

Burma/Myanmar in Transition: Connectivity, Changes and Challenges

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This presentation aims to examine how the new Shan migrants help revitalize Shan Buddhist practices in Myanmar-Thai border area in Northern Thailand. This area has a long history of the ceaseless migrations of the Shan and other ethnic groups; the flow of people has continued even after the border demarcation in the early 20th century. Recently, we could find two contradictory processes- a rigid border control by the state administration and a fluid border crossing of people, goods and information. The border crossing of people may be characterized by a one-way flow from Myanmar to Thailand and its steady increase in quantity. By focusing on the flow of Shan lay Buddhist readers/reciters in Mae Hong Son, the northern Thai-Myanmar border area, this presentation analyzes the important role of the border crossing migrations for revitalizing Shan Buddhist practices in Northern Thailand.

Cross-border Migration and Revitalization of Shan Buddhist Practices
in Myanmar-Thai Border Area

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1. Mae Hong Son: a border area between the Shan State and Northern Thailand

Mae Hong Son, one of Northern Thailand's provinces that share a border with Myanmar (Burma), is located in a mountainous area in the Salween River basin. Around 80 per cent of it is forestland. The province is the most thinly populated in Thailand, and the majority of its estimated 250,000 residents are rural folk, scattered along the hillsides and valleys. There is no statistical information on the ethnic composition of Mae Hong Son's population, but this author estimates that one half of the rural population is Shan while the other half is composed of *chaokhao* (mountain people) such as Karen, Lisu, Lahu, and Hmong. The urban population consists mainly of Shan and people from other regions of Thailand, such as Thai Yuan, Central Thai (Siamese), Sino-Thai, and Isan (Northeastern Thai). With the exception of the urban area, the landscape and ethnic composition of Mae Hong Son are more similar to those of the Shan State of Myanmar than to Thailand.¹

Mae Hong Son has a history of ceaseless movement and circulation of people, goods, and information. Before the nineteenth century, the mountainous area of Mae Hong Son marked the frontier between the state of Lanna (Chiang Mai), the Shan principalities, and the Kayah (Karenni) chiefdom. There is little information available on this area before the nineteenth century; it is presumed that a few of its inhabitants were from the Karen, Kayah, Pa-o, and Shan ethnic groups. Over the years, Shan as well as members of other ethnic groups steadily migrated from neighboring areas into this low-population area. Thus, since the middle of the nineteenth century the population of the province, especially the Shan population, has been increasing. Most Shan inhabitants have settled around the valleys.

At the end of the nineteenth century, national boundaries were drawn in this frontier area. With the Chiang Mai Agreement of 1894, Great Britain and Siam demarcated the boundary between the British-ruled Shan States and Lanna territory (Northern Thailand), and Mae Hong Son was incorporated into Siam's territory. However, even after the demarcation of national boundaries, people continued to move freely across the border between Mae Hong Son and the Shan States. Because the border runs through the mountains, neither of the two central governments could exert effective control over the area.

2. Shan in Mae Hong Son

Since the independence of the Union of Burma (Myanmar) in 1948, the boundary has been recognized by the Myanmar and Thailand. However, it has been difficult for Thailand and Myanmar to control border crossings in the mountainous region. Local trade and cross-border migration remained a common practice. Some people crossed the border in search of new fields for cultivation, others to visit relatives on the other side of the border. Not surprisingly, these were undocumented immigrants.² Throughout its history, Mae Hong Son has served as a

¹ Mae Hong Son Province comprises five districts (*amphoe*) along the Thai-Burma border. This research deals with data from the central part of the province—Mae Hong Son District (*amphoe mueang Mae Hong Son*) and Khun Yuam District (*amphoe Khun Yuam*). The provincial capital is in Mae Hong Son District.

² Although Thailand enacted the Immigration Act and Nationality Act before World War II, the weak enforcement of laws gave immigrants the opportunity to acquire Thai nationality.

gateway to many immigrants who have been absorbed into Thailand; most of the residents in the area are descendants of immigrants from various regions of the Shan States.

As well as gradual migration, there has been rapid and intensive migration into Mae Hong Son because of battles between Myanmar government troops and antigovernment ethnic forces along the Myanmar-Thai border. When battles escalated, Karen and Shan asylum seekers crossed over to the Thai side. In the 1970s the asylum seekers multiplied because the Myanmar military had gained the upper hand against the antigovernment ethnic forces. To deal with this situation, the Thai government shifted its policy from “push them back” to “count and control.” Asylum seekers from Myanmar and individuals whose nationality could not be determined were admitted in Thailand as temporary residents and issued identification cards specifying their status: “asylum seeker” (*phu lop nikhaomuangcakphama*), “displaced person” (*phuphalat thin*), “highlander” (*bukkhon bon phuenthi sung*), etc. (cf. Krittaya 2005)

When Thailand’s economic growth accelerated in the late 1980s, the economic disparity between Thailand and Myanmar widened, and the number of undocumented immigrants from Myanmar swelled in Mae Hong Son. The political turmoil in Myanmar after 1988 and the forced mass relocation of locals in the Shan State after 1996 hastened this trend (Grundy-Warr and Wong 2002). Since the 1990s, Thailand has opened its doors to unskilled workers from neighboring countries, a policy shift that has allowed most new immigrants to be registered as “foreign laborers.” Nowadays, Mae Hong Son’s economy depends heavily on the labor of these immigrants, in the same way that the Thai economy depends on foreign workers from neighboring countries.

In these ceaseless movements of migrants, the 1970s was the turning point in the immigrants’ gaining legal status in Thailand. Before the 1970s, it was easy for immigrants to acquire Thai nationality; because of the weak enforcement of registration for residents in the area, they were readily assimilated into the host society. After the 1970s, the government tightened its border control and strictly enforced the registration of residents. It became harder for immigrants to get Thai nationality. This shift in policy results in a differentiation of Shan settlers in Mae Hong Son.

Settlers who had arrived before the 1970s were able to acquire Thai nationality. The same applied to their descendants, who were born and grew up on Thai soil. As Thai citizens who have retained their Shan ethnicity, these early settlers and their descendants are better off than newcomers (those who arrived after the 1970s and their descendants), who are not granted Thai nationality. The latter are given only “temporary resident” status, and as “foreigners” or “aliens” (*khontangdao*). They are at a disadvantage legally and economically. Early settlers and their descendants hire newcomers to do agricultural and unskilled labor, while they themselves take on better-paying jobs outside their community or province (Tannenbaum 2009, 18). The Thai-born descendants of early settlers call the newcomers *Tai Nok* (foreign Shan/Shan from outside), which has a negative connotation. Although Mae Hong Son has a long history of Shan migration, Thailand’s immigration laws and strict border control since the 1970s carved a cleft between the earlier settlers and newcomers among Shan in Mae Hong Son.

It is necessary, however, to say that both groups still have an ethnic identity as Shan that bridges the cleavage. They live in the same villages and communities, share the same language in everyday communication, and follow the same religious practices in both Buddhist and spirit-worship traditions. They often use the ethnonym “Tai” to distinguish themselves from Thai (Siamese). Mae Hong Son still offers a more hospitable environment for Shan immigrants than do other parts of Thailand.³

³ For the situation of Shan immigrants and their communities in Chiang Mai province, see Amporn (2008), Aranya (2008), and Farrelly (2009).

3. Shan Buddhist manuscript culture⁴

3.1. Shan Buddhist practices of manuscript-offering and manuscript-recitation

Many researchers refer to the traditions of manuscript-offering and manuscript-recitation among Buddhist Tai peoples—the Tai Yuan, Tai-Khuen, Lao, and Central and Southern Thai (Iijima 2009, Manas 1995, Pannyawamsa 2009, Poramin 2012, Trisin 2004). The Shan are also earnest donors of and listeners to the recitation of Buddhist manuscripts. The practices of manuscript-offering and manuscript-recitation for merit-making are widespread among the Shan of Myanmar and Thailand and the Tai Noe (Chinese Shan) (Cochrane 1910, T'ien 1986, Zhang 1992, Jotika 2009, Jotika and Crosby 2009, Crosby and Jotika 2010).

The manuscripts offered to monasteries are reverently called *lik long* (great manuscripts) in Shan. *Lik long* are commentaries on Buddhist texts and instructive stories adapted from Jataka tales.⁵ The *lik long* are written in verse, in vernacular Shan and Pali in Burmese script. Most *lik long* are in their original form—folded paper manuscripts (*phapsa*)—but some are printed as books. Recently, laypeople have begun to substitute manuscripts with printed material sold at market bookstalls or by book vendors, but pious and wealthy laypersons still offer *lik long* manuscripts to monasteries. For generations, these manuscripts have been passed down by transcription among the Shan. The transcribers of the manuscripts are lay intellectuals, known as *care(are)* in Shan. The transcription is done on the occasion of manuscript-offering to monasteries by pious laypeople, who pay a *care* to transcribe the old *lik long*. Monasteries stock these manuscripts in their libraries; some laypeople also keep them in their houses. *Lik long* refers not only to the offering but also to the act of reading aloud or reciting before an audience during rituals. The reciters of *lik long* are also known as *care*.⁶

Both offering manuscripts to monasteries and listening to the recitation of manuscripts are merit-making processes for laypeople. In Mae Hong Son, manuscript-recitation is performed during Buddhist rituals along with manuscript-offering (see Tables 1 and 2). Of the Buddhist calendrical rituals, only two—Poi Cati (the sand pagoda festival) and Haengsom Koca (merit-making for the dead)—include the recitation of *lik long*; however, most non-calendrical rituals, such as funerals, ordination rites, and Paritta recitation rites for houses, also entail the recitation of *lik long*. In addition to recitation during rituals, there is a tradition among lay precept-holders (*pho khaomaekhao*) of reciting and listening to *lik long* on Uposata days (*wan sin*) during Lent. While the practice of recitation on Uposata days has diminished in recent years, recitations and manuscript-offerings are never omitted in Buddhist rituals when these are requested. Therefore, the Shan in Mae Hong Son have frequent opportunities to hear the recitation of *lik long*.

When Buddhist rituals with recitations of *lik long* are held, *care* normally recite a part of *alik long*; the length depends on the time allotted for it—an hour or two, on average. Several *care* takes turns at recitation. Because the recitation of a volume of *lik long* takes too long for common Buddhist rites, it is rare for a *care* or a group of *care* to recite a whole volume at once.

3.2. *Lik long*: Shan Buddhist manuscripts in the vernacular

In Shan Buddhist manuscript culture, Pali Tripitaka are kept as articles of value in special monastery cabinets. They are not considered “articles of daily use.” For this reason, *lik long* are more familiar to laypeople than are Pali Tripitaka. *Lik long* are offered to monasteries for

⁴ “Buddhist manuscript culture” means the Buddhist practices integrally tied to the production of texts and the ritual use of texts as material objects of the embodiment of teachings of Buddha (Berkwitz et al. 2009).

⁵ For the research on the collections of Shan manuscripts in German, see Terwiel and Chaichuen (2003).

⁶ In most Tai Buddhist religious practices, laypeople offer manuscripts and monks recite them before a lay audience.

several Buddhist rituals and are frequently read aloud by *care* for a lay audience. The Buddhist teachings contained in *lik long* is transmitted and reproduced by written transcription and oral performance. It has been circulated widely in the Shan State and beyond. Shan consider *lik long* and Pali Tripitaka to be sources of merit. The practices of manuscript-offering and manuscript-recitation show that *lik long* is an excellent source of merit because of the intelligibility of the content presented as oral performance, not its authenticity as scripture. The Shan believe that the teachings of Lord Buddha are passed on not only by the Sangha but also through manuscripts transcribed and recited by lay intellectuals. Notwithstanding the enduring importance of the Sangha and Pali Tripitaka in Shan Buddhism, the practice of lay intellectuals utilizing manuscripts written in verse in the Shan script is another line of transmission of Buddhist teachings and literary knowledge among the Shan. It is noteworthy that in the practices concerning *lik long*, the donors, scribes, reciters, and audience are all laypeople.

4. The role of lay intellectuals in Shan manuscript culture

4.1 *Care* and Shan literary knowledge

As we have seen above, *care* are literate individuals who serve as scribes and reciters of Buddhist manuscripts. The position of *care* is not a profession and is not licensed by any voice of authority; it is the role of a layperson in Buddhist practice. Most *care* cannot make a living from their remuneration. They usually also work as farmers, menial workers, and so on. Some of them also use their literary knowledge to practice trades, such as making talismans or amulets, tattooing, fortune telling, herbalism, and affliction rites. Practitioners of these techniques are called *sara*. Some *care* earn their living as *sara* because of the higher remuneration for *sara* activities.

The Shan have used their script since early times (Sai KamMong 2005). Before the introduction of secular education by the governments of Myanmar and Thailand in the early twentieth century, the only educational institution for their literary knowledge was monasteries. Among the Shan, it is customary for young boys to spend time as *kapikyong* (“monastery servants”) and then be ordained as novices. Some are also ordained as monks. Their novitiate and monkhood vary in length from a couple of weeks to several years. It is normal for them to spend at least three months in “Buddhist Lent” and acquire basic literary knowledge.

Because the Buddhist tradition of the Shan has come under Burmese influence since the sixteenth century, there are many loanwords from Pali and Burmese in Buddhist writings, such as *lik long*. Therefore, Shan monastic students learn how to read and write the Shan script, Pali in Burmese script, and Burmese loanwords. Most gain enough basic knowledge of the Shan script to be literate in regular settings, but not enough to deal with *lik long*. In addition to literary ability, a *care* must also have the skill to recite texts that are written in verse. When a *care* recites *lik long*, he/she has to read out the rhyme correctly and fluently in a “beautiful voice” for the audience. The *care*’s literacy is important for oral performances of *lik long*. Therefore, the number of the literate people who have enough skills to read *lik long* is limited to a few eager and already literate learners.

Care and learned monks share a basic literary knowledge because both have invested the time to learn it in monastic orders. Some learned monks also have the skill to transcribe and recite *lik long* and teach their skill to disciples, both ordained and laypeople. However, monks are seldom engaged in the transcription and recitation of *lik long*; *care* take charge of these activities. It is worth noting that a *care* should be a good reciter as well as a specialist in literary knowledge.

3.2. Shan literary knowledge in Mae Hong Son: Is it in peril of extinction?

The Thai government promulgated the Primary Education Act in 1921; the first primary school was established at Mae Hong Son in 1923. In the religious realm, the Thai government has also made efforts to integrate Buddhist Sangha and to standardize monastic education across the country since the Sangha Act of 1902. Monastic education in Mae Hong Son, at least, has been up to the standard of government monastic educational curriculum since the 1940s (Murakami 2012). Consequently, in government schools, students have learned the Thai language as the national language; in monasteries, monks and novices have formally learned Buddhist teachings in Thai and recite Pali stanzas pronounced according to Thai conventions. These changes reduce the opportunities available to the Shan in Mae Hong Son, especially to the younger generations, to acquire Shan literary knowledge.

Because Shan literary knowledge is fading in importance for leading a secular life in modern Thai society, the number of Shan-literate among Thai-born Shan is dwindling. Furthermore, it is becoming difficult to find successors to the role of *care*. Whenever I attended Buddhist rituals with manuscript-recitation during my intensive research, both the reciter and audience were all of the older generations (mostly above sixty years old). They seem to face problems of aging and difficulties in finding successors for the *care*.

However, since manuscript-offering and manuscript-recitation are still important in merit-making among the Shan in Mae Hong Son, the older generations in particular constantly perform these practices when the occasion arises. They donate earnestly and listen to recitations of Buddhist manuscripts. *Care* are still asked to transcribe and recite *lik long* on these occasions. Thus, although the activities of *care* are still in demand, the number of *care* has been decreasing.

4. Border migration and the dissemination of Shan literary knowledge

4.1. The state of *care* in Mae Hong Son

In order to examine *care* activities and their influence on the transmission of Shan literary knowledge among the Shan in Mae Hong Son, I carried out a survey of *care*.⁷ In this research, 60 *care* were selected and their personal data was collected. Of the 60 *care*, 54 were male and six were female. The average age was 66.5 years, and almost half the *care* (29) were in their 70s and 80s (see Figure 1). It seems that *care* in Mae Hong Son are confronted by the problem of aging. Nearly half the *care* (28) were born in the Shan State and moved to Mae Hong Son. The percentage of migrant *care* was high compared with the percentage of migrants in the Shan population of this area.

Not all *care* had sufficient skills to both recite and transcribe *lik long*. All 60 *care* interviewed answered that they could recite *lik long*, but only 17 could transcribe them. This shows that the basic activity of an ordinary *care* is to recite, not transcribe, *lik long*. Most of the *care* had experience in reciting *lik long* during Buddhist rituals. The process of recitation during rituals for 15 or 20 minutes in turns is not a demanding task for an ordinary *care*, but the transcription of *lik long* is performed on whole volumes of a manuscript for a certain period of time upon the request of a client. Because transcription requires concentration and is more time-consuming than recitation, only 17 of the 60 *care* surveyed were proficient in the transcription of *lik long*.

⁷ Sixty *care* in two districts, Maehongson and KhunYuam, in the central part of the province, were interviewed with the assistance of Care Saw of Maehongson in August and September 2009. This research was carried out with the cooperation of Professor Kate Crosby and Dr. JotikaKhur-Yearn of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who had already done research on the subject. For their research on *care* and *lik long*, see Jotika and Crosby (2009) and Crosby and Jotika (2010).

If we consider the age at which those surveyed first undertook the role of *care* and migrated from the Shan State, a pattern emerges in their acquisition of literary knowledge. While most of the *care* undertook the role in their 40s, some started when they were 20–30 years old, and the youngest was 14 (see Figure 2).

The results of interviews with *care* show that most of the *care* who started their careers in the 10–30 years age bracket were ordained as novices for several years, and some were ordained as monks. They had a talent for recitation from a young age and had been trained by masters—both monks and laypeople. When masters and people around them accepted their ability, they could start to undertake the role of *care*. After years of experience, they became seasoned and proficient *care* and served as teachers or masters for others.

By contrast, most of the *care* who took on the role when they were in the 40–60 years age bracket had been ordained as novices at a young age but had left monastic student life after a short time. After spending years earning a livelihood for their families, they became interested in religious life and literary knowledge and started to learn how to recite *lik long* from proficient *care*. These people were also the elder precept-holders on Uposata days. The levels of skill varied according to ability and dedication.

Therefore, *care* may be divided into two types, based on the age at which they first undertook the role. The first category, smaller in number, includes proficient *care* who took on the role while they were young (10–30 years of age); the second type, the majority, consists of ordinary *care* who took on the role when they were 40–70 years of age.

4.2. The role of migrant *care* in Mae Hong Son

Of the 17 Shan *care* who did both recitation and transcription of *lik long*, 12 were migrants from the Shan State and five were born in Mae Hong Son (see Figure 3). Of the 12 migrants, six belonged to the first category of *care* (started young) and the remaining six to the second type (started when 40–70). All five Mae Hong Son-born *care* who engaged in both recitation and transcription belonged to the second category. The second type of *cares'* transcription ability would not be as high as that of the first. The six who entered the role while they were young and engaged in both recitation and transcription may be considered proficient *care*; all of them were migrants from the Shan State. This shows that migrants from the Shan State play an important role in the dissemination of Shan literary knowledge and Buddhist practices, in a situation of a growing shortage of *care* among the Mae Hong Son-born. Nowadays, most of the famous *care* in Mae Hong Son are migrants from the Shan State. Two famous *care*, who had migrated from the Shan State, had recited *lik long* more than 60 times in the 12 months before the survey.

However, from the opposite perspective, it may be said that more than half the *care* were Mae Hong Son-born Shan (32 of 60; 28 migrated from the Shan State). As we have seen, ordinary *care*—most of whom were born in Mae Hong Son—started to learn the recitation of *lik long* when they were older (40–70 years). Since monks with sufficient skill to recite and transcribe manuscripts are disappearing in Mae Hong Son, it is mainly proficient *care* from the Shan State who take on the role of teachers for Mae Hong Son-born Shan who have an interest in Shan literary knowledge. We can see from the pattern of transmission of Shan literary knowledge that Shan State-born proficient *care*, who are small in number, take on the role of masters or teachers for ordinary *care*, who are the majority of Mae Hong Son-born *care*. Notwithstanding the problem of aging among *care*, a certain number of *care* continue to exist among Mae Hong Son-born Shan because *care* from the Shan State offer them training.

4.3. Shan literary knowledge without institutional education

This also points to the role of laypeople in the transmission of Shan literary knowledge outside of the monastery. Most of the male *care* (51 of 54) had been temporarily ordained as novices or monks and had acquired a basic level of Shan literary knowledge. For *care* from

the Shan State, monasteries in their homeland still acted as educational institutions for the passing on of Shan literary knowledge. *Care* who were ordained in Mae Hong Son before World War II also had a chance to acquire Shan literary knowledge in monastic education. Even after the standardization of monastic education, they could learn privately from senior monks. However, when questioned about their training period, most *care* said that they acquired a basic knowledge of the Shan script while they were novices, although not enough for the recitation of *lik long*. They continued with their training and practiced recitation after leaving monastic life. Some *care* embarked on journeys and learned from several teachers in various places as laypersons. Their training as *care* was not completed during their monastic education. In extreme cases, ordination and monastic education were not necessary to take on the role of *care*.

The six female *care* in the study, none of whom had a chance to get a monastic education, are worth highlighting. Most of them acquired literary knowledge and recitation skills from their fathers or husbands, who were proficient *care*. Three male *care* in the study had not been ordained as novices or monks either. A 65-year-old Mae Hong Son-born *care*, who had not received a monastic or secular education, said that he had learned the basic Shan script from his father and senior relatives at a young age. He started to train as a *care* when he was almost 60 years old. The above cases show that a monastic education is not an absolute requirement to become a *care*. Shan literary knowledge could be transmitted in the domestic domain or through personal connection.

Unlike the “general literacy” taught in secular institutions of a modern nation-state, a *care*’s skill and knowledge are “scribe literary.” Such knowledge is acquired by a limited number of persons dedicated to its religious role and is handed down from masters to students. The masters are both monks and *care*. Regardless of status, be they monks or laypeople, those who have the proficiency to recite *lik long* are regarded as masters. This style of personal teaching does not require the institutions of Sangha and monastic education.

4. Conclusion

In spite of the lack of institutional support, Shan literary knowledge has been passed on among the Shan outside monasteries and schools. The Buddhist practices of laypeople—manuscript-offering and manuscript-recitation—assume a significant role. Since the manuscripts, *lik long*, are written in vernacular Shan with Pali words, the audience can understand their contents and enjoy the rhyming compositions. *Care* are primarily specialists in the oral recitation of manuscripts. It may be said that the Shan manuscript culture depends upon the vernacular and oral character of lay activities (Crosby and Jotika 2010:13). While the monks and novices are formally under the regulation of the state’s Sangha organization, lay Buddhists are free from restriction in their religious activities. This is how *care* who migrate across the border from the Shan State can invigorate Shan manuscript culture in Mae Hong Son.

Lik long are manuscripts that have value in their recitation and reception. Therefore, lay donors and listeners of *lik long* are no less significant than the reciters, *care*, are. If there were no donors and listeners, *care* would have no chance to recite and no *lik long* would be transcribed. Shan manuscript culture consists of not only lay intellectuals and the texts of the manuscripts, but also of ardent lay Buddhists and their religious practices. For the preservation and promotion of Shan manuscript culture in Mae Hong Son, it is important to cultivate good listeners and donors as well as promoting Shan literary knowledge among younger generations.

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Table 1. Recitation by monks and *care* in Buddhist calendrical rituals

Lunar calendar	Name of ritual (Occasion)	Monk		<i>Care</i>	
		Chanting of Pali texts	Sermon	Recitation of <i>liklong</i>	Offering of <i>lik long</i>
5 th month	<i>Sangkyan</i> (new year festival)	○	○	-	-
	<i>Kanto</i> (“to pay homage”)	○	-	-	-
6 th month	<i>Mae Wan</i> (“to restore village”)	○	-	-	-
	<i>WisakaBucha</i>	○	○	-	-
7 th month	<i>Poi Cati</i> (sand pagoda festival)	○	○	○	-
8 th month	<i>KhaoWa</i> (beginning of Lent)	○	○	-	-
9 th month	<i>Tang Somto, Poi Caka</i> (rice- ball offering)	○	○	-	-
10 th month	<i>Tang Somto Long</i> (great rice- ball offering)	○	○	-	-
	<i>HaengsomKoca</i> (merit-making for the dead)	○	○	○	○
11 th month	<i>Ok Wa</i> (end of Lent)	○	○	-	-
	<i>Kanto</i> (“to pay homage”)	○	-	-	-
	<i>Poi Loen Sip-et</i> (11 th month festival)	○	○	-	-
12 th month	<i>Poi Sangkhan</i> (robe-offering)	○	○	-	-
1 st month					
2 nd month	<i>MakhaBucha</i>	○	○	-	-
3 rd month					
4 th month					

Table 2. Recitation by monks and *care* in other Buddhist rituals

Name of ritual (Occasion)	Monk		<i>Care</i>	
	Chanting Pali texts	of Sermon	Recitation of <i>liklong</i>	Offering of <i>lik long</i>
<i>Masa, Lumla Sangkyo</i> (funeral)	○	○	○	○
<i>Poi Sanglong</i> (ordination)	○	○	○	○
<i>Wan Parik</i> (<i>Paritta</i> recitation rites for houses)	○	-	○	○

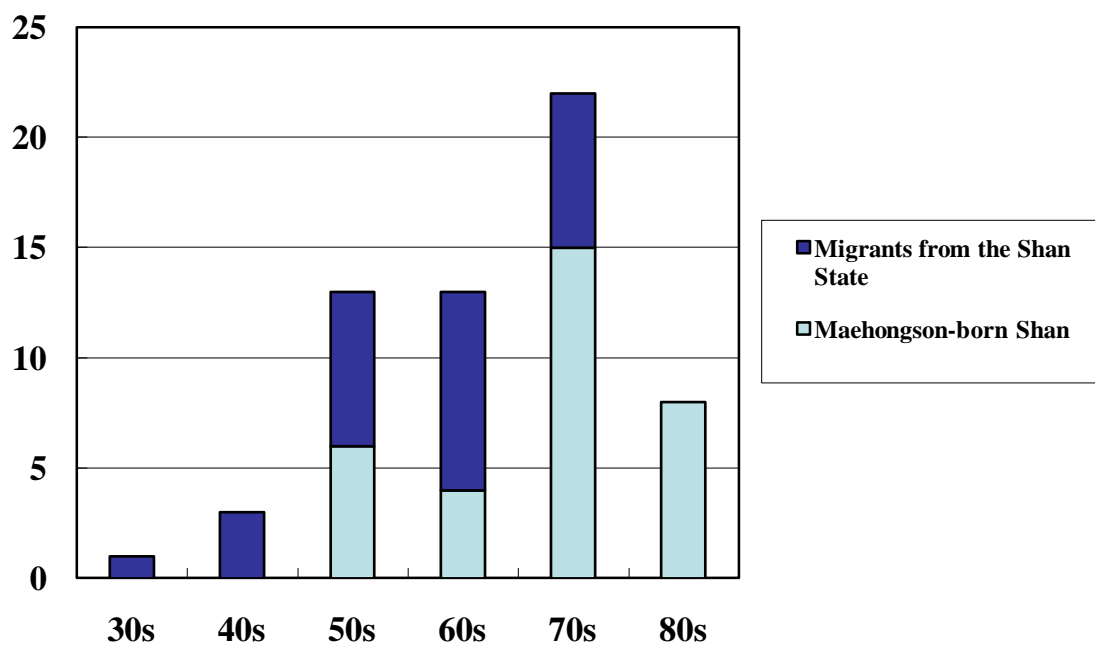


Fig.1 Age Distribution of *Care* in Maehongson

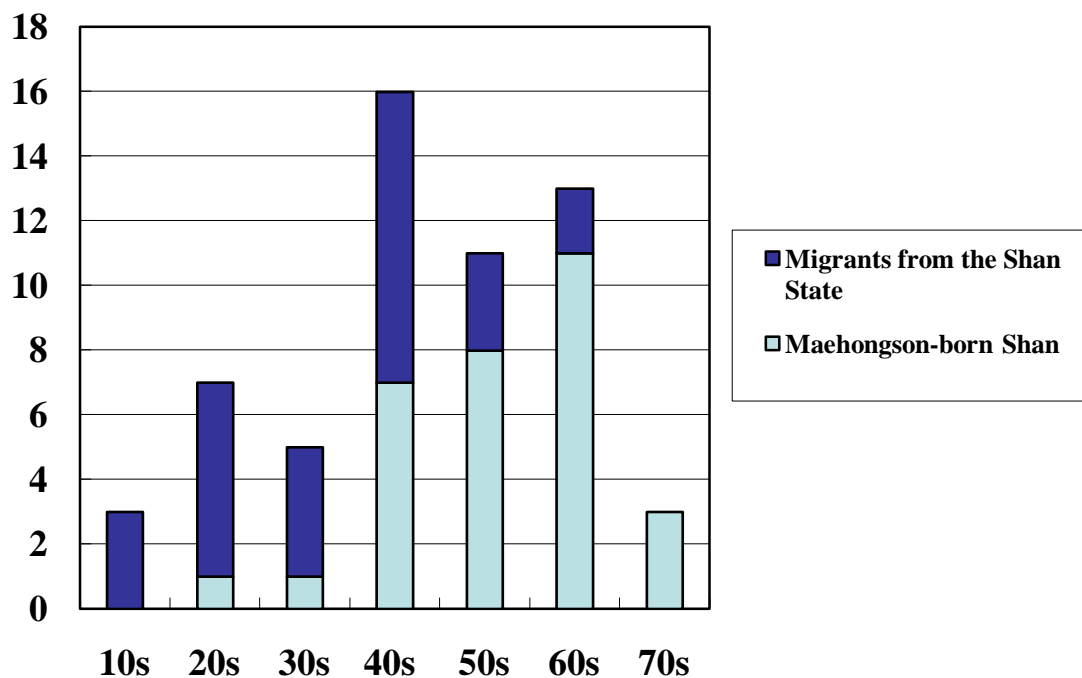


Fig.2 Age at Which the Role of *Care* Was Undertaken

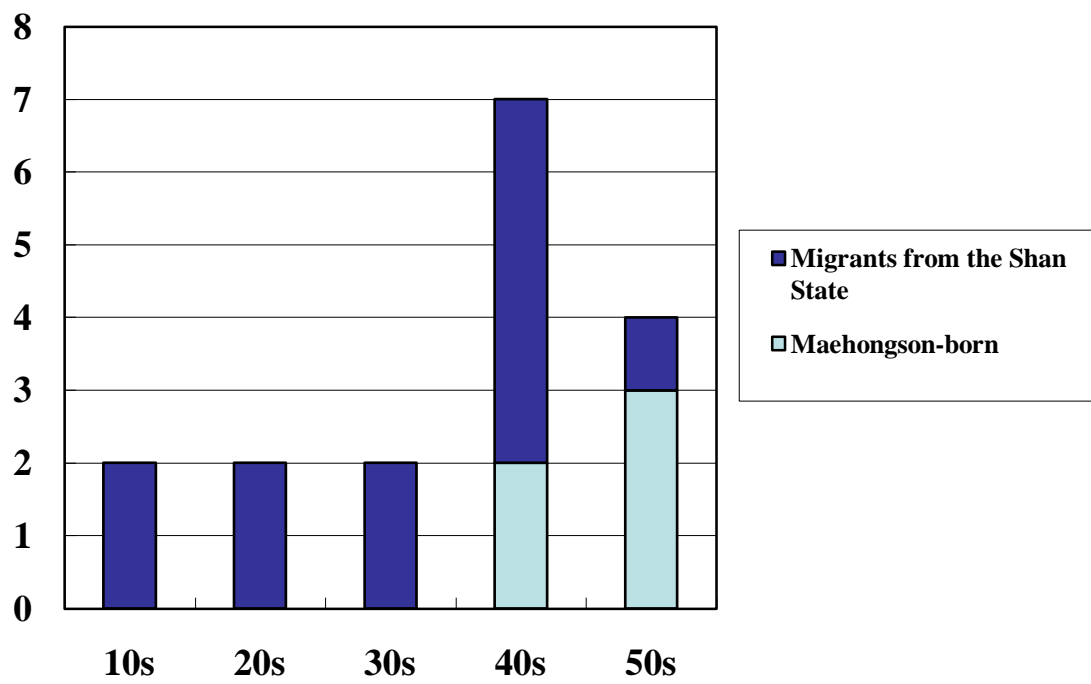


Fig. 3 Age at Which the Role of *CareWhoDoBothRecitation* and *TranscriptionWasUndertaken*