
Articles

Charisma in the Margins of the State: Dara'ang Buddhism and the *Khruba* Holy Men of Northern Thailand

Sean Ashley *Simon Fraser University*

Abstract: Dara'ang in Thailand practice a form of Theravada Buddhism similar to that found amongst many Tai-speaking populations in the upper Mekong region. A feature of this regional Buddhist tradition is a belief in *ton bun* (persons of merit), holy men who are renowned for their miraculous powers. In this paper I examine the relationship between the Dara'ang of northern Thailand and a contemporary holy man, *Khruba* Theuang. In doing so, I argue for an understanding of religious charisma that is embedded within the context of cultural revitalization and a recognition of the distinct forms of Buddhism being produced within the margins of the state.

Keywords: Dara'ang, Palaung, Buddhism, Thailand, monks, charisma

Résumé : Les Dara'ang de Thaïlande pratiquent une forme de bouddhisme Theravada similaire à ce que l'on trouve chez plusieurs populations de langue tai dans la région du haut Mékong. Une caractéristique de cette tradition bouddhiste régionale est la croyance en des *ton bun* (personnes de mérite), des saints hommes qui sont renommés pour leurs pouvoirs miraculeux. Dans cet article, je m'intéresse aux rapports entre les Dara'ang du nord de la Thaïlande et un saint homme contemporain, *Khruba* Theuang. En ce faisant, je plaide pour la compréhension du charisme religieux qui se trouve enchâssé dans le contexte de revitalisation culturelle et pour une reconnaissance des diverses formes de bouddhisme produites à l'intérieur des marges de l'État.

Mots-clés : Dara'ang, Palaung, bouddhisme, Thaïlande, moines, charisme

Introduction

In this article I examine the relationship between the Dara'ang community of Huai Dam¹ in northern Thailand and a contemporary charismatic monk known as *Khruba* Theuang Natasilo. The *ton bun* (literally source of merit) tradition of northern Thailand, which revolves around holy men reputed to possess miraculous powers, is found in various forms across the Tai speaking Buddhist world (Cohen 2001). In northern Thailand today a network of *ton bun* monks known by the traditional honorific title "khruba" lead movements to revive the old Buddhist traditions of the region, modelling their mission on the life of *Khruba* Siwichai (1878-1939 CE). Through my analysis of Dara'ang participation in the movement of *Khruba* Theuang, I take issue with the characterization of religious charisma as an inherent property of their person. I argue for a more situated understanding of the popularity of *khruba* monks in the highlands, one that is embedded within the context of cultural revitalization and the distinct religious traditions being produced and reproduced within the margins of modern state Buddhism (Tiyavanich 1997).

Dara'ang in Thailand

The Dara'ang are a highland Mon-Khmer speaking population with a long history of Theravada Buddhism. Better known as Palaung in English, the Dara'ang of northern Thailand refer to themselves as "Dara'ang Re'ng" or "Red Dara'ang," a sub-group identification based upon the colour of skirts worn by Dara'ang Re'ng women. This paper is based on fieldwork conducted in the Dara'ang village of Huai Dam during a nine-month period in 2002-2003 and a fifteen-month period in 2007-2008, as well as interviews and fieldwork undertaken at *Khruba* Theuang's temple of Wat Den.

The village of Huai Dam sits within the borders of the Chiang Dao Forest Reserve of Chiang Mai province. Like many highland ethnic minority villages, the Dara'ang who

live there have no legal title to their land. They migrated to Thailand from Burma in 1983 to escape the ongoing violence that has marked life in Shan State since Ne Win's military coup.

Dara'ang began migrating from southern Shan State to the Thai-Burmese border in the late 1970s. A community grew on Angkhang Mountain, close to the site of the King's Royal Project Agricultural Research Centre (Howard and Wattanapun 2001:81). The Dara'ang who were living there were granted permission to settle within Thailand by King Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX) when he visited the area in 1982. Representatives for the Dara'ang met with the king at this time and presented him with seven old Buddha images they had brought with them from Burma and a complete set of Dara'ang women's clothing. After listening to their plight, the king granted the Dara'ang permission to live within the borders of Thailand and gave them THB 5,000 to construct a new Buddhist temple (Deepadung 2009:14). The first Dara'ang village in Thailand was thus established, but the limited land provided (250 *rai*)² remained under the control of the King's Royal Project. Later arrivals were unable to clear new land for farming and sought wage work in Chiang Mai province's large agricultural sector.

The families who established Huai Dam village arrived too late to be allocated land on Angkhang Mountain and as a result migrated to Chiang Dao district to pick tea for a local Chinese businessman. After one year they had saved enough money to establish their own village. They purchased a plot of land from a local Tai Yuan (also known as Northern Thai or Khon Muang) man and several fields from Karen farmers who had been living in the area for decades. Since then the village of Huai Dam has grown to 56 households with a population of 279 individuals (in 2008).

The head of Huai Dam, an elderly man named A-Tun, recounts the following story about the founding of the village. It refers to a time when the community was picking tea in Chiang Dao district and searching for new land to settle:

The *da bu meung* [the village spirit specialist] and I were returning from Chiang Dao market where we were buying supplies. It was getting late and when we passed the cave temple the novice monk residing there asked us if we would like to come in and make merit. So we stayed the night in the cave meditating and chanting. In the early morning we were woken by a loud cracking sound. The river that was just outside the cave, which had been dry for many years, was full of water! It had not rained that night.

The river feeds a number of Dara'ang fields today and for many years served as the village's primary source of water for drinking, cooking and cleaning. The story is frequently told in the village to demonstrate how the land welcomed the Dara'ang because of the "merit" the group possessed. Merit (*agieu* in Dara'ang,³ *kusala/puñña* in Pali) is the spiritual force that determines the condition of a person's future incarnations. An individual who undertakes good deeds with good intentions accumulates merit, while misbehavior and ill intentions produce "de-merit" (*hmap* in Dara'ang, *papa* in Pali). Making merit leads to a better rebirth, as a rich man or a celestial being in heaven (*meung daeng* in Dara'ang, literally kingdom/land in the sky), while de-merit results in future lives spent as an animal, ghost (*karnam* in Dara'ang), or a tortured being in hell (*meung krum* in Dara'ang, literally kingdom/land below). As can be seen from the story above, merit also operates within this life as a source of power or potency (Tannenbaum 1995; Terwiel 1994). The flowing river was taken to be a highly auspicious sign. "The previous occupants did not have enough merit," explains A-Tun, "we Dara'ang are strict Buddhists, and the land welcomed us because of that."

It is unclear when the Dara'ang first adopted Buddhism, but today the large majority of Dara'ang communities in Burma, China and Thailand are self-identified Theravada Buddhists. Milne (1924:312) recounts that the Palaung of Tawngpeng believed Theravada Buddhism was first introduced by the Burmese King Bodawpaya (r. 1782-1819 CE) in 1782, but suggests that they likely had some knowledge of Buddhism prior to this date given its presence in the nearby Shan states of North Hsenwi and Mōng Mit since the sixteenth century. Du provides a similar timeframe, writing that "according to the historical record of imperial China, Theravada Buddhism was introduced to the De'ang [Palaung peoples of China] before the late eighteenth century" (2007:136). Given the heterogeneity of Buddhism in the hills, the distribution of Dara'ang sub-groups, and the earlier presence of distinct forms of Buddhism in close proximity to Dara'ang villages, it is likely that different streams of practice influenced Dara'ang Buddhism from its earliest days.⁴ Communities in southern and eastern Shan State, including those who migrated to Thailand, are most influenced by the Tai Khoen style of Buddhism.

A Dara'ang myth frequently recounted in Thailand tells how the Dara'ang originally learned their Buddhism from the Tai. The following story was told by the lay Buddhist leader of Huai Dam and illustrates well the interconnections between Buddhism, ethnicity and the state.

During the time of the Buddha, the Buddha himself came to this region. Did you know this? He came, and all people from the different groups wanted to pay their respects and give him offerings: Tai, Dara'ang, Lahu, Bamar and all the others. Each group wanted to be the one to offer the Buddha food for his midday meal, but there were so many people that all could not give him offerings. The ones who were able to give their offerings first were the Tai people. After they had presented the Buddha with his midday meal the Buddha blessed them and said, "You shall be rulers over your lands." Since that time the Tai people have been rulers over their own state and have lived in peace.

The next people to arrive were the Bamar, but they were too late. The Buddha had already eaten his midday meal. The Bamar nevertheless asked the Buddha for a blessing, and he gave it to them, saying, "You shall be rulers over your lands." As the Bamar left they threw the food that they had brought to the Buddha onto the ground. All the animals that had gathered around, the dogs, the pigs, the chickens, they started to fight over the food. Ever since then the Bamar have fought for power in their country and have never known peace.

The next to arrive were the Dara'ang, but they were too late. The Buddha had already departed. So the Dara'ang asked the Tai if they could see the temple where they had offered the midday meal to the Buddha. They entered the temple and examined all the ritual objects used to pay respect to the Buddha. They learned the proper way to honour the Buddha. Since that time the Dara'ang people have continued to pay respect to the Buddha in the same way that was taught to the Tai. However, because they did not receive the blessing from the Buddha they do not have their own state. This is why the Dara'ang have a temple while other highlanders do not.

The Lahu were the last to arrive. When they found that the Buddha had already left, they were upset. They asked the Tai people which way the Buddha had gone. They quickly headed off after the Buddha and did not stop to look at the temple. All they found was the tree under which the Buddha had stopped to rest. They presented their offerings to this tree. That is why the Lahu do not have a temple and always have a large tree at their village ceremonies.

Stories that connect the Buddha with a particular location, one he is said to have visited as the Buddha or a place where he lived during a previous life, are common among Theravada Buddhist populations of Southeast Asia. In Tai this genre of legend is known as *tamnan* and copies of *tamnan* texts are commonly found among the

collected scriptures of temples. The "Buddhological geography" presented within these texts is also depicted in the paintings that adorn the interior walls of older temples where, in addition to their pedagogical and decorative functions, they perform a similar role in establishing an association between the Buddha and a particular place (Winichakul 2004:22).

Stories that connect a particular ethnic group with the life of the Buddha are not as common. Rather than presenting a "Buddhological geography," the narrative above represents a kind of "Buddhological ethnology" dealing with questions of ethnicity, religion and power. The Dara'ang are connected to the Tai through Buddhism, but do not receive the blessing of the Buddha and therefore do not acquire sovereignty over their own land. They are nevertheless closer to the source of state power (Buddhism) than other highlanders (such as the Lahu) because of their knowledge of proper Buddhist practice.

Dara'ang elders in Huai Dam village cite their close connection with Tai temples in Burma as one reason they chose to migrate to Thailand. Many had been ordained in Tai Khoen or Tai Yai temples when they were young and had some knowledge of Tai languages. "We decided to move to Thailand because we are Dara'ang-Tai," explains A-Tun. But life in Thailand has not been easy despite the fact they share a common religious tradition with Tai peoples. Like many highland villages, Huai Dam is located on state land and villagers face the constant threat of arrest and relocation. In 1989, police and forestry officials conducted a raid on the village, arresting every adult male living in Huai Dam and the surrounding villages on charges of forestry encroachment. The men spent three years, six months and eighteen days in prison. Those left behind (women, children and the elderly) were ordered by the Royal Forestry Department (RFD) to leave their homes, but having nowhere to go they remained, doing their best to feed their families as the RFD planted teak trees over fields once used to grow rice, corn and beans.

After the men were released from prison, the community struggled to revitalize itself. They erected a new territorial spirit house (known as a *ho tsao meung* in Dara'ang, or "palace of the lord of the territory"), within the newly created teak plantation and a new hall for Buddhist ceremonies constructed out of split bamboo. They also became involved with a Buddhist revivalist movement led by a monk named Khruba Theuang, a holy man renowned for his miraculous powers and his mission to revitalize the old Buddhist traditions of northern Thailand.

Buddhist Distinctions

There is ambiguity within the literature on Theravada Buddhism regarding the way distinctions are to be drawn between various groups of practitioners within Southeast Asia. Thailand has a state Buddhist bureaucracy centred in Bangkok that officially includes all Theravada Buddhist temples and monks within the country. Modern state Buddhism is rooted within the Buddhist tradition of Bangkok, yet for centuries there has existed other regional forms of practice that differed from Bangkok Buddhism in terms of rituals, chanting styles, religious scripts and ecclesiastical organization. In the region that is today northern Thailand, a form of Buddhism developed within the Tai Yuan Kingdom of Lan Na and spread across parts of north-eastern Burma, northwestern Laos and southern Yunnan province of China. Scholars typically refer to this form of Buddhism as “Yuan Buddhism” (Cohen 2001; Keyes 1971), a term initially used by the Christian missionary William Dodd (1923) in his posthumously published book *The Tai Race*. Following Dodd, many scholars look to the use of the Tham or Dhamma script to delineate the borders of the Yuan school of Buddhism (Penth 2000; Veidlinger 2006). However, this ethnic label suggests a homogeneity that masks the cultural diversity of groups who used or continue to use texts written in the Tham script. As Iijima (2009) points out, the label “Yuan Buddhism” also signifies a group of Buddhists who imagine themselves part of the same religious community, though there is no evidence that this perception ever existed.

Historically, the primary distinctions within Theravada Buddhism were ordination lineages and these continue to be important referents for divisions within Thailand today (Skilling 2007:182-183). It was ordination lineages that the government attempted to control with the introduction of the *Sangha Administration Act* of 1902, which incorporated the northern temples into the national Buddhist bureaucracy of Siam (Keyes 1971). While there has not been a sustained effort to suppress the northern style of Buddhism, Bangkok Buddhism has nevertheless permeated into many northern temples as young monks travel to urban centres to be educated, returning to their village with knowledge of ceremonies performed in the Bangkok style and books written in the Central Thai script.⁵

The Dara’ang of Thailand consider their Buddhism to be similar to that practiced by other Theravada Buddhists, including themselves within the larger imagined community of Buddhists, yet distinct from the style propagated by the Thai state. In particular, they point to their use of texts written in the Tham script and the rituals proscribed in these texts. Dara’ang in Thailand use a variety

of religious texts written in the Tham script, including Tai language texts (Tai Khoen and Tai Yuan), Pali texts, and Dara’ang texts, in addition to less commonly used ones written in Shan and Central Thai scripts.⁶ Older men also use the Tham script for writing secular documents in Dara’ang. There has been a decline in the use of this script in northern Thailand since the introduction of state run compulsory education which uses the Central Thai script, and many Shan communities in Burma today use one of several Shan scripts or the Burmese script. In Kengtung, however, and its surrounding areas, the Tham script continues to be used within Buddhist monasteries and is common in Dara’ang temples of southern and eastern Shan State (Karlsson 2009:77).

The lay Buddhist leader of Huai Dam, A-Mon, age 53, explains that in Burma distinctions between practice often developed along textual lines, as proper ritual form was proscribed within the texts. Many older men in Huai Dam (approximately 29 per cent of men over 40) can read the Tham script, having spent time in Tai monasteries in Burma, and young Dara’ang monks who reside in the Dara’ang monasteries of Thailand are expected to learn to read the script. Reflecting upon different styles, A-Mon notes that although he would not identify Dara’ang Buddhism as something fundamentally different from other Buddhist traditions, there are important distinctions, such as rituals and beliefs that deal with spirits, creating forms of religious practice that are distinctly Dara’ang.

Khruba and the Dara’ang

The Tai Khoen style of Buddhism is closely related to the tradition found amongst the Tai Yuan of northern Thailand (Karlsson 2009). In Thailand, where the Bangkok form of Buddhism has increasingly penetrated the northern temples, monks known as khruba attempt to revitalize the older form of Buddhism associated with the region amongst the local lay and monastic population. *Khruba* literally means “esteemed teacher” and is an old honorific title local communities award to respected monks. There exists a type of khruba monk, however, who are renowned for possessing miraculous powers (Cohen 2001; Keyes 1971, 1982; Tambiah 1984:306). They are ton bun, or “sources of merit,” and lead what Buadaeng (née Srisiwat) (1988) calls “khruba monk movements.”

While there is a long tradition of ton bun in northern Thailand and the Tai speaking regions of northeastern Burma, northwestern Laos and southern Yunnan province of China, contemporary khruba monks in northern Thailand are distinct insofar as their activities are directed towards reviving the regional Buddhist traditions that have waned since the introduction of modern

state Buddhism. These traditions include the use of the Tham script, the construction of religious monuments that reflect the architectural traditions of the region, the chanting of Pali according to the “old style” and the performance of rituals and ceremonies that are distinct from those propagated by modern state Buddhism. Contemporary *khru*ba monks are linked together in a network of relationships, visually displayed on posters and amulets, outlined in pamphlets and even recounted in songs sung by their followers. Their festivals and construction projects attract thousands of people and their photos can be seen throughout homes and businesses across the region.

One *khru*ba monk quite active in the Dara’ang communities of Thailand is *Khruba Theuang Natasilo*. *Theuang* was born on February 20, 1965 in Hua Dong village of Sarapi district, Chiang Mai province. His family name was Noreang – “*Natasilo*” being the Pali name *Theuang* was given after his ordination. He was the third born out of four children. His father, Mun, and his mother, Na, were ethnically Tai Yuan, though like most *khru*ba his followers come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. He is widely recognized as a *ton bun* and says he follows the tradition of *Khruba Siwichai*. In fact, many of his followers claim that he is the reincarnation of *Khruba Siwichai* himself, noting that he was born on the same day of the year *Khruba Siwichai* passed away. He was ordained as a monk at Wat Hua Dong on May 26, 1986 and took up the position of abbot at Wat Den (temple) in Den Village of Mae Taeng district, Chiang Mai province, on March 9, 1988. He has resided there ever since, notwithstanding his frequent peregrinations throughout the region of northern Thailand and Burma.

The Dara’ang of Huai Dam first encountered *Khruba Theuang* in 1994 when he was engaged in construction projects nearby the village. While restoring a temple in the nearby Tai Yuan village of Thung Luk, *Khruba Theuang* visited the site of a Buddha footprint located on a mountain top less than one kilometre away from the village of Huai Dam. While there, the Dara’ang of Huai Dam heard a *ton bun* was in the area and went to the site to make merit with him. Several men who met *Khruba Theuang* at this time report miracles being performed during his visit to the summit, including making his staff stick into solid rock, demonstrations of his telepathic abilities and creating food from the earth.

Khruba Theuang decided to construct a *chedi* (reliquary) over the imprint of the Buddha’s foot. The Dara’ang of Huai Dam offered their labour for the project, carrying bricks and mortar to the summit and helping to build a stone stairway up the mountainside. When the reliquary was complete, *Khruba Theuang* interred a clipping of his

hair within, infusing the monument with sacred power (see Strong 2004:72-94). Dara’ang today continue to visit the site frequently to make merit individually and hold larger communal ceremonies there several times a year, including an annual rain calling rite conducted at the end of the hot season.

After the completion of the reliquary, *Khruba Theuang* invited the Dara’ang to participate in temple festivals regularly held at Wat Den. He also asked the men of Huai Dam if they would help with the restoration of his temple complex. “It was full of dogs, everywhere, and the buildings were rotting,” explains A-Ong, a 42-year-old Dara’ang man who worked on the renovations. Photos taken by *Khruba Theuang* during this time show that the temple structures were decrepit with age and the grounds were not well kept. “We would go to Wat Den during the cold season, when there was not much work in the fields. Some people still go, but mostly it is Karen who work on the temple now” (A-Ong). Trucks sent by *Khruba Theuang* would pick up workers in the village and transport them to the temple grounds where they would be fed and housed while they laboured. Financing for the project came primarily from Tai donors, including wealthy patrons from Bangkok, while Dara’ang men from Chiang Dao and local Tai Yuan men from Den Village provided labour free of charge.

Today, the temple complex of Wat Den has been built up to the point where it has become a tourist attraction for foreigners and Thais alike. The once dilapidated image hall has been transformed into a richly ornate building, complete with bas-relief artwork along the outer wall depicting *Khruba Theuang* as a young monk. *Khruba Theuang* has added several large, open air pavilions, a new ordination hall, a set of bathrooms to accommodate festival attendees, a large monastic residence for visiting monks, a dining room, a new drum tower, a building for storing rice, a new spirit house for the guardian spirit of Den Village and a new residence for himself, much of it built with labour provided by Dara’ang and members of other highland ethnic minority communities. A large wall surrounds the temple grounds and giant stone mythical lions tower over visitors as they arrive.

According to *Khruba Theuang*, the full name of the temple is Wat Den Sari Sri Muang Gaen Daen Singhagutara Nakon. The name reflects a legend *Khruba Theuang* tells about the temple that connects the site back to the time of the Buddha. Once long ago the Buddha was born as a lion in the kingdom of Singhagutara Nakon, which stood on the place where Wat Den is now located. The word *singh* is an Indic term for lion, and statues of stylized and lifelike lions are prominently displayed around

the temple grounds. Khruba Theuang says many years later another city called Gaen Nakon was built on top of the same location and the Buddha visited this city as well. Like the tamnan stories found throughout Theravada Buddhist Southeast Asia, this story connects the Buddha to the sacred site of the temple.

Khruba Theuang has done more to establish Wat Den within the sacred geography of regional Buddhist traditions. He has constructed a large reliquary within the temple grounds known as the *Phra That Chedi Sip-Song Rasi* (Reliquary of the Twelve Zodiac Signs). The Phra That Chedi Sip-Song Rasi is a collection of twelve reliquaries, each representing one of the twelve sacred chedis of the old Lan Na world. While the pilgrimage practices connected with these sites are no longer widely known amongst the laity, in the past it was considered meritorious for a person to make a pilgrimage to the reliquary associated with the year of one's birth (Keyes 1975:72). One reason for constructing the Phra That Chedi Sip-Song Rasi, according to Khruba Theuang, is to compress the old pilgrimage sites into one place in order to revive the traditions associated with these dispersed locations.

While the Dara'ang communities of Thailand do not identify with the old kingdom of Lan Na, they share a religious worldview that includes a belief in ton bun holy men. They were therefore pleased when Khruba Theuang invited the community to send young boys to ordain as novices at his temple. The lack of opportunities for ordination was a problem for the village, as it remains a cultural ideal amongst the Dara'ang that a man should spend some time as a novice or monk. No Dara'ang village in Thailand, however, maintains an ordination hall. While men in Burma typically ordained within Tai temples, the strict regulation of ordinations by the state prevented Dara'ang men from ordaining in Thailand because, until quite recently, the large majority of Dara'ang lacked proper identification papers (this remains a problem today, and many elderly monks, including the abbot of Wat Huai Dam, are not recognized as legal monks).

Five boys from Huai Dam ordained as novices at Wat Den in the late 1990s and remained at the temple for five years. At the time they were the only novices who were living at the temple. While the grounds of Wat Den are quite large (able to accommodate thousands of guests during festivals and rooms for over a hundred monks), Khruba Theuang is the only full time resident. Monks and novices visit the temple, staying temporarily and helping out with various tasks such as collecting donations from visitors, but there is no permanent monastic community. The Dara'ang consider it a privilege to be invited to ordain there, an offer Khruba Theuang extended to the community of Huai Dam once again in 2008.

Khruba Theuang acts as patron for Buddhism in Huai Dam in other ways. He donated 70,000 baht towards the temple hall currently in use within the village and 16,000 baht towards the construction of a new hall that is being built in a style regarded by the village as traditionally Dara'ang. He provided much of the furnishings for the temple in Huai Dam, including the temple's Buddha image, cushions for monks, fans, trays, candle holders, incense burners and miscellaneous decorations that make up the main altar. Khruba Theuang has also helped finance the construction of temples in other Dara'ang communities of Thailand and has sponsored a number of village festivals. He has also funded non-religious projects for Dara'ang villages, such as a bridge along the dirt road that leads up to Huai Dam.

Khruba Theuang does more than provide material support for Buddhism within the villages; he also encourages the Dara'ang to maintain their distinct religious traditions. According to Khruba Theuang, the Buddhist practices found in Dara'ang villages of Thailand are similar to the style of Lan Na Buddhism, "Buddhism in Huai Dam is performed correctly ... I encourage them to keep their Buddhist practice, not to change them, even when Thai monks tell them to" (interview, March 15, 2008). Because the Dara'ang are framed as a tribal minority, a *chao khao* (hill tribe) population, monks from the *Tham-majarik* program and other sectors of the monastic community (such as social worker monks) frequently visit and live within Dara'ang villages with the intention of instructing them on "proper" Buddhist practice.⁷ These practices typically reflect the Bangkok style of Buddhism, which the monks learn within the monastic universities. As A-Tun, the village head of Huai Dam, explains, "People come here and tell us to do this and that, but Khruba says not to change our practice. He says our way is the old way, the way closer to that of the Buddha."

Khruba Theuang's praise for Dara'ang Buddhism is not limited to private conversations or interviews. At a *kathin* festival held at Wat Den on November 17, 2007, he explained to the crowd of Tai attendees that "the Burmese way of pronouncing Pali is more correct than that found in Thailand," that it is "similar to the old Lan Na style," and that "the Dara'ang pronounce their Pali properly, unlike most Thai monks." Khruba Theuang frequently chides the Tai of northern Thailand for abandoning the old Lan Na style Buddhist traditions and not being serious about their Buddhist practice. He also encourages his Tai followers to respect the Dara'ang as fellow Buddhists, as they are "unlike most chao khao" and "more like Tais" because of their strict adherence to the Buddhist religion.

The legitimating aspect of the relationship between Khruba Theuang and the Dara'ang operates in both

directions. One feature of a contemporary khruba monk movement is the participation of people from highland ethnic minority backgrounds. According to Buadaeng (2003:267), the ability of khruba to convert non-Buddhists is taken as evidence of their *parami* (perfection), a term some Thai and international scholars see as a Thai concept for “charisma” (Jory 2002). This ability to attract highland ethnic minority peoples also demonstrates that they are the legitimate continuators of the mission of Khruba Siwicha who was known for his ability to mobilize thousands of highland men and women to work on his construction projects, most notably the road leading up Sutep Mountain outside of Chiang Mai city.

Khruba Theuang clearly identifies with this aspect of Khruba Siwichai’s life. Every year around Visakha Bucha day he makes a mimetic journey, accompanied by hundreds of Dara’ang and Karen followers dressed in their traditional outfits, up the road to the summit where a famous reliquary on Sutep Mountain is located. While no Dara’ang communities existed near Chiang Mai during the time of Khruba Siwichai, the present day communities perform as highland ethnic minorities, providing legitimacy to the event through their non-Tai ethnic identity.

There is a long history in northern Thailand whereby the indigenous Lua’ population played an auspicious role within the rituals of the Tai Yuan people (Hutchinson 1937:169; Turton 2000:25). Dara’ang from Huai Dam and other villages perform a similar function within rituals performed at Wat Den, such as funerals held for prominent Tai disciples of Khruba Theuang. On May 10, 2007 I travelled with a group of Dara’ang from Huai Dam whose presence was requested at such a funeral. The Dara’ang who made the journey had never met the deceased. They were served food and pickled tea, and then invited to take part in the procession to the cremation grounds. Several Dara’ang men in the party helped carry Khruba Theuang on a palanquin, while the women walked behind with the rest of the attendees. As soon as the funeral pyre was lit the Dara’ang headed for home in pickup trucks provided by Khruba Theuang. While the community had migrated to Thailand relatively recently, their presence was considered auspicious due to their *chao khao* status, which framed them within the ritual context as an indigenous population.

The legitimating function of upland ethnic minority groups is present throughout the movement of Khruba Theuang, from festivals to construction projects. Dara’ang villages do not have much money to donate to his movement, but their presence confirms the connection between Khruba Theuang and the life of Khruba Siwichai. The large amounts of money collected by the

temple typically come from donors living in urban areas, such as the northern cities of Chiang Mai, Lampang and Lamphun, where Khruba Siwichai primarily operated, as well as more southerly cities, such as Bangkok. While I was attending Khruba Theuang’s annual birthday celebration on February 17, 2008, a large party of business elite from Bangkok arrived in two air-conditioned buses to donate hundreds of thousands of baht to the temple, along with a large marble Buddha statue. The search for more authentic religious figures has led urban Thais to seek out monks situated away from the centres of wealth and power, centres that are perceived as more corrupt and decadent in part due to the number of sexual and financial scandals that have struck the *sangha* (Buddhist monastic community) in recent years (Jackson 1997:82).

Discussion

Previous studies of ton bun holy men tend to treat their charisma as innate properties of their person, noting their reputed miraculous powers, their organizational skills and their ability to serve as a field of merit for their followers (Cohen 2001:237; Hayami 2002:106; Keyes 1971:557; Srisiwat 1988:13-14; Tanabe 1986:198). While anthropologists have long recognized crisis as an important factor within millenarian movements (Keyes 1977; Worsley 1957), a category that includes khruba monk movements (Cohen 2001; Tambiah 1984:306), the attraction of highland ethnic minority peoples to khruba monks is typically ascribed to the power that these holy men embody, a power that resonates with the “animistic” beliefs of highland peoples.⁸ In this paper I have attempted to show the situated aspects of Khruba Theuang’s charisma in the highlands, how this charisma is embedded within a worldview shared by the Dara’ang, and how he is able to address particular socio-cultural needs and desires for his Dara’ang followers. In this section I examine these themes in more detail with regards to the anthropology of charisma and the rationalization of modern state Buddhism in Thailand.

According to Weber, charisma resides in the “specific gifts of the body and spirit” held by “natural leaders” who arise in times of crisis or distress, gifts that “have been believed to be supernatural, not accessible to everybody” (1946:245). This conjunction of leadership and supernatural powers is a prominent feature of modern ton bun movements. Cohen (2001) points out that modern ton bun embody aspects of a *cakkavatti* or *dhammaraja* (sacred Buddhist king) and a Buddhist *bodhisattva* (savior saint), two roles which are imbued with high levels of charisma (Jory 2002). Several features of Khruba Theuang’s movement point toward an identification with these ideals, from his richly ornate temple of Wat Den

and his practice of being carried on a palanquin, to his fundraising activities and prolific construction projects, the latter which Tambiah identifies as “quintessential activities of kingship” (1984:304). His followers address him as Khruba *Jao* Theuang, *Jao* meaning “lord” in Tai, a title that is similarly ascribed to Khruba Bunchum and Khruba Siwichai.

While these two aspects suggest a possible millenarian role for khruba ton bun (bodhisattvas being identified with the future Buddha *Metteya*), Cohen (2001) argues that such movements are more properly understood as religious revivalist movements. From the perspective of Dara’ang communities in Thailand, this revivalism is not restricted to the construction a Buddhist kingdom based on the sacred geography of Lan Na, but reflects a local desire for social and cultural regeneration. According to Wallace (2003), a religious revivalist movement constitutes a type of revitalization movement that emerges when a group attempts to re-construct their culture rapidly in the face of severe social pressures (see also Corlin 2000; Hinton 1979:91). In his historical study of the Karen of northern Thailand, Renard (1980) suggests that their participation in the movement of Khruba Khao Pi, the white robed disciple of Khruba Siwichai, during the early part of the twentieth century was the result of a rupture in their relationship with the old royalty of Chiang Mai as the kingdom of Lan Na was incorporated into the state of Siam. The reforms imposed upon the northern principality led to a devaluation in the price of their forest products as new imports flooded into the region, depressing the living conditions of the Karen and leading them to seek relief in the movement of Khruba Khao Pi. The Dara’ang of Thailand experienced similar social dislocation after the migration to Thailand. Dara’ang men and women first encountered Khruba Theuang shortly after the men of Huai Dam were released from prison. The pressure these arrests placed on the village extended well past the time of their release, as a large proportion of the land the village had been using for farming was appropriated by the RFD and transformed into a teak plantation. The problem of land rights and citizenship likewise remained, leaving the future open to more raids from the RFD, especially since many fields which lay to the south of the village were enclosed within the boundaries of a new national park created on August 1, 1989, the same year that the men were arrested.⁹

The revivalist message of Khruba Theuang did not simply resonate with the so-called animistic beliefs of the Dara’ang (such beliefs are widely found amongst different cultural groups in Southeast Asia), but with a local impetus to revitalize Dara’ang communities in the face of

rapidly changing social conditions and repeated setbacks in terms of establishing a stable community within Thailand. The relationship between the Dara’ang and Khruba Theuang suggests the need to look beyond the charisma associated with ton bun as an inherent property of their person to the characteristics that make them socially predisposed to address the needs of those who constitute their followers (Bourdieu 1987; Keyes 2002). Looked at in terms of crisis and revitalization, it is less a matter of extraordinary qualities possessed by some persons than of extraordinary situations which position them, due to crisis and cultural frameworks, in such a way that they are able to speak to the needs and desires of their addressees. That the relationship occasionally results in exploitative situations is further indicative of this dynamic, as some charismatic figures are by no means extraordinary in their moral concern for their followers (see Buadaeng 2003:284-287 for a discussion of a controversy surrounding Khruba La and the Karen).

From the standpoint of the Dara’ang participants in the movement of Khruba Theuang, what is being revitalized is not Lan Na Buddhism or Yuan Buddhism but the religious traditions of their own community. Khruba monks and other ton bun exist as religious symbols within Dara’ang cosmology. According to Durkheim, religious symbols do not merely express the sense society has of itself, but helps constitute that sense (Bourdieu 1987:130). This (re)constitution is particularly important in times of crises when the integrity of the group as a group is threatened.

Anthropologists have noted that support for local cultural traditions under threat is an important feature of a khruba monk’s popularity amongst upland ethnic minority populations (Hayami 2004:242; Srisiwat 1988:118). Buddhism in these communities represents a process of appropriation and articulation with local beliefs as much as it does the dissemination of a dominant (Tai) ideology (De Certeau 1984; cf. Tapp 2005:65). This appropriation produces distinct forms of religious identification within the margins of the state, distinctions that set communities apart in terms of their style of practice, but which also helps integrate communities into the larger bureaucratic structure of modern state Buddhism (cf. Hayami 2002:106). For Weber (1946), charismatic authority stands in opposition to rational-bureaucratic authority, a dynamic that can be seen in the movement of Khruba Siwichai (Keyes 1971), yet the two ideal types are not necessarily antagonistic. While Weber sees personal charisma as knowing “only inner determination and inner restraint” (1946:246), the personalistic elements of a khruba’s charisma are only realized when superimposed upon a formal

set of regulatory practices associated with *dhutanga* (Buddhist asceticism) and *vinaya* (the monastic code) (Tambiah 1984:332). As Khruba Theuang and his associate Khruba Bunchum do not pursue ecclesiastical titles, they do not derive their charisma from their position within the modern state Buddhist hierarchy, but unlike Khruba Siwichai and Khruba Khao Pi, they do not actively resist state regulation (Buadaeng 2003:283). Officially they are registered members of the sangha and comply with the state and sangha law. Their position within the bureaucratic structures of modern state Buddhism even helps harness their charisma to the benefit of the state.¹⁰

Modern khruba are known for their missionary work amongst highland ethnic minority communities, whose conversion to Buddhism is considered desirable by the Thai state in terms of assimilating ethnic minority groups into the imagined community of Thailand where Buddhism constitutes an important feature of civic religion and national identity (Keyes 1977; Reynolds 1977). While the Dara'ang have a long tradition of Buddhism, Khruba Theuang encourages Dara'ang in Thailand to undergo legal ordinations, counseling re-ordination for senior monks and providing the opportunity for young boys to ordain at his temple in Mae Taeng district. The Buddhist temples he helps construct within remote villages are likewise incorporated into the modern bureaucracy of Thailand's state Buddhism, and frequently serve as meeting halls for visiting government officials and state development agencies. While Khruba Theuang's charismatic appeal depends in part on practicing a form of Buddhism that is perceived as more authentic than that propagated by modern state Buddhism, his activities along the margins help produce and maintain Buddhist identities, networks and structures that help integrate highland communities into the networks which constitute the Thai state.

Conclusion

In recent years Huai Dam has obtained a degree of relative stability thanks to the expansion of citizenship rights by the Thaksin government in 2001 and efforts by the King's Royal Project to develop the Dara'ang villages of Chiang Dao district (Toyota 2005:124). Citizenship status has allowed an increasing number of families to purchase fields outside of the forest reserve area, and educational opportunities have opened up new career paths for some young men and women. It is perhaps therefore not surprising that participation in the movement of Khruba Theuang has declined. The festivals at Wat Den are still popular with Dara'ang communities, but do not attract the mass of Dara'ang participants that the events did years

earlier, nor do large numbers of Dara'ang men volunteer their labour for Khruba Theuang's construction projects.

Nevertheless, khruba ton bun continue to find supporters amongst the Dara'ang, particularly those in communities that are less established. In August of 2007, I visited a Dara'ang village in Chiang Rai province that had recently been founded by families who felt their culture was under threat because they were living dispersed amongst various Tai communities in Mae Sai district. I was surprised to find that a young monk named Khruba Noi Ekachai Ariyameti (born in 1984) had established himself in the village for the rain retreat in order to raise funds to construct a new temple. Like other ton bun, Khruba Noi is reputed to possess supernatural powers. He claims that when he was 17 years old he fell ill, died and remained dead for 15 days ("Luckily they didn't inject me with formaldehyde," he joked during our interview). Miraculously, when they were preparing the coffin for burial he came back to life and decided to take up the monastic vocation in light of his experience. Khruba Noi says he follows the tradition of Khruba Siwichai and also has connections with Khruba Theuang and Khruba Bunchum, the latter enjoying a large following amongst Dara'ang communities on the Burmese side of the border. It remains to be seen whether or not Khruba Noi's reputation will grow within other Dara'ang communities of Thailand.

Sean Ashley, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Simon Fraser University, 8888 University Drive, Burnaby, British Columbia V5A 1S6, Canada. E-mail: smashley@sfu.ca.

Notes

- 1 Huai Dam is a pseudonym for a Dara'ang village in Chiang Dao district. Dara'ang personal names that appear in this paper are likewise pseudonyms.
- 2 1 rai = 1600 square metres.
- 3 There has not been a great deal of research conducted on Palaung/Dara'ang languages (Janzen 1976; Milne 1921, 1931; Mitani 1977). Following the practice of scholars working in Thailand (Kasisopa 2003; Ostapirat 2009; Rattanapitak 2009), I use the term Dara'ang when identifying vocabulary within this article. Other terms used in reference to the language spoken by the Dara'ang Re'ng might include Southern Palaung, Pale, Silver Palaung and Ruching.
- 4 Mendelson suggests that, in addition to the state sanctioned traditions, "Shan States provided a refuge for many centuries to sects chased out of Burma proper for 'heretical beliefs'" (1975:233).
- 5 McDaniel (2008) notes that scholars typically overestimate the impact of the Central Thai ecclesia's impact on the practice of Thai Buddhism. While the *Sangha Administration Act of 1902* incorporated the northern temples into a national bureaucracy, many local traditions were left in

place and relatively few monks sat for the state sponsored examinations. Nevertheless, the introduction of compulsory education has led to a decline in the use of the Tham script and the proliferation of Bangkok Buddhist religious material throughout the kingdom has done a great deal to displace traditional northern texts and ritual forms.

- 6 The extent of the Tham script is not limited to the Dara'ang Re'ng. Texts written in the Tham script can still be found in the Ta-ang (Golden Palaung) monasteries of Namhsan, suggesting a wide dispersal of Tham scriptures throughout the area that today constitutes Shan State (Sai Kham Mong 2004:257).
- 7 On the *Thammajarik* program, see Keyes (1971) and Platz (2003).
- 8 Keyes argues that a "superficial understanding of Buddhism" amongst the Karen was largely responsible for their attraction to Khruba Khao Pi (1971:565). Cohen similarly echoes this view, writing that Karen "knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist doctrine was limited and their devotion appears to have been more skewed towards animistic beliefs in Khruba Khao Pi's personal charismatic powers" (2001:232).
- 9 On March 22, 1998 a raid was conducted in a nearby village where many men and women from Huai Dam had relatives. In total 56 men were arrested, of whom 26 were Dara'ang. Unlike the arrests of 1989, however, this latest round was met with resistance on behalf of Thai activists who had become more organized in the wake of the 1997 constitution. Academics and NGOs were thus able to help free the Dara'ang men who were arrested in under a year (Sakunee 2001:72).
- 10 See Taylor (1993) for a detailed study of the co-option of the forest monk tradition of northeastern Thailand by the Thai state.

References

- Bourdieu, Pierre
 1987 Legitimation and Structured Interests in Weber's Sociology of Religion. *In* Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity. Scott Lash and Sam Whimster, eds. Pp. 119-36. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Buadaeng, Kwanchewan
 2003 Khuba Movements and the Karen in Northern Thailand: Negotiating Sacred Space and Identity. *In* Cultural Diversity and Conservation in the Making of Mainland Southeast Asia and Southwestern China: Regional Dynamics in the Past and Present. Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing.
- Cohen, Paul T.
 2001 Buddhism Unshackled: The Yuan 'Holy Man' Tradition and the Nation-State in the Tai World. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 32(2):227-247.
- Corlin, Claes
 2000 The Politics of Cosmology: An Introduction to Millenarianism and Ethnicity Among Highland Minorities of Northern Thailand. *In* Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States. Andrew Turton, ed. Pp. 104-122. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- De Certeau, Michel
 1984 The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Deepadung, Sujaritlak
 2009 Ethnicity and the Dara-ang (Palaung) in Thailand. *Journal of Language and Culture* 28(1):7-29.
- Dodd, William C.
 1923 The Tai Race. Cedar Rapids: Torch Press.
- Du, Shanshan
 2007 Divine Reconciliations: The Mother of Grain and Gautama Buddha in De'ang Religion. *Religion* 37: 133-149.
- Hayami, Yoko
 2002 Embodied Power of Prophets and Monks: Dynamics of Religion among Karen in Thailand. *In* Inter-ethnic Relations in the Making of Mainland Southeast Asia and Southwestern China. Yukio Hayashi and Aroonut Wichienkeeo, eds. Pp. 85-117. Kyoto: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University.
 2004 Between Hills and Plains: Power and Practice in Socio-Religious Dynamism among the Karen. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press.
- Hinton, Peter
 1979 The Karen, Millennialism, and the Politics of Accommodation to Lowland States. *In* Ethnic Adaptation and Identity: The Karen on the Thai Frontier with Burma. Charles Keyes, ed. Pp. 81-98. Pennsylvania: Institute of the Study of Human Issues.
- Howard, Michael, and Wattana Wattanapun
 2001 The Palaung in Northern Thailand. Chiang Mai: Silk-worm Books.
- Hutchinson, E. W.
 1937 The Lawa of Northern Siam. *Journal of the Siam Society* 27(2):154-182.
- Iijima, Akiko
 2009 Preliminary Notes on "the Cultural Region of Tham Script Manuscripts." *Senri Ethnological Studies* 74:15-32.
- Jackson, Peter
 1997 Withering Centre, Flourishing Margins: Buddhism's Changing Political Roles. *In* Political Change in Thailand: Democracy and Participation. Kevin Hewison, ed. Pp. 75- 93. London: Routledge.
- Janzen, Hermann
 1976 Structure and Function of Clauses and Phrases in Pale. Rangoon: University of Rangoon.
- Jory, Patrick
 2002 The Vessantara Jataka, Barami, and the Boddhisattva-Kings: The Origin and Spread of a Thai Concept of Power. *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 16(2):37-78.
- Karlsson, Klemens
 2009 Tai Khun Buddhism and Ethnic-Religious Identity. *Contemporary Buddhism* 10(1):75-83.
- Kasisopa, Benajawan
 2003 Kansuksa Rabop Siang le Kanchatklum Thang Chueasai Khong Pasa Daraang (Palong) Ban No Le Ampheu Fang Changwat Chiang Mai. [Phonological Study and Genetic Classification of Dara-ang (Palaung) Spoken at No Lae Village, Fang District, Chiang Mai Province]. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Chulalongkorn University.

- Keyes, Charles
 1971 Buddhism and National Integration in Thailand. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30(3):551-567.
 1975 Buddhist Pilgrimage Centres and the Twelve Year Cycle: Northern Thai Moral Orders in Space and Time. *History of Religions* 15(1):71-89.
 1977 Millennialism, Theravada Buddhism, and Thai Society. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 36(2):283-302.
 1982 Death of Two Buddhist Saints in Thailand. *In* Charisma and Sacred Biography. Michael A. Williams, ed. Pp. 149-180. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion Studies, Thematic Studies XLVII(3/4)*.
 2002 Weber and Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31:233-255.
- McDaniel, Justin
 2008 *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Mendelson, Michael
 1975 *Sangha and State in Burma: A Study of Monastic Sectarianism and Leadership*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Milne, Leslie
 1921 *An Elementary Palaung Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 1924 *The Home of an Eastern Clan: A Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 1931 *A Dictionary of English-Palaung and Palaung-English*. Rangoon: Superintendent, Government, Printing and Stationary.
- Mitani, Yasuyuk
 1977 Palaung Dialects: A Preliminary Comparison. *Southeast Asian Studies* 15(2):193-212.
- Nattapoolwat, Sakunee
 2001 *Konlayut Nai Kan Kao Tueng Sapayakon Khong Chum Chon Tang Thin Than Mai Thamklang Boribot Khong Kan Pit Lom Puen Thi Pa [Coping Strategies to Access Over Resource of a Newly Established Settlement in the Context of Forest Enclosure]*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Chiang Mai University.
- Ostapirat, Weera
 2009 Some Phonological Criteria for Palaung Subgrouping. *Journal of Language and Culture* 28(1):63-76.
- Penth, Hans
 2000 *History of Lān Nā: Civilizations of Northern Thailand*. Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books.
- Platz, Roland
 2003 Buddhism and Christianity in Competition? Religious and Ethnic Identity in Karen Communities of Northern Thailand. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34(2):473-490.
- Rattanapitak, Ampika
 2009 Palaung Wordlist. *Journal of Language and Culture* 28(1):77-122.
- Renard, Ronald
 1980 *Kariang: History of Karen-T'ai Relations from the Beginning to 1923*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i.
- Reynolds, Craig
 1977 Civic Religion and National Community in Thailand. *Journal of Asian Studies* 36(2):267-282.
- Sai Kham Mong
 2004 *The History and Development of the Shan Scripts*. Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books.
- Skilling, Peter
 2007 King, *Sangha*, and Brahmins: Ideology, Ritual and Power in Pre-modern Siam. *In* *Buddhism, Power and Political Order*: Ian Harris, ed. Pp. 182-215. London and New York: Routledge.
- Srisawat, Kwanchewan
 1988 *The Karen and the Khruba Khao Pi Movement: A Historical Study of the Response to the Transformation in Northern Thailand*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Strong, John
 2004 *Relics of the Buddha*. New Haven: Princeton University Press.
- Tambiah, Stanley
 1984 *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanabe, Shigeharu
 1984 Ideological Practice in Peasant Rebellions: Siam at the Turn of the Century. *In* *History and Peasant Consciousness in South East Asia*. Andrew Turton and Shigeharu Tanabe, eds. Pp. 75-110. Japan: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Tannenbaum, Nicola
 1995 *Who Can Compete Against the World? Power-Protection and Buddhism in Shan Worldview*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Association for Asian Studies.
- Tapp, Nicholas
 2005 *Sovereignty and Rebellion: The White Hmong of Northern Thailand*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press.
- Taylor, James
 1993 *Forest Monks and the Nation-State: An Anthropological Study in Northeastern Thailand*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Terwiel, B.J.
 1994 *Monks and Magic: An Analysis of Religious Ceremonies in Central Thailand*. Bangkok: White Lotus.
- Tiyavanich, Kamala
 1997 *Forest Recollections: Wandering Monks in 20th Century Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Toyota, Mika
 2005 *Subjects of the Nation Without Citizenship: The Case of "Hill Tribes" in Thailand*. *In* *Multiculturalism in Asia*. Will Kymlicka and Baogang He, eds. Pp. 110-136. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turton, Andrew
 2000 Introduction. *In* *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States*. Andrew Turton, ed. Pp. 3-33. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Veidlinger, Daniel M.
 2006 *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

- Wallace, Anthony F. C.
2003 Revitalization Movements. *In* Revitalizations and Mazeways: Essays on Culture Change, Volume 1. Robert S. Grumet, ed. Pp. 9-29. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Weber, Max
1946 From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Winichakul, Thongchai
2004 Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i.
- Worsley, Peter
1957 The Trumpet Will Sound: A Study of 'Cargo Cults' in Melanesia. London: Macgibbon & Kee.
-