Nat and Nat Kadaw: The Existence of the Local Cult in Myanmar Transition

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“...Nat cult will be existed, as long as people still have endless desires and want them to be successful.”

Daw TT, Nat Kadaw

Introduction
Myanmar has had the prosperous religion, traditional, and other forms of culture in their ways of life. Regarding of the religion, the long-standing and extensive belief in holy and tutelary spirits (Nat) among Myanmese could be generally cited as the Myanmar’s tradition prior the Theravada. Then Buddhism has become to the official faith since King Anawrahta of Bagan dynasty instituted Theravada – a school of Buddhism – to be the principal religion in 11th century. Like Myanmar, other societies in Southeast-Asia and all where the ancient belief and religion is respected and followed by those local people.

Among the several Myanmar primitive cults, this article would like to raise the topic of the existence of colorful ritual which fully contains of high respect; Nat and Nat Kadaw (spirit and spirit medium). Actually, this traditional belief has been gradually illustrated by the scholars in different aspects, the classic one was written by the American anthropologist; Melford E. Spiro (1967). Three decades later, the specifically ritual book about the well-known Myanmar local festival was completed by Yves Rodrigue (1995) and other views such as the intensive of this ritual, spirit and spirit medium have been still described by Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière (2009) and the other authors. This attractive cult, however, has still remained interesting phenomenon because the existence of the local belief and rite has closely been in Myanmese ways of life from Buddhism belief, strict Buddhists and non-Buddhist alliances. In addition, some interesting aspects are that how the Myanmar’s socio-economic changing into the modern society effects to their local belief and spirit worship, how their social transition would affect to the people appealing, and how the Nat Kadaws play their roles and have relations under this context.

Local Cults in Social Transition
If indigenous belief is considered as a religion, it can be perhaps described that they are the social institutions and have affected to people. Durkheim defined religion as a unified system of beliefs and practices which related to the sacred things (Turner, 2006: 287). According to Durkheim, religion never only concern on belief, but also the rituals and ceremonies which have been practiced by the believers. In addition, his concept of ritual lie in the ritual establishing a shared focus (the sacred object) within a group and the ritual presents the respect for the sacred object (Larsen and Tufte, 2003: 92). Rituals are important to gather the religions’ members and generate a connection with a state that transcends diary life (Idler, 2010: 133). Thus, it can be understood that religions tend to be involved with the individuals’ occasion in everyday life; work, emotion, desire, sick and illness.
For Myanmar, the religious beliefs and their rituals have been continuously practiced by the people. Myanmar is a strong Buddhism society and people admire and strictly participate in religious activities, whereas the amount of people also believes in and pay homage to the Nats. This belief may not be much different from any other sorts of animism in the world (Wai Yan Phone, 2010). Thus this belief could be argued as the local cults of Myanmar. In that day, Nats was recognized as the natural protector such as forests, mountains, lake, village, and people health as well. Not only influenced to people destiny but these spirits be harmful if that people misbehave or pejorative to them, for instance they can make someone ill by no causes. In briefly, most of these supernatural are considered to be potentially malevolent and are frequently cited as the causal of illness and misfortunes (Morris, 2006: 55).

What mentioned above is a fundamental belief and that faith is related with religion which itself linked with people’s health and way of life. Myanmar, in the present, is becoming to the developing country where the indicators of modern city are gradually appeared; infrastructures, foreign investments, tourism services, and so on. Likewise various parts of the world are confronting with the transition in their societies which may cite that they are in the period of globalization. For Myanmar, the extensive local belief among general people is an interesting point.

Inglehart and Baker (2000) explained about the modernization idea in their research; Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values, that the development and economy changing led to the widely transition in terms of culture. Besides, various theorists had also predicted that when the modernization happened in any area, the religion concentration among people would be decreased. For example, Durkheim predicted that the influence of religion would decrease in modern society because the religious thinking would be replaced by scientific thinking. The rituals and ceremonies would only be minimal attended by people and if the traditional religion were to continue, these would only do for social cohesion preservation (1). Nevertheless, any prosperity resulted from the development could not be an acceptable indicator in every situation to make the final conclusion that the occurred changing; social, economic and cultural structures, in that area would surely effect to devalue their worthily traditional cultures.

Correspondingly, Inglehart and Baker did not agree with this mentioned idea because they had seen that the topic about religions, supernatural and spirit believes had more generally and widely discussed in the society. In some cases, the social and cultural changing might not always disvalue their tradition and being replaced with the modernity, but their traditional values had been still persisted. It could be said that these values were independent from economic factors. Apparently, Inglehart and Baker’s idea have been currently seen from Myanmar’s culture and belief. Although this country has just opened to the world in these few years, there are rapidly developments in several sectors such as foreign investments, industrial developments since 1990, international trades, and medical system development initiated by British since colonial era (Phatcharanuruk, 2014). These are some obvious contexts indicating that Myanmar has been developed and been modern for long time. Remarkably, the continual spirit worship or Nats has been closely survived and attached by Myanmese simultaneously with those various developments, which they do believe
that Nats will protect them to be safe from uncertainty circumstances and also wish them to be all successful in their lives.

**Nat, Nat Kadaw, and Nat Festival**

There has been an inherited belief about Nats that they have closely related to the Myanmese since firstly born, moreover they have kindly helped and protected those followers. It could be possibly said that Nat is a kind of supernatural-sacred power found in all surroundings; forest, river and rice field. This belief has been long passed on since before the Buddhism coming to this country as their principal religion in King Anawratha of Bagan Dynasty.

Manning Nash (1965: 166-176), studied about traditional believes and Myanmese stories in a village, proposed his idea that the belief system of Nats, prediction, spirits, and divination including to medical had built linkages between their believes and other activities. These kinds of linkage could be closely looked like a tool telling and reporting about their recently faced situations, which Nats was a vital system to deal with the world. Nat statues will be found in everywhere both city and especially in the Myanmese’ house corner. Myanmese still vigorously worship Nats who are frequently invoked and often require careful calming. They may be the protector of a property or even a territory (Rodrigue, 1995: 18)

Nats has been more clarified that they are the supernatural and violent death, which also have been told that they could fulfill believes and stable minds in these present days. Unlike Nats belief, Buddhism philosophy is all about human karmas and actions directly respond to belief and mental stability in the future, which both of them all work for their life security and lives after death. From this reason, Myanmese has strongly believed in these two ideas as not separately and indifferently. Nats could be contacted from general people via Nat Kadaws in different communications such as daily life activities, annual ceremonies or festivals, and personal ceremonies, which all of them could be probably held by attended people, Nat Kadaws’ houses, spirit houses or the main spirit house in their villages. Myanmese have seen Nats as the most powerful and beautiful person who can protect them from any unexpected circumstance, bad luck, or some critical situations in daily life (Juliane Schober, 2004). The cults of Nats offers psychological, cultural and social venues for confronting risk and misfortune and allows for the integration of a variety emotion in to a broader social landscape.

**Nat Kadaw: the spirit medium**

Generally, it has been widely known that Nat Kadaws are the representative or medium communicating between Nats and followers. Rodrigue (1995:48) tried to define the “Nat Kadaws” as the main principal performance in Nat festival or meaning to the Nat’s wife; directly translated from consonants, no matter what the medium had another social status as a husband, son, daughter or sister of the particular nat. Also, he explained about another medium’s role as a key ceremony performer submitting everything to the spouse who was Nat. The followers, sometimes, were guided by Nat about their marriages and financial statuses, which was another crucial duty including to other basic problems; such as searching for missing stuffs and health treatment. All of these missions were proceeded by the spirit medium who could be claimed as various roles; Nat Kadaws, shaman, spirit medium, oracle or protector, in spirit ceremonies. From this point, it made Rodrigue
agreed that it would be good to finally stop defining its exactly meaning and better named it in Myanmarese language.

Most of Nat Kadaws are more female than male. Among these male Nat Kadaws groups, they are mostly homosexual and transvestites, which have been increased in these days. The next spirit medium will be selected from spirits or Nats with strongly acceptance and willingness being as the medium between Nats and people. When they turn to be the Nat Kadaws, it would be possible to gain some other special powers for example medical curing, incantation, being sacred, and fortune telling. Interestingly, it has been found that some marginal people; who were segregated from society because of their physical abnormality, voluntarily became to the medium in order to be unconditionally accepted from the society. In some cases, the spirit medium status could be naturally happened and there is nothing getting involved with those mentioned reasons. Being the Nat Kadaws through marriage could be another sign widely showing about the new couple; moreover some sickness happened with a Nats’ bride could be released when he or she accepts to the Nats’ healing. Besides, marriage would be another indicating about the new right and status of that Nat Kadaw, because Myanmese women are normally lower than men in their social status which is not different than Northern Region of Thailand. As Irvine (1984) proposed in this aspect that when spirit mediums were female, they would be higher social status than men because of her spirit relationship and holding higher status than her own husband. This could be similarly seen in Myanmar also.

Referred from conversations talked with 3 Nat Kadaws (surveyed in 2013-2014) in 2 suburb villages; Mandalay, it was found that three of them became to be the spirit mediums in the same pattern that was said by Juliane Schober (2004) in “Burmese spirit lords and their mediums”. They were different in ages and sexes; 2 over 55 years old women (Daw TT and Daw MM), a 20 years old lady boy (Ma SS), but they all came from medium financial families. Their main reasons accepting Nat and becoming to Nat Kadaws were the chronic sicknesses causing to suffered lives, which were completely healed and gone ever since they had decided accepting Nat in their lives.

Daw TT was the highest medium level of 5 and also being a professional spirit medium or senior Nat Kadaws. She firstly came to be Nat Kadaws when she was 25 years old with unknown sickness; penalize on her bed for 3 months, which could not be cured by western medicine or traditional medicine. Later on, there was a high level of Nat Kadaw came to visit at her house and told her to accept and scarify to Nat replacing to her healthy. She proposed a condition that she would follow to Nat Kadaw’s words, if she was better without any sickness. After that, the medium took a cup of water and was praying for a while for her to drink. Next few days, she could unbelievably get up and normally run her daily life. So far, she has been a Nat Kadaw for over 30 years.

Like Daw TT, Daw MM participated in a ceremony celebrating for a senior Nat Kadaw, which was held with crowed people including to Nat Kadaws and followers. While the ceremony was running, a Nat Kadaw dancing harmoniously with the music headed and talked to her that “You just ate the bad meat!”; she just actually ate some pork. She did felt very guilty and suddenly felt sick with big headache, moreover she denied a cigarette provided by the Nat Kadaw because of confused and giddied feeling. Unfortunately, Nat Kadaw was totally angry at her and said that “You will know, who
I am, when you’re back”, it made her so terrify and worried. After that, she had been severely sick for 3 months with paralysis symptom, thus made her felt sadly giving up and getting closer to death. One day, a Nat Kadaw married with a spirit said that it was because of Nat. If she wanted to be survival, she would pray asking forgiveness and compassion from Nat. She vigorously promised to follow to Nat in everything, when she was better and healthier. After that for a while, she turned to be much stronger with vegetative habit ever since. So far, she has been Nat Level 3.

It seems like; the chronic sickness is an indirectly forcing condition to inevitably and willingly turn to be Nat Kadaw eventually. Ma SS, a 20 lady boy Nat Kadaw, who is exactly looked like a real lady – personality, voice tone, talking way and appearance –, he had faced to insomnia symptom since he was 10 years old. There was no any doctor could cure him. Finally, when he was almost 16 years old, a Nat Kadaw was introduced to him by his older friend. He seriously asked with that Nat for getting well and being healthy, then he would promised to scarify his life to Nat in order to help the others. Few weeks later, he was well and very happy. Ever since, he has been still healthy and holding a position of spirit medium level 3 taking care Nat shrine of the village. It could be said that the process of medium being is usually become from a patient, which finally turns to be a healer occupation.

**Nat Kadaws Hierarchy: Different Status and Different Performance**

No matter how the recruits become to be Nats; while celebration ceremony or having healthy life, they all have to train and perform in order to be passed on from their own senior spirit mediums about various ceremonies and spirit possession. Probably, it could take time for months or years, which it is also possible to have marriage between Nat and the recruit. Ever since, that trainee would become to a new recruit who could run and control her spirit possession concurrently with practices from the supervision master. As Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière (2009: 286) explained that the new spirit mediums would still need further training under supervision of their master before being considered able to incarnate any of the thirty-seven nats and fully direct spirit possession. Then they became the professional spirit mediums able to organize rituals to the thirty-seven on their own for their clients. This proposed idea was harmonious with Rodrigue’s finding (1995: 50) that to be skillful performing ceremony, Nat Kadaw needed the aspire to achieve and being a proper medium must be trained at least for 5 years.

Spirit medium hierarchy is significantly important in several aspects such as ceremony content, social status, reputation and honor given from clients. The ritual function hierarchies are various positions that are ministers, queen and other positions imitated from the Royal; and were presented in a main annual festival at Taungbyone. The professional hierarchy is ranked from seniority, teaching relationship, and proper behavior. Another interesting point is that Kadaw designates the tribute paid to the Nats and the homage due to a master in any context of the knowledge transmission (Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière 2009: 287).

In addition, getting married to Nat is another hierarchy upgrade way other than professional-skill training. In this point, Daw TT told that there were only the medium level 4 and 5 could marry with spirit to upgrade her hierarchy, and this could widely show that she was completely belonged to spirit. Moving to another higher level is needed to offer some money and Kadaw-Pwe in different
amounts. One set of Kadaw-Pwe is composed of 1 green coconut and 3 bananas in a tray or basket. The higher level is upgraded, the more expensive and variety donations will be offered; as these followings.

- Level 1: 15,000 Kyats + kadaw-pwe 1 set
- Level 2: 50,000 Kyats + kadaw-pwe 3 sets
- Level 3: 75,000 Kyats + kadaw-pwe 7 sets
- Level 4: 500,000 Kyats + kadaw-pwe 37 sets
- Level 5: 700,000 Kyats + kadaw-pwe 37 sets

Widely known marriage between level 4 or 5 and Nat, the Nat Kadaw level 5 must be invited to perform the wedding ceremony together with witnesses who are level 4 and 5. The special decoration for only Nat Kadaw level 5 is a blow and fighting-chicken sculpture. All of 5 levels have their own different powers and duties, although in some cases they could perform in the same responsibility, the level 1 to 4 could not run the celebration ceremony. In case, some wishes asked from spirit come true, only Nat Kadaw level 5 can perform the celebration ceremony. Spirit mediums’ reputation is depended on their predicting precise which would be normally recommended to the others. Hence, this makes that medium has more clients and will be invited to perform next cerebrations with increasingly supports from those followers.

Besides, being a good Buddhist with strongly following to the Buddha’s teaching and supporting in what they can do are also the vital duty of the spirit medium other than only communication with Nat. For instance, Daw TT divided her income into 3 purposes; pagoda maintenance, Nat offering, and personal expenses. The main 5 Buddhism morals were deeply observed by all of the 3 mediums, because they did believed that this was the proper way to follow and could make their lives happily and successfully. Undoubtedly, the spirit mediums are obviously close to Buddhism, although their tasks are commonly responded to the typical world lives. This should be because Myanmar has determined the Nat as the Buddhism protector through this Nat system.

**Begging from Nat and Nat Kadaw’s Role**

A Myanmese professor once said that it could not clearly say that Nat or Nat Kadaw’s followers had been increasing or decreasing. In this point, it could be because generally there were Nat shrines in every household, even not every member in family would worship their shrine. Most of Mynmese villages especially in countryside had had spirit mediums of their villages; there were up to 3 mediums in some villages. This is what has been happened in this country since in the history time.

Compared from previous studies, spirit medium’s roles had not been significantly changed. As Tanabe (2002) and Irvine had found in their finding, there was a spirit possession changing from spirit or ancestor worship turning to worship the medium appointed from the central government; example of the 5th King Medium. Nowadays, Nats have been asked to protect for their well-being lives and for their productive crops and fertile seasonal farming. However, Nash (1965) found that some people did not completely believe in Nat Kadaw’s answers because of some ambiguous meanings, but at least there was only one way to know about their unknown future destiny. What people had asked from Nats has been changed from their unknown future situations turning to the business success, wealthy lives, and happy family marriage. This occurred circumstance shows that
all kinds of changing in daily life; career or faced surroundings, have directly affected to mental security in recent society more or less.

Another remarkable change of spirit medium’s duty other than to communicate between spirit and people is that they have to provide some advices and consults to the clients with nice-comfort conversations to release them from some stressed problems also. The most popular topic was about their financial shortage. When the surrounding world has changed, Nat Kadaws have to harmoniously adapt to run their duties properly. Daw TT said that there were about 3-4 clients a day inviting her to perform the ceremony for her current business, which definitely she must provide some general advice about happy life also; no doubt it was all about Buddhism philosophy. This might be looked very ridiculous sometimes; strange combination between vowing in these soonest recent days and next life idea of Buddhism, but this was what these 3 mediums had been done. As a matter of fact, being a consultant was not the new role of the medium, but it had been increasing more than the previous from much more begs. From this reason, the spirit medium had perceived this kind of new life style in terms of social transitions and its effects to people.

The consultant medium could be considered as another adapted role to closely and harmoniously interact with the clients, which also could be assumed as accommodated technique, pattern, or development. Tanabe (2002) agreed that this adaptation was responded to varied people’s experiences in the city society. He compared the spirit medium as the play actor in theatres; who acted in different roles with different teams, feelings, emotions and anticipations, through ceremonies, talks, suggestions, Buddhism and moral teachings. Likewise, the interviewee medium was exactly in this role; proposed by Tanabe.

However, in this research survey, there had not been any mediums’ house in the downtown like Chiang Mai; as Irvine and Tanabe said in their studies. There was only telling words from a Myanmese professor that the spirit mediums had increasingly turned to be consultants. The next interesting question is that, how the medium could adapt their roles for this rapidly changing world that would tend to be more important for the people. Because what the medium has adapted for the people lives in these days has been helpful to positively respond to their individual demands in some parts. This is a significant challenge of Nat Kadaws.

The festival and ceremony
Nat-Pwe means spirit festival, this festival is call out the Nat through a Kadaw, who led the ceremony, and started with loud local music. Some sounds that the Nat were in the house and then inside the spirit mediums who decorated and spangled bodies and they are offered of money, liquor and cigarettes (Technology Integration Division, 2008: pp.20-21). These offerings are believed that they will bring the prosperity and the fortune to the worshipers. An orchestra is hired and a singer who is skilled in the various spirit supplication songs is booked. On the day of the ceremony, plates of food such as deep fried whole chicken, fish and lobsters are placed before the shrines. The Nats 'eat' when the mediums smell the food (2).

The smaller ceremonies are sponsored privately; someone needing a favour from the spirits such as higher profits, good health, or a better job, would consult the medium. Through the medium the Nat
will ‘promise’ the favour in return for a ceremony in his or her honour if the wish is fulfilled. This means it can be occurred at the Nat’s house, Nat Kadaw’s house or the worshipers’ house. In March which is the household worship has been taken place, the household members could pay homage to their family Nats with the offerings.

Over time, Nat worship has maintained its place in traditional culture as a mix of faith and commerce. Nat ceremonies and festivals not only are the domain of believers but also provide livelihoods for networks of mediums, organisers, musicians, transportation personnel and local arts and crafts industries. They are like country fairs with a unique Myanmar twist that cannot be found anywhere else in the world (Wai Yan Phone, 2010).

The annual celebration, such as at Taungbyone, has been widely known from various kinds of media; and has attractively presented about Myanmar colorful culture. It is published in many websites and books with plenty of interesting information such as ceremony details, transportation from Mandalay to the village, proper behaviors and other useful things for tourists. Because of the charming atmospheres in this ceremony, there are a lot of tourists coming to visit this sacred festival. Also, some Myanmese believe that visiting to this village is another kind of religious tourism which means to this Nat festival. Although, Nat respect is not really about Buddhism that is the principal religious, it obviously is close to the “religious tourism”, which implies to overwhelming faith of religion. Rinschede (cited in Sharpley and Sundaram, 2005) once said that it had been already accepted the relation between religion and tourism. Referred from its formal definition, the religious tourism is defined as a kind of tourism activity participated from people who motivated from the religious reasons. Recent tourism, furthermore, has been suggested that modern tourism and has become the functional and symbolic equivalent of more traditional religious practices, for instance, festivals and pilgrimages (Sharpley and Sundaram, 2005: 161-171).

Existence among Changing Society

For Myanmar, One of a very interesting curiosity is that how this traditional cult and rite would exist among rapidly development in all aspects; modernization, production technology, telecommunication, basic infrastructure and utility, as well as urbanization. Resulted from decreased activities about worship, belief, religion, and local culture, this situation would be usually assumed as a part of people’s fortunes in order to become to the urban and modern society. Moreover, sciences and technology are expected as a new explanation for some supernatural stories.

“The supernaturalism, including spirit propitiation, does not decrease with urbanization should occasion no surprise unless urbanization is associated with an increase both in scientific knowledge and in control –including prediction- over one’s environment” (Spiro, 1967; 60).

Walter Irvine (1984), studied about ceremony and cult in northern society, found that ancestor spirit worship had been decreased, but there was the increased rate of spirit medium worship in city society. From this finding, it could be clearly said that although Myanmar society has more changed into the modernization and science, believes in the supernatural and traditional; as another religion, have been obviously popular because it could release their worries in some points. This is similar to
Spiro’s idea (1967). Likewise, Tanabe (2002. Pp.43-67) – studied about spirit medium ceremony in Northern Region of Thailand with the concept of its mental and physical balance, health healing ceremonies, and changing the destiny – proposed his idea that the spirit possession was a technique facing to severe sickness and happy lives in that present moment not for peacefully spirituality in next lives as Buddhism philosophy. Additionally, this career had been existed in this society for long time both in city and countryside areas, which most of them were female and would transform to be male mediums. This situation was really similar to Myanmar.

The medium transformation and roles in both Northern Region of Thailand and Myanmar are very similar in some points which all need to respond to people’s wishes. Caused from the human desires are unlimited added with mental stability demanding, going to find those desire questions is also existing, The spirit medium is a big sector of this human responding. Correspondingly, a village in Africa was observed by Herbert S. Lewis (2005: pp. 169-191), which he found the amount of numbers of spirit processions as much as in the past on his second visiting when this village was transforming to be more modern. Referred from his other literature reviews, this kind of this continually remained and gradually increased circumstance was also found in Africa, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Latin America. This could bring to make a finding that the happened spirit procession had played a role as the question replier in this transforming society.

Findings from Tanabe and Lewis have strongly supported that Myanmar’s modernization rapidly changed in these days has not destroyed their traditional religion at all, which somehow it must be adapted more or less in terms of ceremony patterns. Definitely, people still need the high mental stability in their lives. In this aspect, both Lewis and Melford E. Spiro said that the spirit medium existence was one way to make the people understand and acknowledge about each situation; moreover the religious belief and ceremony could heal the human and also an attempt to deal with, to conquer, and even to control some unknown powers from this modernization, capitalization and globalization society; particularly in the urban communities with differently changing ways of life.

Other than the Myanmar society transition, Theravāda Buddhism establishment is another influent factor strengthening the traditional system to be existed in this society. Recorded in their history, Nat cult had been long inherited since the past, which was mixed by other sects and religions. When King Anawrtha reigned, he had declined the Nat role under Buddhism but he did not neglect this local belief strongly worshiped from his people. Thus, he reorganized the Nat system and appointed Maha Giri Nat and the Shwe Pyin bothers as the pagoda guardians and Buddhism protectors. Apparently, he had not destroyed anything about Nat belief at all; Nat was the main religious protector motivating people being closer to religion.

The Theravāda Buddhism establishment as the main national religious is a wise mechanism harmoniously combining the traditional belief and Buddhism together without any curiosity from the people. Later on, Myanmarese had willingly become to Buddhists paralleled with Nat worship. As Daw Kin Myo Chit (cited in Yeni, 2004) said that it was very typical to see the people accepted, worshiped, and followed to Nat Kadaaw ceremonies. Because this thing had supported their Buddhism being in fully syncretism Buddhist; Buddhists willingly accept in other believes correspondingly to Buddhism philosophy (Kitiarsa, 2012). This phenomena would be resulted from King Anawrtha policy that was
blended these two believes together; Nats still were the religious protectors without any conflict to be respected from the typical Buddhists. Although there are some different ideas in these two believe, generally they are smoothly being together. Unquestionably, Nats have been normally seen in Myanmar temples with people worship including to the crowded Nat festival so far.

The Other Aspects for the Local Cults

This article would like to propose the aspects correspondingly to some academic professors from their previous analyzed studies about local cult existences in terms of sacred begging or whole supernatural spirits in nowadays. In this modernized societies in both urban and countryside areas, there have still been spirit worships that could be a bit adapted to be more practical, which is the vital evidence supporting in the local cult existences. For instance, there are increases of urban spirit mediumship instead of ancestor worship, medium houses in downtown instead of ancestor worship ceremony in Northern Region of Thailand, and Nat worship held by new generation Myanmese in their households in order to inherit this belief from parents. All of these events have also shown about some aspects of economic, wealth, reputation, social status, which are the side-results from being as a spirit medium.

Irvine’s article (1984) found a female medium in Chiang Mai who had been wealthier since she was a medium, although there were only few mediums being richer like her. He said that “…some getting their wealth from clients belonging to the local and national elite. Thus material success has become an important criterion for evaluating individual practitioners, wealth being regarded as a deserved reward for unselfish service to possessing spirits and to clients”. Additionally, many spirit mediums adopt the role to escape from difficult social situations and to resolve the mental and emotional consequences of conflict. This is similarly with the becoming of Nat Kadaw as Rodrigue (1995) presents the Nat Kadaw are sometimes motivated by the possibility of financial gain. If they are poor in the villages, they can make a fortune in the towns and famed Nat centres.

In terms of mental and emotion conflict, it could be seen from currently increases of transvestite medium in Myanmar. Being the spirit medium is one of their independent spaces getting out from his real gender – womanly decorations and accessories, lady costumes, colorful cosmetics, and showing up on ceremonies and annual festivals –; moreover this lady boy medium would be honorably respected and accepted from the society as well. Like Ms SS, some lady boy mediums in Myanmar are currently adapted their costumes, manner, and the ways they act exactly as the real lady.

Plus, there are other sectors having many advantages from these worship ceremonies or celebration festivals such as costume businesses, offering shops, musical bands, restaurants, various stalls, and other related businesses, which all of them have to be ready to serve over 10,000 people. This is the big bonds of related economic network. Juliane Schober (2004) explained as the exchanging system that relationship with Nats entail and elaborates system of exchange. Spirit wives also compete with each other for prestige, status, and recognition. As mediators, they receive money and other offerings intended for the spirit lord. In addition, worship and ceremony expense has created to social exchanges among Nats, clients, a host of others, beauty salons, musicians, or securities. This demand of spirit lords, clients, or followers could bring about the Nat Kadaw wealth. One of the
most important is that, proper behavior and good credit are very crucial factor to positively support the spirit client exchanges and to collect the professional symbol based on divination and rumors leading to stable wealthy eventually.

Supported from filed survey findings in Mandalay by discussing with local people, they thought that some spirit mediums just wanted to be better in their financial status and some wanted to be totally free from their reality world differently from their normal lives. However, they did not reprimand those mediums at all and they also agreed that this could be another choice to earn and survive for them. Rodrigue (1995) proposed in this book that in the towns the profession can be quite lucrative and the Nat Kadaw does not to have to take on other jobs. Sometimes he may even make his fortune. In somehow, the money is not the key motivated factor all the time, because some mediums need to conceal their physical weakness or some have got only the last choice in their lives that are to marry with Nats.

Conclusion
Local cult existence in Myanmar has been deeply supported from Buddhism that could not be separated from their society and culture, which is able to respond to people’s metal stability among this transition circumstances in their society. Obviously either Buddhism or Nats could provide satisfy answers for the people, in contrast it has been considered that this cult would be finally decreased among the modernization and other kinds of developments. This article would like to support about this strong bond between Nats/Nat Kadaws and Myanmese which has also been the belief system harmoniously with Buddhism so far. Instead of less popularity, it has turned to be deeply rooted in Myanmar society which Nat worships in their daily lives have been generally witnessed in everywhere by all castes including to celebration ceremonies as another religious tourism. While there have been some changes such as begging proposes; from safety and health into financial reasons, or becoming to the consultant. This transformation is an adaptation in order to correspondingly interact to related people under the social transition.
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Web site https://sites.google.com/site/thingsmyanmar/burmese-spirit-nat-ceremonies