kruba used to tell me that when we are old, we could devote our life to the community. We can offer the help to the monks. We can even stay here at the temple. So I help the monks at the temple every day. I have been there every day for two years. (BS, para 17)

These collective memories: the young Kruba Wong who ran away from his hometown, the transition where the Karen migrated from the uplands to Huaytom and converted to Buddhism, and Kruba’s teaching, are imprinted in their memories and are repeatedly told in many occasions.

**BELIEF: THE KAREN RELIGION AS IT IS LIVED**

“I follow Kruba. Kruba used to tell me that when we are old, we could devote our life to the community. We can offer the help to the monks. We can even stay here at the temple. So I help the monks at the temple every day. I have been there every day for two years.”

- Boonsri Sofia, 2015 (BS, para 17)

Belief can be expressed by the way in which the Karen live in the community: it is evidence of how they construct their own approaches to think, behave, and communicate to each other and outsiders after the death of their charismatic leader.
Throughout his devotion to the community, Ngaepore, the guard of the Chai-Baan, thinks that Kruba Wong is always there in the village in the form of a spirit. According to him:

NK: He [Kruba Wong] said when he died, the descendants had to keep these disciplines. They should go on paying homage to the Buddha. But Kruba’s spirit comes back and forth.
PP: Kruba’s spirit? It comes back and forth?
NK: Yes. He keeps watching his descendants. He went to heaven; he went to nirvana, but he still comes back here to protect us.
PP: You mean Kruba is still here even until now?
NK: Yes. He comes back and forth between here and heaven. He lives in the monk’s dwelling. (NK, para 8-9)

His belief that Kruba Wong is still present is important and it became the main factor that led him to become a guard at one of the most important places in the village, the Chai-Baan.

When I asked him the reason why he chose to leave his home to stay at this place, he suddenly answered that “I come to meditate and to keep an eye on Kruba. In the morning I manage the food offerings people bring here.” His important responsibility is, therefore, a result of the faith in Kruba Wong and the belief that Kruba Wong is present.

Ngaepore comes to work as a guard because he believes in Kruba Wong. Likewise, the other people in the village also believe in Ngaepore and his special qualification. I ask the same question to Maitree, the young monk, “Why do Ngaepore and his fellow, Pahae, become guards?” Maitree asserted:

PP: How could these two guys [Ngaepore and Pahae] become guards for the Chai-Baan? Do the villagers select them?
MT: No, we don’t select anyone. You know, it is hard to find someone who is willing to do this and “can do it”. If you want to be a monk, you have to gain enough parami. Likewise, if you want to guard such this sacred place, there is something special about you. You have to have parami. Those two, they are doomed to do this task. (MT, para 13)
These two examples show the way faith and belief work in this community, it not only motivates people to gain virtue in their own meaning, but also gives rights to those who are believed to be capable of preserving Kruba’s tradition.

Figure 2.4 An evening meditation at Chai-Baan. Besides the main pavilion in Huaytom temple, the Chai-Baan is another place people come in the evening around 6-7 p.m. to meditate and pray for the Buddha and Kruba Wong.

Nan Gasore also talks about Kruba Wong’s existence, stating that it is not important whether Kruba Wong is dead or alive as long as his parami (Thai: บารมี) resides in the village. Parami is a Buddhist term which means merit or virtue, but in this religious and cultural context, it can also refer to charisma, influence, and presence. Even though the excerpts below from Nan Gasore do not say that he believes in Kruba's spirit as does Ngaepore, it demonstrates his belief that there is something about Kruba Wong left in the community, something that can be a real representative of him, his legacy.
In the community meeting, I once told people “Don’t be scared. We all are Thai. We all have a national identity card. No one can harm us.” In the past, we didn’t have law. We had only mob rule with majority power. But right now we have justice. I told them to keep calm and behave the same as when Kruba was still alive. Be the same and have unity in everything we do. Eat the same way. Don’t forget the honesty that Kruba repeatedly told us. Practice Dharma the same. Don’t abandon the monasteries. Offer foods to the monks in the morning. Pray and clean the monasteries in the evening. If we behave the same, no one can harm us.

The temple is left unfinished? Never mind. Just gradually build it. Kruba Wong’s parami is here with us. He died, but his parami exists. His disciples from Bangkok kept asking us how we would finish the construction without Kruba Wong. Actually it doesn’t matter whether Kruba Wong is here or not. He still has his own parami. And if we still remember him, we will never forget us. If we don’t forget his teaching, he will protect us and our sacred place as before. Just live the same way. Right now more and more people hear about and have faith in Kruba Wong. Believe it or not, two years after Kruba died, the monasteries in Huaytom are still clean as before. (Thai: สร้างสมัยใหม่). (NG, para 24-26)

Sureeporn, the owner of home-stay project, is the one of the young people in the community who always deny requests to talk about the belief of Kruba Wong and his magical power, insisting on telling me that those magic stories are “just stories”. However, through our series of conversations, there was something in her words that showed me that her belief in Kruba Wong was not less than those who claim that Kruba’s parami, spirit (Thai: วิญญาณ), and magical power such as divine, celestial eyes (Thai: ตาทิพย์) and celestial ears (Thai: หูทิพย์), is real.

SP: Yes, he was ill for a long time before he died. He eventually died at the hospital. It’s fifteen, no, seventeen, years already that he died.
PP: But people still talk about him until now?
SP: Well… Even though he died, his body is still here. So it seems like he is still here with us. When I went to offer the food offerings, I would go to the hall to worship Kruba first. After praying for him, I go downstairs to offer the food. (SP, para 16)

Having this conversation with Sureeporn, I came to realize that one’s faith doesn’t have to be expressed to the other in order to prove that it is present. According to Primiano, in a religious context, people don’t usually communicate what they believe to others because “their
individual beliefs can be substantially different” (1995: 50). Faith is therefore a choice to believe in which the individuals can either reveal and/or conceal it in their own ways. Even though Huaytom people are individual believers who have faith in Kruba Wong in their own ways and levels, they are, however, united in their faith. And because of the multiple ways of expressing these faiths, Huaytom becomes a community of belief through their various stories.

Figure 2.5-2.6 One corner in Sureeporn’s house is devoted to sacred figures on an altar: the Buddha and Kruba. Almost every house in Huaytom has an altar with images of the King, the Buddha, and Kruba Wong (as well as the other famous Kruba such as Kruba Srivichai and Kruba Khao Pi)
CHAPTER 3: COMMEMORATION

“We celebrate the Chai-Baan every year on Songkran day\(^5\). Everyone in the village gathers together at Chai-Baan to pray for the Buddha, Kruba Wong and the deities. We believe that this ceremony will help us dispel the bad fortune. We usually start the ceremony at eight o’clock in the morning with many sacred objects. We consider home as a stability. We can’t be human if we don’t have a heart. So can’t home. The home, too, must have a heart.”

- Nan Gasore, 2015 (NG, para 29)

Figure 3.1 Parade for Krua-Tarn ceremony. This ceremony usually takes place late in every year to give a chance to donate offerings to monks. The Karen claim that Kruba Wong was the one who initiated this ceremony. This photo was taken in December 2012 at the entrance of Sriviangchai pagoda.

The past in Huaytom community plays an important role in people’s memory and identity. It lingers in the present in the form of narratives transmitted throughout the village.

\(^5\) Songkran is the traditional mainland Southeast Asia Theravada Buddhist’s new year
After visiting the village three years ago (in December 2012), I found that there were many stories told in the village. Some are folktales, talking about imaginative Karen characters; others are myths, claiming that something used to happen here a long time ago in the past. But the richest genre of stories I found consisted of stories of Kruba Wong, the monk who played, and still plays, an important role in the community, even though he passed away sixteen years ago. These span a range between first-person accounts of events the teller witnessed, and local, historical legends.

These kinds of stories are told both in the way of grand and official narratives, used when locals share their “own history” with outsiders, as well as everyday stories, where the stories are told to each other. There are, however, several other types of expressive culture, such as ritual, musical, and material culture by which the villagers share their hopes to define and re-define “who they have been, who they are, and who they can be” (Cashman, 2008:255). Put another way, they construct their own “commemorations” as means to remember the past and thereby lay claim to a particular current identity.

ORAL TO WRITTEN TEXT: THE MOVING STORIES

“I learn from the book Kruba Wong wrote. He wrote an autobiography.”
- Maitree Tansookwongsa, 2015 (MT, para 8)

The monkhood is the first group that has its own unique ways of commemoration. As I mentioned earlier, this group looks at Kruba Wong as a teacher and a role model to behave properly as a monk. The best evidence that proves this claim is that they always follow Kruba’s norm in constructing temples and monasteries even though it is considered illegal for the monk to join in constructing buildings. Sureeporn gives me an idea of how these monks try to be good “students” of Kruba Wong: they do pilgrimage to find places to construct monasteries.
SP: You can ask for more detail from Dee. He knows a lot about this event. (the plane crash incident-author).
PP: Is that Maitree, the young monk?
SP: That’s him. Another person who knows very well is Too Kay (Uppatham Sangakit-author) But I don’t know if he is here or not. Sometimes he goes to the mountains for a temple renovation. He follows Kruba Wong’s path and renovates the temples Kruba used to build. (SP, para 5)

After talking with Sureeporn, I had a chance to talk with Uppatham Sangakit personally. Uppatham Sangkit is a 55-year-old monk of Huaytom temple. He is not Karen but a Northern Thai who was born in the same area in Tak Province where the Karen live. Uppatham migrated to Huaytom because of the flood from the Bhumibol dam project and cooked for Kruba Wong for several years before he was finally ordained by Kruba Wong⁶. He also talked about the monks’ activities of building monasteries by stating:

US: During the rains retreat period, there are twenty-nine monks [in Huaytom]. But after the retreat period, they leave. They travel to the mountains, building temples like Kruba. They follow Kruba’s discipline in pilgrimage. Those who have skills can also build the stupas as a remembrance.
PP: They are all Kruba’s disciples?
US: Yes, and you know, sometimes we just found an ordinary place and we decide to build a temple there. (US, para 19)

The last sentence proves that these monks look at Kruba Wong as their teacher, the former greatest monk who gained his reputation and parami from constructing monasteries. This notion let them build monasteries even though sometimes it was not even necessary to build one (“sometimes we just found an ordinary place and we decided to build a temple there”). The commemoration for this group is therefore the way they follow Kruba’s constructing tradition and transmitted the stories of constructing and renovating monasteries to the next generation.

⁶ It is interesting to see the parallel between this monk and Kruba Wong as both of them are Northern Thai who are accepted by and have merged with the Karen.
Having listened to many of my consultants, I can sense that one of the characteristics of Kruba Wong is that he liked writing and he was a good writer. According to Nan Gasore’s memory “He loved writing. He wrote everything in his notebook. The woods he passed, the birds he saw, the forest deities who helped him… he took notes on all of these things.” He wrote down everything he encountered in his book. His later contribution concerning his writing skill is that he wrote his Buddhist doctrines plus autobiography in Northern Thai, passing on his knowledge and experiences as a monk to the other monks who joined in the Kruba tradition. In his book, he wrote not only the disciplines that the monks should know, but also the significant events in his life and the community history, for example, the origin of the name “Huaytom”.

Maitree, the young monk who was not alive when Kruba Wong fled from Chiang Mai, is able to talk about that moment as if he were there. “The experience of following” Maitree has is what Donald Braid calls “experiential meaning,” the way the experience of following gives rise to affectively engaging states of mind or flow of thought (Braid, 1996: 5). Maitree is a 33-year old Karen monk who was born and ordained in Huaytom village. He was ordained for nine years and lived at Monthon Wongsa temple, one of the temples Kruba Wong built, situated 3 kilometers away from the Huaytom village. Maitree knows many stories of the Buddha and Kruba Wong. He read these stories from the book that has been passed on within a group of monks who are the disciples of Kruba Wong. His prepared speech when telling these stories indicates that he has already talked about it several times and that he perceives it as his own story.

PP: Did the Buddha use to come here?
MT: He did. The first time was when the Luas (A minority group living in Northern Thailand-author) gave him the boiled rice. Actually they didn’t ask for his footprints. They asked for his hair. But the Buddha was afraid that the hair was hard to keep, so they asked for something else, the footprints.
PP: How do you know all these legends?
MT: I learned from the book Kruba Wong wrote. He wrote an autobiography.
PP: Where did you get it? Where did you ordained?
MT: Here at Huaytom temple.
PP: I just want to know how these stories are transmitted. Did you and other people also hear them from your parents?
MT: Yes, I did. I also have a book that is written in Northern Thai dialect. It is at Monton Wongsa, the temple where I live. If one day you can go there, I will show you the book. There are stories of the Buddha coming to this place in that book. It is Kruba Wong’s journal and autobiography. Many stories of him are in that book. (MT, para 8)

Figure 3.2-3.4 Book written by Kruba Wong in 1979. He wrote the introduction (Figure 3.3) in Thai, stating that the knowledge in the book derived from his studying with Kruba Prommachak, his teacher. The content (Figure 3.4) is in Northern Thai dialect.

Uppatham Sangakit also refers to the book as his source of knowledge about Kruba Wong

PP: Have you ever heard the myth about the reincarnation of Kruba? Someone said he used to be a king named Tern?
US: There are many things about him that I don't know. It was because I didn’t read it from his book.
PP: The book?
US: Yes, Kruba wrote it.
PP: Where could I find that book?
US: You can find it at the temples where Kruba built temples where Kruba built. He wrote his autobiography in Northern Thai. (US, para 15)

Learning, memorizing, telling, and retelling the stories of Kruba Wong from the text is therefore the way this group of monks commemorates Kruba Wong. In this way, the personal narrative of Kruba Wong, originating from both Kruba Wong’s oral narrative and his written autobiography, is transformed to new contexts and provided new meanings. It becomes an official narrative, acting as a manual for the monks who wish to follow his path. The monks memorize and transmit the stories to “preserve” Kruba’s tradition, which, at the same time, “invents” and “re-invents” the monk tradition in a modern Thai context. Their attempts to publicize Kruba’s norm derives from the ideology that only through strict discipline (such as meat and alcohol denial, wandering in the forest, and doing meditation) in the Kruba tradition can the ideal Buddhist community be continued.

According to Paul Cohen, Krubas have been considered “‘cosmocrators’ who endeavoured to restore the northern Thai kingdom of Lanna to its original status as a “Buddha Land” (2002: 246). As a result of their desire to continue the tradition, stories of Kruba Wong are used and reused. Thus the written text travels from its “frozen” characteristic to something fluid, constructed, reconstructed, and deconstructed within the monk’s world.

Besides the book written by Kruba Wong (which becomes a new genre of narrative), there are several other ways the monks use to broadcast Kruba Wong’s story, both for themselves and for followers of the Buddha. Broadcasting through social networks is one of
those methods. There are several Facebook pages created by the monks. They use these webpages to tell the stories of Kruba Wong, other Krubas in Northern Thailand, and of Huaytom village. For example, there is a series on Kruba Wong’s biography, his preachings, his supernatural power, and many more. The language they use is a formal language to indicate to internet readers that the authors and/or administrator of the pages are from the monkhood. This social broadcasting constructs of the meaning Kruba Wong has for the monks. It gives them a set of stories to retell to the others outside the monkhood.

Figure 3.5-3.6 Book written by Prakru Bhaideekamontree Thammethee, a monk who was a close disciple of Kruba Wong. In the introduction he wrote that he collected the information from Kruba Wong’s textbooks, Kruba’s personal journal given to him in 1984, and Kruba’s personal experiences told directly to him.

---

7 Examples of these famous Facebook pages directed by monks are: www.facebook.com/Sirivichayo, https://www.facebook.com/groups/lamphon.
NOSTALGIA AND THE SELECTION OF MEMORIES

“Formerly there was nothing here. We had to eat potatoes. There was neither rice nor water. There was a water shortage in Huaytom. We could rarely have it during the summer. Then Kruba said we had to make merit and practice vegetarianism. He did it for three years and in the third or fourth year, it rained. It rained heavily. It has always rained until now.”

- Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai, 2015 (NK, para 17)

The old people, in contrast to the monks, have their own sets of experiential meanings regarding Kruba Wong. These people are the ones who knew Kruba Wong personally and are able to remember significant moments with him. These people construct Kruba Wong from their own memories.

One of the older adults, Nan Gasore or Thepsirin Thavinvarangkul, a 62-year-old farmer, claims that he has had a close relationship to Kruba Wong since he was young, when Kruba Wong wandered around his village in Chiang Mai and preached. Nan Gasore has always volunteered to be the representative of the villages by telling visitors epic stories, such as how this village was established through the sacred power of Kruba Wong. In addition to this grand narrative, he knows a lot of anecdotes about the monk.

He was kind and generous. He wandered around the mountainous area several years before he settled down here. He loved writing. He wrote everything in his journal... The woods he passed, the birds he saw, the forest deities who helped him... he took notes on all of these things.

When he was young and lived with the hill people, he only had a monk’s alms-bowl as his belonging. He had no permanent shelter. He didn’t have temple to practice Dharma. But he could live safe and sound because he had guardian angels who protected him. When he was older and I was already here with him, every time he was going to pilgrimage in the remote area, he would never bring money with him. He carried only his personal alms-bowl.

He always told us that the alms-bowl could indicate whether he was going far from the village or not. If the alms-bowl disappeared, it meant he was gone for several days. If he was gone but the bowl was right in its place, it meant he was still in the village. I followed him everywhere for at least four years. I accompanied him everywhere... Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun. The North was a backcountry in those days, very different from now. (NG, para 12-14)
Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai, a 69-year-old Karen who once used to be a chef for Kruba Wong, is another older adult with whom I had a conversation. He is now a guard of the Chai-Baan, the village center, and is responsible for protecting this sacred place for all the Karen. In the excerpt below, he talks about the migration period. During our conversation, besides using the eyewitness motif to show his closeness to Kruba Wong, he often quoted Kruba’s words. The direct quote shows the intimacy between these older adults and Kruba Wong:

At first we migrated from our home on the mountain to Mae Toey Sub-District. Kruba told us that he wanted the Karen labor to work for the national forest around here. He needed us. He said we could be there as much as we wanted. Then the hill people migrated to the national forest. Kruba said living here is living close to the temple, and it was good. We didn’t have a temple in the mountains. There was no temple. There was no monk. So we decided to move here. The first group migrated to that national forest, around 150 households.

After a short time, people gradually followed their family there. When the number of people increased more every day, the monks said they couldn’t accept the Karen anymore. They told us to stay in Huaytom instead. So the latter groups didn’t migrate to the national forest, but migrated here and lived with Kruba. Formerly this place was a thick forest. We cleared the place and made it suitable for living. I lived in a small house and didn’t have food to eat (laugh). There was not even water to drink. (NK, para 23-24)

Memory becomes a big part in the process of remembering and as memories are reconfigured, identities are redefined (Hall, 1998: 440). Nan Gasore’s saying, “If we remember him, he will never forget us,” shows how memory works for this group of people. Remembering is equal to keeping. It brings Kruba Wong back to life and eventually is the best method for these older people to maintain their faith in him and their devotion to the community.

Ngaepore, the guard of the village center, often told me that “Kruba Wong is still here” and “He comes back and forth between this place and the heaven.” The idea that his spirit resides

---

8Mae Toey (Thai: แม่ท้าย) is a sub-district in Chiang Mai; It is close to Huaytom community.
here in the village even though he passed away can be interpreted as Ngaepore’s own way of remembering.

Place is also important to the process of remembering and imagining oneself in a society. Place, notes Basso, is a way of constructing the past, social traditions, and personal and social identity. We are, according to him, the place-worlds we imagine as what we make of places is connected to what we make of ourselves (Basso, 1996: 7). The Chai-Baan, for example, gives meaning to them as the very first place in the village. Every time any of the older people talks about this place, it reminds them of the earlier times: when they dug the pond around the center; when they brought their beloved belongings and buried them together as a commemoration; when they listened to Kruba Wong’s preaching; when they witnessed Kruba Wong asking for the water. Therefore, some old people tie their lives in retirement to these meaningful places to commemorate their cherished memories. Boonsri, the retired farmer, routinely goes to the Huaytom temple to help the monks’ activities. Ngaepore, as well as Boonsri, volunteers himself as a guard to the most important places like the village center, living far from his family and devoting his life to the community.

![Figure 3.7 Poeypore, a 66-year old Karen who decided to leave home and live close to the holy spring in Namborno sub-village. This picture was taken at Namborno village.](image-url)
As they visualize themselves in Kruba Wong’s story, members of the Huaytom community also visualize themselves in the place and space they believe to be utopian. According to the Kruba cult, any place built by the Kruba means more than just a place for religious practice; it also becomes a place of hope where these people discover that they themselves are the revolutionists who could bring the ideal Buddha community back to the land.

Therefore, every place in the Huaytom community functions not only as a sacred place, but also as a place built by the holy man who can take them to a stage of being better Buddhists. This way, the narratives community members tell are involved with significant places in the community. Almost everyone, for example, speaks eagerly about the monasteries, which become an important part of the stories transmitted in the community.

I collected three main stories involving “place” from Huaytom residents: 1) this place belongs to the hill people, not someone else; 2) this place used to be dry, but the Karen and Kruba Wong changed it; and 3) the members of the Huaytom community helped each other to transform the land and they did it by themselves. I couldn’t ask them to tell stories about Kruba Wong without hearing stories of place. Place plays an important role in exhibiting the success of Kruba Wong as the leader and the Karen as the followers. The best example is Ngaepore’s story about the time when he helped Kruba Wong build the Chai-Baan. He mentioned the success of Kruba Wong in calling the rain by his meditation at the Chai-Baan. It is a story that proves that how important places are to these people.

When Kruba Wong passed away and there were a lot of changes in the village, people began to feel nostalgia. The function of nostalgia in storytelling is important because it can enhance the understanding of people’s memory.
The narratives from the old people in the community are formed in ways so that listeners who are the outsiders would never hear something problematic about the village from the past. Even the difficulties early residents faced, such as the long period of migration or the hard work they put in to construct the monasteries, become a good time for them. They stress that these labors gave them chances to earn more and more merit. Peipor, for example, stated that he used to work hard constructing the Sriviangchai Stupa. But it turns out that right now it is a very big and famous stupa in the area.

PR: When I first came here, the temple still didn’t have a roof. After we were here, we built everything up. Look at the stupa over there! It is huge!
PP: Did you help them build it?
PR: Absolutely.
PP: You seem to gain much virtue by doing this…
PR: Yes. Kruba loved to make merit… and he always wandered from place to place.
(PR, para 8)

The selection of stories and the ways they tell them, therefore, show how nostalgia works for the community that is in a time of transition.

**MEMORY TO HISTORY: PERSONAL NARRATIVE TO HISTORICAL LEGEND**

“Those who come here don’t know our history. They just know that we have temples, stupas, and Kruba. They don’t know why we have to keep Kruba’s body like this. If we don’t have a community guide, they won’t get to know our community. So we have to teach our guides to focus on this issue. We have to teach them to love their own community.”
- Barada Kiawkhacheeprai, 2015 (WS, para 15)

The last group of narrators that I consider consists of young people in the village. These Huaytom residents were born in the village after their parents had already settled here. The new generation of people knows about Kruba Wong when he was already the founder of the village and the leader of the community, but not when he was a monk who wandered around their old villages in the upland, preached to the Karen, and converted them to Buddhism. Their direct
perception of Kruba Wong comes from their family, their parents, and other older people in the village who tell them their community history. Kruba Wong for them, therefore, is someone who is like a public figure more than a person they know personally.

The personal narrative of Kruba Wong, transmitted among the monks and the elders, changes its face to be something more formal and public in the stories told by younger residents. Three people I interviewed are Sureeporn, Wimon, and Barada. Even though all of them work for the community organization, they have their own ways of (re)telling Kruba Wong’s story.

Sureeporn works for the Nasai Sub-District Administration Organization (SAO). She always volunteers and devotes herself to work for the community. She does farming in the harvest season and opens her house for home-stay projects, accepting visitors to stay in her house. Staying at her house, I had a chance to talk with her and interviewed her over the course of several nights. She loves talking to visitors, but when it comes to telling legends or myths, something she says “cannot be verified,” she always refuses to answer. And the story of Kruba Wong is one of those stories she didn’t want to talk about.

PP: People told me that Kruba has a magical power. Have you ever heard about that?
SP: I’m not sure about it. I have heard that he had celestial eyes. He had second sight. But after he went to Bangkok several times and had to walk under the footbridge, his magic was negated. It was because both men and women use the footbridge. When Kruba walked under the bridge several times, the celestial eyes faded away.
PP: What are the celestial eyes for?
SP: I don’t know as well. It probably let him see the future? I don’t know. They all are stories. They can’t be verified.
PP: Someone also told me about the trip to India...
SP: Oh, is it when the plane crashed?
PP: Yes.
SP: Umm. I heard this. The plane was going to fall and Kruba did meditation. He prevented that plane from falling. I have heard this as well.
PP: You heard this before?

---

*It is a taboo in Northern Thailand culture that men should stand lower or under women’s lower body, as it will bring them (men) bad fortune.*
SP: Yes. I think you have to ask about this incident from Kruba’s followers. Most of them are the followers from Bangkok. But I don’t know who were who… There were so many people followed him on that journey. (SP, para 4-5)

During our conversation, her word choices—for example, “I’m not sure about it,” “I have heard that,” “I don’t know as well”—show how she perceives Kruba Wong’s story. Sureeporn’s parents are members of the first Karen generation who migrated here and her father was a village chief for several years, but she herself was born in Huaytom and was very young at the time the community was established. While her mother, with whom I also talked, spoke about the past with passion, Sureeporn insisted that she didn’t know much, and even if she knew, she was not sure if it was true or not. According to her, “They all are stories. They can’t be verified.”

Sureeporn, therefore, is a good example of how individuals who don’t know a charismatic leader personally respond to the story of him. But it doesn’t mean that she doesn’t have faith in Kruba Wong. She has it in her own way, pointing to the way he did social uplift work for the community and not to how he demonstrated his magical powers (such as his celestial eyes).

The community members often talk about how and in what direction we will lead our community, as there are a lot of people in the village now. When our ancestors migrated here in the past, there were not so many people like this. And everyone had a strong faith in Kruba Wong. When he said anything, people would totally agree with him. My father used to be a village chief, so it seems like he had privilege, but he didn’t. Kruba told them that did not cut the trees if not necessary, so my father didn’t, even though he could. Our land had only 6 rai\(^{10}\) land. That was all we had. Kruba Wong worked for us. Whenever he left the village to contact the government for us and told us not to cut the trees around there, we all didn’t. But it’s not the same right now. There are so many people migrate from elsewhere. They don't have their own land so they invade the forest preserves. (SP, para 19)

\(^{10}\) A unit of area: 1 rai is equal to 1,600 square meters (40 m \(\times\) 40 m)
Figure 3.8 several patterns of textiles are displayed for sale at the handicraft center.

Wimon, as well as Sureeporn, does not like to talk much about passionate feelings towards Kruba Wong. Wimon is also a 36-year-old member of Nasai Sub-District Administration Organization (SAO). He works full-time for the community and previously was a monk in Huaytom for ten years. When telling the history of the community, he often shifts the narrative focus away from the story of Kruba Wong to something larger. When I asked him about the time the Karen moved to Huaytom, for example, he skipped that part (even though he knew it, as he is one of the two who teach community history to the young tour guides) and talked instead about textiles. Here he said: “Huaytom is a community where people from different places come to live together. It makes an advantage when it comes to the issue of textile. … They followed
Kruba. When people from different places gathered here together, they exchanged the patterns of the textiles.”

Wimon is working with another woman, Barada, to form a group of young tour guides. Together, they teach the “history” of the village to the children who volunteer themselves to be guides for tourists and visitors. While he knew a lot of community history that he could teach to the children, when it comes to speaking with visitors, Wimon talks about the work of the community (for example, the textiles issue, or donations for the temple from Bangkok followers) rather than about Kruba Wong. He also often used the pronoun “they” for the Karen, while most of people telling the community story used “we,” thus including themselves as witnesses in the situation. The way he detached himself from the situation shows his perception about the story of Kruba Wong and the community’s history: it is a historical legend of which he is not a part, rather than an everyday story, as the older people perceive it.

Figure 3.9 Wimon taking me to the Nambornoi village
Barada, in contrast, was eager to talk about the historical legends. Barada is a Karen housewife who weaves and does housework in her ordinary day. She has joined the community home-stay project, letting tourists and outsiders live with her in her house. She also uses her free time to work as a tour guide in the village. She plays an important role in the Huaytom tourism organization, both as a tour guide herself and as a trainer of other guides, especially the teenagers.

I met Barada through Sureeporn. I asked her to tell me stories the same way she told them to visitors. After observing her during a tour session, I realized how good she was as a storyteller. Her narrative was very fluent, which led me to conclude that it was a prepared speech, used every time she talks to the visitors. The lexical density in her speech suggests that she has recounted these stories several times before. As Anna Deavere Smith remarks in *Fires in The Mirror* about her grandfather’s speech: “If you say a word often enough, it becomes your own.” In other words, she argues that when someone visualizes, memorizes, and says something often enough, it not only becomes “your own word” but also becomes “you” (Smith, 2015: 24).

In the process of telling the community history, Barada remembers the events as if she were there, and also acts as if she were a witness to those historical events. She also quotes the older people who are well-known in the community for their familiarity with, and stories about, Kruba Wong. Here is the example of her talking about Kruba Wong’s magic:

One of Kruba Wong’s followers asked Kruba for a souvenir. Kruba asked him back “Do you really want the souvenir?” He said, “Yes”. So suddenly he saw some rice seeds on the ground. It was raining heavily. Everybody in the trip picked up the seeds and found out that they gradually transformed from rice into the Buddha’s relics. (BK, para 26)

In this case, the visualization is a way to apply the older people’s memory of Kruba Wong to her own memory. According to Smith, speech is an action that can travel from the self
to the other, and we could “create the illusion of being another person by reenacting something they had said as they had said it” (2015: 26).

Barada could tell stories as fluently as the older adults, but her purpose for telling them makes the storytelling different. Even though Sureeporn, Wimon, and Barada have their own ways of sharing stories, all they do is for the community. They find the ways, for example, to promote the community as a cultural, sustainable, and meritorious tourist attraction.

Sureeporn does not want to talk about something that cannot be verified, because she believes that it is just a “myth” the visitor might not believe. She is therefore more comfortable talking about something more concrete, such as the works of the community or the village’s details. Wimon likes to talk about the past as a foundation for the present day’s social work. Barada employs the memory of the older people to use for tourism. The ways these people tell stories shows how Kruba Wong’s story has shifted from everyday narrative to history with a
purpose. It is a social memory used for maintaining the life of the community. For these young people, remembering Kruba Wong, whether from their own memory or from someone else’s, is a “conscious political act” (Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, 1998: 455).
CONCLUSION

“His disciples from Bangkok kept asking us how we would finish the construction without Kruba Wong. Actually it doesn’t matter whether Kruba Wong is here or not. He still has his own parami. And if we still remember him, we will never forget us. If we don’t forget his teaching, he will protect us and our sacred place as before. Just live the same way.”

- Nan Gasore, 2015 (NG, para 25)

Figure 3.11 Kruba Wong’s statue in front of Monthon Wongsas, another temple built by Kruba Wong.

When illustrating the idea of charismatic leadership and authority, Weber also talks about the succession of leaders. According to Weber, when charismatic leaders are going to lose their power, they will often look for someone to replace their role in leading the community. In the process of passing along authority, the leader often chooses a successor from his favorites, or
someone who is his offspring. If the charismatic leader does not choose a successor, the continuity of the community becomes vulnerable.

While Huaytom people’s strong faith and passionate feelings toward Kruba Wong identify him as a charismatic leader, he did not plan for his succession. When they lost him, the outsider might think that these people would feel insecure and try to have someone or something to replace him, as Weber’s model of charisma predicts. But that theory appears not to apply in this situation, given that the Huaytom Karen do not now regard Kruba Wong’s death as a crisis.

Weber’s model of charismatic leadership, therefore, does not fully apply to this case of Kruba and the Karen. For the Karen he is dead, yet alive. They keep telling stories of their leader to celebrate his existence, not to recall him back, as he has never gone. In a time of transition, the story becomes a significant part of the community. It becomes a representative of Kruba, guides the monks, comforts the elders, and teaches the younger people about their roots and how they should work for the community.

These stories would not have been passed on among each group and the whole community without the collaborative work of memory, a passionate feeling towards their charismatic leader, and a strong faith in him. Memory is a mirror where they see themselves standing close to the leader, thus they are eager to express what they see in mind. Kruba Wong’s charisma is a magnet that attracts them to him, to hold onto him so tightly. Belief keeps Kruba Wong alive.

It is working with this thesis that I come to realize that when a person with charisma has died, it is not necessary to transfer the authority or power he possess to the new successor, as belief works its own way to keep the leader alive. It might seem at first that when Kruba Wong died, people would have struggled a lot to live in the world without him. But what I have
learned from talking and listening to them is that everyone, even the older people who have a strong attachment to him, can live perfectly fine “without” him. It is not because they don’t need him, but, because for them, he is not gone. Even now, 16 years later, Kruba Wong is alive and present.

Commemoration for the Karen, therefore, does not happen to ‘preserve’ the stories of Kruba Wong in a time of transition, but functions as a way to ‘express’ their belief in him. Because in their perception Kruba Wong is still there, they tell stories to express this belief both to each other; to confirm to each other that everything is just fine; and, to the outsider, to persuade those who don’t know him well to feel his presence and significance.

It might seem at first that the stories of Kruba Wong serve different purposes for each group of Karen people and asking why the Huaytom Karen choose to tell the stories yields not a single answer, but multiple answers, combining the polyphonic voices of people living within the community Kruba Wong founded and sustains. But eventually, these people show that, behind their differences in the ways of remembering and commemorating, they are united in their faith in Kruba Wong.
AFTERWORD

Memory, passionate feeling, and belief play important roles in the lives of Huaytom’s residents. They connect the past with the present. They keep the dead and the living in dialogue. They have inspired people to tell their stories.

In the four years since I began to learn about the Huaytom community, I have noticed that the founding leader of the community, Kruba Wong, is remembered through sites, symbols, and material culture, as well as narrative. Narrative is one of the strongest tools people use to keep Kruba Wong alive.

For the monks, Kruba Wong’s stories function as their instruction and guide. His magical power—transmitted in the form of narratives, in both oral and written texts—inspires them as (Northern Thai) monks to reach the goals of practicing strict mediation and actively engaging in mundane affairs to gain both reputation and magical power.

For the elders, telling stories about Kruba Wong is a form of recollection. These people knew Kruba Wong for a long time, some since the time seventy years ago when he was still an illegal monk seeking shelter in the mountains. Their intimacy grew with the years and still exists even after Kruba Wong’s death. Nostalgia and concern about how their place will go on without him lead these people to tell stories of their beloved leader, for telling is equal to keeping.

Some seniors elaborate on Kruba Wong’s difficult time when he was young and claim their friendship formed during that time. Some like to talk about the migration period, looking back at that moment in a romanticizing way. Some enjoy telling the listeners about his preaching, his merit, or his magical power. For these people, telling and retelling is their way to
embrace and preserve their memory of him. They not only tell these stories to visitors, but also
tell them to their fellows, their children, and each other.

For the younger people, storytelling happens for political and social reasons. The
narrative of Kruba Wong is, therefore, a matter of utility, as his story is useful to them. It can be
used as a source of community history, providing them an education. It can be told to enhance
tourists’ knowledge of and interest in the community. It is used to negotiate with outsiders who
might exploit them. It is used to (re)define their identity as Karen and Buddhist in a society
where they are marginalized and usually regarded as ethnically and religiously anomalous
people. Kruba Wong is for them as much a social leader as a spiritual one; he did practical
development for them (for example, building a hospital for them, so they don’t have to go to the
Li hospital and encounter the Northern Thai doctors who—they claim—discriminate against
them).

Because Kruba Wong is irreplaceable, the questions worth asking are: How will the
members of the Huaytom community go on remembering and telling his story? But the question
remains: Will this kind of storytelling keep him here in the future?
APPENDIX

INTERVIEWS WITH AUTHOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initials &amp; Paragraph Numbers</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Thai¹¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interviewee: Maitree Tansookwongsa</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT, para 1</td>
<td><strong>PP:</strong> Do you know why this place is called Huaytom? <strong>MT:</strong> Once there was a king named Tern and eight Luas residing in this place. One day they saw the Buddha came here, so they gave him meat. He refused to eat it, so they gave him the boiled rice instead. The Buddha then forecast that this place would be named Huaytom in the future. After that, Tern asked for his footprints.</td>
<td><strong>PP:</strong> หลวงพ่อยุ่งรูปนี้มีอยู่ที่ไหนคะ ชื่ออะไรคะ <strong>MT:</strong> ด้วยพญาบิณฑ์กับลัวะแปดคนบกพร้อมพระพุทธองค์ ก็ข้ามบันได แล้วพระพุทธองค์ไม่รับ แล้วก็เอาข้าวต้มไปทานแทน แล้วพระพุทธเจ้าก็ท้าทายว่าพื้นที่นี้ต้องเป็นชื่อว่าอะไรก็ขอให้จับยี่หุด้วย จ้านนั้นก็เลยขออยู่พระพุทธบาทด้วย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT, para 2</td>
<td><strong>PP:</strong> Are they the footprints in the temple? <strong>MT:</strong> Yes, they are. Those two footprints are from the Buddha era. <strong>PP:</strong> What temple do you live? <strong>MT:</strong> I live at Monton Wongsa temple. It is situated at the entrance of the road to Huaytom. <strong>PP:</strong> Are you also Huaytom villager? <strong>MT:</strong> Yes. I was born in the village. I ordained for nine years. <strong>PP:</strong> Did you have a chance to see Kruba Wong? <strong>MT:</strong> Sure. Kruba just passed away fifteen years ago.</td>
<td><strong>PP:</strong> เป็นรอยเดียวกับที่วัดหรือเปล่าคะ <strong>MT:</strong> เป็นรอยในวัดนั้นเลย เป็นรอยเดิมตั้งแต่สมัยพุทธกาล <strong>PP:</strong> ปกติทำอาหารอยู่ริมไหนคะ <strong>MT:</strong> วัดมณฑลวงศา ตรงปากทางเข้ามาห้วยต้ม <strong>PP:</strong> แล้วท่านก็อยู่ในหมู่บ้านนั้น?เป็นคนหมู่บ้านนี้? <strong>MT:</strong> ครับ เกิดที่นี่อยู่ในหมู่บ้านนี้ บรรดาพระราชาแล้ว <strong>PP:</strong> ท่านทั้งหมู่บ้านไหน <strong>MT:</strong> ท่านเฉพาะสองปีที่พังสิบไปสิบกว่าปีนี้</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT,</td>
<td><strong>PP:</strong> Do you think the faith people</td>
<td><strong>PP:</strong> แล้วจริงๆแล้วความศรัทธาที่มีต้องทรงเธอ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹ 5 consultants, NK, NG, PR, US, BS, spoke in Northern Thai. Transliterated into Thai by author.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Para</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Have in Kruba Wong remains the same as when he was alive? MT: Absolutely. PP: I have heard that before the Srivianchhai Stupa was built, that place was called Nong Wua Tao. Is that true? MT: Yes it is. The place has its history. It was a place of the Buddha. He used to be born as Nandi (Nandi is the name of the bull who is Shiva’s vehicle in Hindu mythology-author) before he reincarnated as a Buddha. The Nandi’s bone is still at Prathat Har Duang Temple (A temple Kruba Wong built. It is situated near the city center of Li District-author) until now. He was born and died there. Before constructing a stupa, Kruba Wong took the bone to Prathat Har Duang Temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT, para 4</td>
<td>PP: Did Kruba found the bone? MT: Yes, he did. He also found the cow dung. That is the reason why there are cow statues on the pillars at the entrance of the stupa. PP: Kruba Wong was also born in the year of the cow? MT: Yes. PP: How old was he when he died? MT: Eighty-eight years old.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| MT, para 5 | PP: Is the holy spring also Kruba Wong’s creation? MT: No, it is The Buddha’s. It was when people asking him a footprints. They brought a rock for him to press his foot on. Unfortunately, there was no water to clean the rock so the Buddha knocked his walking stick on that rock and the water sprang from it. Those people are Luas. They needed water just to clean the stone. There was water sprang from the }
| MT, para 6 | PP: How about the Chai-Baan? Did Kruba Wong build it? MT: Kruba Wong made it at the same period as building the temple. I heard that the land was so dry in the past. But after Kruba Wong did meditation, the water sprang from the ground. People said there was no water here. The other groups of people used to try to live here but they couldn’t. When the Karen came, the water came with the Karen. At Nambornoi, there is another holy spring. At that place, Kruba Wong said that we should watch and protect it. But some people misunderstood. They thought that Kruba Wong wanted them to live close to the spring, so they moved to live there. Actually Kruba Wong didn’t mean that. He just wanted us to protect it. Kruba Wong asked them to go back to the village but they refused to do so. Kruba Wong didn’t want them to live there but they didn’t obey. They were so stubborn. They build their houses in a traditional Karen style. They have a belief that if they live there, they will be lucky. I wonder if they already get what they want. |
| MT, para 7 | PP: Did the Buddha use to come here? MT: He did. The first time was when the Luas gave him the boiled rice. Actually they didn’t ask for his footprints. They asked for his hair. But the Buddha was afraid that the hair was hard to keep, so they asked for something else, the footprints. |
| MT, para 8 | PP: How do you know all these legends? MT: I learn from the book Kruba Wong wrote. He wrote an autobiography. PP: Where did you get it? Where did
you ordained?
MT: Here at Huaytom temple.
PP: I just want to know how these stories are transmitted. Did you and other people also hear these stories from your parents?
MT: Yes, I did. I also have a book that is written in Northern Thai dialect. It is at Monton Wongsa, the temple where I live. If one day you can go there, I will show you the book. There are stories of the Buddha coming to this place in that book. It is Kruba Wong’s journal and autobiography. Many stories of him are in that book.
PP: Is there any monk lives there permanently?
MT: Yes, there are some monks there. I also live there.

| MT, para 9 | PP: I also notice the yogi statues in this village. Who is that yogi?
MT: His name is Sangtumma. When the Buddha came here, Sangtumma also came here to pay homage to the Buddha. But he couldn’t come in time to hear the sermon, so the Buddha asked him to live here as his representative. There was another group of people who wanted to come and pay homage to the Buddha, but they couldn’t come in time as well. They didn’t have an opportunity to see the Buddha. He had already gone. They saw only a yogi. They planned to give the offerings to the yogi instead. But they were afraid that the yogi would leave like the Buddha, so they stabbed the yogi with the knife. The yogi died and became a guardian spirit to protect this place. He is here to watch this place. |
| MT, para 10 | PP: They stabbed him!?  
MT: Yes. At his leg. |
| PP | Who were they? | MT: They might be Luas. They wanted to pay homage to the yogi but they were afraid that he would go before they could meet so they stabbed him at his knee. If you go to Huaytom temple, you will see the mural in the temple about the yogi. It is in the same room as where the footprints are situated. The building next to this building also has a mural that tells this story. However, at the time the Buddha came, there was one person who had an opportunity to meet him. It was Kaew Mamuang the prince. He met the Buddha here. He had a chance to pay homage to him. He listened to his sermon and enlightened. |
| MT, para 11 | Where did he live after he enlightened? | MT: He lived in another temple. After he died, he became a guardian angel. He protects this place together with Sangtumma yogi. They are guardian angels. Is there any statue of him here? Yes, we have three stupas for Kaew Mamuang. The golden, silver and another… I can’t remember. The main stupa in the temple is for Kruba Wong. The little one is for Kaew Mamuang the prince. It is situated at the back of the temple. |
| MT, para 12 | Is there any other story of the Buddha here in the village? | MT: The Buddha came here and traveled to many places. From Huaytom to Prathat Ha Duang temple. He went to many places. Kruba wrote it in his own book. It is written in Northern Thai. What do you usually do after you preach to people in the morning? I just stay here. (Chai-Bann) |
| PP | แล้วท่านบรรลุแล้วอยู่ที่ไหน | MT: ก็อยู่ในวัดอื่นก็มีด้วย ถ้าท่านไปก็เอาเทวดาถิ่นก็ตาย ก็ให้ไปในเทวดา รักษาสถานที่ตรงนี้ ปู่กับปู่อีกทั้งสามท่านมาเป็นเทวดา PP: มีรูปปั้นท่านไหมคะ MT: ปู่แก้วมาเมืองนี่มีรูปปั้นครับ ปู่กับปู่อีกทั้งสามท่านจะทำเจดีย์สามองค์ มีองค์สีทอง สีเงิน เหลืออีกองค์ละของเขาไปแล้ว เจดีย์ตรงนี้เป็นเจดีย์ทั่วไปแล้วก็ถือเป็นครูบาวงศ์ แล้วเจดีย์อีกองค์เป็นปู่แก้วมาเมือง อยู่หลังวัด |
| PP | แล้วมีเรื่องพระพุทธเจ้าอีกไหมคะ | MT: พระพุทธเจ้ามาที่นี่ ก็ไปหลายที่ จากห้วยต้มก็ไปวัดพระธาตุห้าดวง ไปหลายที่ทำเนียบหนังสืออีก ทางท่านอยู่ที่ไหน PP: แล้วปกติท่านเทศนาธรรมเสร็จแล้ว ท่านทำอะไรคะ MT: ก็จำวัดอยู่ที่นี่ (ใจบ้าน) |
| MT, para 13 | PP: How could these two guys (*Ngaepore and Pahae*) become guards for Chai-Baan? Do the villagers select them? | MT: No, we don’t select anyone. You know, it is hard to find someone who is willing to do this and can do it. If you want to be a monk, you have to gain enough parami. Likewise, if you want to guard such a sacred place, there is something special about you. You have to have parami. They are doomed to do this task. Uncle Ngaepore, his wife, and children are still living in the village. He has ten children. In the past, people tend to have many more children than nowadays. I also have seven siblings. PP: Do your family members live here in the village? MT: Yes, they do. |
| MT, para 14 | PP: People said that Kruba Wong had a parami. Is that true? MT: Yes, it is. There is a story of Kruba Wong and his four hundred followers from Bangkok being in the plane that was going to fall into the sea. People were so afraid that they were going to die. But suddenly there was a hand of Kruba Wong holding the plane in the air, so it didn’t fall. I heard that Kruba Wong did meditation at that time. He was going to India. | PP: ครูบาวงศ์เหมือนท่านมีอิทธิฤทธิ์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย- PP: When did this happen? MT: A long time ago. Those four hundred people survived. So we made a new version of amulets for the remembrance of this event. Some people who purchased these amulets claimed that they wore it during the accident and it helped them survive. They believe these... |
| MT, para 15 | PP: People said that Kruba Wong had a parami. Is that true? MT: Yes, it is. There are a story of Kruba Wong and his four hundred followers from Bangkok being in the plane that was going to fall into the sea. People were so afraid that they were going to die. But suddenly there was a hand of Kruba Wong holding the plane in the air, so it didn’t fall. I heard that Kruba Wong did meditation at that time. He was going to India. | PP: ครูบาวงศ์เหมือนท่านมีอิทธิฤทธิ์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริย์-ปาฏิหาริยก
amulets can save them from danger. This is what I heard from many people. I also heard that Kruba Wong fled from the other monks in the past. He ran away to the hills. But the Karen there helped him and hid him from those monks. The Karen looked after him.

### Interviewee: Ngaepore Kamdenwongchai

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NK, para 1</th>
<th>(Ngaepore showing me some pictures in the village center) NK: This is the picture of the king. The king came here the first time on 1976. It was Kruba who asked the king to give the land to the Karen. He requested the land that used to belong to the Royal Project Foundation. This is the picture of the bathing ceremony. Kruba Wong would step on everyone’s back. We did it every year. PP: Are you also in this picture? NK: I don’t know. It was a long time ago. I can’t remember. But I joined the ceremony every year. We did like this every year. PP: Don’t you have this kind of ceremony anymore? NK: No. It is because Kruba is not here anymore. We did it every year when he was alive.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP: Did this ceremony start when you all settle down here? NK: Yes. Kruba’s footstep on our back will loosen our muscle pain. The pain completely disappeared. PP: Why do you choose to stay here as a guard? NK: I come to meditate and to keep an eye on Kruba. In the morning I manage the food offerings people bring here. PP: Food offerings? Offer to whom? NK: Everyone, including the yogi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NK, para 2</th>
<th>PP: Are you also in this picture? NK: I don’t know. It was a long time ago. I can’t remember. But I joined the ceremony every year. PP: Don’t you have this kind of ceremony anymore? NK: No. It is because Kruba is not here anymore. We did it every year when he was alive.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP: Did this ceremony start when you all settle down here? NK: Yes. Kruba’s footstep on our back will loosen our muscle pain. The pain completely disappeared. PP: Why do you choose to stay here as a guard? NK: I come to meditate and to keep an eye on Kruba. In the morning I manage the food offerings people bring here. PP: Food offerings? Offer to whom? NK: Everyone, including the yogi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NK, para 3
PP: Is there a yogi here? Who is he?
NK: Sangtumma yogi. And this is the giant. His duty is to watch the place, the same way as the guardian spirit. The yogi guards this place (Chai-Baan). This place is going to be renovated soon. They will do more.

NK, para 4
PP: What have you learned from Kruba? What kind of things did he taught you?
NK: Kruba told me that we used to live on the mountain. He made a pilgrimage to the mountain… to Mae Ramad… and saw our people living there. He noticed that there was no temple, nor Buddha image. We were animists. There was no temple. We had nothing to pray for. We were the forest people.
PP: But you are now Buddhist?
NK: Yes. We came here since the place is newly established. Kruba built these buildings only for us. He built this place (Chai-Baan) too.

NK, para 5
PP: Besides this place and the temple, what else did he build?
NK: Kruba told me that the Northern Thai were educated, so they are righteous. They had wisdom. If you have wisdom you will be able to be in heaven after death. The hill people don’t have a chance to study. They are illiterate. So we use a rosary to meditate. It can also lead us to heaven as well as studying.

NK, para 6
PP: So right now you have a rosary and do meditation?
NK: Yes. If we do this regularly, we will have wisdom. Just whisper “Buddho Buddho” and you will be able to go to heaven. If we reach the highest level of meditation, we will...
be able to go to heaven.
PP: Did Kruba teach you this?
NK: Exactly. We must remember this discipline. We don’t have to do more. We will be happy because of this. If we drink alcohol, kill animals, or eat meat, we won’t see the heaven. He told me so.

| NK, para 7 | PP: He said if you don’t, you won’t see the heaven?
NK: No. If you obey him, you have to make merit and meditate. You will be in heaven as a reward.
PP: Why don’t you eat meat? Is there any other reason more than to go to heaven?
NK: Because Kruba told us so. Kruba said that don’t forget to make merit; don’t forget to follow the disciplines; and don’t forget to meditate. These three concepts stay together like a tripod. Don’t forget these three concepts. |

| NK, para 8 | PP: They said Kruba has a lot of parami…
NK: Kruba said that Anicca, Dukkha, and Anatta (Three marks of existence, including Impermanence (Anicca), Dissatisfaction or suffering (Dukkha), and Non-Self (Anatta)-author) are three facts we can’t run away from. He said when he died, the descendants had to keep these disciplines. They should go on paying homage to the Buddha. But Kruba’s spirit comes back and forth. |

| NK, para 9 | PP: Kruba’s spirit? It comes back and forth?
NK: Yes. He keeps watching his descendants. He went to heaven; he went to nirvana, but he still comes back here to protect us.
PP: You mean Kruba is still here even until now?
NK: Yes. He comes back and forth between here and heaven. He lives... |
in the monk’s dwelling… umm, how can we call? I’m not fluent in Northern Thai. Kruba doesn’t want us to raise animals.

NK, para 10

PP: How did he do to make people quit eating meat?
NK: He stopped people from drinking alcohol. But there are a lot of people nowadays. We can’t force everybody not to drink.
PP: Do people start eating meat again?
NK: Some of them. Some eat meat now.
PP: But you don’t?
NK: No, I don’t.
PP: Do you eat eggs?
NK: No.

NK, para 11

PP: Do you also talk about Kruba to other people?
NK: Huh?
PP: Have you ever tell the stories of Kruba Wong to your children?
NK: Oh, well, yes. Yes.
PP: Did you talk about the discipline? Or anything else?
NK: I keep teaching them. Some obey, but some don’t. There are so many people living in the village nowadays. People today are smart. They have a chance to study. They rarely listen to the seniors like us. They got a high education.
PP: Do they teach about Kruba Wong’s stories in school?
NK: Yes, they do. But sometimes when they teach the children, they (the children) don’t accept that. They just listen and then forget. However, there are some who don’t learn in school but learn by practice.
PP: Do the children go to practice Dharma at the temple?
NK: Yes, they do. The little kids also come. In the evening we have a meditation group here.
| PP: What time is it? | NK: It’s Kruba Wong. You know, sometimes people have a chance to study go to practice Dharma from Yore at Chiang Mai Province. I don’t go. Kruba had never told us to go. Kruba said just meditate with the rosary and we can be joyful. Do it every day then we will be joyful. Do it every day and you will be in heaven. |
| NK, para 12 | NK: In the past, Kruba made a pilgrimage to Doi Suthep Mountain and did meditation. He brought the rosary with him. Look at this, the statue of Kruba Chailangka, Kruba Srivichai, Kruba Kha Pi, and Kruba Wong. All of them have the rosary on their neck. Dharma is meditation. PP: So you don’t worship spirit anymore…? NK: There is no ghost anymore. Every time we do meditation, the ghost is dispelled. The ghost can’t |
| NK: What time in the evening? | NK: Seven to eight o’clock. PP: Can I join? NK: Sure. Do you have a rosary? PP: No. Where can I find it? NK: I have some. They are made of rattan seeds. PP: Oh really? My name means rattan. NK: Oh, haha (laugh) PP: Is the Kruba in the locket Kruba Wong? NK: Yes, it’s Kruba Wong. You know, some people who have a chance to study go to practice Dharma from Yore at Chiang Mai Province. I don’t go. Kruba had never told us to go. Kruba said just meditate with the rosary and we can be joyful. Do it every day then we will be joyful. Do it every day and you will be in heaven. |
| NK: In the past, Kruba made a pilgrimage to Doi Suthep Mountain and did meditation. He brought the rosary with him. Look at this, the statue of Kruba Chailangka, Kruba Srivichai, Kruba Kha Pi, and Kruba Wong. All of them have the rosary on their neck. Dharma is meditation. PP: So you don’t worship spirit anymore…? NK: There is no ghost anymore. Every time we do meditation, the ghost is dispelled. The ghost can’t |
reach us. When we pray, we also pray for it. Anicca Dukkha Anatta: we pray this every day. When we whisper Anicca Dukkha Anatta, the ghost can’t reach us. How can we call this? They get burnt?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NK, para 14</th>
<th>PP: How old were you when you moved here? NK: I came here when I was twenty-five years old. When I came, I dug the ponds. We dug four ponds around the Chai-Baan. We didn’t have a backhoe. We used our labor. We used spades and hoes to do so. PP: Did you help the villagers build the temple? NK: Yes. PP: And Chai-Baan too? NK: This too. PP: What else did Kruba let you build? NK: These ponds at Nong Wua Thao District and its neighborhood. PP: You did that? NK: Yes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP: How old were you when you moved here? NK: I came here when I was twenty-five years old. When I came, I dug the ponds. We dug four ponds around the Chai-Baan. We didn’t have a backhoe. We used our labor. We used spades and hoes to do so. PP: Did you help the villagers build the temple? NK: Yes. PP: And Chai-Baan too? NK: This too. PP: What else did Kruba let you build? NK: These ponds at Nong Wua Thao District and its neighborhood. PP: You did that? NK: Yes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NK, para 15</th>
<th>PP: How about Kruba’s statue at the entrance of the village? Who built that? NK: The statue? It was Kruba again. Kruba built it. PP: Did he build his statue? Did he build it since he was alive? NK: Yes, he did it. He built those statues at the highway to Tern District too. When I was here, there was no Buddha’s relic here. There was only one at Prathat Har Duang Temple, not here. We build them all. PP: But the Buddha’s footprints</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP: How about Kruba’s statue at the entrance of the village? Who built that? NK: The statue? It was Kruba again. Kruba built it. PP: Did he build his statue? Did he build it since he was alive? NK: Yes, he did it. He built those statues at the highway to Tern District too. When I was here, there was no Buddha’s relic here. There was only one at Prathat Har Duang Temple, not here. We build them all. PP: But the Buddha’s footprints</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| PP: How about Kruba’s statue at the entrance of the village? Who built that? NK: The statue? It was Kruba again. Kruba built it. PP: Did he build his statue? Did he build it since he was alive? NK: Yes, he did it. He built those statues at the highway to Tern District too. When I was here, there was no Buddha’s relic here. There was only one at Prathat Har Duang Temple, not here. We build them all. PP: But the Buddha’s footprints |
| PP: How about Kruba’s statue at the entrance of the village? Who built that? NK: The statue? It was Kruba again. Kruba built it. PP: Did he build his statue? Did he build it since he was alive? NK: Yes, he did it. He built those statues at the highway to Tern District too. When I was here, there was no Buddha’s relic here. There was only one at Prathat Har Duang Temple, not here. We build them all. PP: But the Buddha’s footprints |
NK: The footprints were here originally. We also have the footprints at Prabat Phanam Temple and those temples in Doi Tao District. Kruba Srivichai built one at Doi Suthep. Kruba Suekchana also built one in Burma. It was very different from now. The mountain is gradually subsiding nowadays. Kruba Suekchana built it on the cliff.

NK: He taught us to live happily.

NK, para 16

PP: Did Kruba have a magical power, like celestial eyes?
NK: Kruba, yes. But I don’t (laugh).
PP: Kruba had celestial eyes?
NK: Yes.
PP: Did he save the airplane?
NK: Haha (laugh) In the past, when Kruba just moved here, he could see the images of landscapes even though he had never been there. Kruba could point out what was what. He knew all. He knew everything by himself.

NK, para 17

PP: Is it true that he also brought the water to the village?
NK: Formerly there was nothing here. We had to eat potatoes. There was neither rice nor water. There was a water shortage in Huaytom. We could rarely have it during the Summer. Then Kruba said we had to make merit and practice vegetarianism. He did it for three years and in the third or fourth year, it rained. It rained heavily. It has always rained until now. However, it is dry again this year. It is because
people rarely do good things. They don’t make merit. As there are several types of individuals, we hardly find people who still practice the religious rules and do meditation. Even we try to teach them, they don’t listen to us.

| NK, para 18 | PP: Do the children listen to what the senior like you tell them? NK: The kids nowadays barely listen to us. Some are obedient, but some aren’t. PP: Do some of them still follow the religious disciplines? NK: Yes, some of them do. |
| NK, para 19 | PP: Where do you live? Where is your house? NK: I stay here. PP: How about your wife and your children? NK: They live at Moo 18. (Moo: the lowest administrative subdivision of Thailand, usually translated as “village”-author) It’s quite close to here. PP: Do you often see your children? NK: Regularly. I go see them if I have time. If I don’t have time, I don’t go. PP: Have you guarded Chai-Baan for ten years already? NK: Ten years. |
| NK, para 20 | PP: What did you do before guarding Chai-Baan? NK: I washed the dishes and cleaned this area. PP: I mean what did you do when you were young? NK: Oh. I mowed the lawn. PP: Did you do farming like other people? NK: No. I worked here. I mowed the lawn in the village, formerly 16 Rai (Rai: a unit of area, equal to 1,600 square meters, used for}
| NK, para 21 | PP: Who cooked for Kruba when he was alive?  
NK: Before me, it was Too Tae. After a while I helped him cooked, and he retired. So I cooked for Kruba. I stayed with Kruba. I stayed with him for four years. When Kruba went to heaven, when he went for Nirvana; I moved here.  
PP: So you had lived with him before he went to heaven, and after he died, you came here?  
NK: Yes.  
PP: Do you stay here alone or with anyone else?  
NK: I have fellows.  
PP: How many?  
NK: Not much. Just three people, including me.  
PP: What are their names?  
NK: Uncle Pahae and uncle… umm, I can’t remember. He just came. He is ill.  
PP: What’s wrong with him?  
NK: He has diabetes. |
| --- | --- |
| NK, para 22 | PP: Where are they right now?  
NK: Pahae is now outside the building. Did you see him, the guy who looks very old?  
PP: Do you stay here together?  
NK: Yes. Exactly.  
PP: What uncle Pahae did before living here?  
NK: He did farming.  
PP: How about your children? What do they do?  
NK: Farming. They grow corns. |
| NK, para 23 | PP: Why did you follow Kruba here?  
NK: At first we migrated from our home on the mountain to Mae Toey Sub-District (Mae Toey is a sub-districts in Chiang Mai; Mae Toey |
and Huaytom is close to each other. Kruba told us that he wanted the Karen labor to work for the national forest here. He needed us. He said we could be there as much as we wanted. Then the hill people migrated to the national forest. Kruba said living here is living close to the temple, and it was good. We didn’t have any temple in the mountains. There was no temple. There was no monk. So we decided to move here. The first group migrated to that national forest around 150 households.

NK, para 24

NK: After a short time, people gradually followed their family there. When the number of people was increased more every day, the monks said they couldn’t accept the Karen anymore. They told us to stay in Huaytom instead. So the latter groups didn’t migrate to the national forest, but migrated here and lived with Kruba. Formerly this place was a thick forest. We cleared the place and made it suitable for living. I lived in a small house and didn’t have food to eat (laugh). There was not even water to drink.

PP: Was it difficult to live here at first?

NK: It was tough. We faced many difficulties. People who live near us didn’t like us. They hated us. Everywhere we went, we saw people hate us.

PP: Why did they hate you?

NK: It’s... I don’t know. It has been so long that they hate us. I couldn’t eat. I did a labor job for them, but I was not allowed to eat.

NK, para 25

NK: 150 แล้วตอนหลังก็มี一汽ๆ หนาองครักษ์ก็บอกว่าไปเถอะบะเดี๋ยวนี้เขาเอา

PP: แล้วคนเมืองมีที่มาอยู่แถวนี้ยังถูกหรอ

NK: คนเมืองมีที่มาอยู่แถวนี้น่ะ นาเลี่ยง
| NK, para 26 | PP: Did they live close to us?  
NK: Yes. They lived next to us. At Na-Liang and Na-Sai District |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| NK, para 26 | PP: Did Kruba stay in Tak Province when he was young?  
NK: Kruba lived on the mountain with my ancestors, my great-grandparents, because Kruba couldn’t live with the Northern Thai.  
PP: Oh, why is that?  
NK: They chased him. They beat him.  
PP: When he was young?  
NK: Yes. I hadn’t been born yet. My dad and my mom told me.  
PP: Really? What did your parents tell you about this incident?  
NK: They said Kruba went to the mountains. I mean the mountains in Tak Province. It was at Mae Ramad Sub-District. It was upland. He stayed there. He took off the yellow robe. I don’t know what was going on in Chiang Mai, in Mon Chong Sub-District. Do you know Mon Chong?  
PP: Yes, I do.  
NK: People there slandered him.  |
| NK, para 27 | PP: Did the Northern Thai slander him?  
NK: Yes. The monk dean of Mon Chong and Om-koi Sub-District slandered him. They treated him badly. They took off his yellow robe. So Kruba had to run away to Doi Mae Ramad. The village chief there helped him. It was Too Noo. He lived on the mountain.  
PP: Did he help Kruba?  
NK: Yes.  
PP: Is Too Noo Karen?  
NK: Yes. He is Karen.  |
| NK, para 28 | PP: Did the Karen there give him the offerings?  
NK: Yes.  |
| **PP:** Did your parents have a chance to meet him at that time?  
**NK:** Yes. They met him there.  
**PP:** How did Kruba live at that time?  
**NK:** He removed his yellow robe. They (Northern Thai) claimed that the disciples of Kruba Srivichai were all bad. Kruba kept running away from villages to villages. Too Noo, the village chief who saved him, asked the village chief of Mue Tueng Sub-District to help protect him. At that time kruba was still a novice. |
| **NK,**  
**para 29**  
**PP:** How old was he at that time?  
**NK:** I don’t know. But he was young. He was around 15-16 years old.  
**PP:** But he was not caught?  
**NK:** No. He ran away. He hid on the mountains.  
**PP:** Did anyone follow to catch him there?  
**NK:** Yes. They kept seeking him out. But we didn’t tell them. Those who sought him tried so hard to find him, but they couldn’t.  
**PP:** They sought him because he was a disciple of Kruba Srivichai?  
**NK:** Yes. They said the disciples of Kruba Srivichai were bad. They took their yellow clothes off and arrested them. So Kruba Wong had to flee. Too Noo protected him. |
| **NK,**  
**para 30**  
**PP:** Did the northern Thai believe Kruba was not good?  
**NK:** They believed that Kruba Srivichai and Kruba Wong didn’t have monk’s identity card. They claimed that both Krubas were illegal monks. Kruba Chailangka, Kruba Srivichai, Kruba Khao Pi, and Kruba Wong, all of them didn’t have monk’s identity card.  
**PP:** พ่อแม่ลุงก็ทั้งตอนนั้นน่ะกน  
**NK:** ทั้งตอนนั้นน่ะ  
**PP:** แล้วเป็นไปอยู่ก็ได้  
เป็นหนีอยู่ก็ได้  
**NK:** เป็นแก้ผ้าเหลือง  
เป็นลูกศิษย์ครูบาศรีวิชัยนี่ปีต้นหน้านี่เป็นเวลา  
ครูบานี้ก็เลยหนีตอบบ้องค่อย  
ผู้ใหญ่บ้านตุ๊ดูคนนี่  
แล้วกีไปแจ้งก่านีเมื่อวันนี้แล้ว  
อีกขอมูลครูบาองค์นี้  
ตอนแรกที่ไปอยู่เป็นพระอยู่น่ะ เป็นพระน้อย  
ปิ่นเป็นตุ๊นี่  
**NK,**  
**para 30**  
**PP:** They believed Kruba was not good?  
**NK:** They believed that Kruba Srivichai and Kruba Wong didn’t have monk’s identity card. They claimed that both Krubas were illegal monks. Kruba Chailangka, Kruba Srivichai, Kruba Khao Pi, and Kruba Wong, all of them didn’t have monk’s identity card.  
**PP:** แล้วชาวบ้านเชื่อว่าครูบาบ่ดี  
**NK:** ตอนนี้ครูบาศรีวิชัยกับครูบานี่ตอนนี้เปิ้นว่าครูบานี่บ่มีบัตรสุทธิตอนนี้หนา  
มันเดือดร้อนจะอั้นที่นี้ครูบาชัยลังกาเปิ้นว่าครูบาตุ๊มาอยู่ป่า  
ครูบาก็เลยหนีขึ้นดอยต่อ พ่อหลวงตุ๊นี่  
ครูบาชัยยะวงศานี่
PP: How long had Kruba Wong stayed with the Karen in Tak Province?
NK: Um... It’s over ten years. He lived like Karen. He spoke Karen.
PP: Could he?
NK: Yes, he could speak Karen.
PP: Was there any temple in the mountains?
NK: He lived there and built the temple. He built it for us. He recently built them all and also renovated those on the mountains. The monk houses are renovated. There are many places he renovated.

NK, para 31

PP: Do you often go to Tak Province?
NK: Sometimes.
PP: Do you still have relatives there?
NK: Yes. I have twelve siblings.
PP: Twelve?
NK: Yes, but only four left. The rest have died. Now there are two men and two women left.
PP: Do they live here in the village?
NK: No. They live on the mountain.
PP: So why it was only you who decided to move here?

NK, para 32

PP: Is your wife here?
NK: Yes. She lives with our children. At home. We did farming when we lived on the mountain. We worked from hills to hills. In the past, the cars couldn’t reach the mountains. In the past, when we knew that Kruba were in Huaytom and we wanted to make merit with him, we had to spend ten days for the whole trip. We spent five days to go...
to Huaytom and another five days to come back home.

| NK, para 33 | PP: Is it also because of the flood caused by the dam project that let people move here? NK: No. It is because Kruba told Ajarn Ja-Poh and Ajarn Pa-Jae that the government would reforest the national forest. They needed labors to work there. So Kruba asked Ja-Poh and Pa-Jae to help him find some Karen to work there. Those people then migrated to the national forest in Mae-Toey District. After that, their families and relatives followed them more and more. PP: Isn’t it because there was a problem at your previous home? NK: No. We just wanted to live close to the virtue. We wanted to make merit. We can’t find the merit if we still live in the mountain. It is because there was neither temple nor Buddha’s relics on the mountain at that time. And another reason is that we wanted to live with our relatives. |
| NK, para 34 | PP: But you used to come here to make merit before you permanently moved here? NK: Yes. And we used to make merit with Kruba Srivichai and Kruba Khao Pi. In the past, Kruba Khao Pi lived in Tamore Village. Kruba Srivichai lived in Ban Pang Village. Kruba Srivichai did a stairway to Doi Suthep Mountain. My parents came to help him too. PP: You too? NK: No. I hadn’t been born yet. But my grandfather did help. |
| NK, para 35 | PP: Are there any people outside the village come and ask you about Kruba Wong? NK: Yes. The students and people from Bangkok. |
| NK, para 36 | PP: Is there any foreigner?  
NK: Yes. Once. They came and just looked around. |
|---|---|
| NK, para 36 | PP: When people came to talk to you, what kind of things did you tell them?  
NK: I told them about our lives here and things Kruba taught us. I’m not good at speaking Thai. I could hardly talk to them.  
PP: But I thought you are good at talking. You really are.  
NK: At first I couldn’t speak Northern Thai at all. |
| NK, para 37 | PP: Do people intend to keep Kruba’s body like this?  
NK: Yes, they don’t cremate his body. They build an excellent casket for his body to rest. It seems like they will keep his body like this forever  
PP: Forever?  
NK: Yes. The millionaires from Bangkok are the hosts. They are Miss Ammara and Miss Suwanna. Miss Ammara was formerly a royal official.  
PP: Can I come see you again?  
NK: Sure. I’m always here. I stay at the temple all the time. I really want to go back to the mountain to help our people make the roads. But I don’t have time to go.  
PP: And the villagers of Kruba’s relatives?  
NK: They will keep his body like this forever.  
PP: Do people keep him for ever?  
NK: Yes. The millionaires from Bangkok are the hosts. They are Miss Ammara and Miss Suwanna. Miss Ammara was formerly a royal official.  
PP: Can I come see you again?  
NK: Sure. I’m always here. I stay at the temple all the time. I really want to go back to the mountain to help our people make the roads. But I don’t have time to go.  
PP: If people intend to keep his body like this forever?  
NK: Yes, they don’t cremate his body. They build an excellent casket for his body to rest. It seems like they will keep his body like this forever.  
PP: Forever?  
NK: Yes. The millionaires from Bangkok are the hosts. They are Miss Ammara and Miss Suwanna. Miss Ammara was formerly a royal official.  
PP: Can I come see you again?  
NK: Sure. I’m always here. I stay at the temple all the time. I really want to go back to the mountain to help our people make the roads. But I don’t have time to go.
| NK, para 38 | PP: Have you ever dreamed of Kruba?  
NK: (laugh) not at all.  
PP: Has Kruba ever visited you?  
NK: (laugh)  
PP: Do you meditate too?  
NK: I meditate by praying. I pray and get pleasure from doing so. When I think of Kruba, I feel very happy. I’m proud.  
PP: You always think of him?  
NK: Yes, I do.  
PP: When you think of him, what do you think about?  
NK: I think about the time when he was still alive. I think of his words. I think of the time I followed him everywhere and cooked for him, the time when I made merit with him. |
| --- | --- |
| NK, para 39 | PP: Are you a vegetarian because of him?  
NK: I follow him. I don’t have a desire to eat meat anymore. I used to eat meat when I lived on the mountain. Yes, I ate meat before. But I don’t anymore.  
PP: And when you moved here, did you get in touch with the Northern Thai in this area?  
NK: No, no. Now we make contact with people from Chiang Mai and Bangkok. |
| NK, para 40 | PP: Have individuals in the village ever had a conflict with each other?  
NK: You mean fight? Yes, there are some fights.  
PP: What kind of fight?  
NK: It’s all about the children. They drank alcohol and got drunk, so they quarreled. There are much more people in the village now. Some of us are good because they work. But many people are quite not good. This situation happens everywhere. If there are only the good ones, then we don’t need to have a village chief. |

PP: ลุงมีฝันถึงครูบาองก่อ  
NK: (หัวเราะ) บ่ฝันเลย  
PP: แล้วมีครูบามาหาผ้องก่อ  
NK: (หัวเราะ)  
PP: แล้วลุงนั่งสมาธิโตยก่อ  
NK: สมาธิมาจากการภาวนาเนี่ย สวดมนต์มันม่วนใจ เวลาคิดถึงครูบาเนี่ยมันม่วนใจ มันภูมิใจ  
PP: ยังคิดถึงอยู่ทุกวันเนาะ  
NK: อือ  
PP: เหาคิดถึงอะหยังผ้องเวลาคิดถึงครูบา  
NK: คิดถึงตอนครูบาอยู่ครูบาสั่งสอนอะไร เวลาครูบาไปที่ไหนก็โตยดูครูบา ถือศีลกินเจ |

PP: ละตะก่อนตอนมา คนเมืองเขามาคุยกับเฮาถูก่อนนี้  
NK: มีบ่บ่มีนี่มีคนกรุงเทพฯ คนเจียงใหม่ปุ่น  

PP: ลุงก็กิ๋น?  
NK: ฮะ กิ๋นโตยเปิ้น บุณฑริกิ้นแล้วป่ายก การที่กิ๋นตะก่อนนี้ โอ๊ยกิน อธิบายดาย  
PP: ละตะก่อสอนมา คนเมืองเขามาคุยกับเฮาถูก่อนนี้  
NK: มีปุ่มี นี่มีคนกรุงเทพฯ คนเจียงใหม่ปุ่น
But the reason we have the village chief now is that we still have bad people.

At first, Kruba told us that we don’t need to have a village chief. Just did the right thing and that was enough. But ultimately, some people disobeyed Kruba, and there are some who migrated from the outside. Kruba then selected the village chief to protect us.

| NK, para 41 | PP: When Kruba passed away, did you and the villagers fear? NK: When we knew that Kruba has gone, we felt…oh…shocked. We were scared because we didn’t know how Huaytom would change if we didn’t have Kruba with us. We asked Kruba Pan to stay here as Kruba Wong’s representative. We told each other it didn’t matter. We…we didn’t have an identity card when we lived on the mountain. But we already have it. Our lives had improved so much after the assistance of Kruba. PP: You didn’t have a national identity card when you lived on the mountain? NK: No, we didn’t. If you have an identity card, you can request for citizenship. When I was nineteen years old, I used to apply for an identity card, but they refused to do it for me. Only few hill people got the card. |

| NG, para 1 | NG: I’m an immigrant. I’m from Chiang Mai. I was here since fifteen years old. Right now I am sixty-two. I have been here since 1971. We are the first generation who migrated from Omkoi District, Chiang Mai. We struggled to live in the remote | NG: ผมเป็นคนอพยพ เป็นคนเชียงใหม่แล้วเกิดพยายามตั้งแต่อายุ 15 ตอนนี้ 62 แล้ว อาศัยอยู่เมื่อ 2514 เป็นรุ่นแรกจากเชียงใหม่จากอำเภออมก๋อย อยู่แบบทุรกันดารสมัยก่อน |
area in the thick forest. The Karen in Nambornoi village also came from Omkoi District, Chiang Mai. We migrated several periods of times.

| NG, para 2 | NG: We moved here because we have a deep bond with Krubas since Kruba Siwichai. Our ancestors used to follow Kruba Siwichai before. Kruba Khao Pi and Kruba Wong were also the disciples of Kruba Siwichai. |
| NG, para 3 | NG: Kruba Wong was also a disciple of Kruba Khao Pi. He used to learn meditation with Kruba Khao Pi. Kruba Prommachak from Wat Prabat Tak Pha was also Kruba Wong’s teacher. He ordained Kruba Wong. Wat Prabat Tak Pha was very famous. And so was Kruba Prommacha. He graduated in the ninth level of Buddhist theology. He was the abbot of Wat Prabat Tak Pha. |
| NG, para 4 | PP: Why Did your family follow Kruba Wong here? NG: My family did agriculture. We lived in the wild forest in Omkoi District and didn’t have good food to eat. Then my grandparents got to know Kruba Wong. After that, every time Kruba Wong went to Omkoi District, my grandparents would walk from home, which was in the remote area of Omkoi, to the district center to meet Kruba. They would stay there with Kruba for four or five days. |
NG, para 5
NG: When Kruba settled down here, he realized that the hill people struggled a lot. We were uneducated. We didn’t have a hospital. We didn’t have school. We didn’t have anything while people in town already have the village chief or public security. At that time we worship spirits, both the rice field spirits and the ancestor spirits. We worshipped spirits by sacrificing animals. Kruba then told us not to exploit from the animal. He said every living thing loves its life as same as a human does. He told us that believing in spirit is different from believing in Buddhism. But praying (Buddhism) is better than animism.

NG, para 6
NG: Kruba Wong was born in Baan Kor. His relatives are still there. He was a disciple of Kruba Sivichai and Kruba Khao Pi. Two things these three monks had in common are: first; they were the developers, second; they did strict meditation. The lay Buddhists had a strong faith in them. The other monks in the North didn’t like Kruba Sivichai and his two disciples. They asked where this person came from. “He had nothing” “Why do the hill people believe in him and let him ruled their lives?” Then the monks accused Kruba Sivichai of being a fake monk. They accused Kruba because he had a lot of followers while they didn’t have any. They were jealous.

NG, para 7
NG: Kruba Sivichai was also the kind of monk who did not follow the
religious norms. For example, he refused to celebrate the birth of the prince of Thailand like the other monks did. He said just making merit was enough. So he prayed for the King and his family instead. It would be better for the monk to pray for the king and his newborn prince than to celebrate. The other monks then did not like Kruba Siwichai. They said Kruba Siwichai used an inappropriate teaching method. They expelled him and his disciples, including Kruba Khao Pi and Kruba Wong, from Chiang Mai.

| NG, para 8 | NG: While Kruba Sivichai was arrested and Kruba Khao Pi was forced to leave the monkhood, Kruba Wong ran away to the mountainous area. He was only twelve or thirteen years old right then. The other monks pursued him, asking people if they saw the “little monk” around there. Luckily, Kruba Wong could hide from them. He fled from Chiang Mai to Mue Tung District and lived with the hill people there. It was a remote area in Tak Province where the other monks could not find him. He lived with the Karen and other hill people who worshipped spirits and were animists. |
| NG, para 9 | NG: Kruba Wong lived there that way. There was no temple there. He formed his own sand stupa. He prayed every night. When the night came, he moved from the village center to sleep near the river to hide from the monks who sought him. |
Many monks came and asked for the Buddhist novice, but the hill people said they saw no one, so Kruba Wong survived every time. It was because of the hill people.

NG, para 10
NG: As time went by, the hill people became familiar with Kruba Wong. Kruba Wong started to persuade them to convert to Buddhism. He introduced them to the five and eight commandments, which are the most important Buddhist precepts. He taught those people and could gradually change their minds. Before Kruba came, the hill people were very backward like the Mlabri people (An ethnic group in Thailand who still live their traditional nomadic life-author) these days. They didn’t know the appropriate way to eat or the better way to live life. They just hunted to survive. They noticed Kruba Wong’s shaven head and baldy. Kruba then explained that he was a Buddhist monk and shaving the hair was a Buddhist practice. He explained more about the core concepts of the religion. He had lived with the hill people for many years.

NG, para 11
NG: While he lived with the hill people, Kruba Wong tried to live like them as much as he could. He could speak Karen. He could eat the traditional Karen foods. No one spoke Thai there, so he had to try to learn the Karen language to survive.
PP: So he was…
NG: He was a Northern Thai, but people often misunderstood him as a Karen. He was born in Li, Lamphun.

NG, para 12
NG: He was kind and generous. He wandered around the mountainous area several years before he settled down here. He loved writing. He wrote everything in his journal.

NG: ท่านก็เริ่มสอนให้ชาวเขาไม่นับถือผีละ แต่นับถือศาสนา รู้จักศีลห้าศีลแปด เป็นกิจชอบชาวเขา ชาวเขาไม่กอันนี่ไม่รู้จักอะไร ก็เป็นชาวป่า อย่างที่ชาวเนี่ยมีคนต้องเห็นนี้เหลือง่าย ๆ แล้วก็ไม่รู้จักป่า ไม่รู้จักศีลธรรม กิจชอบก็ต้องมาหาได้ไม่ไว ๆ อย่างที่ชาวป่าบอกบอกในที่ว่าจางจะหนวดแพร่จางหวน ต้นนี้ยังเหลือ มีต้องเหลือ แล้วเสริจแล้วครูบาบ่นกอันนี่ ว่าเป็นแน่นเป็นกิจชอบ คนทางนั้นก็ปลุกทัวกว่าทัวแล้ว เบิ่งเกิ่มให้ครูบา ครูบาเป็นเกียกเกียกเพราะเป็นก็ไม่รู้ ครูบาก็เลยอธิบายว่าเป็นเป็นดีเจ้า เป็นจะิ เป็นแน่น แล้วกันนี่จะอีก ๆ เนี่ยสิ จะิยิ่งกับชาวเขาก็ภาษาผู้อื่น ๆ แล้วฝึกชาวเขาก็พูดทางได้

NG: ท่านก็บอกว่าก้าวก้าวเหตุปราณีของคือ ท่านจะใส่สีกี มีคนไปเข้าหา แต่มีอะไรแก้กันนี่

NG: ท่านเป็นคนเมือง คนชอบเข้าใจผิด คนอ้าเภอลี้เราก็อื้อ ๆ ท่านเป็นคน…
NG: ท่านเป็นคนเมือง คนชอบเข้าใจผิด คนอ้าเภอลี้เราก็อื้อ ๆ ท่านก็เป็นคนเมืองคนอ้าเภอลี้เราก็อื้อ ๆ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Paragraph</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>Do you have that book?</td>
<td>NG: I didn’t copy it. The woods he passed, the birds he saw, the forest deities who helped him. He took notes on all of these things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NG,</td>
<td>When he was young and lived with the hill people, he only had a monk’s alms-bowl as his belonging. He had no permanent shelter. He didn’t have temple to practice Dharma. But he could live safe and sound because he had guardian angels who protected him. When he was older and I was already here with him, every time he was going to pilgrimage in the remote area, he would never bring money with him. He carried only his personal alms-bowl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para 13</td>
<td>He always told us that the alms-bowl could indicate whether he was going far from the village or not. If the alms-bowl disappeared, it meant he was gone for several days. If he was gone but the bowl was right in its place, it meant he was still in the village. I followed him everywhere for at least four years. I accompanied him everywhere… Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun. The North was a backcountry in those days, very different from now.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NG,</td>
<td>Did Kruba Wong practice vegetarianism since he was young?</td>
<td>NG: Yes. Since he was a novice. He had a chance to be ordained because Kruba Prommachak was his preceptor (the priest who officiates at an ordination ceremony-author). He studied with Kruba Prommachak. Kruba Prommachak lived near Ping River and his temple is still there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NG, para 16

NG: So when he disappeared for a long time, the hill people asked each other about him. They kept seeking their “little monk” who disappeared several years ago. They asked from the Baan-Kor villagers and knew that Kruba was in Tak Province. So they went there and made merit with Kruba.

NG, para 17

NG: Wat Prabat Huaytom used to be called Wat Prabat Huay Khaotom (Khaotom in Thai means boiled rice-author). The Buddha used to boil the rice here in the past. The Buddha’s footprints are here too. If you wish for anything, for example, wishing to be accepted by the university, you just come and pray for the footprints. If you come here and don’t visit the Buddha’s footprints, it’s like you haven’t arrived here yet.

PP: Why is it called Huay Khaotom?

NG: Kruba said that the Buddha used to travel here. He came and boiled the rice here. What happened next was there was no water here. The Buddha then knocked his walking stick on the rock near him and the rock suddenly became a spring. That is why we see the marks of his walking stick everywhere in Huaytom.

After the Buddha era, it’s Kruba Wong’s time. He helped develop this area. In the past, there was nothing here but a thick forest, an arid land, and the Buddha’s footprint. Kruba came to Lamphun to stay at Huay Nam Aoon. He traveled from Huay Nam Aoon for three days and arrived Baan Na Liang. So Baan Na Liang was the first area in Huaytom where Kruba arrived. It finally becomes the
| NG, para 18 | In the past we called Baan Na Liang as Wat Na Liang (**Baan=home, Wat=temple**) \(\text{(author)}\). When Kruba came here, the hill people followed him. At first there were only a few Karen households who migrated to Huaytom. They just planned to help Kruba Wong clean up the temple. When the first group came, the others followed. People from Mae Ramad District and Omkoi District were all moved here when they heard about Kruba's settlement. Kruba tried to stop them from moving here, but they disobeyed. |
| NG, para 19 | PP: Why did Kruba try to stop them? NG: Kruba told the hill people that this place was meant to belong to them. No one could stay here but the hill people. It was their place. For example, the Northern Thai wanted to settle down permanently in Baan Na Liang, the first village in Huaytom, but they couldn’t. This place was haunting. People who lived here before were farmers. They did livestock, but it didn’t really work because the area was a thick wood. Then came Kruba Wong. He helped manage the land after the land was arid for a long time. We also found a spring in front of the temple. The spring has never run dry until now. The water flows from it all year round. |
| NG, para 20 | PP: Do people from outside the village often come to see you? NG: Always. But I’ve never tired of talking. I told them everything I know. The locals who are not good at talking or don’t know any
| NG, para 21 | **PP:** The Huaytom temple is very huge, comparing to other temples… **NG:** Yes, it is. It is because of our faith in Kruba Wong. The lay Buddhists who have faith in Kruba Wong helped donate money while we the Karen provided physical support. We built these monasteries. They were the contributor while we built them for free. We helped each other. It eventually turned out to be this huge. I am very happy to be here because my family and I lived in a remote area in the forest. We had nothing with us when we first came here. The first two years when we moved here was very difficult. The land was arid. We had to eat bananas to live. But now I really enjoy being here. I am very fortunate that we are here. | **PP:** วัดใหญ่มากเลยนะครับ **NG:** ศรัทธานะครับ อุปถัมภ์ ญาติโยมที่เข้าร่วมทางศรัทธาครูบามาช่วยออกไป อย่างพวกเรานี่ก็ออกแรงช่วยเป็นผู้ลงทุนก่อสร้าง_SEND_แต่ของเป็นเป็นปัจจัยเงินทองของเรา อย่างของการ บ้านเรายกตัวแต่ไม่มีค่าแรงช่วยกันไป มันเกิดในบุคลิกซึ่ง เพราะฉะนั้นเงินไขถ้าอยู่ที่นี่ผมก็ไม่ได้ เราจะมีอยู่ตลอดอยู่ทุกที่ แต่ไม่มีเงินไม่มีอะไร แล้วถึงที่นี้จะต้องแลกเปลี่ยนที่ให้กับ เข้ากันได้และใช้งานที่นันมาอยู่ที่นี่ รู้สึกโชคดีมากที่ได้อยู่ที่นี่ |
NG: Before we came here, the local people were residing in this place-Na Sai. But they moved to Chiang Rai before we settled down. They wanted to run away from drought while we moved here to live with the drought. After a while, those people come back here and found the land was much more fertile. They felt pity for moving out and began to miss the previous home. But we have struggled a lot to live here. It has been ten years recently that we have started to have a better life.

NG, para 23

NG: After Kruba Wong died, what is their spiritual anchor?
PP: After Kruba Wong died, what is their spiritual anchor?
NG: Many people asked me how we would live our lives after Kruba died. The answer is just live the same. Kruba died when he was eighty-four years old. People kept wondering how they would survive without Kruba. Many people were frightened and cried a lot. They missed Kruba because Kruba was always there with them. Many people were afraid that after Kruba died, other people outside would exploit us. But finally, we helped each other.

NG, para 24

NG: In the community meeting, I once told people “Don’t be scared. We all are Thai. We all have a national identity card. No one can harm us.” In the past, we didn’t have law. We had only mob rule with majority power. But right now we have justice. I told them to keep calm and behave the same as when Kruba was still alive. Be the same and have unity in everything we do. Eat the same way. Don’t forget the honesty that Kruba repeatedly told us. Practice Dharma the same. Don’t abandon the monasteries. Offer foods to the
monks in the morning. Pray and clean the monasteries in the evening. If we behave the same, no one can harm us.

| NG, para 25 | NG: The temple is left unfinished? Never mind. Just gradually build it. Kruba Wong’s parami is here with us. He died, but his parami exists. His disciples from Bangkok kept asking us how we would finish the construction without Kruba Wong. Actually it doesn’t matter whether Kruba Wong is here or not. He still has his own parami. And if we still remember him, we will never forget us. If we don’t forget his teaching, he will protect us and our sacred place as before. Just live the same way. |
| NG, para 26 | NG: Right now more and more people hear about and have faith in Kruba Wong. Believe it or not, two years after Kruba died, the monasteries in Huaytom are still clean as before. It is because of faith. The current abbot of Huaytom temple, Kruba Pan, is also getting old now. He is eighty-six years old. That is how we live right now, sticking together. We have to build strength. We tried to be united even though we know we can’t completely do that because we have a large number of people in our community now. But we all are vegetarian. We don’t eat meat. Kruba told us that if we eat meat, the animal spirits would follow us. |
| NG, para 27 | NG: Kruba explained that the spirits would follow the one who eat them. They can come with us everywhere; in the wild forests, in the houses, so don’t eat meat. If we start practicing Buddhism, we should stop eating meat. Eat only what nature gives us. The old people here stop eating meat. |
for a long time. But some people are vegetarian but have never offered their foods to the monks or the temple. For me, I don’t focus much on the other religious practices. My wife and I make merit by cooking vegetarian food and bring it to the temple every morning. My wife repeats doing it every evening. This is the way we make merit and I think this is the best we can do as good Buddhists. We do it every day. Even when it is raining, or we get sick, we have never stopped doing it.

NG, para 28

NG: Anyway, It was not only because of Kruba Wong’s parami that helps us but also because this place is sacred. We have many deities here to protect us. The deities dwell everywhere especially in Chai-

NG, para 29

NG: อย่างคนเด้านักรีดนักราจะพาแต่ต้องเนื่องเลย
แต่บางคนกินแล้วก็ไม่ได้อาปิให้รัตน์
เมื่อเช้าถ้าอย่างป่านนั้น มุนกุศลอย่างรัตน์
บอกป้าพินไปนี่ ผมไม่เส้น
เมื่อเช้าผมเป็นโดยช้ารัตน์
เมื่อแสงเพลงผมก็ช้ัวช้ารัตน์
เราสองคนว่้าไม่ปฏิบัติธรรมได้แค่นี้
แม้ว่าข้าวใหญ่แล้ว
แม้ว่าตอนเช้าจะมีติดพิมทรัพย์ไม่ค่อยชายามจะให้แก้ก็ยังขาด อดทนไป ส่งช้ารัตน์

PP: How about Nambornoi village? Why do they deny electricity?
NG: This is for tourism. This place used to be waterless. We had a poor crop due to the lack of water. But now we can do agriculture. We can grow corn and cassava. We have a factory. When the crop is ready to harvest, we just harvest it and sell it to the company. It is our main occupation right now. Our life is much better. We can buy our own rice fields. We become “normal people” after being considered abnormal for a long time. Kruba Wong told us that the hill people used to migrate to this place at least three times. They failed at the first time because they didn’t have the protector. They also failed again at the second time because of the same reason. But for the third time, they had Kruba Wong with them. Kruba Wong was their supporter. Then we could stay here.

NG: PP: ป่านนี้ในย์ ผมไม่มีไฟฟ้าใช้
คือเราไม่ต้องการเอาหรือว่าข้าวัง
NG: ข้าวบ้านมาก่อนเที่ยว สวยงามไป
ที่นี่เคยแห้งแล้ว ที่นี่แห้งเกษตร
ปลูกข้าวโพดปลูกให้มันส่างหลัง
ข้าวโพดเลี้ยงสัตว์ มีไร้งาน
ชาวบ้านก็วางเก็บเกี่ยวก็เก็บไปขาย
อาชีพหลักเลย เมื่อก่อนเราไปขายในตลาด
dเคยคนขับเรยายขึ้นมา เราขับที่ขึ้นมา
เอาเลยกลายเป็น วันปกติ เมื่อก่อนไม่ใช่
“วันปกติ”
คือครูบาบางท่านเราจ้างเท่านั้นก็ได้แม้แต้นั้น
นี่ ชาวเขาอยู่พ่อมที่นี่ครั้งที่สามแล้ว
cรัตน์ที่นี่อยู่ไม่ได้ เพราะไม่มีคนปกครองครั้ง
cรัตน์ที่สองก็ไม่ได้
cรัตน์ที่สามได้ เพราะครูบาบางท่านเป็นผู้จูบเถื่อง
Baan. Every Karen who migrated here brought his precious belonging with him and left it at Chai-Baan. That is why we call this place Chai (heart) - Baan (home)—the place where every heart of us gathers together. We celebrate the Chai-Baan every year on Songkran day. Everyone in the village gathers together at Chai-Baan to pray for the Buddha, Kruba Wong and the deities. We believe that this ceremony will help us dispel the bad fortune. We usually start the ceremony at eight o’clock in the morning with many sacred objects. We consider home as a stability. We can’t be human if we don’t have a heart. So can’t home. The home, too, must have a heart.

Interviewee: Sureeporn Pongsakamon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SP, para 1</th>
<th>PP:  How long have your parents been here?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SP:</td>
<td>Thirty years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>So it was before you were born?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP:</td>
<td>I’m now 38. So it has been 40 years. My mother told me that This place used to be the forest. But right now we see only houses. Everything grows so fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>Everyone said this place used to be so dry…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP:</td>
<td>Yes. My mom told me there was no water. We had to go to the creek to grab some water. Later we dug the pond, so we have water. But it’s also been said that because the Karen moved here, and Kruba also moved here, that we get the water.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The water came after we came here.

| SP, para 2 | PP: Because of the Karen and Kruba?  
SP: Seems like that. Although there were so many woods here, the land was still dry.  
PP: That’s what I was wondering. If there were big trees, why it was still dry?  
SP: I wonder that too. It’s strange. But when I was born, I already had water to use. I remember myself when I was young walking along this street to the creek and taking a bath there. It was near Huaytom temple. It was not far from here. The creek is not the same anymore. I think in the past there we had more water than now. |
| SP, para 3 | SP: If you want to talk with the older adults. There will be uncle Japoh and uncle Ngaepore. Ngaepore is younger than Japoh. Japoh is ill. Ngaepore is probably in his sixties... I'm not sure. I can’t remember. Both of them are the first group who migrated here.  
PP: What happens to Japoh?  
SP: He gets Parkinson’s disease. The doctor told his children so.  
PP: Does he have children take care of him?  
SP: Yes.  
PP: Is Nan Gasore a famous Karen  
SP: ถ้าหาคนคุยแนะน้าให้ไปคุยก็มีอาจารย์จะพี่อะไร빠เรรี่จบกับว่าแล้ว แกแสบะ แต่แย่ก็ได้นะ ถ้าพูดถึงคนสมัยก่อน ก็จะเหลือแก เหลือลุงแงพอ แงแงนี่น้ากว่าจะขี้เกียวกว่าเหรอถ่านะ ดูงแงนนี่ก็กลับบวาว่าจะพีดีแล้วเหมือนกันนี่นี่แกก็จะเป็นรุ่นแรกๆ ที่มาอาหาร  
PP: แยกไปยื่นอะไรครั้งนี้แกแสบะ  
SP: พากันแสบะน้า ดูแกแสบะไปหาหมอหมอว่าอย่างจังน้า |
in the village?
SP: Nan Gasore used to be ordained. He lived close to Kruba. He had a strong relationship with Kruba. It was since he was a novice. Kruba gave him a house. The place next to the noodle restaurant. Have you been there? But it is vegetarian food.
PP: Yes. Its food is very delicious.
SP: That’s it. The “Boat restaurant.”
PP: Does its name come from the boat in front of the restaurant? Is there any meaning of the boat?
SP: It used to be Kruba’s boat. He built it and used it to store the water.
PP: Did he build it?
SP: Yes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Para 4</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| PP: It seems like he built many things. Is Monthon Wongsa, a temple in front of the entrance of Huaytom village, his construction? SP: Yes, he built it too. If he was away, his followers would continue doing. PP: People told me that Kruba has a magical power. Have you ever heard about that? SP: I’m not sure about it. I have heard that he had celestial eyes. He had second sight. But after he went to Bangkok several times and had to walk under the footbridge, his magic was negated. It was because both men and women use the footbridge. When Kruba walked under the bridge several times, the celestial eyes faded away.
PP: What are the celestial eyes for? SP: I don’t know as well. It probably let him see the future? I don’t know. They all are stories. They can’t be verified. |
| PP: หลวงปู่สร้างเยอะเลยนะ วัดที่ตรงหน้าทางเข้านี่ใช่ไหมคะ วัดอะไรคะ? ท่านสมัครวงศา? SP: ใช่ใช่หมดเลย แต่ว่าคือเมื่อก่อนท่านไปไหน ลูกหลานลูกศิษย์ก็ทําต่อ PP: แต่ฟังคนอื่นเขาเล่ามา เขาก็บอกหลวงปู่มีอิทธิฤทธิ์ปาฏิหาริย์อะไรอย่างนี้เยอะด้วยพี่เคยได้ยินหรือเปล่า SP: ก็ไม่แน่ใจนะแต่เคยได้ยินเขาว่าเมื่อก่อนหลวงปู่น่ะ มีตาทิพย์แต่พอไปกรุงเทพฯหลายครั้งพอไปแล้วไปลอดใต้สะพานลอยอะไรอย่างนี้คือไปแล้วเขาถาม… มันเสื่อม เพราะสะพานลอยผู้หญิงผู้ชายมันเกิดขึ้นมาข้างบนนะ เออ เขาเกิดอย่างไรฉันนะไปหลายคน คงเกิดขึ้น เขาว่าจะ PP: ทางที่นี่เอามาไว้อยู่อะไรคะฟ้ |
PP: Someone also told me about the trip to India…
SP: Oh, is it when the plane crashed?
PP: Yes.
SP: Umm. I heard this. The plane was going to fall and Kruba did meditation. He prevented that plane from falling. I have heard this as well.

PP, para 5
SP: You heard this before?
SP: Yes. I think you have to ask about this incident from Kruba’s followers. Most of them are the followers from Bangkok. But I don’t know who were who… There were so many people followed him on that journey.
PP: They are the disciples from Bangkok?
SP: Yes, they probably asked him to go with them. You can ask for more detail from Dee. He knows a lot about this event. (the plane crash incident-author)
PP: Is that Maitree? The young monk?
SP: That’s him. Another person who knows very well is Too Kay (Uppatham Sangakit-author) But I don’t know if he is here or not. Sometimes he goes to the mountains for a temple renovation. He follows Kruba Wong’s path and renovates the temples Kruba used to build.
PP: It seems like Kruba built a lot of temples…
SP: Many.

PP: Has Kruba Srivichai ever come here?
SP, para 6
PP: แล้วครูบ่าศรีวิชัยท่านเคยมาที่นี่ไหมคะ
SP: เคยได้ยินไหมคะ
PP: เคยได้ยินเหมือนกัน
ขันนี่ฟังว่าส่วนใหญ่ต้องไปตู้ยืนนั่นนะลูกศิษย์ที่ไปบ้านเขาเองที่ไปกับหลวงปู่ไม่
ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นคนกรุงเทพฯ คนกรุงเทพฯ
แม้แต่นี่เราก็ไม่รู้ว่าเป็นใครใน
ที่ไปกับหลวงปู่
PP: คือเป็นญาติโยมจากกรุงเทพฯไป
SP: ใช่ คนนั้นนั่นท่านก็รู้เยอะนะ
PP: วันนั้นไปคุยกับพระยังอายุน้อยอยู่เลยค่ะ
SP: นั่นละ
PP: อายุน้อยอยู่เท่านั้น
SP: เอนนั้นแหละ หรือว่าอีกองค์ก็คือตุ๊เก๋
ไม่รู้อยู่หรือเปล่า
แต่ว่าบางทีเขาอาจจะไปสร้างวัดที่ไหน
ก็ท่านก็ตามไปบูรณะอีกที่วัดที่เคยสร้างไป
PP: หลวงปู่ท่านก็สร้างวัดเยอะเลยนะคะ
SP: สร้างเยอะ
SP: I hadn’t been born yet. I don’t have a chance to see him, but my mother did.
PP: She must be old enough to see him.
SP: Yes. My mother told me that it was around Word War II. It was a war, but she didn’t know what to call the incident. She was so young at that time. She looked at the sky and saw only the military aircraft. They covered the sky. It was difficult at that point. So right now if I’m going to throw away the old clothes or other things, she will start complaining me. She said “what if we don’t have clothes to wear?” “Just keep it.” (laugh)

| SP, para 7 | PP: Did your parents use to live on the mountain?
| SP: Yes. They lived on the mountain, in a backcountry. It is very far from here.
| PP: Have you ever been there?
| SP: Yes.
| PP: Do you still have relatives there?
| SP: My brother is still there.
| PP: Does your brother come here to meet you and your mother?
| SP: Always. He comes here to see mom every year. Once a year or sometimes twice a year. He used to migrate here. He and his family lived here before. But his wife told him she didn’t like staying here. So they moved back to the mountain. There are many families in this case of my brother. They came here, but they didn’t like, so they moved back to their mountainous life. |

| PP: แสดงว่าบ้านเดิมที่อยู่นี้อยู่บนเขาใช่ไหมคะ
| SP: บนเขาๆบนดอยมากเลย
| PP: พี่เคยไปหรือเปล่า
| SP: เคยไป
| PP: คือยังมีญาติอยู่ที่โน่น?
| SP: ยังมีพี่ชายอยู่ที่โน่นคนหนึ่ง
| PP: แล้วพี่ได้มาพบบ้างไหมคะ
| SP: มาหาแม่ทุกปีהב้าง เฟ่นนะ ที่ใครก็ตาม
| PP: แต่ตรงนี้บ่อน้อยเขา
| SP: แต่ตรงนี้บ่อน้อยเขาที่อยู่

| SP, para 8 | PP: Did people from Nambornoi village also come from the mountain?
| PP: แต่ตรงนี้บ่อน้อยเขาที่อยู่

I mean a group of Karen who don’t use electricity. Why don’t they use it?
SP: I don’t know as well. It must be their wish to live the same way as when they lived on the mountains.
PP: Did they come here because they followed Kruba Wong?
SP: Yes. Have you been there?
PP: Yes, but I couldn’t talk to no one because they speak Karen.
SP: Most of them are from Mae Ngao District, the village that weave and make tie-dyeing.
PP: Where is Mae Ngao anyway?
SP: It’s also in Tak Province. It probably is.

SP, para 9

PP: Is the spring at Nambornoi believed to be sacred?
SP: Yes, there is a belief that it is a holy spring because it has never dried, although there is not much water in there.
PP: Did Kruba find it? Why do we have to watch it?
SP: I don’t know its history as well. What I know is that they are going to build a new hall for the spring. The great one. It was not the same in the past. But since the social developer helped renovate this construction, it gets better. The villagers make necklace, basketry, and textile.

SP, para 10

PP: Do you make that kind of things too?
SP: Yes, I do. I’m going to start weaving soon. After the harvest season we will start weaving. But I always weave for myself. I don’t have time to weave for sale. People weave and sell it at the handicraft center, or to other people directly. Nowadays the young people, estimated 17-18 years old, don’t usually weave for themselves, so they tend to buy the clothing from the
weavers or the handicraft center.

| SP, para 11 | PP: Can everyone weave?  
| SP: Yes, I guess. And we wear our costume. We wear it everywhere we go. We usually wear our skirt, sometimes with the standard t-shirt, on Buddhist holy day. But when we go to the temple, we always wear a full costume, both top and bottom. If we don’t wear the costume, we will be regarded as strange people. (laugh)  
| PP: (laugh) But the children don’t have to wear it in school?  
| SP: They do. They wear it once a week, I guess. I can’t remember on what day the school let the students wear the Karen costume. It might be on Fridays or Buddhist holy days. But when the children are home, they usually wear the casual outfit. T-shirt and jeans, for example. They will wear the traditional clothing when they go to the temple and make merit.  
| PP: แต่คือทุกคนก็ยังทอได้กันอยู่  
| SP: ใช่ ก็ไม่รู้ติด ส่วนใหญ่เราใส่เสื้อผ้าที่ผมสั่งให้ทำมา เวลาเราไปไหนเราก็ใส่ชุดที่ผมสั่งให้ทำมา อย่างวันพระถ้าอยู่บ้านก็ใส่แบบนั้นแหละ  
| PP: แต่เวลาไปวัดนี่คือจะใส่ชุดของเราเลย ถ้าใครใส่ไม่ได้สิมั้นจะเหมือนคนประหลาดเหมือนตัวประหลาด (หัวเราะ)  
| PP: (หัวเราะ)แต่เด็กๆ ก็ไม่ได้ใส่ใช่ไหมคะ  
| SP: ไปโรงเรียนนี่ก็จะใส่อาทิตย์ละครั้งอะ ไม่รู้โรงเรียนเขากําหนดให้วันไหนบ้างนะ อาจจะวันศุกร์หรือวันพระนี่นะแต่อยู่บ้านเขาก็ใส่แบบนี้แหละ แต่เวลาไปวัดเมื่อไหร่ก็ใส่ เวลาไปทำบุญ

| SP, para 12 | PP: Do you always go to the temple?  
| SP: Sometimes. But we usually go for the food offerings in the morning. Sometimes I let my husband go. Sometimes it’s my son’s turn.  
| PP: How old is your mother?  
| SP: According to the identity card, she is now 78 years old.  
| PP: How long have you stayed in this house?  
| SP: Almost ten years.  
| PP: But not that long that you made it as a home-stay?  
| SP: Only two years.  
| PP: ส่วนใหญ่ไปทำบุญกันตลอดหรือเปล่า  
| SP: บางที แต่ตอนเช้าก็จะไปกันตลอดบางทีแฟนพี่ก็จะไป บางทีลูกก็จะไป  
| PP: แม่พี่อายุเท่าไหร่  
| SP: ตามบัตรต้อง 78 คง  
| PP: บ้านหลังนี้สร้างนานหรือยัง  
| SP: เกือบๆ สิบปี  
| PP: แต่ท่านมองเห็นไม่ได้เป็นไปเหมือนๆ  
| SP: สองปี

| SP, para 13 | PP: I heard there are five houses that are open for the home-stay project.  
| SP: There are around 90 houses that are available right now. But only five houses that pass the  
| PP: แต่ก่อน พี่ก็เริ่มๆ พอมีแขกมากก็เวียนรับแขก  
| PP: มีห้าหลังให้เหมือน  
| SP: ตอนนี้ประมาณก้าวสองหลัง แต่ถ้าไปก่อนการประเมินจริงๆ ห้าหลังคืออีกจากนั้นก็ก้าวที่หลังใหม่ก็ก้าวที่สองหลังอยู่ 
evaluation. The rest have just started doing it. I did it first. When someone wants to live with us, we circulate them in ordering.

PP: Is there a high season for the visitors?
SP: It’s this time of the year. (December) Sometimes they came here for a field trip. There are also foreigners. Also the Japanese and Korean. A Korean guy just left yesterday. He has his own interpreter. The interpreter is a former Karen student here in Huaytom school. He said he didn’t gain much knowledge from here, but he learned English when we worked elsewhere.

PP: มีฤดูกาลไหมคะ
SP: ช่วงนี้มี บางทีก็มีแขกมาเรียนรู้ ไม่ได้มาเที่ยวเลย บางครั้งมีลูกจ้างไทย ทำงานนั้น นานๆ ใกล้ปีใหม่ปีบาง มีการเดินมาด้วย เพลิดเพลินกับวันกินดื่มของเรา บางคนข้ามท้องถิ่นและ จะบอกว่าที่โรงเรียนก็ไม่ได้พักผ่อนเท่าไร แต่ก็มีงานที่สอนก็เลยได้ภาษามาก

PP, para 14

PP: What is the highest education level Huaytom school provide? High school?
SP: Just elementary school. After the children graduated their elementary level, they pursue the higher degree at the schools outside the community. Most of them go to Na Sai Wittayakhom school, and some go to Rajapracha school at Pa Sang. But we also have a technical school here for those who want to be mechanics. I want my youngest son to study in this school, but he wants to be ordained. His older brother is ordained so he intends to be like his brother.

PP: Your oldest son is a novice? Is it just for a rain retreat season?
SP: No, he decided to be a monk. He just won a Dharma award a few days ago. So it depends on him. Actually I want just one child to be here with me so we can lean on him. But he says he wants to be a monk, and his friends want to be monks, so he wants to follow his friends. So it depends on him.

PP: ในหมู่บ้านเรามีโรงเรียนถึงชั้นไหน ม.6?
SP: ม.3

PP: ในหมู่บ้านเรามีโรงเรียนถึงชั้นม.6? ม.6?
SP: ม.3

PP: ในหมู่บ้านเรามีโรงเรียนถึงชั้นม.6? ม.6?
SP: ม.3

PP: ที่วัดนี้เลยค่ะ
| SP, para 15 | PP: Where will they get ordained?  
SP: Here in Huaytom temple. | PP: มีพระกังวลคือตอนนี้  
SP: สะมะกานะ  
ก็เล่าค่ะในประเทศของจ่อยก็มาก็เลย  
แต่ไม่ได้อัญญ์หันหมดนะ คือเขาอยู่ไกล ๆ คือปูศรุณย์ไม่ขึ้น  
พระอาจารย์ที่เป็นพระก็มี  
เป็นชาวบ้านอย่างเราก็มี เป็นครูโรงเรียนบรรยิตม 1 - ม.6  
ตอนขึ้นก็เป็นแกรกที่จนเอาตาในหมู่บ้าน  
ก็เป็นพระก็ไปสบายติ่งทั้งตัว  
PP: พี่เกิดที่ไหนครับป้า  
SP: เกิดที่นี่ค่ะ  
แต่เกิดที่บ้านนี้ไม่ได้เกิดที่โรงเรียน  
ยังไม่ได้เกิดที่โรงเรียน  
ท่านครองโดยหมอตัวเฉยอยู่  
PP: แต่ก่อนครูมาใช้โมดะค่ะ  
SP: พี่หมื่นครับท่าน เทียน  
ท่านเสียตอนมีสุกคนแรก  
| PP: How many monks are there in this temple?  
SP: Many. Only the novices are more than 200 people. But they don’t stay here; they just come here to study. They live at the other temples nearby. The teachers are both the monks and the ordinary teachers like other schools. They have both elementary school and high school for the ordained children.  
PP: Were you born here?  
SP: Here. But I was born at home. At that time we didn’t give birth to our children at the hospital. We still use a midwife for the childbirth.  
PP: Do you have a chance to meet Kruba?  
SP: Yes, yes. He died when I had the first son. | PP: ท่านป่วยก่อนโมดะค่ะ  
SP: ป่วย ปรัชญ์เจ้าหน้าไปโรงเรียน  
ท่านเสีย 15 ปี เยี่ย 17 ปีแล้วมั้ย ใช้หรือเปล่า  
PP: แต่คนก็ยังพูดถึงหลวงปู่กันอยู่ต่อไป  
ใช้โมดะค่ะ  
PP: กี่... ถึงแม้ท่านจะไปแล้วอะไรก็แล้วแต่ แต่เสรีรัฐท่านยังอยู่  
ก็เหมือนกับท่านยังอยู่กับเรานะ  
เวลาไปเส้าดุลก็ไปกราบหลวงปู่ก่อน  
แล้วลงไปเส้าดุลย่านี้  
PP: แล้วว่างหลวงปู่ก็มีไม่เหมือนที่ก็ไป  
พระค่ะ  
SP: เขามีlfw ได้รู้อย่างนี้  
ก็จะก็การเปลี่ยนด้านนี้จะครั้ง |}

| SP, para 16 | PP: Was he sick before he died?  
SP: Yes, he was ill for a long time before he died. He eventually died at the hospital. It’s fifteen, no, seventeen, years already that he died.  
PP: But people still talk about him until now?  
SP: Well… Even though he died, his body is still here. So it seems like he is still here with us. When I went to offer the food offerings, I would go to the hall to worship Kruba first. After praying for him, I go downstairs to offer the food.  
PP: Won’t the villagers cremate his body?  
SP: They won’t cremate. That is what I heard. We only have a cloth changing ceremony once a year. | PP: ผ่านป่วยก่อนโมดะ  
SP: ป่วย ปรัชญ์เจ้าหน้าไปโรงเรียน  
ท่านเสีย 15 ปี เยี่ย 17 ปีแล้วมั้ย ใช้หรือเปล่า  
PP: แต่คนก็ยังพูดถึงหลวงปู่กันอยู่ต่อไป  
ใช้โมดะค่ะ  
SP: กี่... ถึงแม้ท่านจะไปแล้วอะไรก็แล้วแต่ แต่เสรีรัฐท่านยังอยู่  
ก็เหมือนกับท่านยังอยู่กับเรานะ  
เวลาไปเส้าดุลก็ไปกราบหลวงปู่ก่อน  
แล้วลงไปเส้าดุลย่านี้  
PP: แล้วว่างหลวงปู่ก็มีไม่เหมือนที่ก็ไป  
พระค่ะ  
SP: เขามีlfw ได้รู้อย่างนี้  
ก็จะก็การเปลี่ยนด้านนี้จะครั้ง |
ceremony look like?
SP: I can’t see it too. The majority who know what happens during the ceremony is the Bangkok people and also the village chiefs.
PP: Why can’t you see it like them?
SP: We just have a chance to see when they finish changing the cloth. After they change it, they will lift Kruba’s body and show us how he looks like in a new robe. The ceremony is held the same way as that of Kruba Khao Pi. Kruba Khao Pi’s body is uncremated too. He is at Pha Nam temple. His body is still there. If you go there, you will see the stairway to the hill, but his body is downstairs in the temple. You will see it if you go straight there. There is a ceremony there every year as well. They change his robe every year in March.

PP: When you were young, did your parents tell you the stories of Kruba Wong?
SP: I don’t know much about it. But I know from them that they moved here because of Kruba Wong. He is not Karen. He was born in Baan Kor. It is quite far from here. It is on the way to the national park.

SP: It seems like Huaytom is a big community…
SP: Yes, it is. The community members often talk about how and in what direction we will lead our community, as there are a lot of people in the village now. When our ancestors migrated here in the past, there were not so many people like this. And everyone had a strong faith in Kruba Wong. When he said anything, people would totally agree
with him. My father used to be a village chief, so it seems like he had privilege, but he didn’t. Kruba told them that did not cut the trees if not necessary, so my father didn’t, even though he could. Our land had only 6 rai. That was all we had. Kruba Wong worked for us. Whenever he left the village to contact the government for us and told us not to cut the trees around there, we all didn’t. But it’s not the same right now. There are so many people migrate from elsewhere. They don’t have their own land so they invade the forest preserves.

Interviewee: Peipore Rermtrakoonmai

| PR, para 1 | PP: You don’t go to the cornfields like other people? PR: No. Did you already meet uncle Boonchoo (PR’s relative-author)? PP: Who again? PR: Uncle Boonchoo. PP: Oh, Not yet. He goes to the hospital. I will go to him again after talking to you. PR: Uncle Dok, how old are you? PP: I’m 72. Where are you from? PR: I’m from Lampang Province. PP: How many days will you stay here? PR: I have just arrived yesterday and plan to stay at least five days. I live at Sureeporn’s house. Is it true that there are many home-stays here in the village? PR: Oh, so many. |
|---|---|---|
| PR, para 2 | PP: Who do you live with? PR: At first there were four people in my family. My wife, my daughter, |
| | PR: นะมีที่อยาทาง เขาก็ไม่เอานะ แกเป็นผู้ใหญ่นะบานจริงๆ แต่แก่ก็มีก็ไม่ได้เลย แล้วก็ที่นี่ก็มีป่าภูเขาซักนิด เป็นลำไว้ แล้วก็ที่นี่ที่บุกป่าก็ซักนิดใช่เถอะ รวมเป็นพวกใส่ แค่นั้นเองจริงๆ อย่างคนเมื่อก่อนอย่างเวลาหลวงปู่ไปงาน ราชการแล้วบอกว่าตรงนี้ห้ามนะ ห้ามตัดไม่ คือเขาจะไม่ทำกันเลย แต่เดี๋ยวนี้มันจะไม่ใช่แล้ว แต่เดี๋ยวนี้คนบางคนชอบพยายามที่หลัง ก็ไม่ทำกัน ก็บุกๆ อย่างบางคนที่ทำกันก็แก่abbo หน้า ซึ่งที่จริงเราต้องเก็บไว้ให้หมด ต้องรักษาต้นน้า |
my son-in-law, and I. My daughter didn’t have a child, so she asked for children from other people, to raise him as her child. She wanted to have kids. They married for ten years, but they don’t have their own child.

(prase) For me, I didn’t live here at first. I migrated here.

PP: Where are you from?
PR: I am from Sam-Ngao District, Tak Province.

PP: How many people in your family migrated here with you?
PR: At first, they were… one… two… three… four… five… There were five families of us. They are all our family members, not other people. There are my family, my brother’s family, and a family who lives over there too. There are also individuals who were born here. Some people married a Thai here and moved.

PR, para 3

PP: Is Uncle Boonchoo your relative?
PR: Yes, we came here together. Speaking frankly, like the old people always do, it was my deceased brother-in-law who came here first just to make merit with Kruba Wong. At that time I was at home and didn’t know anything. I used to get here only twice before moving here permanently.

PP: You used to come here twice? Did you come to make merit?
PR: Yes, to make merit.
PP: And how did you know that Kruba Wong was here?
PR: It was because of my parents. When Kruba Wong was in Baan Kor, you know his hometown is Baan Kor, I didn’t know anything because I hadn’t been born yet. I know it from my father. My dad told me about Kruba. He said that there was
something wrong with Kruba. Something that led Kruba to run away to Tak Province.

| PR, para 4 | PP: Oh, why did he ran away to Tak? PR: It seems like he had a conflict with the other monks. They probably had a quarrel. PP: Who were those monks? The Northern Thai monks or the others? PR: The Northern Thai monks. But I don’t actually know what was happening. I was so young at that time. I had never asked anything. People said Kruba ran away there. I don’t know what period it was… I just knew that he ran away. My father told me this story. But I hadn’t been born yet. My dad sought after Kruba. He found him and made merit with him. Kruba also built those temples in Baan Pang Village. My father also helped Kruba Srivichai build the road to Doi Suthep Mountain. I heard that Kruba Wong was helped him too. PP: Was Kruba Wong there too? PR: Yes, he was. He was still young at that time. |
| PR, para 5 | PR: My brother, who died several years ago, told me about a company in Mae Toey District and a monk at Chamadevi Temple in Lamphun. The monk was familiar with Kruba Wong and the company was familiar with the monk. The company asked the monk if he could find some labors, estimated ten households, or could be a much as twenty households, to work at Mae Toey. The company offered the housings and electricity for anyone who could come. They said tust went there and cleared the land. It was because they were going to reforest. They grew teaks. They wanted us to clear the |
| PR, para 6 | PR: I heard this from my brother who already died. I just heard but didn’t come. I lived in my place for a long time. I don’t know the exact date or year that my brother moved there. I didn’t know. I didn’t go. I didn’t interest me. So my brother went to Mae Toey village in Mae Ramad District and I lived in Sam Ngao District. I hadn’t migrated yet. | PR: ฉันได้ยินเรื่องที่ตัวเล็กน้อยเก่านะพูดให้ฟัง เธอพี่พี่มาบ้างคิด เธอพี่นับแล้วบอกฉัน กลับกืนก็เดือนบี้ เป็นกีพญามาที่หัวตั้ง สองแสนพี่นับผ่า มาบ้านใหม่ แล้วเผยไหม เป็นกีปีไม่มีเลย ไปไหนบังชั่วไปในบ้านพี่ใหม่ เจอกัน... เتهاได้ร้ายอยาเนะ ไปอยู่ที่ไหนได้ที่เป็นเมีย ปีเมีย แต่สุ่มอยู่ที่หัวพระเจ้า อ่านบุญมาบ้านแรก... สองแสนอยู่บ้านที่อำเภอสามแนว เhỏได้พญามาทางเห็ดี้ |
| PR, para 8 | PP: (laugh) You followed your fellows?  
PR: Yes. So I came. I just came. It was all woods. There was no house here.  
PP: Really? How could you live at that moment?  
PR: We built farms and everything. Kruba Wong let us build them all.  
PP: You all built everything?  
PR: Everything.  
PP: What kind of woods did you find in this area?  
PR: There were Tung Tree, Sang Tree, Pao Tree. It was a mixed forest.  
PP: They are big trees. Why was the land still dry?  
PR: When I first came here, the temple still didn’t have a roof. After we were here, we built everything up. Look at the stupa over there! It is huge!  
PP: Did you help them build it?  
PR: Absolutely.  
PP: You seem to gain much virtue by doing this…  
PR: Yes. Kruba loved to make merit… and he always wandered from place to place. I don’t certainly know where were those places he went. |
|---|---|
| PR, para 9 | PP: Did he travel a lot? You mean he lived here but also stayed in other places?  
PR: Yes, he did. He always traveled. When we moved here, we were frightened since we didn’t have a farm, we didn’t have land. It was Kruba who asked the village chief at Pha-Tai to give land to us. He said, “please give the land to these Karen.” You can take a look at it. It was at Pha-Tai Village where this incident happened. | PR: (ที่บ้านผาใต้นิ) เพราะเพื่อน?  
PP: เชอ กินเดมาเลยนะ มาเลย  
anนั้นก็เป็นป่าหมด ปมีบ้านเพื่อนกัน?  
PP: แต่ แล้วถามหาอยู่จริงใด  
PR: เราถามมาเป่าได้แหม่จะอะอยังนั้นก้า  
ที่ครูบ้างคีสิ้นขี้แหมหมด  
PP: แปลไปหมดเลยเหลาะ  
PR: หมดเลย  
PP: แต่ปกอนเป็นไม่เยอะเจ้า  
PR: เป็นไปไม่ดี ใจซาง ไม่เป่า  
ไม่เดินเจ็นนั้น  
PP: ไม่จะฉันนั้นแต่จะใครนั้นแล้ว  
PR: ฉันนั้นเป็นปลูกป่าเป็นที่จะหยังของป่าแม่ขย  
กินน้า มีไม่สืบจะหยังกี่ใหญ่แล้วแต่ มากกว่าๆ  
กี่ใหญ่ เขากินเลยไม่เปล่งที่วัด  
โจยในวิหารนั้นเป็นกี่ยังไม่ได้มุงเลยท่าน  
พบผา ถึงป้าฉันนั้นนี้ ผ่อวิหารนั้นประโยชน์  
ใหญ่แล้ใหญ่กว่านะะ  
PP: ตุ่งใส่ห้าก่  
PR: ใส่ห้าก้า  
PP: ได้มุงเจ้านักหรือ?  
PR: ครูบ้านเป็นกี่บ้าน ไปๆ มาๆ  
งงไปแล้วๆ จะเคยผู้นี้ |
PP: Umm. What is the name of the village chief you mentioned?
PR: Tah. Tah then allowed us to come. We came here doing the same for three years. After that, the King came and gave us the land.
PP: The king used to come here?
PR: Yes.
PP: In what year? Can you remember?
PR: I can’t remember. I don’t remember that.
PP: How many years?
PR: So many years.

PR, para 10

(Someone was coming to the balcony where we sat)
PP: This is my oldest daughter. Five. She is the oldest one. The second one is now inside the house. This is the third, and this is the fourth one (showing me the picture of his children). The youngest one is not here. He lives with us here in this house.
PP: Do you all live here together?
PR: Yes. All of us.
PP: Do you still have the relatives left at Tak Province?
PR: I do.
PP: Do you often go back there?
PR: Yes. Always.
PP: How often?
PR: Umm… estimated twice a year. When we first came here, it was… I can’t remember the exact year.
PP: How many years? Estimated…?
PR: Around forty years. When we moved here, we already had two kids. My wife was pregnant at that time. Our third child hadn’t been born yet.

PR, para 10

PP: How did you feel when you...
arrived here? Did you like it? Or did you miss your home?
PR: I just came here because Kruba told us to. After we had lunch, Kruba would tell us to cut off the trees. Right now we don’t have to cut that much. But in the past, all we had to do was cutting off the trees. At Chai-Baan we didn’t use the backhoe to dig the land. We use our own labors. We dug up the soil and took it outside the area. Later we used the backhoe to help us. I can’t remember how many days we used the backhoe. Kruba Wong spent much money in renting the backhoe. “I’ve lost my money” he said. We didn’t understand what he said and meant so we looked for the lost money. We kept looking for the money, but it turned out that we misunderstood. (laugh) (long pause) Kruba Wong was not Karen. He was from Baan-Kor Village. A Kruba who is Kruba Wong’s representative is also from Baan-Kor village.

PR, para 12
PP: What is his name?
PR: Kruba Pan.
PP: He is also from Baan-Kor?
PR: Yes, Baan-Kor. The same place as Kruba Wong’s hometown. (pause) He… Kruba Wong had tattoos at his legs. He had tattoos on his legs and everywhere. Here… Do you want to see?
PP: Yes.
PR: I’ll bring it here. (He went upstairs for a few minutes)

PR, para 13
PR: Here it is. This picture was Kruba tying the sacred thread to the King.
PP: Can I take a picture?
PR: Sure.

PR: เธอ สาว่ามหาพฟ กีครูบาอิฮ์เพยเอากกิ้นข่าวงายแล้ว ครูบาถิ่มขับ ขับๆๆ ไม่แล้วตัด แล้วตามจะขับนับดียบบเทาโดยเฉพาะแล้วแต่ละเอ็นนับบเทาจะ
ที่จิบานนีเป็นปิ่นรอบะใช้หมู่อานนีแหว้ชัดเอาซันนี ชัดไปปั่นง่ายทางอานนี่เป็นหารกองแทรกเตอร์มาถ่ายแทรกเตอร์มาแล้วมัง กิ่งเป็นที่ดินปัก
รอบถ้งไปละครูบางศีเป็นเจำแทรกเตอร์กิ่งกิ้นพัฒนิผึ้้เงินอานนีหาไปละ เบ็ญขี่ผู้เงินอานนีไปละหมู่อานนี้กิ่งไปเจ้าทำ เจาปีดะมาที่ทั่วอู่เป็น เขาไข่ติด กิ่รภีบานนีเป็นคนยาง
คนก่อ กิ่รภีบกี่ทัวแทนตอนนี่ กิ่เป็นตัวแทนจากบานนั้นนะ บานก่อ

PP: ชื่ออะไรที่กิ่งเจ้า
PR: ครูบาพรรณ
PP: ครูบาพรรณก็อยู่บานนั้น?
PR: บานก่อ
อยู่ก่อนเจ้าก่งบานที่ครูบางศีอยู่นะแล้วที่ก่ินเล็กหมดหา ครูบางศีนี่ที่ก่ินสลักทะทะหมดเนี่ยๆ ใครก่อ?
PP: ใครผ่อเจ้า ใครผ่อ PR: เจาไปมาบอชุด
(หายไปบานไปแยรูป)

PR: เนี่ยอูบัน ครูบาวดีเยอชิ่นในหลบทาง
PP: น้องของฯอยู่ไปได้ก่อ
PR: ได้ก่า
PP: คนสั่นนักแนะ?
| PP: | How many people in the village have tattoos? |
| PR: | Many of us. |
| PP: | What tattoo patterns do you all have? |
| PR: | It is just typical tattoo designs. |
| PP: | Is this picture the time when Kruba was ill? |
| PR: | It probably is. I went to the temple and asked for these pictures from Kruba. Kruba said, “Just take it”. It must be out of stock right now. |
| PP: | How many times did the king come? |
| PR: | Three times. Actually it was just two times that the King came. Another time the princess came as his representative. |
| PP: | Princess Sirindhorn? |
| PR: | Yes, she came here. |

| PR, para 14 | PP: How old was Kruba Wong when he died? |
| PR: | 87 years old. |
| PP: | The construction of stupa hadn’t completed yet at that time? |
| PR: | Not yet. |
| PP: | So how did you continue building it without Kruba? |
| PR: | We constructed it by the direction of the engineer whom Kruba suggested. He helped control the construction. |
| PP: | What was the first place Kruba led you built? |
| PR: | When we first moved here Kruba let us build the temple, the stupa, and the hospital. Oh, no, not the hospital. It was the Royal Project Foundation. And then we build Chai-Baan. And then the Royal Project Foundation. And then the hall for the Buddha’s relics at the|
| PR, para 15 | PP: I heard that he used to go abroad. Was it when the airplane crashed? Do you know that story? Can you tell me about it? PR: Umm... it happened when I was already here. The story is that in the past people like us didn’t pay much attention to where Kruba went. When I asked the other monk where Kruba was, he said Kruba traveled with the followers and the plane crashed. At first, I thought it happened to other people out there, but then I realized that it might not be the others. It had to be the plane Kruba Wong got on. The monk said that the plane crashed in the air and then it fell for estimated three kilometers. That was all he said. The monk said Kruba Wong’s followers from Bangkok were doing meditation to find the truth about this incident. The monk made his hand like this to show. (PR making a gesture) At that moment, Too Kay was with Kruba too. Too Kay said later that everything in the airplane fell. The rich from Chiang Rai Province and the nuns from Bangkok also followed Kruba on that day. When we know the plane crashed, we thought of nothing except trying to pray for Kruba. We whisper “Buddho Dhammo Sango, Kruba Wong, Kruba Wong.” We were terribly frightened. We thought he would die. Too Kay said later that he grabbed Kruba’s wrist, but he didn’t respond. Kruba didn’t move. He wasn’t frightened. He seemed very calm when Too Kay held his wrist. He wasn’t harmed. | PP: มันว่าเป็นเคยไปถึงต่างประเทศโดยที่เครื่องบินตก? ลูกผู้เรื่องก็ ลูกเล่าซื่อพึงจิมเรื่องนั้นเป็นเวลาใด PR: เอาๆ ข้านั้นตอนเยมาอยู่ที่นี้และเรื่องนั้นเป็นเจ้าหน้า ดำเนินผู้ข้านั้นก็คด้าๆว่า  คนบี้โครงจ้ใจได้โละก็ไปผู้ครูบาหลวงก็ ข้ามคำ คนครุบาหลวงว่าไปกับผู้ติดตาม เครื่องบินตก เอกกันีว่าเครื่องบินตกที่นี้ เป็นผู้ก้าของคำ เอกกันได้แล้วนะ ซึ่งมันปิใช้ที่นี้ก้าครูบาเย็นก้า ที่เกิดครูบาว่าเครื่องบินตกไปตกที่ไหนก็ไปตกที่นครปฐมคืนนี้ ตามจากทราบก็ใส่ครูบาคู่จะขึ้นบิน เป็นว่าผู้ครูบาหลวงนี้ นั่งสมาธิ ว่าเครื่องบินตก ครูบาหลวงนี้ก็จะขึ้นมีนา (ห้าท่านประกอบ) เอกกันีว่าท่าน ตีกันี่ยงหน้าที่ครูบาเป็นว่าอย่างบินนี้ตกแตะหมดเลยนะจะก็มีคุณหนา ประเด็นไปอยู่เขียนราย คิดตามครูบาไปวันนั้นก็ภูมิี่ที่อยู่กรุงเทพฯ ก็เปิดครูบาหลวงไปโดยครูบาหลวงเครื่องบินตก เอกกันบิดหวงจัยก่อนจะเอกกันนี้ว่า พุทโธ ยัมโม สังโม ครูบาวงศ์ครูบาวงศ์ใจเย็นที่นั้น เอกกันนี้ว่าครูบาเป็นว่าครูบาเป็นผู้นั้นนี้น้อย ปัญสีดว่าเป็นปั้นน ปั้นก็มีครูบานี้ก็ ก็ครูบานี้จะ จะเป็นหนังเลข |
| PR, para 16 | PP: What happened next? PR: He did meditation. I don’t exactly know. It seems like Kruba held the plane like this. *(PR making a gesture)* But he sat calmly on the plane. He said he didn’t know about the hand. | PP: จะจะใดต่อ ครูบาปักตัวเลย? แล้วมือเป็นม่าได้จะอะไร? PR: เป็นนั่งสมาธิอา ครูบานั่งทำดูจะใดบุร ครูบาลัวกู้ครั้งนี้จะขิ่ะ ครูบากินนั่งย่ข์ เหมื่อนกัน เป็นบอกบุร  |
| Interviewee: Barada Kiawkhacheeprai |  |
| BK, para 1 | *(Barada showing me the mural in Huaytom temple)* BK: In this building, there is a mural about Kruba Wong. The artist’s name is Chamnong Rattanakoon. PP: Is this Kruba Wong? *(point to the mural)* BK: Yes. PP: Is the one who is standing near the river also Kruba Wong? BK: Yes. This one is interesting. It is a picture of our annual ceremony, cloth-changing ceremony. On that day we give Kruba a new cloth and parade his body around the village. Everyone comes to the village in this ceremony. The next picture shows the construction of the temple. The next one is the Kathina ritual. We also have a Kathina parade on the cloth-changing day. |
| BK, para 2 | PP: So the robe changing ritual takes place on May 17th annually? BK: Yes. We perform the Kathina ceremony and have a parade every year. In that period, every house that join a home-stay project close. We would help prepare for the ceremony instead. We don’t accept guests. There have been many people who wanted to stay, but we |

12 Someone was coming. Peipore talked to him in Karen, and he told me he had to go to the temple to join the life renewal ceremony. He said I could come later if I want but I didn’t have a chance to come back to interview him during my stay.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 129 | **didn’t accept.**  
**PP:** How long have you prepared for the ceremony?  
**BK:** We start around May 10th. But those who have to build Kathinas will start their work on the first day of May. It always takes ten days to finish.  
| 130 | **BK:** เราเตรียมงานนี่ก็จะเริ่มต้นตั้งแต่วันที่สิบกว่าถ้านั้นทำตั้งแต่กันต้นเดือนต้นที่หนึ่งของเดือนพฤษภาคมก็ตีประมาณสักสิบวันเสร็จ |
| 130 | **BK:** When will you celebrate the Kathina ritual?  
**BK:** At the end of the Rainy Season Retreat (The three-month annual retreat, usually in rainy season - during August to October. In this period the monks will stay in one place, typically the monasteries-author)  
**PP:** So the ceremony already took place this year?  
**BK:** Yes.  
**PP:** Where are these offerings in Kathina ceremony from?  
**BK:** They are from several sources. From us and also from the outside, especially from Bangkok.  
| 131 | **BK:** This is a story of Kruba Wong when he was young and his uncle took him to study with Kruba Prommachak. This is Kruba Wong’s Parents. This is when Kruba Wong saw a shot deer.  
**PP:** A deer?  
**BK:** Yes. Kruba Wong once saw a deer being shot, so he helped it. Another story said that Kruba Wong once saw someone angling with a fishing rod. He felt pity for the fish that has been caught, so he stole the fish and released them back to the river. He put some vegetables in the catching bucket instead. He put some taros and potatoes in it. It was a life exchange. At least that hunter still had taros to eat, and the fish could survive.  
| 131 | **BK:** อันนี้เป็นประวัติครูบาวงศ์เหมือนกัน ที่ว่าครูบาวงศ์กับน้ามาฝากครูบาวงศ์ให้กับหลวงปู่ครูบาพรห์จักร  
**PP:** ต้นนี้เป็นภาพที่หลวงปู่ไปเห็นกวางถูกยิง  
**PP:** กลุ่มจากไหนมาคะ  
**BK:** กรุงเทพฯ หลายที่  
ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกฐินจากข้างนอก  
**BK:** อันนี้เป็นประวัติของครูบาวงศ์  
**PP:** กวางถูกยิงเหรอคะ  
**BK:** ก็มีเรื่องเล่าว่าเขาเคยได้ช่วยชีวิตกวางถูกยิงเอาไว้ อันนี้ตรงนี่นี่ยังได้ยินประวัติว่ามีคนปะเพาะแล้วส่งไปให้ลามาหลวงปู่เห็นแล้วก็เลยเอาไปปล่อยแล้วเอาผักไปให้ยแทน เอาหัวเผือกไปให้ยแทน ถือว่าเป็นการแลกชีวิตใจก็อย่างน้อยๆ ชาวบ้านคนนี้ก็มีเมื่อก่อนแล้วบ้าก็ได้รอดชีวิต |

---

129
BK, para 5

BK: Someone said that Kruba Wong’s parents once punished him so he was ejected from his house and had to sleep in the forest. After a while, his mother followed him to bring him back home and found out that he was already a vegetarian. But many other people say that he was already vegetarian even before that time, let’s say, when he was so young. I have also heard this story from the folk songs. What kind of song is it, a song that tells a story? PP: Is it Lae? BK: No. Is it called Sor? Yes, I think it is Sor. That song talks about Kruba Wong’s history. It says that Kruba Wong was vegetarian since he was young. Even though there was meat in his house, he always denied eating it.

BK, para 6

BK: Kruba Wong was very kind-hearted. People said that when he was a novice, his fellow novice was jealous of him for he had a chance to be with the teacher more than anyone. His fellow then gave him a bucket containing their teacher’s mucus. Kruba Wong then said it didn’t matter because he had never thought of his teacher’s excretion as dirt. He didn’t blame his fellow for doing that.

BK, para 7

BK: Professor Chamnong, the artist, told us that he had never been here before. He said he had never come. He didn’t even know who Kruba Wong was. One day he wanted to draw a picture of a monk. It is so surprising that the face of the monk he drew looked so much alike our Kruba Wong; even Professor Chamnong had never seen Kruba Wong before. The first time he came here, he arrived at night, so he didn’t have an opportunity to see anything.
| BK, para 8 | BK: When he came to the temple, he mentioned the scent he smelled. When we ask if it was a smell of joss sticks we use when we pray, he said no. He said it was a flower scent. It was Sala flower. *(Sala, Shala, or Shorea robusta is a species of trees belonging to the Dipterocarpaceae family. It is a symbol of impermanence in Buddhism-author)*

Professor Chamnong then decided to request to paint a mural here. The water he uses as an ingredient is not ordinary water, is that right, painter? *(BK asking the painter who was working there at that moment)* Where does your team get the water? Is it from the holy spring? That’s it. Professor Chamnong announced that he would never use ordinary water to mix with the cement. It is the water from the crossroad or the square something. It is from somewhere I don’t recognize. |
|---|---|
| BK, para 9 | PP: Do you know where Chamnong come from?

BK: Where, painter?

Painter: He is an individual artist. He works throughout the central part of Thailand. Before coming here, we worked in Nakhonprathom Province. Chamnong is from Songkla Province. He graduated from School of Arts and Crafts Thailand.

Barada: I heard that Professor gave a fifty percent discount to the temple, is that true?

Painter: I heard that they had a budget agreement at 14-15 million baht. *(Around $300,000-400,000-author)* But after he stayed here he gradually has faith in Kruba’s parami; he gave the discount. He have heard many stories about Kruba and admired. But even though this |
| PP:ปกติท่านอยู่ที่ไหนคะอาจารย์จํานง
ช่าง:เป็นช่างอิสระรวมตัวกันอยู่แถวภาคกลางเนี่ยแหละก่อนนี่ทํางานที่นครปฐมท่านเป็นคนจังหวัดสงขลาจบจากเพาะช่างกรุงเทพฯ
BK:อาจารย์บอกว่าคืนให้วัดครึ่งหันถูกไหมคะค่าจ้าง?
ช่าง:เห็นว่าคุยกันไว้ที่ราคาที่14-15 ล้านบาทผมไม่แน่ใจแล้วคุยกันว่าครึ่งไปครึ่งมาแล้วเกิดศรัทธาในบริษัทครูบา ก็เหมือนลดให้ครึ่งนึงเขาฟังเรื่องราวแล้วรู้สึกศรัทธาเราก็ทำเหมือนราคาลดลงแต่ทำเต็มที่เหมือนเดิม
PP:นี่เป็นสี่ด้านเลยใช่คะชีวิตครูบา?
work has much discount, we still do our best for this work.
PP: Are these four partitions the stories about Kruba Wong?
Painter: Yes. It begins with this partition. It a story of Kruba Wong when he was born. In Baan Kor village.

| BK, para 10 | BK: This is the place where the Buddha’s footprints situate. These footprints link to the holy spring you can see at the back of the temple. There is an old story in our village saying that the Buddha used to knock his walking stick at the rock and then the water sprung from that rock. The story is that five huntsmen went for a hunt around this place and saw the Buddha. They wanted to donate some foods to the Buddha, so they brought the meat they just got from hunting to him. The Buddha refused to receive it. The huntsmen had no idea what to give him, so he went back home to boil the rice. They came back with the boiling rice and this time the Buddha could eat. |
| BK, para 11 | BK: After eating the rice, the Buddha preached to them the Buddhist lessons. They had faith in the Buddha and wanted his footprint as a souvenir, you know, for praying. So they brought a huge rock and asked him to press his footprint on the rock’s surface. But the rock was too dirty they wanted to clean it first. But as you know, this place was arid so they couldn’t find the water to wash it. They came back and told the Buddha that they didn’t have water. The Buddha suddenly knocked his walking stick on the rock, and the water sprang up. They huntsmen could finally clean the rock and let the Buddha imprint the footprints on it. |
That spring is the holy spring in our temple. When we want to grab some water from the spring, we would pray here in front of the footprints first, and then get water from the holy spring.

BK, para 12

**BK:** This painting shows the construction of the temple. Talking about the construction, when I was young I followed my mother to build the temple. At that time the roads were still dirt roads and were covered with dust. The villagers helped each other digging the ground. We did it without asking for money. Sometimes I saw my mother and the others got rice or salts as a reward, but we didn't ask for the wages. And when they built this building (*point to the main building in the temple*), I was here with them. Many people were here to help. There were a lot of labors so that we could finish it in a very short time. We did our work in the morning and the afternoon and came here in the evening. I helped transported the soil and the sand.

BK, para 13

**BK:** This painting, you see, it was when Kruba Wong helped Kruba Srivichai build the road to Doi Suthep Mountain. It seems like that day there was a huge rock blocked the way of construction. The young man in the picture might be Kruba Wong. He appears to do something magical to move the stone.

BK, para 14

**BK:** The villagers say that the reasons Kruba Wong was kind to the Karen are because; Firstly, Kruba Wong followed his leader, Kruba Srivichai’s principle; Secondly, there was an accusation within the priesthood and Kruba Srivichai was arrested.
Kruba Wong had to run way from the temple in Lamphun Province because most people in Lamphun were Northern Thai. They didn’t like Krubas. Only the Karen helped Kruba at that time. They hid Kruba Wong from the Northern Thai. They gave him shelter. Before Kruba lived with the Karen, he did not have tattoos. But when he stayed there, and you know, every Karen male would have tattoos on his body, Kruba let the Karen do the tattoos for him. In this case, we considered him, and he considered himself, as Karen offspring.

The reason we the Karen have to tattoo is that we believed that if you were born as a man, the Devils would want to take you with them. So we tried to make ourselves look dirty by tattooing so the Devils would not want to bring us with them.

BK, para 15

PP: Did the tattoo cover the whole body or just a particular part?

BK: The whole body. Most people started from chest to legs, including arms.

PP: Did Kruba have a whole-body tattoo?

BK: Kruba Wong tattooed only on his legs and arms. I’m not sure if he had some at his back.

PP: You said Kruba Wong lived there the same way as the Karen?

BK: Yes. He stayed with the Karen and roamed to many places.

PP: How many years he hid in the Karen village?

BK: Many years and many periods. Maybe at least two to three times that he went back and forth within the Karen villages.

BK, para 16

PP: And he came back to Lamphun Province after the monks stopped chasing him?

PP: แต่ครูบาท่านไม่ได้สักทั้งตัวใช่ไหม

BK: ตรงขา ตรงแขนก็มี แต่ตรงด้านหลังของท่านเราก็ไม่ทราบเหมือนกันว่ามีหรือเปล่า เราไม่เคยเห็น

PP: คิดห้องปู้ก็ไม่ใช่ชิดเหมือนปรากฏเลย?

BK: ใช่ครับ แล้วก็ถูกต้องครับ

PP: แต่ท่านหลบอยู่กับบาท่าน

BK: ก็หลายปีเหมือนกัน ดังที่เคยช่วยสองสามครั้งที่ไปอยู่กับบาท่าน
BK: Exactly. He came back here. When he was young and was just ordained by Kruba Prommachak, they both once traveled here. Kruba Wong then asked his teacher why he didn’t renovate this place like many other places that they passed by. Kruba Prommachak then said, “It is your duty to build this place.” In those days Kruba Wong wondered how a novice like him could play such an important role. Kruba Wong always expressed his doubt on that day to his disciples. It is a miracle that when he grew up, he could really come back and develop this place.

PP: He once didn’t know how he could do all these things?
BK: No, he didn’t. He was here when he was young and kept wondering why his teacher didn’t do anything with this place.

PP: Did he come back here after staying with the Karen on the mountain for so long?
BK: Yes. He came back after Kruba Srivichai was acquitted and released.

PP: When he left the Karen villages, where did he stay at first?
BK: He came here. He stayed here. He built a small temple and persuaded us to migrate here. At first there were only thirteen households relocated here. Only three households were here; another ten families stayed at the national forest at Mae Toey Sub-District. All these places used to belong to the national park.

PP: Can you tell me where the
national park is?
BK: It is situated at Mae Toey, or maybe Mae Tung Sub-District. It is very close to Huaytom. It is a part of Li District.
PP: But after a while those ten households moved here?
BK: No. Some people lived there for all their lives. Only some that moved from Mae Toey to here because they had faith in Kruba Wong. Anyway, everyone who moved here was not allowed to build their house until the seventh day in the village. They had to stay in the temple for seven days and after that they could build their own houses.
PP: Why is that?
BK: I’m not sure. It is like you had to meditate first, then you would have permission to live here.

(BK walking out of the building)
BK: This place was called Tarn-Taen-Tarn-Chai. It’s a place where the first generation of Karen left their weapons here. Once the Karen moved here, they brought with them weapons for hunting. Kruba didn’t want them to hunt anymore, so he initiated a ceremony called Tarn-Taen-Tarn-Chai. In this ceremony, everyone had to bring every tool they used for hunting in here, piled them up, and made a vow together they would never hunt again. The goal of this ceremony was also for us to apologize to the animals we used to kill.
PP: Did the ceremony start since the Karen migrated here?
BK: No, it started when people migrated more. In the old days we did every year, but after we could stop eating meat permanently, we didn’t do it anymore.
<p>| BK, para 19 | <strong>BK:</strong> Over there is the holy spring I told you. In the past, there was no fence like this. It used to open for fetching. The only prohibition was that women could not reach the spring. But there was an incident when one woman came and fetched some water from it. After that the spring ran dry. It affected all the water sources in the village. We didn’t have water to drink. So Kruba Wong helped us by performing a ceremony to ask for water. It was like an apology ceremony. Then the water came back to our village. After this incident, Kruba Wong was afraid that if he was not here to help, or one day when he died, and if women broke the rule again, the spring would run dry again. He decided to build the fence around the well and didn’t allow anyone to reach the well freely. If you want some water from the well, you can take it from the water faucet. It links to the well. |
| BK, para 20 | <strong>PP:</strong> Do you have to train before becoming a tour guide? <strong>BK:</strong> I used to join a tour guide training course in Chiang Mai. Besides the training is my prior knowledge. It is knowledge I have gained from the village: the history of the community, things that the seniors told us. I recall them from my memories. I combine my knowledge and what I learned from the training course and started working as a guide. <strong>PP:</strong> Where did you hear these stories? From your parents? <strong>BK:</strong> Some from my parents, some from the old people in the village. The monks also told us how this place looked like in the past. Then <strong>BK:</strong> สอนด้านหลังนี้เป็นนักทัพที่ว่าจะเคยมีป้องกันนักทัพจะไม่เปิดทางแบบนี้เลยให้มันไปตก แต่ที่นั้นมันมีข้อกันว่าห้ามผู้หญิงเข้าไปให้มันไปตกแต่ผู้ชาย แล้วที่นั้นมันมีเกิดเหตุว่ามีผู้หญิงเข้าไปตกแล้วน้ำในนักทัพก็แห้งแล้วน้ำในชุมชนก็แห้งไปด้วย แล้วคือไม่มีเข้าเลยด้วยการที่ว่าหลวงปู่เกดะผูรู้เรียกนักทัพทัพให้ขั้นมาใหม่ก็เป็นพวกพื้นบ้านมา อะไรพวกนั้นนะครับนักเกดะเกิดขึ้นผูกขามาอัก ที่นี้ครูบาเกดะสิ่งว่าถ้าครูบาไม่อยู่ถ้าท่านสิ้นแล้วถ้ามีผู้หญิงเข้าไปตกน้ำปากก็จะแห้งไปอีกน้ำที่ชุมชนก็จะต้องแห้งแล้วเราถ้าไม่มีน้ำใช้ครูบาเกดะเปิดมาได้เลยปิดตายก็เป็นแค่เรื่องปกติบางคนนั้นระดับเราก็เป็นมาแต่จะไม่มีให้เข้าถึงใน |
| | <strong>PP:</strong> Do you have to train before becoming a tour guide? <strong>BK:</strong> I used to join a tour guide training course in Chiang Mai. Besides the training is my prior knowledge. It is knowledge I have gained from the village: the history of the community, things that the seniors told us. I recall them from my memories. I combine my knowledge and what I learned from the training course and started working as a guide. <strong>PP:</strong> Where did you hear these stories? From your parents? <strong>BK:</strong> Some from my parents, some from the old people in the village. The monks also told us how this place looked like in the past. Then <strong>BK:</strong> สอนด้านหลังนี้เป็นนักทัพที่ว่าจะเคยมีป้องกันนักทัพจะไม่เปิดทางแบบนี้เลยให้มันไปตก แต่ที่นั้นมันมีข้อกันว่าห้ามผู้หญิงเข้าไปให้มันไปตกแต่ผู้ชาย แล้วที่นั้นมันมีเกิดเหตุว่ามีผู้หญิงเข้าไปตกแล้วน้ำในนักทัพก็แห้งแล้วน้ำในชุมชนก็แห้งไปด้วย แล้วคือไม่มีเข้าเลยด้วยการที่ว่าหลวงปู่เกดะผูรู้เรียกนักทัพทัพให้ขั้นมาใหม่ก็เป็นพวกพื้นบ้านมา อะไรพวกนั้นนะครับนักเกดะเกิดขึ้นผูกขามาอัก ที่นี้ครูบาเกดะสิ่งว่าถ้าครูบาไม่อยู่ถ้าท่านสิ้นแล้วถ้ามีผู้หญิงเข้าไปตกน้ำปากก็จะแห้งไปอีกน้ำที่ชุมชนก็จะต้องแห้งแล้วเราถ้าไม่มีน้ำใช้ครูบาเกดะเปิดมาได้เลยปิดตายก็เป็นแค่เรื่องปกติบางคนนั้นระดับเราก็เป็นมาแต่จะไม่มีให้เข้าถึงใน |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Para</th>
<th>Question/Statement</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| BK, para 21 | **PP:** How old are your children?  
**BK:** My oldest son is eleven years old, the second one is eight, and the youngest one is just five.  
**PP:** Do they usually come to the temple with you?  
**BK:** If a Buddhist holy day is on their school holiday, I will take them here with me every time. It is a tradition that the parents always take their children to the temple with them on every holy day. We want them to learn our tradition. We want them to be close to the religion since they are young. Religious practices will help to shape their mind. | **PP:** พวกเขามาเล่าให้หนูฟังได้แล้วให้ลูกหลานฟังไหม  
**BK:** ถ้าเป็นงานผ่อนผัน หรือบางครั้งที่กิจกรรมทางวัด ลูกก็จะมาด้วยกัน  
***PP***: เพราะท่านมีลูกหลานที่เกี่ยวกับเรื่องธรรมชาติ  
**BK:** เพราะจะได้ชัยภูมิสั่งสอนของเด็ก |
| BK, para 22 | **PP:** Did you also tell these stories you just told me to your children?  
**BK:** Yes! Including Kruba Wong’s stories. We usually tell these stories to our children. It is because we are afraid. We fear that they will hear something from outside and misunderstand their own history.  
**PP:** How about in school? Do the teachers tell the students these stories?  
**BK:** Yes. It is included in the Buddhist class. | **PP:** เพราะถ้าเป็นกิจกรรมทางวัด ลูกก็จะมาด้วยกัน  
**BK:** เพราะลูกในโรงเรียนเขามาได้แล้ว  
***PP***: เพราะท่านมีลูกหลานที่เกี่ยวกับเรื่องธรรมชาติ  
**BK:** ก็จะมีในส่วนวิชาพุทธศาสตร์ก็จะมีค่ะ |
| BK, para 23 | **PP:** You just mentioned the outsiders? Do you mean the Northern Thai? Did they tell the same story?  
**BK:** No, they didn’t. We have to tell our own story. There was an incident when our people got sick and they went to see a doctor outside the village. They were Karen, so they couldn’t understand what the doctors who were Northern Thai said. The hospital then treated them badly. Sometimes they treated us good, | **PP:** บางทีคนข้างนอกก็ไม่ได้เล่าเหมือนเราเหรอคะ  
**BK:** จะได้ค่ะ เหมือนเด็กฟ้าผ่า |
many times so bad. We were severely ill but they gave us some medicines that couldn’t really help. Kruba Wong then felt pity for us. He decided to build a hospital for us. He decided to hire doctors from Bangkok who were his followers to station here.

BK, para 24

BK: Anyway, the doctors from Li hospital refused to admit Kruba Wong’s idea. Because the new hospital Kruba Wong built was larger and more beautiful than the hospital they worked. They asked Kruba Wong for a chance. They wanted to work in the new hospital. They said they would treat us better. So Kruba gave them a second chance. But you know what, on the hospital opening day, when we had to move the medical equipments, there was no single Li (Northern Thai) appeared there to help us! There was only the Karen who helped. Because we had a strong faith in out Kruba, because we sympathized with the hospital staffs. Those doctors who promised to treat us better did quite a good job at the earliest stage. But after a while, they treated us the same. Let’s say, badly treated again (laugh). Anyway, at least our people started to have more education now. We know better about nursing and medication. So we can fight for ourselves a bit more these days.

PP: Is the hospital you mean the Li hospital?
BK: Yes, yes.
PP: Is there anyone from the village work there?
BK: Just a few people. They work as nurses.

BK, para 25

BK: Here are the Buddha’s relics. Kruba Wong got these relics almost everywhere he went for pilgrimage.

BK: แต่หมอต้องรักษาเราให้ดีไม่
ยอม เพราะโรงพยาบาลที่สร้างใหม่สวยงามกว่า
ใหญ่กว่า ก็เลยยอมอยู่ตรงนี้
แต่ขอปฏิบัติเกี่ยวกับในชุมชนเราดีๆ
หลวงปู่ก็เลยให้มา แต่วันที่ไปของ
เครื่องมือแพทย์อะไรมาเนี่ย เรื่องใหม่ค่ะ
ไม่มีคนสั่งแม่นแต่คนเดียเลย (เน้นเสียง)
มีแต่คนمشاركةช่วยกัน
ด้วยความที่เราจะประสบความรู้ใจอย่างนี้ค่ะ
ด้วยความที่มีสวาง
แล้วเราก็รักษาเราดีแค่
แต่นานๆ ไปเกิดก็กลัวแล้ว ไม่เต็มใจแล้ว
(หัวเราะ) แต่ว่าตอนนี้ในชุมชนคือ
เริ่มเรียนหนังสือ เริ่มรู้หนังสือ
ก็มีผู้ใหญ่เกี่ยวกับการรักษาของพยาบาล
อะไรอย่างนี้นะคะ ก็เลยมีการจัดชุดกันบาง
PP: โรงพยาบาลสังเกต
BK: ใช่ค่ะ ใช่
PP: แล้วเราก็มีคนของเราไปทำงานใน รพ.
บางแห่ง
BK: ถ้ามีแบบบั้นออกมาเป็นพยาบาล
ก็ทำงานที่ไหนก็มี

BK: แต่หมอต้องรักษาเราให้ดีไม่
ยอม เพราะโรงพยาบาลที่สร้างใหม่สวยงามกว่า
ใหญ่กว่า ก็เลยยอมอยู่ตรงนี้
แต่ขอปฏิบัติเกี่ยวกับในชุมชนเราดีๆ
หลวงปู่ก็เลยให้มา แต่วันที่ไปของ
เครื่องมือแพทย์อะไรมาเนี่ย เรื่องใหม่ค่ะ
ไม่มีคนสั่งแม่นแต่คนเดียเลย (เน้นเสียง)
มีแต่คนเฉพาะช่วยกัน
ด้วยความที่เราจะประสบความรู้ใจอย่างนี้ค่ะ
ด้วยความที่มีสวาง
แล้วเราก็รักษาเราดีแค่
แต่นานๆ ไปเกิดก็กลัวแล้ว ไม่เต็มใจแล้ว
(หัวเราะ) แต่ว่าตอนนี้ในชุมชนคือ
เริ่มเรียนหนังสือ เริ่มรู้หนังสือ
ก็มีผู้ใหญ่เกี่ยวกับการรักษาของพยาบาล
อะไรอย่างนี้นะคะ ก็เลยมีการจัดชุดกันบาง
PP: โรงพยาบาลสังเกต
BK: ใช่ค่ะ ใช่
PP: แล้วเราก็มีคนของเราไปทำงานใน รพ.
บางแห่ง
BK: ถ้ามีแบบบั้นออกมาเป็นพยาบาล
ก็ทำงานที่ไหนก็มี
One of Kruba Wong’s followers, who also accompanied him on the trip to India, said he saw Kruba Wong drinking milk—kind of soymilk. Then Kruba Wong gave the leftover milk to him. He tried to drink it, but he felt there was something in the milk box. So he kept it with him. When he opened it later he found the Buddha’s relics in that box.

Furthermore, on that trip, they also went to the place where the Buddha was born. There is a rumor that Kruba Wong picked up the lotus flower from that location, picking its petal one by one, and every petal suddenly became the Buddha’s relics.

**BK, para 26**

**BK:** Another story happened when… I don’t know if it was the same trip when one of Kruba Wong’s followers asked Kruba for a souvenir. Kruba asked him back “Do you really want the souvenir?” He said, “Yes”. So suddenly he saw some rice seeds on the ground. It was raining heavily but he still saw this. So everybody in the trip picked up the seeds and found out that they gradually transformed from rice into the Buddha’s relics. Kruba Wong then told them that this place used to be a royal palace. There was a woman who married a prince but was finally exiled because of her lower status than her husband. She was pregnant and gave birth to a child outside the palace. When the child grew older, he didn’t know whom his father was, so he battled with his father unintentionally. He finally defeated the war and burnt the enemy’s palace, which was reveal later as his father’s palace. I used to
have a book about Kruba’s magic. But I don’t know where it is now.

สีดำ มันเคยมีหนังสือนะ แต่ไม่รู้ตอนนี้ไปไหนแล้ว เป็นเหลืองใหญ่เลย เกียวกับอภินิหารหลวงปู่

Interviewee: Wimon Sookdang

WS, para 1

PP: You work for the village tourism organization, is that correct?
WS: I’m just a part of it.
PP: Are you the chief?
WS: Yes I am. But I work collaboratively with Sureeporn and Preeda, who look after those young tour guides.
PP: How long have you had a young tour guide project?
WS: Around five or six years.
PP: Do the visitors often ask for the young guides?
WS: Yes, especially in the past. We used to have many young tour guides. But after they grew up, they moved outside the village. And it is also because they have less confidence to guide the visitors when they get older.
PP: Why is that?
WS: They are shy because they are teenagers. It is a matter of age and emotion. It is clear that the children at the age 8-12 are the best. They have the confidence to talk with people.

WS, para 2

PP: Do they also learn the history of the village from their schools?
WS: Yes, they do. We have local history and local community class. It includes in the program’s curriculum. It is a local curriculum. Besides this

WS13, para 1

PP: พี่มั่นคงเรื่องละครการท่องเที่ยวนี้มุ่งบ้านอยู่แล้วใช้ไหมคะ?
WS: ส่วนหนึ่งครับ
PP: เป็นประธานการท่องเที่ยวเลย؟
WS: ก็ดูด้วยแต่ไม่ว่าก็เป็นเพื่อสุรีพรแล้วกันเองบริหารของกลุ่มคณะศึกษานี้ยัง
PP: มีคุณภพห้องนี้มีนายหรือยังคะ
WS: หายไปแล้วเหมือนกันครับ
PP: ก็มีคนมาใช้บริการเรื่อยๆ?
WS: ครับ ผมคือเมื่อก่อนมัคคุเทศก์จะมีหลายคนมากครับแต่ณตอนนี้หลังจากเด็กโตขึ้นเขาก็ไปเรียนข้างนอกบางแล้วถือ咥ข้างเด็กบาง
พี่มั่นคงทำให้ความกล้าเข้าในการพาเที่ยวอะไรต่างๆมันนึงน้อยลง
WP: ทำไมคะแทนที่โตแล้วจะกล้าขึ้น
WS: ไม่ค่อยกล้าแล้วครับเขามีช่วงวัยสุรีนี้ระคับทางวัยทางอารมณ์อยู่คือช่วงนี้เป็นช่วงที่เด็กอมมันจะกล้าในการที่จะพาคนไปที่อะไรอย่างนี้

PP: หนูอยากรู้ว่าในโรงเรียนเขามีสอนเกี่ยวกับประวัติชุมชนประวัติท้องถิ่นไหมคะ
WS: มีครับผมประวัติท้องถิ่นชุมชนท้องถิ่นเด็กนี้ได้บรรจุเข้าไว้ในแผนของเราโรงเรียนด้วยเป็นหลักสูตรท้องถิ่น

13 Barada Kiawkhacheeprai (BK) was with me while I interviewed Wimon Sookdang (WS)
local curriculum, we also have a local uniform assigned for the students to wear. They have to wear the local costume three times a week. They wear a student uniform on Mondays, a boy scout uniform on Wednesdays. The other days they wear local costumes.

BK: They also wear gym suit on Thursdays. They wear local costumes on Fridays.

WS: But…

BK: But at the childcare center the children have to wear the tribal costume three days. A yellow costume on Mondays, pink costume on Tuesdays, and blue on Fridays.

WS, para 3

WS: Talking about Kruba, He is the only one the villagers respect. After he moved here, the villagers followed him here. Before he settled down here, he wandered around the mountains and preached people. He converted people from animists to Buddhists. In the past the people there worship ghost. We call it a ghost, but their term “ghost” refers to not only the evils but also the fairies like the guardian angel and the rice goddess. But in the past people didn’t know how to categorize those kinds of spirits, so they called them collectively as a ghost. At that time there was a worship ceremony where they had to sacrifice the ghosts with animals. Finally, Kruba brought the religion to them, so they quit that kind of worship.

WS: คือถ้าหากพูดถึงเริ่มต้นเลยเนี่ย ในส่วนของหลวงปู่จะเป็นผู้ที่ชาวบ้านเขาให้ความเคารพนับถือ เพราะว่าหลังจากที่หลวงปู่ท่านมาอยู่ปุ๊บชาวบ้านเขาก็ตามมาถือ
เพราะว่าช่วงระยะเวลาที่หลวงปู่จำเป็นช่วงที่หลวงปู่ไปจริงกุ้งครังเพราะว่าท่านจริงไปที่ต่างๆ ปุ๊บแล้วท่านสอนชาวบ้านให้หันมาถือพุทธ เพราะเมื่อท่านสอนชาวบ้านบันทือ เขาเรียนรู้ถึงมี
ซึ่งความจริงแล้วคำว่าผีของชาวบ้านความจริงนั้นก็เหมือนเทพต่างๆไม่ว่าจะเป็นเทพพิราต สัตว์พิภพ พระแม่สิ่งเหล่านั้น
แต่ในยุคนั้นเขาไม่รู้ว่าจะนำมาใช้เมื่อไหร่ได้

WS, PP: You mean you stop killing, but

PP: ที่เลิกคือเลิกฆ่าสัตว์ตัดชีวิต
**para 4**

you still worship the spirits?

WS: Yes. There is still a worship ceremony until now. We worship a river goddess. We also worship rice and wood goddess annually. We still do. We don’t quit all the ceremonies. The villagers stopped raising animals after they migrated here. But it doesn't mean that there is no one killing animals in this place. Some still do, but they don’t do it for eating. It also doesn’t mean that people in the community are all vegetarian. No, they don’t. Just most of them. Because when they travel outside the village, sometimes they have to eat meat.

| WS, para 5 | PP: Are most of the visitors the lay Buddhists, or are they the tourists?  
WS: You mean the outsiders? There are two main groups of them. The first group is tourists while the second group is the labors. The latter come because they have relatives here, so they come to visit them and find some labor work here.  
PP: Farming?  
WS: Yes, farming such as picking longan.  
PP: Are they Karen, or are they Northern Thai?  
WS: The tourists are all of them, but the labors are Karen.  
PP: Are they Karen from other places?  
| PP: สารนิย์คนที่เข้ามาเป็นไครตะ บุตติยะหรือนักท่องเที่ยว  
WS: คนข้างนอกหรือครับ  
สารนิย์จะมีสองกลุ่มใหญ่  
gลุ่มหนึ่งเป็นนักท่องเที่ยว ถ้ากลุ่มมารับจ้าง  
cือเอกอาจจะมีภำติที่น้องท่องเที่ยวและ  
เขาจะมากินจ้างทั้งคืนหรือارتفاعขึ้นแล้วมารับจ้าง  
PP: ปลูกพืชรักษา?  
WS: ครับ แล้วก็เก็บพวกล่าไก่  
PP: เป็นปากญอหรือคนเมืองคะ  
WS: ถ้ากลุ่มท่องเที่ยวจะเป็นคนท่องเที่ยว  
ถ้ามารับจ้างจะเป็นปากญอเป็นหลัก |
| WS, para 6 | PP: How about the guide project? How does it start?  
| WS: When we talk about the tourists who come to the village, we talk about two groups of them. One is the lay Buddhists, and another group is just a typical tourist. The lay Buddhists came since Kruba started constructing a temple, since Kruba’s period. And they come continuously. The tourists came later. After the Karen had promoted their community via mass media, people started coming here.  
| PP: How do the villagers feel about having people keep coming here? Are they frustrated, or are they satisfied?  
| WS: There were two groups of people. The first group satisfies; the second group believes that the outsiders consider them strange. They are Nambornoi people. This group of people lives in our community, but they refuse to use electricity and water supply from the government.  
| PP: The reason they don’t use electricity because they don’t have the capital, or they just don’t want |
to?
WS: They live just three kilometers from us. If they want to use, they can. Because the government always look after us.
PP: It means that it is their decision not to use the electricity?
WS: Yes.
PP: It seems like that place becomes a traveling spot right now. Do they feel frustrated by the outsiders' visits?
WS: When the visitors come, and I take them there, the Karen of Nambornoi think that I take someone new for them to watch on that day. They think differently. While the visitors think they are watching the Nambornoi villagers, those villagers think they are watching the visitors.
PP: (laugh) They both watch each other. But doesn't it upset them?
WS: No, no. Because every time I take the visitors there, they would ask me if the visitors want the products they made, like the basketry or the textile. They would ask first. So I always tell them that just exhibit their craft works. If people like it, they would buy it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP: Can you tell me the estimated numbers of them?</td>
<td>WS: Around 1,200 people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PP: Wow. A lot of them.</td>
<td>WS: Yes, they live as a big family.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PP: คือระยะห่างไม่ถึงสามเมตรครับ คือถ้าเขาจะใช้ไฟฟ้า เขาจะใช้ทันตระเพียบ ทางการเขาไปดูแลตลอด
WS: ครับ
PP: แต่ถ้าถ้าเป็นจุดท่องเที่ยวไปเลยนะครับ ตรงนั้น แล้วเขาถีกขึ้นไหมกับการที่เราเข้าไปชม
WS: เข้า คือถ้าสมมุติว่ามีนักท่องเที่ยวที่ยวเขาไปชม เขาจะสีก็เหมือนกันนะ อย่างสมมุติผมพามาไปเขาจะมีความรู้สึกว่า อ่อย บ้านพักруч้าให้เขาดูอีกแล้วเป็นลักษณะนั้นมากกว่า (หัวเราะ) เขามองต่างจากที่เรามองเขาคือถ้าหากว่านักท่องเที่ยวที่มาอวบกันบ้านนั้นอาจจะเหมือนนักท่องเที่ยวไปดูเขาแต่ที่นั่นเหมือนเราเอาเขาไปให้เขาดู ลักษณะนั้น
PP: ต่างคนต่างดูกันนะครับ แต่เราก็ไม่ใช่ติดใจในคะ
WS: ไม่ติดใจ เพราะทุกครั้งที่พานักท่องเที่ยวเข้าไปเขาก็จะมีเครื่องจักสานมาที่เขามา เขาจะถามก่อนว่านักท่องเที่ยวจะต้องการอะไรได้เรื่องจักสานไหมเขาจะยังไม่เอาของออกมา เขาจะมากมายก่อนแม้ก็ลบบอกเขาว่ายังไงเอาออกมาให้เขาดูก่อนถ้าเขาพอใจเราจะชี้ให้ดู ลักษณะนั้น

PP: มีกี่หลังคาเรือนคะ
WS: 54
PP: กี่คนได้คะ
WS: 1,200 กว่า
PP: โห เยอะเหมือนกันนะครับ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WS, para 9</th>
<th>Right now, the government helps them build the hall for protecting the holy spring in the village.</th>
<th>What do you call it? That hall…</th>
<th>It’s a hall for Nambornoi spring. It is a meditation hall for people in that area. It works the same way as the temple, the stupa, and Chai-Baan. It locates in Nambornoi area. Every Buddhist holy day, the villagers who live there would pray and meditate there. They believe that the spring is sacred. They believe that its water can heal the illness.</th>
<th>Can everyone grab the water there?</th>
<th>Yes, but if you are a woman, then it’s like many other places in the North that women can’t access the holy places. I wondered why, so I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
asked the teachers, they explains that the reason women are not allowed to enter the holy places is because in the past when they were on period, they didn't have a proper protection, so the menstrual dropped on the ground and it made the place dirty. So it is a restriction until now.

| WS, para 10 | BK: But how about the holy spring at Huaytom temple? Why does it have to run dry when women grab the water from it? Why? Why? Why is it because of women?  
WS: It is because the spring is sacred  
BK: So women are not allowed particularly!?  
WS: Umm…  
WS: (turn to me) The holy spring in our village used to be dry once because of a woman. Afterward, there was a group of people coming to the well and intended to grab the water from it. When they were told not to grab it, they couldn’t accept it. They didn’t accept our rules. So we solve the problem by closing it. So it comes to the human rights. Everyone is equal now.  
PP: The villagers closed it?  
WS: Yes. |
| WS, para 11 | PP: I heard that the Karen also moved here because of escaping the flood. Is that true?  
WS: Just some of them. Those people came from Tambon Banna, San-Ngao District, Tak Province. Some of them are also from Maesod, Maehongsorn, Doi Tao, Omkoi, and Mae La Noi. So Huaytom is a |
community where people from different places come to live together. It makes an advantage when it comes to the issue of textile. PP: So the main reason people moved here is Kruba Wong? WS: Yes, it is because of Kruba. They followed Kruba. When people from different places gathered here together, they exchanged the patterns of the textiles. PP: Do Huaytom have a unique pattern of textile? WS: Now we have ten distinct patterns. The ministry of culture already approved these patterns. Each pattern has its unique design.

WS, para 12

PP: At Huaytom we have two races of Karen. One is Pwo, and another is Sgaw. Pwo people came from Doi Tao and Omkoi District. Skaw came from Tak, Maehongsorn, and Maesod Province. PP: Are you Skaw? WS: No, I’m Pwo. The languages these two races use are quite the same. PP: Do they understand each other?

WS: At Huaytom we have two races of Karen. One is Pwo, and another is Sgaw. Pwo people came from Doi Tao and Omkoi District. Skaw came from Tak, Maehongsorn, and Maesod Province. PP: Are you Skaw? WS: No, I’m Pwo. The languages these two races use are quite the same. PP: Do they understand each other?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Paragraph</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BK:</td>
<td>Skaw can’t understand Pwo. But Pwo can understand Skaw.</td>
<td>ถ้าโปพูด สะกอวัยฟังไม่รู้เรื่อง แต่ถ้าสะกอวัย โปฟังรู้เรื่อง</td>
<td>Do the Karen have the official language?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>Do the Karen have the official language?</td>
<td>เราเลยใช้ภาษากลาง?</td>
<td>WS:  It is Skaw language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>It is Skaw language. For example, the word “eat,” Pwo pronounces “Ang-Ming” while Skaw pronounces “Or-Meh.”</td>
<td>มันเห็นกันข้าวไปว่า “อั่งมิง” ท้าสะกอวัย “อิโหน่ย์”</td>
<td>PP: ก็คล้ายๆ กันนะคะ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PK:</td>
<td>It seems slightly different?</td>
<td>Yes, it does.</td>
<td>WS: ครับ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>So you can speak both Pwo and Skaw?</td>
<td>Yes I am. But the Skaw are the majority here. <em>(Someone was calling Wimon, so he left the conversation for a while)</em></td>
<td>PP: แสดงว่าพี่วิมลได้ทั้งสองภาษาเลย?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| WS, | A monk used to tell me that if Hauytom people converted to other religion, there would be no Buddhist land left in the world. Hauytom is the only place that the whole community members practice Buddhism. It seems like Buddhism will vanish if our community members convert to other religion. | ก็เคยมีพระมาบอกว่า ถ้าอย่างหัวห้อยไปนับถือศาสนาอื่นนะ ศาสนาพุทธที่อื่นจะไม่มีแล้ว มันเห็นกันข้าวไปว่ายังเป็นศาสนาพุทธทั้งหมู่บ้านเลยนะครับ ก็คือถ้าตรงนี้ไปนับถือศาสนาอื่น ศาสนาพุทธก็คงจะไม่มีแล้วเหรอ หรือนั้นจุดเดียว | BK: ก็เคยมีพระมาบอกว่า ถ้าอย่างหัวห้อยไปนับถือศาสนาอื่นนะ ศาสนาพุทธที่อื่นจะไม่มีแล้ว มันเห็นกันข้าวไปว่ายังเป็นศาสนาพุทธทั้งหมู่บ้านเลยนะครับ ก็คือถ้าตรงนี้ไปนับถือศาสนาอื่น ศาสนาพุทธก็คงจะไม่มีแล้วเหรอ
| para 13 | | | PP: เพราะที่อื่นมีปนๆ อย่างอื่นด้วย? |
| BK:  | Is it because people in other communities also believe in other religions? | Yes. | BK: ครับ ใช่ค่ะ |
| PP:  | Do the visitors contact you directly? | They always contact via the community tourism organization. Some via the group, some via Sureeporn. It is like everybody who works here has each other’s contacts, so it is easy for us to communicate. We manage the community tourism group ourselves. We organize it ourselves. The government is just a supporter. | PP: แต่เคยอย่างคนที่เราติดต่อให้พี่เมย์เป็นไกด์ คือติดต่อด้วยตรงไหนนะครับ |
| BK:  | A monk used to tell me that if Hauytom people converted to other religion, there would be no Buddhist land left in the world. Hauytom is the only place that the whole community members practice Buddhism. It seems like Buddhism will vanish if our community members convert to other religion. | ถ้าอย่างหัวห้อยไปนับถือศาสนาอื่นนะ ศาสนาพุทธที่อื่นจะไม่มีแล้ว มันเห็นกันข้าวไปว่ายังเป็นศาสนาพุทธทั้งหมู่บ้านเลยนะครับ ก็คือถ้าตรงนี้ไปนับถือศาสนาอื่น ศาสนาพุทธก็คงจะไม่มีแล้วเหรอ หรือนั้นจุดเดียว | BK: กลุ่มครับ กลุ่มครับ ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกลุ่ม เพราะว่าเราทำเป็นกลุ่ม การทำเที่ยวของเราก็จะจัดการโดยชมชัน คนในชมชันดูแล ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกลุ่ม เพราะเราทำเป็นกลุ่มการเที่ยวของเราก็จะจัดการโดยชมชัน คนในชมชันดูแล ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกลุ่ม เพราะว่าเราทำเป็นกลุ่มการเที่ยวของเราก็จะจัดการโดยชมชัน คนในชมชันดูแล ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกลุ่ม เพราะว่าเราทำเป็นกลุ่มการเที่ยวของเราก็จะจัดการโดยชมชัน คนในชมชันดูแล ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกลุ่ม เพราะว่าเราทำเป็นกลุ่มการเที่ยวของเราก็จะจัดการโดยชมชัน คนในชมชันดูแล ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกลุ่ม เพราะว่าเราทำเป็นกลุ่มการเที่ยวของเราก็จะจัดการโดยชมชัน คนในชมชันดูแล ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกลุ่ม เพราะว่าเราทำเป็นกลุ่มการเที่ยวของเราก็จะจัดการโดยชมชัน คนในชมชันดูแล ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นกลุ่ม เพราะว่าเราทำเป็นกลุ่มการเที่ย
| para 14 | | | PP: เพราะที่อื่นมีปนๆ อย่างอื่นด้วย? |
| BK:  | I used to train around twenty children. But they still don’t have an opportunity to work because they | ไกด์ที่พี่เคยฝึกน้องประมาณยี่สิบกว่าคน แต่ยังไม่ได้ปฏิบัติงาน | BK: มีไกด์เยอะไหมคะ |
| PP:  | Do the community have a lot of tour guides? | มีไกด์เยอะไหมคะ |

*WS,* para 13

*PP,* para 14
have to study. If it is a weekend and people need a tour guide, they will contact us.
PP: Are they volunteers?
BK: Yes. If we force them to do, they will not be willing to take a tour. Does is make sense? We accept only the volunteers. We don’t entice them by talking about the compensation. We will rather speak of the love for the community. If they are tour guides, they will have an opportunity to learn more about their community history. We will teach them about the community concern more than the money matter.
PP: Do Hauytom have a training course for tour guides?
BK: We got funding from the organizations. So we have tour guides from the outside to teach about guiding. But the local history class is my responsibility. Sometimes Wimon helps me in this part.

WS, para 15

PP: Do the children know the background of their history?
BK: Yes, they do. They have their knowledge. We just guide them how to speak properly. For the young guide, we have to encourage them to speak. They are often shy to talk because they are Karen. They aren’t fluent in Thai or Northern Thai. They are probably shy. But we tell them don’t worry. It is our language. The fact that we can speak another language this much is good enough. Those who come here don’t know our history. They just know that we
have temples, stupas, and Kruba. They don’t know why we have to keep Kruba’s body like this. If we don’t have a community guide, they won't get to know our community. So we have to teach our guides to focus on this issue. We have to teach them to love their own community.

PP: I came here three years ago and met one young tour guide. She provided me interesting information about the community. So I was wondering if she knew it all by herself or she was trained before…

BK: What is her name?

PP: Her name is Mild.

BK: She might be studying outside the village now.

PP: I was here with the Tourism Authority of Thailand. My fellow journalists and I met this young tour guide at that time. Right now they are studying outside the village.

WS: There are only the adults left here.

PP: I was probably in high school. Sometimes they speak all Thai, Northern Thai, and Karen.

BK: That time, the young guide I met was probably in high school.

WS: It must be the year… year…

PP: It’s the same year as Pipo.

WS: Oh, umm.

PP: It was 2012.

PP: คือหนูเคยมาเมื่อสามปีก่อนมั้งคะ แล้วเจอน้องมัคคุเทศก์น้อยนี่ล่ะค่ะ

BK: ชื่ออะไรคะ

PP: ชื่อน้องมายด์ค่ะ

WS: ตอนนี้เหลือแต่คนแก่ค่ะ

PP: ตอนนั้นน้องที่มาก็โตแล้วเหมือนกันค่ะ มัธยมแล้วค่ะ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Paragraph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BK:</td>
<td>That’s right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>What village number do you live?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>Number 17. It is situated next to the temple. When my grandfather came here, he got the land at the back of the temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS, para 18</td>
<td>PP:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>I was born here. Now I’m 36 years old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BK:</td>
<td>You must be 37. It’s going to be a new year!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>No, I was born in 1998.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BK:</td>
<td>(turn to me) I was born one year earlier. But we are in the same year at school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>Does everyone here have an identity card?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>Yes, now we have around 22,000 citizens in our community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>Wow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>But we also have 1,900 illegal citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP:</td>
<td>So it must be around 24,000 people here…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>The illegal citizens don’t have a house registration here. Some of them come from Tak, and some come from neighboring provinces. Some of them hope that they will come back to their home; Some are not sure whether to live here or live at other places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS, para 19</td>
<td>PP:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WS:</td>
<td>Yes, Some of them are the families of the villagers. Some are their partners and spouses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| BK: | Some people went back to their previous home because they...
couldn’t accept the community rules.

WS: Our community has strict rules. You can see the rules over there *(point to the entrance of the temple)* Our community has rules and regulations. If one can’t follow the rules, we will ask them to leave. If we warn them but they still disobey, we will destroy his house.

BK: Before we demolish their house, we already gave them a chance. We always gave them opportunities. But if they don’t improve, we have to do it.

PP: What kind of trouble they made?

BK: Such as involving with drugs. We don’t accept these people.

WS: If we warn them, but they still do it, we have to ask them to leave the community.

PP: Alcoholic drinks are not accepted in the village?

BK: No.

---

**Interviewee: Uppatham Sangkit**

**US**, para 1

US: Where are you from?

PP: I’m from Lampang Province.

I’m collecting a story of Kruba Wong and the owner of the house I’m staying with told me that you have a close relationship with Kruba since Kruba was alive. So could you please tell me the stories of Kruba Wong when he was here, when people first moved here and so on.

US: Do you speak Thai, or Northern Thai?

PP: Both. I can speak Northern

US: มาจากไหนกัน

PP: จากลำปางค่ะ

หนูเรียนปริญญาโทอยู่ แล้วมาเก็บข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับท่านครูบาวงศ์ แล้วพี่ที่พักบอกว่าท่านมีความรู้สึกคุณเคย กับครูบาวงศ์มาตั้งแต่สมัยท่านยังอยู่นะคะ ก็เลยอยากทำผ่านเพลงให้พี่ๆฟังหน่อยว่าเมื่อก่อนเป็นยังไง สมัยที่ท่านครูบาอยู่ ตอนมาอยู่ที่นี่ใหม่ๆ เป็นยังไง อย่างนั้นคะ

---

14 In this interview, I asked Barada Kiawkhacheeprai (BK) to accompany me because she knew Uppatham Sangkit (US) personally and could make an appointment with him for me. In this conversation she sat there in the room with me, listening to what we talked and added some comments later in the interview.
Thai. Did you come here since the community was first established?
BK: He is Northern Thai.
US: I’m from Mae Lan District in Lamphun. I was born in Hod District, Chiang Mai. I moved here because a flood from Bhumibol dam.
PP: A flood?
US: Yes. All the houses were flooded. The villagers had to migrate at that time.
PP: How many of them?
US: There were many households. People from Baan Kor Village also had to migrate. Their village is now under the river, the Ping river.

US, para 2
PP: Did all the villagers move here?
US: They moved to several places.
PP: Which village was severely flooded?
US: Sam Ngao District, Li District, Doi Tao District, and Hod District.
PP: Did you suddenly come here at that time?
US: I moved out of my village. I didn’t know anything yet at that point because I was just a kid. I moved to Mae Lan Sub-District in Li District. I was ordained there. I stayed with Kruba Wong. The hill people didn’t want to stay elsewhere but here.
PP: Why only this place?
US: Because Kruba Wong was here. When there were a rain retreat ceremony or other Buddhist ceremonies, they usually asked Kruba to go to their villages.

US, para 3
PP: How old were you when you ordained?
US: I was seventeen years old. It was in 1982.
PP: Have you always been here with Kruba?
US: Yes, I used to cook for him.
US, para 4

PP: Is it because he lived with the Karen since he was young?
US: Yes, he was ordained since thirteen or fourteen years old. He started doing pilgrimage at that time.
PP: Did he use to live with the Karen?
US: Yes, he did.
PP: Where? In Tak Province?
US: Tak, Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Mae Hong Sorn. He went everywhere.
PP: Why did he go there?
US: He liked to be in the forest. He liked a pilgrimage. He was... he had a strict meditation. He didn’t like being in crowded places. But it turned out that everywhere he went, there would always be many people following him. Everyone wanted to follow him.

PP: เพราะเป็นเคยเคยไปอยู่ต่างจังหวัดอยู่นะเขา
US: ครับ เป็นเมื่อแรกตั้งแต่ 13-14 ปี
ท่านเดินธุดงค์เลย
PP: ก็ไปอยู่หมู่บ้านกับตะเคียน
US: ไปอยู่ในหมู่บ้านกับตะเคียน
PP: ที่ตาก
ลาก เชียงใหม่ ตากพุน แม่ฮ่องสอนไปหมดคะ
PP: แล้วหลังเป็นไปอยู่ตรงปันนาเจ้า
US: มีเอฆะอยู่ในป่า ชอบเดินธุดงค์
เป็นเป็น... ปฏิบัติเคร่ง
เป็นป่าขอบของในที่คนหลาย
แต่กว่าส่วนมากเวลาครูบาไปไหนคนก็ตามเป็น
ติกๆ คนหลาย

US, para 5

PP: Is there any story of Kruba Wong transmitted among the monks

PP: แล้วพวกบาเซี่ยนจะมี
เขามีการเล่าเรื่องครูบาครั้งชัย
here?  
US:  Transmitted?  
PP:  I mean, Do the monks talk to each other about Kruba Wong, especially his teaching?  
US:  Kruba Wong always preached to people. Every Buddhist holy day, after he received the food offerings, he would preach to us. He preached in Northern Thai and then translated it to Karen so the Karen could understand the sermon. He could speak many languages. He was good at Karen language. The Karen could understand what he said so they could practice what he preached.  

| US, para 6 | PP:  What kind of sermon Kruba always preached?  
PP:  Five precepts of Buddhist discipline. He said the Buddhists should practice the five precepts before doing anything else. He had many sermons to preach. He also focused on strict meditation. He always taught us the essential teachings of Buddhism. Buddho, Dhammo, Sango, Metta, Karuna, Muthita, Ubeccha… He taught us all these things. He did meditation for a long time each day. He always did.  

| US, para 7 | PP:  How could he convert the hill people from animists to Buddhists?  
US:  He taught people since he was there in the upland. All the hill people were animists at that time. They killed animals. In fact, Kruba had never insulted them for killing the animal. He just suggested them not to kill. Because Killing is a sin. It is immoral. When Kruba came here, people followed him here and made merit with him. They came back and forth until they decided to  

| PP:  ครูบาวศ์อะหยังจะเข้าไปใช่หรือไม่กับเจ้า  
US:  ใคร?  
PP:  ในหมู่พระสงฆ์กันเองเจ้า  
US:  หมายถึงเล่าจะใด  
PP:  หมายถึงคําสอนของครูบาวศ์  
US:  ครูบาบ่อยู่แล้วเราได้ยินครูบา  
หรือว่าการสอนอะไรยังอธิบายผ่านพิภกุก  
US:  ครูบานั่งกิรดานะเป็นใจผักทาน  
แล้วจิตไปศีรษะไปตาเป็นคําเมือง  
เป็นคําเมืองเสรี้ยงแล้วปิดเป็นภาษา  
กะเหรี่ยงอิยุปภัยแปลกรงพิภกุก  
เป็นผู้ใต้หัวยายงาย  
เป็นแกงเรืองภาษาพระหัตถ์  
ยุปภัยพิภกุกแกลิกขัจจิ แล้วกับปฏิบัติตาม  

| PP:  ส่วนใหญ่ท่านจะสอนอะไรอะเจ้า  
US:  ศีลห้า ท่านเนื้อศีลห้า  
เป็นจะทำอะไรยังแต่ละอย่างศีรษะยุปภัยติมกิ  
ด้วยอริโรศีลกุก  
เป็นหลักปฏิบัติในการทำอะไรยังต่างๆ  
คําสอนเป็นกิรดานะ ได้เฉพาะจะสงกราฐฐาน  
กรรมฐานครูบานั่งเหมือน…  
เป็นมั่นสมรยิมิเป็นเอาหลายๆ พวกจะสอน  
พุทธธรรมสังโย แพตตา กรุณา มุทิตา  
อุเบกขา เป็นว่าเทคนิม  
เป็นกิรดานั่งเวลาซึ่งไหว ครูบานั่งสมาธิ  

| PP:  แล้วท่านจะอะไรได้อื้อชาวเขาเปลี่ยนจากภิกษุเป็นพุทธ  
US:  ก็ครูบานั่งกิรดานะศีลห้าเป็นแนว  
เพราะคุณเคยมาจิตใจจะไม่กิ่งมิ  
บุ proporได้กับไป  
ที่จิตเป็นกิ่งไวกับจะหยั่ง  
แต่เป็นนั่งนั่งษัตริณันจะเป็นบางา  
ครูบานั่งอยู่กับพุทธนั่งอยู่เป็นกิ่งยุปภัย  
มมหาบุญ เทียบไปเทียบจะมายะลงบกิ่งไวกบ
They asked Kruba if they could settle down here. Kruba allowed them to do so, but he had a condition for them: they had to practice five precepts and stop eating meat. They also had to stop worshipping the spirits. The hill people gradually migrated here. Kruba told them not to raise the animals for consumption, especially pigs, cows, and chickens. However, you can still raise pets like cats and dogs. People came here more and more every day. Right now we can call our community the role model community for the five precepts.

| US, para 8 | PP: Who gives this award to the community?  
US: Phra Maha Mankalachana. (A title for the representative of the Buddhist Supreme Patriarch-author)  
PP: It is the first community that gets this award?  
US: Yes.  
PP: How many people are there in the community?  
US: Around ten thousand people.  
We have ten sub-villages. We are a big community.  
PP: But there were not this much at first?  
US: No, the number is rising day by day. This place was a national forest’s property before, but after the king came, he gave the land to the Karen. His Majesty divided the land into two separate parts: one for housing and another for agricultural. He also found the Royal Project Foundation here in the village to help the villagers. |
| PP: ใครเป็นคนอัปถัมภ์  
US: สมเด็จพระมหาธาตุเจ้าหมาย  
PP: อืม เป็นที่แรก?  
US: ที่แรก  
PP: ตอนนี้เรามีประมาณกี่คน บ้าน  
US: ชาวบ้านในห้วยต้ม? ประมาณหมื่นเป็นใหญ่  
PP: แต่ตอนแรกๆ มีน้อย?  
US: มาทีละน้อยๆ นักขึ้นๆ  
พ่อคุณพระเจ้าอยู่หัวเห็นหมู่ชาวบ้านมาอยู่  
หนึ่งครูบาก็เลยฮื้อวัด  
ก่อนมันเป็นพื้นที่ป่าสงวนเนอะ  
ก็แบ่งพื้นที่ตรงนี้ฮื้อวัด  
เป็นโครงการพระราชด้วย  
เป็นโครงการพระราชด้วย  
PP: แล้วการสร้างวัดมาทีหลัง  
US: ที่หลัง ทางห้วยต้มช่วยเรื่องแรงงาน  
แต่เรื่องเงินเรื่องทองนี่สายหลวงพ่อฤาษีลิงด้วย  
เพราะครูบาก็ไปมาหาสู่กันบ่อย |
| US, para 9 | PP: Did the construction come after that?  
US: Yes. The Huaytom villagers help with their labors. But the money came from elsewhere. It  
PP: แล้วการสร้างวัดมาทีหลัง  
US: ที่หลัง ทางห้วยต้มช่วยเรื่องแรงงาน  
แต่เรื่องเงินเรื่องทองนี่สายหลวงพ่อฤาษีลิงด้วย  
เพราะครูบาก็ไปมาหาสู่กันบ่อย |
came from the monk Luesi Lingdam. Lingdam and Kruba Wong had a close relationship. Lingdam once came here and promised Kruba he would help him build the temple. Lingdam asked his Buddhists followers to help. Another source of money comes from Bangkok. Kruba went to Bangkok very often and gained a reputation from preaching there. The Buddhists elsewhere donated money, but the villagers here help with their labors. Their help is their ways to make merit. When Kruba got the rice or salts from the Buddhists elsewhere, he gave them to the villagers.

| US, para 10 | PP: I heard that Kruba controlled all the construction himself? US: He was an architect. He designed all the building patterns. The architects elsewhere admit his talent. Kruba also taught the villagers about the labor work. He taught how to construct the building with wood, cement, and steel. He was a good builder. |
| PP: แต่หันว่าครูบาคุมการก่อสร้างเอง? US: ท่านเป็นสถาปนิกแบบท่านคิดเอาเองแต่สถาปนิกท่านเยอะรับหมดค่ะแจ้งก็ขอให้ครษพมาปีก็ร่วมมือมาอยู่ครูบาเป็นก็สอนเข้าช่วงงานสอนเรื่องการก่อสร้างด้วยบุญด้วยไม้ด้วยเหล็กท่านเป็นช่างก่อสร้าง |
| PP: When did you come here? US: Probably 1980. PP: How old are you right now? US: 55 years old. I have been here for more than thirty years. Everyone knows that he had an intuition, you know? One day I had a conference in another place about the construction of the temple. We had to submit the plan to the institution before we started building. It was a long meeting. After coming back, Kruba talked to me as if he was there with me in the conference. He knew everything. It was as if he knew. PP: He had an intuition? US: He had an intuition which the ordinary people like us don’t have. But he had never boasted about it. |
US, para 11

PP: People said he had a magical power, such as magic in saving the plane. Do you know that? How is the story?
US: He went to India at that time. There were four hundred people followed him. And there was a problem with the plane, so it crashed and fell from the sky. Everyone in the airplane knew that the plane was going to fall. Kruba then... there was one follower who saw a hand holding the plane, so the plane was safe. The crew on the plane also thought that the plane would fall, but it didn’t. It might be a chance, but because Kruba was there, people believe that it was his hand.
PP: When did this incident happen?
US: I can’t remember. (turn to BK) Barada Can you remember?
BK: It might be in 1977.

US, para 12

PP: Do you remember other stories about his magical power?
US: He had celestial eyes and ears. For example, Kruba wanted to renovate a temple at Naliang Village so he asked the followers to carry the woods in the forest to the village. Every morning he would go to the place where people brought woods together. He would knock the woods, and he suddenly knew which one could be used to build the temple, which one couldn’t. Many of those woods had the spirits residing there so tew can’t use them. Kruba knew it just by hearing the knocking sound. I witnessed this. I was with
| US, para 13 | PP: I heard that when Huaytom temple and Srivanichai Stupa were built, there were also these kinds of stories. Someone claimed that Kruba saw the Nandi’s feces… US: When he first came, he saw a Nandi’s funeral right there where the pagoda is situated. Kruba saw it. He knew it. He did meditation and knew it. He was always right. He knew all the proper places to build the temples. Every place he saw and said we couldn’t build, it turned out later that it couldn’t as he once said. |
| US, para 14 | PP: People also said that this place was not suitable for living. But after Kruba moved here, it became livable? US: Kruba was so generous. He was kind to the spirits. He always gave food offerings to the spirits who live here in this place. He believed in ghost. He believed that ghost really existed, and we had to honor them. We honor them; we tell them what we are going to do; we just don’t worship them. PP: What kind of spirit do you all believe in? The ancestor’s spirit? US: The ordinary ghosts. We give them food. We give them vegetarian food. PP: In what circumstances do you give food to the ghosts? US: It depends. Some people treat them after they see the shaman. PP: Also when they were ill? US: Yes, they do. They still believe in ghost. This belief still exists. It is a belief. It comforts people. If they do it and feel better, then it is worth doing. |
| US, para 14 | PP: People also said that this place was not suitable for living. But after Kruba moved here, it became livable? US: Kruba was so generous. He was kind to the spirits. He always gave food offerings to the spirits who live here in this place. He believed in ghost. He believed that ghost really existed, and we had to honor them. We honor them; we tell them what we are going to do; we just don’t worship them. PP: What kind of spirit do you all believe in? The ancestor’s spirit? US: The ordinary ghosts. We give them food. We give them vegetarian food. PP: In what circumstances do you give food to the ghosts? US: It depends. Some people treat them after they see the shaman. PP: Also when they were ill? US: Yes, they do. They still believe in ghost. This belief still exists. It is a belief. It comforts people. If they do it and feel better, then it is worth doing. |

| US, para 15 | about the reincarnation of Kruba? Someone said he used to be a king named Tern?  
US: There are many things about him that I don't know. It was because I didn’t read it from his book [that] Kruba wrote it.  
PP: The book?  
US: Yes, Kruba wrote it.  
PP: Where could I find that book?  
US: You can find it at the temples where Kruba built. He wrote his autobiography in Northern Thai. When Kruba spoke, he spoke in the way we couldn’t remember. We should have a voice recorder at that time so we could record his voice. I do regret we didn’t do that. He spoke with mercy. Every time I was sad, I would see him, listen to him, and I would get better. Just being close to him made me feel better. He had many followers. It seems like he hardly had time to rest. Everyone kept coming to see him. |
| US, para 16 | PP: Where was his housing?  
US: Behind the Wihan Kaew building.  
PP: Will we keep his dead body like this?  
US: Like this. We have an annual ceremony on May 17th.  
PP: The reason his body is gold is that we put the golden leaves on him?  
US: Yes, it is the golden leaves. Gold is valuable, so we choose it to protect his body. They want the best thing to cover him. |
| US, para 17 | PP: Is there any quarrel within the community?  
US: No, we live here like relatives. There will always be a quarrel in other community but for here, we talk to each other. We take both sides together and let them talk. Furthermore, the village chefs always |
join us every holy day. They come to protect us because sometimes the outsiders are harmful. They are unreliable.

PP: Are there children who graduated and left the community? US: Some of them. Because there are a lot of people nowadays. There are always individuals who don't want to come back here.

US, para 18

PP: Is there any outsider who later migrated here?
US: We hardly find this case. A few people from outside moved here because they followed their spouse. But if you are Northern Thai, and you just wanted to get here, you can't.
PP: So the children always work in the community after they graduated?
US: Yes.
PP: What is the highest level of education the community provides?
US: The secondary school and the technical school. But we have a monk class in the temple that provides a high school education.

US, para 19

PP: How many monks are here in Huaytom temple?
US: There are two hundred novices. Several of them come from other communities. They follow their relatives here. Their relatives live here so their parents ask the relatives to take care of their children.
PP: And how many monks are here?
US: During the rains retreat period, there are twenty-nine monks [in Huaytom]. But after the retreat

| US, para 18 | PP:  คนต่างถิ่นมาอยู่ในนี้ก็มีไหม?
US: คนต่างถิ่นมาอยู่ในนี้ก็มี
PP: พอเรียนจบก็คือที่ทำงานในหมู่บ้านก็เจ้า
US: ถ้า
PP: โรงเรียนมีถึงชั้นอะหยังเจ้า
US: ของโรงเรียนนี่ถึง ม.3 และก็ ปวช.
ของเณรนี่ถึง ม.6 แต่กว่ามีโรงเรียนที่อื่น

| US, para 19 | PP: ตอนนี้พระกี่องค์เจ้า
US: เณรสองร้อยกว่า เณรที่อื่นก็มี
PP: แล้วต่อพระเจ้ามีกี่องค์
US: เขาพระรัชมี 29 แต่ดอกพระเจ้าแล้วเป็นกีโปริ
ไปสร้างวิหารเจดีย์บนดอยนะ
ไปตามรอยครูบา เพราะครูบาเป็นกีโปริ
ใครมีความสามารถก็ไปสร้างเจดีย์
<p>| US, para 20 | PP: It means that there are many visitors come here right now? US: Yes. Once there was a Buddhist from Lampang came here. He hadn’t been here before. He went to see Kruba. Kruba asked him “Where are you from?” He said “From Lampang” and Kruba asked back if his house was close to the railway. He was very shocked and wondered why Kruba knew that. (laugh) PP: He had celestial eyes? US: Yes, he had. |
| US, para 21 | PP: Do people think that Kruba is still here with them? US: Yes, they do. PP: Is there anything the villagers keep with them as a representative of Kruba? US: Representative? PP: For example, I saw the picture of Kruba at the altar at Sureeporn’s house. BK: Every house. Every house has a picture of Kruba. PP: Do they also have the amulets? US: Yes. BK: Yes, they do. |
| US, para 22 | PP: It means that the villagers live their lives the same way as when Kruba was here. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kruba was here?</td>
<td>BK: When the temple creates the brand new amulets, people would eagerly come to buy it. They would sell it to the community members first. If there are some left, they would open for the outsiders to buy. PP: Who makes it? BK: Kruba’s followers. PP: Are there still some for sale now? BK: Yes, there are. But the “four hundred lives” version is sold out. I had one, but I lose it at Chiang Mai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US, para 23</td>
<td>BK: (Showing a photo of Kruba Wong and the King) PP: The picture of Kruba and the King? BK: Yes. US: (Showing the locket necklace) PP: What is it in the locket? US: It is rice called Khao Bin. It is rice that has been transformed to be a Buddha’s relic. The Buddha washed his bowl and the grains of rice got stuck in the bowl. Those grains were gradually transformed to be Buddha’s relics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US, para 24</td>
<td>PP: How many times did the King come here? US: Three times. PP: Do you also believe that the Buddha used to come here? US: Absolutely. PP: Did he come to the temple? Or anywhere else? US: The temple, where his footprints are situated. Some people don’t believe how he could be here as he lives in India. I said to them “Even his mother was in heaven, he would still be able to go there!” He could go everywhere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP: The picture of Kruba and the King? BK: Yes. US: (Showing the locket necklace) PP: What is it in the locket? US: It is rice called Khao Bin. It is rice that has been transformed to be a Buddha’s relic. The Buddha washed his bowl and the grains of rice got stuck in the bowl. Those grains were gradually transformed to be Buddha’s relics.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Does the name of this place, Huaytom, also come from the story of the Buddha?

We don't really know which Buddha that came here. (laugh)

Uncle, (talking in Karen) … what vegetable is good for what day. For example, I remember Kruba didn’t eat eggplant on Wednesday. Why is that?

Each day has its incompatible vegetables. Kruba said don’t eat squash on Monday because it was unhealthy to eat in that day. I thought you remember the restriction for each day. So when the tourists ask, I can answer them.

But Kruba said everyone has his own unlucky day. For example, Kruba was born on Tuesday; his unlucky day is Saturday. It was the day that we should try not to do a new thing. We would count it five days after our birthday. We should try not to do a new thing or to travel on that day. For example, if Saturday Kruba had to pay wages to the villagers, he would avoid it and do it on Friday.

It seems like there are so many details about his teaching… Yes, but at that time I was very young. I used to see Kruba and get a snack from him. I should keep it! But at that point, I ate it all. (laugh) I should keep it to worship. But I forgot. I was so young. I was so delight I got it from Kruba, so I suddenly ate it. I couldn’t think of keeping it. I regret it right now. But I have his urine. I got it from one of
his followers. He gave it to me. It was not rotten or stinking. It was so clear. I always drank it and sprayed it on my head. But it is exhausted. I still keep the bottle at the altar, though. I have to admit that it was salty, but it was very clear.

BK: He followed him, and he got it. I used to put it on the altar. Whenever I had a nightmare or miss him, I drank it. Sometimes I let my children drank it.

US, para 27

PP: How did that person get his urine?
BK: He followed him, and he got it. I used to put it on the altar. Whenever I had a nightmare or miss him, I drank it.

Interviewee: Boonsri Sofia

BS, para 1

PP: Can you tell me where you are from?
BS: I come from Mae Tueng District, Tak Province. Do you know it? When I was here, this area was a thick forest. Kruba Wong asked us why we had to follow him here. He
said it was not a place to live permanently. Kruba said we should better live at our previous houses on the mountain. He asked why we had to come here.

BS: No. He just wanted us to work for the national forest. He wanted us to go back home after finishing the task.

| BS, para 2 | PP: But you came here to make merit?  
BS: Yes, But the road was not good as good as today. It took so much time to go anywhere.  
PP: Can you remember the year you came here?  
BS: I came here in 1971. That was the first time.  
PP: Have you ever been here before?  
BS: No. I came here and then I stayed here permanently.  
PP: Have your parents come here before?  
BS: Yes, they did. They died here.  
PP: Did your family members come together?  
BS: Yes, my father died here in Huaytom.  
PP: Did you have a chance to meet Kruba Wong?  
BS: Yes. |
| BS, para 3 | PP: What kind of things did Kruba Wong teach you?  
BS: When we came here at first, there was nothing here. There was neither temple nor house. We built the temple, the roads, Chai-Baan, and the stupa, respectively. Do you see the stupa? That place was a forest before. It was a national forest. There was only one small building here. And Kruba was not Karen. He was from elsewhere. He was from... |
Ban Kor Thung Village. He was a disciple of Kruba Khao Pi. Kruba Khao Pi used to tell him one day he [Kruba Wong] would build this community. He would settle down here in the future. Kruba Wong then asked Kruba Khao Pi how he could build a Buddhist community here. Kruba Khao Pi told him he would live here with the Karen. At that time Kruba Wong wondered where the Karen would come from. People from Na Laing District also said that this place belonged to the Karen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BS, para 4</th>
<th>PP: They said that?</th>
<th>BS: Yes, they did. But at that time everyone didn’t recognize how this would happen. People elsewhere kept asking us how we would live here, as there was nothing here. There was no land to do farming. There was nothing, not even the water. PP: So how did you live without the water? BS: Finally we dug the ponds. Before that there was not even single pond. We dug the ponds so we finally had water. We didn’t have to dig so deep for the water to spring up, say, just only seven to eight sok. (Eight sok = four or five meters-author) After we have water, Kruba said we should build the monasteries. But the area we planned to build the temple was a riverbank. So we had to carry the soil from another place to cover up this area. We kept asking Kruba if we could really build it on the riverbank. Kruba said it was possible and we would get much virtue from doing this. We would gain so much virtue. So we dug it although we couldn't imagine how this would become a real temple. PP: What year?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BS:</td>
<td>PP: เขาบอกว่าเป็นตี้ของหมู่เยาว์</td>
<td>BS: เป็นตี้ของหมู่เยาว์ แล้วก็จะเดินแล้วหน้า เอาแกกับผู้ คนตื่นเป็นตี้ก่อว่าว่าจะทำรายใด มันมีที่ทำกินหนะะๆ หัวอย่างหนะะมีหน้า เมื่อก่อนมีกับค่อมี PP: เขา แล้วจะใด BS: เอาไปถามพ่อก็จะขุดนับ นับก็มีมี ชุดที่ในหมู่บ้านเนี่ย ชุดนับเป็นสร้างแล้วก็มีนับออกแบบ เอาไปเอามาเปิ้นก็ขุดน้ําบ่อยไม่ก็มี ก็บอกว่าจะได้สร้างวัดสร้างวา ที่วัดนั้นเป็นตี้ละ พอตี้ก็ขุดที่ต้นที่ขี้ไอมากมาย ๆ แล้วก็เป็น เมื่อถามครูว่าจะได้ก็เป็นตี้ละเป็นตี้ละจะได้ก็เป็นกับก่อว่าจะได้บุญ ๆ ทุกคนเลย นับจะได้บุญ มากๆ กัน มันจะได้บุญ เอกซ์ตาๆ มันก็ ฯ เอาเก็ตีก็ขุดกัน มันเป็นตี้ละ ขุดแล้วก็เป็นตี้ละ จะแปลงวัดได้ก็ แล้วเปิ้นได้ก็ได้ BS: พศ. 2518 นี่ครับ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BS: It was 1975.

| BS, para 5 | PP: So you came here for four years and helped Kruba built the temple?  
BS: Yes. At first, there was a small building we regarded as our temple. We later built the real temple in 1975.  
PP: Did you help the villagers made?  
BS: Yes I did. I built the temple, the other buildings, and the roads. At that time it was not easy to create anything like nowadays. At that point, we had to carry the rocks from other places to the area to build the temple. Sometimes we had no time to eat because we had to get the rocks first. We carried them and beat them up and prepared them to construct the stupa.  
PP: Where did you get the rocks?  
BS: We got it from the mountains. We also got the sand from the riverbanks. We had specific materials from specific place. |
| --- | --- |
| BS, para 6 | PP: Did you also use the laterite?  
BS: Yes, we got it in the village. We dug it here in the village, but we got the rocks and the sands from other places. There were plenty of them on the mountains nearby. We woke up in the morning and donated the food offerings to the monks. Then we went to the mountains to bring the rocks to the village. We had lunch at noon and started to carry to rocks again. We carried them here and beat them up into fragments. Like this and this. (BS making a gesture) Then we combined them with sands and water. We got the water from the creek here. Then it was ready to construct the stupa. We did like this every day.  
PP: ใช้ศิลาแดงก็ได้  
BS: ศิลาแดงจะชุดในหมู่บ้านเนี่ย แต่หินทั่วไปจะเป็นหินทรายจากที่อื่น  
จากหัวใหญ่ลงไปหินก้อนจากใกล้บ้านเป็นต้นไปล่ะนี้ เนี่ย เที่ยวตลอดก็เปล  
ศิลานี้ก็ไปได้บ้าง  
ได้เบรกทีไป附加值ก่อนข้ามมา  
แล้วก็ขึ้นจากกลางวัน  
กินข้าวกลางวันแล้วก็แค่กินในบ้าน จะขึ้น  
มองแล้วก็บันได้ก่อนขึ้นแล้ว แล้วก็เอารายยา  
เอารายเวลาถ้าก่อนน้ำ น้ำก็เอาจากหัวใหญ่  
น้ำก็พอใจแล้ว遛 เอาข้าวคุณบกุ้งวัน |
| BS | BS: Then later we found a holy  
BS: น้ำป่าน้อยเป็นบ่อที่เป็นพุทธหลัง |
Para 7

Spring at Nambornoi. Kruba told us that the area we found the spring was not suitable for settling down. It was a place for the mysterious people. But some people didn’t understand. They believed that Kruba wanted them to look for the holy spring, so they moved from their houses in the village to that area. I don’t know what they are thinking. Kruba used to tell them to come back to the village, but they still live there. They don’t understand. Kruba finally let them stay there. They live a primitive way of life. They refuse development. They choose to live like that.

BS, Para 8

PP: Why do they decide to live like that?
BS: I don’t know as well.
PP: Do you know them?
BS: Yes we do. Actually they are the Huaytom villagers like us. In the past we live together, we live the same way. They just separate themselves from us and live their own way.
PP: They also come from Tak Province?
BS: They are from Tak Province, Omkoi District, and Sam-Ngao District. Saying roughly, they are the Huaytom villagers. They just want to preserve a traditional way of life.

Para 9

BS, Para 9

PP: Did Kruba tell them to stay there?
BS: No, he didn’t. He just said earlier that we needed to protect the spring. Kruba wanted the Karen to protect it but they misunderstood. They thought that Kruba wanted them to stay there and live close to it. It was actually a place for the mysterious people. They come to our village once in a while. When we ask them where they come from, they
don’t understand. They just point to the Nambornoi. They always appear when we have a big ceremony. Last year there was one woman from the mysterious land. She came alone and then disappeared. They are strange people who live at Nambornoi. But the holy spring in the temple is another spring. It was here for a long time. It was since the Buddha came here.

PP: The Nambornoi holy spring?
BS: No, no. The one at the temple.
PP: Oh, I see.

BS, para 10

BS: Nowadays we still grab some water there. The story is that the Buddha used to come here in the past. When he came, people here offered him the meat they got. The Buddha refused. He didn’t accept anything. Then people gave him the boiled rice. This time he could eat. The Buddha said that this place was a sacred place. He took the rock and imprinted his footprints on that rock like this (BS making a gesture). He did it twice so we have two footprints. Before doing this, people there asked him how they could have the water to clean the rock. So the Buddha knocked the walking stick on the stone. The water sprang up for the Buddha to clean the stone. After cleaning it, he pressed his footprints on it. And he suddenly disappeared.

BS: น้ำบ่อที่เราใช้หุงข้าวเนี่ย พระพุทธเจ้าก็ถ้านะ ถ้าเงินพุทธเจ้าพิจารณานะภายนะพวกนี้เป็นเจ้าพ่อเจ้าแม่ พวกนี้ที่มีเรื่องนายนะ พระพุทธเจ้าก็ไปเอาก็เอาไม้เท้าแตะ และที่นี่อย่างหนึ่ง พระพุทธเจ้าก็เอาไม้เท้าแตะลงมาแล้วก็น้ำออกมา พระพุทธเจ้าก็เอาข้าวต้มมาถวาย

PP: น้ำบ่อที่นี่น้ำบ่อไทยนี้ น้ำบ่อไทยนี้น้ำบ่อไทยนี้

BS: น้ำบ่อที่เราใช้หุงข้าวเนี่ย พระพุทธเจ้าก็ถ้านะ ถ้าเงินพุทธเจ้าพิจารณานะภายนะพวกนี้เป็นเจ้าพ่อเจ้าแม่ พวกนี้ที่มีเรื่องนายนะ พระพุทธเจ้าก็ไปเอาก็เอาไม้เท้าแตะ และที่นี่อย่างหนึ่ง พระพุทธเจ้าก็เอาไม้เท้าแตะลงมาแล้วก็น้ำออกมา พระพุทธเจ้าก็เอาข้าวต้มมาถวาย

PP: น้ำบ่อที่นี่น้ำบ่อไทยนี้ น้ำบ่อไทยนี้น้ำบ่อไทยนี้

BS: น้ำบ่อที่เราใช้หุงข้าวเนี่ย พระพุทธเจ้าก็ถ้านะ ถ้าเงินพุทธเจ้าพิจารณานะภายนะพวกนี้เป็นเจ้าพ่อเจ้าแม่ พวกนี้ที่มีเรื่องนายนะ พระพุทธเจ้าก็ไปเอาก็เอาไม้เท้าแตะ และที่นี่อย่างหนึ่ง พระพุทธเจ้าก็เอาไม้เท้าแตะลงมาแล้วก็น้ำออกมา พระพุทธเจ้าก็เอาข้าวต้มมาถวาย

PP: น้ำบ่อที่นี่น้ำบ่อไทยนี้ น้ำบ่อไทยนี้น้ำบ่อไทยนี้

BS, para 11

BS: He has gone, but we still keep his footprints here with us. It reminds us to do good things. We don’t kill animals. We practice vegetarianism. We build temples. We create our own parami. The monasteries we have here come from Kruba. He let us build them. He told

BS: ไปเลยแต่เกิดนี้เกิดที่เกิดขึ้นจะต้องธุรกิจูน น่าจะ น่าจะเกิดขึ้นจะต้องธุรกิจูน

PP: น่าจะเกิดขึ้นจะต้องธุรกิจูน
us that two or three groups of people used to come here before, but they didn't build anything. They went back to the mountains before constructing anything.

BS, para 12

PP: Were they the Karen?
BS: Yes, they were our people. We came back. It was the third time we the Karen were here that we started to stay permanently and build the temples. We built the pagoda and Chai-Baan. We built everything. We built it, so we have to protect it. We offered food offerings in the morning. We pray in the evening. We practice five precepts of Buddhist rules. We have to do it by ourselves. We can't ask for it from friends or wife who do it. We shouldn't quarrel with each other. We shouldn't lie. We shouldn't drink alcoholic beverages. We should have a proper etiquette like if our neighbors are not home, we should not enter their houses without permission. It is not a proper manner. Kruba told us like this. You can see this quality in Huaytom. It is a place where the five precepts of Buddhism are strictly practiced. Kruba taught us everything. He is the best in teaching.

BS, para 13

PP: Do you often go to the temple?
BS: Yes, I do.
PP: Do you go every day?
BS: I go there every day. I station at Wihankaew Hall.
PP: What do you do there?
BS: Nothing. I don’t have an income from doing this. I don’t want it. I just go there and offer the help.
| BS, para 14 | PP: Why did Kruba not allow you to eat meat?  
BS: It is not because Kruba did not allow us to eat, but it is our own decision that we don't want to eat. We abandon it. We don't want to eat because the spirits of the animals will follow us.  
PP: It will?  
BS: Yes. Kruba gave the best things for us. He gave us five precepts. He taught us not to drink alcohol or to have a quarrel. | BS: อยู่นี้เราบังคับหมูเลี้ยงให้เลี้ยงเปิด  
PP: บังคับยังเลย?  
BS: บังคับเลี้ยงเลย  
PP: แล้วแต่ก่อนอะไรเจ้า?  
BS: แต่ก่อนเลยเนี่ย เขาบอกว่าเสี้ยนหน้า  
ชั่วหน้า มันบังคับเรา แต่ตอนนี้เป็นบังคับเลี้ยงจะ  
บังคับย่า แต่ก่อนกินด้วยน้ำมันอยู่ด้วย  
คนเยอะเนี้ย แต่ลุงคนเดียวเนี่ยบกิน  
ไปไหนบกิ่นเดี๋ยวนี้  
เป็นว่าจะทำมากกว่านี้เหมือนบ้านเดิมบกิน  
อย่างไปเพื่อมก็อย ไปเชียงใหม่ก็ เกิดก็ไปกัน  
ถูกไปไหนบกิ่น เขาค้านบกิ่น  |
| BS, para 15 | PP: Did Kruba live in Tak Province when he was young?  
BS: Yes, he traveled to several places. He used to go to Tak Province, but I hadn’t been born yet. He made several pilgrimages. He built the temples along the way he went. He didn’t build the big ones. He just built them as a symbol of a sacred place. He built temples everywhere he went. Nowadays I go to the temple to offer the help. But the outsiders sometimes don’t | BS: ครูบาอยู่ในตากก็ไปที่ตากก็เจ้าสักกี่ที่  
BS: ครูบาเก้าได้หลายคน ที่กินก็อยู่ในตากไป  
แล้วก็บัด แต่ครูบาบกิ่นสักกี่ที่ไปเรียกๆ  
นั้นนี่ แต่บัดนี่ไปเรียกๆ ไปสิ่งที่นี่  
ปีั่วสิ่งเทื่องผู้ใหญ่จริงที่  
สร้างขอกับสถานที่ศักดิ์สิทธิ์  
ไปเทื่องผู้ใหญ่เสร็จสิ้น แล้ววานนี้เจ้าพาเข้ามา  
จะสร้างเป็นต้นๆ ช่วยอะไรอยู่  
บางคนบกิ่นกับผู้กิ่นคนแยมที่นี่ เหนื่อง |
understand what I do. I go there not because I want to exploit anything from the temple. I just want to help. Kruba has gone, so I want to help. Going there makes me feel as if I meet Kruba.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>BS, para 17</strong></th>
<th><strong>BS:</strong> I do whatever Kruba wants me to do. Sometimes I ask the visitor where they live. I just want to talk with them but they don’t understand. I don’t try to force them to donate to the temple. But some people give me some money as a reward. But I don’t keep it with me. I donate it to the temple so we will have money to renovate the places. When we start building a new place, we will have enough money. I follow Kruba. Kruba used to tell me that when we are old, we could devote our life to the community. We can offer the help to the monks. We can even stay here at the temple. So I help the monks at the temple every day. I have been there every day for two years.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BS:</strong> หลวงปู่จะได้ก่าวไปเลยเป็น พอคิดแรกๆก็ได้ถามว่าอยู่ที่ไหน ถือถาม บุญจะเยอะ บุญเข็มมันทำบุญ บุญเป็นหนึ่ง ขณะบางเด็กก็ได้พันสองพัน บางเด็กก็ได้สิบห้ารอบ ก็เป็นสมบัติได้เหงือดีแล้วเอาไว้ช่วยวัด มันจะได้เอาไว้ซ่อมแซมที่ไหนซ่อมที่ไหนสร้างใหม่ก็เอาตรงนี้ ก็ดิตตามครูบา ครูบาเคยบอกว่าเราแก่แล้วก็มาช่วยวัด ช่วยวัดได้ช่วยวัด ก็มาอยู่กับวัด มาอาศัยกับวัดกับความที่ไหนก็ได้ เอาไว้ช่วยต้องนี้ต้องรับ ไปมาได้สองปีละหน่ำ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


Shircliffe, Barbara. “‘We Got the Best of that Word’: A Case for the Study of Nostalgia in the Oral History of School Desegregation” in Oral History Review 28 (Summer/Fall 2001): 59-84


