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TEMPLE SERVITORS OF THAILAND

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A sub-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at the Australian National University
1984
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my indebtedness to the Australian Development Assistance Bureau (ADAB) for providing financial aid in support of my study at the Australian National University.

I would like to thank Professor J.A.W. Forge, Head of the Prehistory and Anthropology Department, Faculty of Arts, under whose supervision I was placed at the A.N.U. I appreciate his advice, understanding and patience. In this regard I also thank Professor D.J. Mulvaney for his assistance; Dr. M. Lyon who acted as a supervisor during the initial stages of my thesis.

I wish to state my deep appreciation to Dr. D. Miles without whose supervision I would not have been able to accomplish the work I have. I am grateful for his comments, criticisms and English language correction.

My sincere thanks to Dr. B.J. Terwiel (Asian Studies) for his willingness to give advice, providing me with valuable documentary material and for reading and correcting my first rough drafts. For valuable advice and comments concerning the Thai transliteration system, I thank Dr. A.V. Diller (Asian Studies). I also appreciate Mr. P. Juntanamalaga's assistance. The Thai language courses provided me with a broader insight of Thai culture.

I am also grateful to Professor J. Fox, Dr. M. Moerman and Dr. Gehan Wijeyewardene (Research School of Pacific Studies) for their kind attention and advice.

I am thankful to Mrs. Margaret Lanigan for typing the manuscript.

Despite the assistance I received from others, the responsibility for this thesis is my own.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Before the turn of the century the temple servitor practice was common in Thailand. It was part of the ancient religious education conducted in the temples. Temples were the only places of formal education, an exclusively male preserve. This situation changed with the advent of government secular schools resulting from Thailand's educational reform policies after the second part of the nineteenth century.

Secularization of education caused the decline of the servitor practice. The latter no longer forms an essential part of religious training. However, the reality is that this practice has survived in present-day Thailand although with a rather different objective. Servitors still constitute part of temple life and community.

It is the aim of this thesis to analyze the servitor practice, its role and its persistence in contemporary Thailand.

My assumption is that the enduring role of temple-boys should be traced back to the educational policies carried out during King Chulalongkorn's reign in the last century. This ancient custom was intentionally preserved by the Thai state as one of the means to implement the secular primary education policy.

I divide my discussion into four parts. As point of departure, Chapter 2 examines the servitor's role and life in the temple. I take my data from scattered ethnographic and some other sources in order to gain the image of the temple servitor, both in the past and present.
Chapter 3 focuses on the family and family education in rural areas. My reason for discussing this is based on the fact that temple servitor practice was maintained because of several considerations. One of them was that during the educational reforms, the government regarded the idea of having children living in the temple of great importance on the grounds that the family environment was unfavourable to education. Another assumption concerning "frustrating" family conditions, which support the universality of servitor practice, challenge me to look and examine the family as an educational institution. I base my discussion on contemporary sources with the aim of demonstrating that present-day features of the family and family education may help to reconstruct family conditions in the last century, especially during the beginning of the educational reforms in the provinces.

Chapter 4 concerns the old temple educational system, i.e. before the turn of the century. I regard a description of the old temple education as important because it represents the system that was transformed by the government. It had to be modified because it could no longer serve the needs of society efficiently. I confine my discussion to the general picture of temple education and am only peripherally concerned with the specialized training of the religious personnel, novices and monks. This will help us to have a better understanding of the temple-boys who are usually regarded, by ethnographers, merely as servants of the monks. I first treat the temple as a community centre with its religious and social functions. In addition, I present a description of Popular Religion serving as background to the temple educational system.
Chapter 5 analyzes the factors that caused changes in the educational system. External factors especially the advent of Christian missionaries will be treated as one of the initiators of the founding of western-type schools in Thailand. But internal factors, i.e. government policies manifested in the pre-1900 royal decrees, serve as my source of discussion on secularization of education and its impact on the temple educational system and the preservation of the servitor practice.

This thesis is based on library research. The data on the temple servitor are compiled from the bits and pieces of various ethnographic and some other sources. Therefore, my discussion concerns the temple servitor in general rather than in a particular temple or place. For this we need field research.

I address my thesis to a specialized audience, i.e. those who are already familiar with Thailand, its people and culture. This explains the absence of details about the location of provinces, rainfall, demographic statistics etc.

Because of familiarity, I use here the Mary R. Haas system of transliteration which is largely taken from her Thai-English Student's Dictionary. For names of places and provinces I rely on L. Sternstein's (1976) usage. But I leave unchanged Thai terms used by others as titles of books and the like (e.g. Ban Ping instead of Bāan Plûŋ).

The terms ðéùòò, ðiùòò, temple-boy and servitor, are used interchangeably.
Chapter 2

TEMPLE SERVITORS OF THAILAND

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the temple-service practice which prevailed as part of education before the advent of western-type education in Thailand. This description, based upon the bits and pieces of various ethnographic accounts, shows that the practice still exists. To understand this fact we must examine such details and ask why boys live and learn in temples. A preliminary problem concerns terminology.

In ethnographic studies about Thailand, the term aegwad has been used to denote a young boy of lay rather than clerical status, seven to fourteen years of age and the servant of a monk in a Buddhist temple (wād). In return for his service the child receives board and lodging, Buddhist moral guidance, and some basic education in reading, writing and arithmetic.

A closer study of the ethnographies reveals that several other terms distinguish pupils or students of the temple (sīdwād, inungsidwād), and children who only serve monks during the day (degbaan). The word khajoom for temple-boy is used in North Thailand (Moerman 1966:145). Other English terms include "houseboy", "little servant" or "attendant of the monks". Statistical records published by the Department of Religious Affairs, use the term sīdwād as the social category denoting this group of servitors in the temple. These terms require some scrutiny.

The degwād differs from the inungsid in that the first term applies

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1 See for the Thai and Indic terms in the appendix.
to a boy in the wider context of the temple community, whereas the
latter refers to a child who stands in a specific teacher-pupil
relationship to his monk (teacher) (Wyatt 1966:22, n.48). Thus a
degwād who serves and is taught by the monk is the latter's luugāid.
He is, however, not a luugāid of other monks. A luugāid need not be
a degwād. Novices and young ordained monks are also students in the
wād. Wyatt (ibid.) distinguishes a degwād from a degbāan. The
latter does not stay in the temple but serves a monk only during the
day and returns home in the evening.

Moerman (1966:145) argues that temple-boys (khajoom) in the
Northern region differ from their counterparts in Central Thailand.
In the village of Ban Ping they are boys of the lay status necessary
for becoming a novice, and novicehood is a requirement for becoming a
monk. Furthermore, a monk is not a khajoom's patron, i.e. a person
who takes care of the boy as his superior, as in the case in Central
Thailand. Moerman (ibid.) describes servitors as:

Trainees, they eat, sleep and spend most of their time
in the temple. Their work is sweeping, drawing water,
carrying offerings. They learn to cooperate and to
identify with the priest and novices who casually instruct
them in the northern Thai alphabet, and learn to respect the
 teachings of the lay leader of temple services, a former
priest, who help to coach them in the proper responses for
the ordination ritual.

Klausner's (1974:78) illustration of the youngsters will settle
the difference:

Degwād are those children who are delivered into the care
of the wād, for whatever reason, become the helpers about the
temple, are given food and a place to stay and receive moral
training and whatever formal instruction the monks may give
them in addition to the ordinary four grades of primary
schooling.
Klausner is referring to the practice as it was when western-type primary school education was introduced into Thailand after the second half of the nineteenth century. The aegwád, however, was already in existence before that time. Unfortunately there are a few written records which provide more details about the temple-boy. Nevertheless, taking Klausner's description as our guide, some questions can be raised, such as who can become servitors in the temple, on what motivation are the children sent to the wád, what is the life of the temple-boy like, and what kind of education do they receive. Before we proceed into details, it has to be kept in mind that there are several types of aegwád of which some are based on the distinctions between types of monks.

The distinction researchers draw between permanent or regular monks and temporary or short term monks is relevant. The regular monks usually stay for at least two or three Lent seasons (phansaáa) and the intervening parts of the year; they are the actual full members of the monastic order or Sangkha and are entitled to positions in the monastic office according to qualifications. On the other hand, the temporary monks, called navaka (Tambiah 1976:101) assume monastic responsibilities for the Buddhist Lent only: between mid-July and late October. This period largely coincides with the rainy season. To be ordained as a temporary monk is still a highly valued tradition in Thai society, especially in rural areas.

Based on the two types of monks mentioned above, Ayabe (1973:46) distinguishes temple-boys who stay for a few years from short term servitors. Ayabe does not name the first group of temple-boys. The short term aegwád usually accompany temporary monks and will leave the temple at the end of the Lent season. Furthermore, there are
the school-term temple-boys whom Bunnag (1973:87) calls part-time degwad. These boys stay in and serve the wad only during school-terms and go home during the holidays, i.e. they use the temple as a dormitory. Tambiah (1976:269, 344) mentions yet another variety: young men who use the urban temple as a temporary place while in the early years of employment and before duties there.

Characteristics of the temple-boy

These children range in age from about seven to fourteen years or even the late teens (Kaufman 1960:38; Kingshill 1960:121; Terwiel 1971:84; Ayabe 1973:45). But Tambiah (1976:344) also mentions adult servitors; they include former monks (Miles: personal communication) but wear ordinary clothing (Kaufman 1960:121) rather than the saffron robe because unlike monks and novices, servitors are not under vows (Ayabe 1973:45; Tambiah 1976:343).

Concerning their family background Ayabe (1973:44) writes that in the village of Ban Khem (in the province of Phetburi, Central Thailand), some temple-boys come from a single-parent family, others are from large families, i.e. families with six or more than six children. Klausner says that some degwad are orphans and come from extremely poor families. There is also a report of boys who are delinquents and some who are backward or mentally abnormal. Klausner describes the temple-boys in the Northeastern part of Thailand which, compared to elsewhere, is the poorest area because of its geographical environment and lack of means of communication.²

² This situation has changed.
The temple-boys of Wād Krāng in Ratburi province (Central Thailand), as described by Phra‘Worakawinto (Silcock 1976:7), are very young boys who are sent by parents with different backgrounds. He discerns amongst them "the bad and the good dēg wād, the diligents and the ignorant, the civil and the rude." 

Kaufman (1960:38) argues that the servitors in the village wād in Bangkhuad form an exclusive group, i.e. they play together and seldom mix with other children except during school recreation periods. This is also supported by Ayabe (1973:41). Terwiel on the other hand, points out that, although the youngsters still serve the monks in rural monasteries, they join other boys and girls in primary schools3 (Terwiel 1976:ii).

Tambiah (1976:344) reports that in urban areas, particularly in Bangkok-Thonburi area, servitors need not be young boys. As a result of urbanization, i.e. the movement of people from rural to urban areas, temples become the sojourn of those who are not able to meet the expenses of city life. Through the network of kinship or friendship boys and adult men are able to find a place in the wād; in return they assist the monks. Some already have a job while some others are still looking and waiting for work. Others are students ranging from elementary to university students.

The motivations to become a temple-boy are many and varied but servitors have one thing in common: they are at the service of the monks in the temple. What their actual duties are will be described in another part of this chapter.

3 The government introduced coeducation in primary and secondary schools during the educational reforms (Landon 1968:100).
Motivation of the existence of the temple-boy

Klausner (1974:78) describes why children have been sent to monasteries and placed into the care of the monks. This practice has also been reported by other visitors to Thailand. Kaufman (1960:121) reports that there are three kinds of motivations for sending children to the temple by families: that the latter wish to receive merit or cannot afford to feed their children. Furthermore, they want their children to live in a proper environment. Kaufman refers here to economic, religious and educational motivations. The economic motivation is supported by Terwiel (1971:84). He suggests that parents who can ill afford to raise their children send their boys to a monastery where they can get free food. Ayabe (1973:44) also mentions that poor families tend to send their youngsters to serve monks. Tambiah (1976:282) writes that parents who cannot send their children to secondary school and cannot even maintain them at home, may send their boy to the wad to become a novice through the deguad practice. A single-parent family may also send boys to the monks (Ayabe 1973:44).

The absence of a father as provider of the family, usually disrupts the continuity of the socio-economic unit. Being unable to raise her son, the mother may put him into the care of the monks (Tambiah 1976:315).

Temple service is obviously preferable to other ways in which Thai seek support for their children outside of the household. In regard to this economic motivation, a question can be raised whether all poor families are in the position to send children to the temple.

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4 I am referring here to the temple-boy after the implementation of the western-type educational system. Concerning the deguad before the new educational system, reports say that only those (i.e. farmers) who had a surplus of labour, could send their sons to the temple. About this will be discussed in Chapter 4.
rather than maintain them at home. This can be answered by asking how far the temple is capable of supporting all the underprivileged children in the area since the wad itself is sustained by the laity. Furthermore, some parents are likely to insist that their offspring ought to work or bring money home in order to help the family because of poverty. Poverty has caused farmers' indebtedness to creditors and traders in the area. And debt has to be paid back in whatever form: money, goods, labour or children. Children are indeed one of the options that Chinese traders choose as substitutes for the money a family owes. This is attested by Miles (1972:104, 106). He reports that a market in children is part and parcel of the regional trade in Northern Thailand. Thai children who are bought by the Chinese traders from the farmers will be sold as one of the commodities of commerce. Apparently, the Pulangka Yao people in Chiangrai province (North Thailand) are among the main purchasers of children. After the purchase these children become "adopted" children.5

It has also been observed that some economically deprived children are from the country-side and become employees in various business enterprises of provincial capitals and Bangkok. A controversial report on "child slavery" by John Pilger (Davies 1982: 18-19)6 has led to the inquiry about the truth of the publication. Some facts show that child exploitation exists. Paisal Sricharatchanya (1982:20) writes,

5 Based on his research on the Pulangka Yao, Miles (1972:101) rejects the notion that heirlessness or barrenness is the basis of adoption.
6 Published in 1979 in the Daily Mirror newspaper (Far Eastern Economic Review, July 16, 1982).
The broad theme of child exploitation in the Pilger article cannot be disputed - poor young people from upcountry do indeed flock to Bangkok and some unfortunate cases land up in sweat shop ...

To support the evidence Paisal Sricharatchanya cites the Department of Labour's statistical records and says that there are 1.05 million children between 11-14 years of age working in agricultural (89%) and non-agricultural sectors (11%) in Thailand. The second sector entails jobs in services (48,000), commerce (36,400, manufacturing (32,000) and the rest of the children are employed in construction and transport enterprises.

Educational motivation, such as familiarisation with temple life, is mentioned by Ingersoll (1966:74) and Phra Worakawinto (Silcock 1976:8). Moerman clearly states that the child is sent to the wād and becomes a temple-boy (khajoom) in order to be ordained as a novice and novicehood implies formal monastic education.

Ayabe (1973:47) writes that families from rural areas send their sons to urban temples because they wish to have their children attend a good school and go on to a good university. Through kinship or friendship the families are able to place their offspring under the guidance of the monks. As evidence, he says that Wād Phoo in Bangkok, accommodated about 600 temple-boys during his research, compared to 160 monks and 40 novices. More than 200 students commuted to universities from there (ibid.:40, 51).

Other factors such as kinship relationship may cause a boy to become temple-boy of a relative who is a monk (Terwiel 1971:84). Bunnag (1973:156) gives personal motivations, such as that a child cannot cope with his father's second wife or that the family house is
overcrowded. A recent trend is that urban temples are being used as dormitories for the youth especially for rural areas. While staying in the wâd and attending school they fulfil the responsibilities of servitors.

Parents also send their offspring to the temple because of religious motivation. Tambiah (1976:282) and Moerman (1966:146) quote an old Thai saying: "when one becomes a novice at 12, one does merit for one's mother, and when one becomes a monk at 20, one does merit for one's father." According to the reasoning of villagers, merit (bun) is a reward for being good to others or for carrying out certain religious prescriptions (Kingshill 1960:144).

Ordination requires financial support and some villagers are not able to afford such expenses. By sending their sons to serve monks, parents hope that the latter may help them to sponsor their boys' ordination (Kaufman 1960:122; see also Bunnag 1973:98).

Piker (1975:100) associates the sending of boys to temples with the lack of family-centered roles given to young males. In contrast, young girls are charged with household work as part of their education in the family. Piker's view is supported by Kemp (1970:83) who writes that sons play a minor part in the running of the household compared to girls who are useful about the house from an early age. Others (Kaufman 1960:16; de Young 1955:55; Kingshill 1960:55) claim that boys and girls alike are assigned domestic chores. I would say that the ethnographic evidence is that all children do participate in household tasks. However, the extent to which children's work has an impact on the child and family life, will require an investigation of the problem in a much broader meaning. So far, children's work has always been treated by reference to adult occupations in the family.
Further comparative studies on the family and family life are necessary before conclusions can be made concerning the role of children's contribution in household affairs.

Family structure and background may throw some light to the meaning of children's participation in the family division of labour as has been discerned by White and Brinkerhoff (1981:793). They find out that there are five categories of meaning of children's work in the family. First, that work is performed as part of a child's developmental process which builds character and develops responsibility. Piker focusses on this meaning of work. Furthermore, work is seen as a reciprocal obligation that a member of a family has to perform, or put in another way, working together is part of belonging to a family. Children work because parents need their help; work may also be seen as task learning. Finally, there are other kinds of reasons why children do jobs, e.g. they need to earn money or they need to keep themselves occupied.

Motivation for the existence of the monks' attendants cannot be viewed exclusively from the parents' or laymen's point of view. It is also necessary to look at the motivations of the monks or the monk community. It has been noted that the monastic order cannot function without the material support of the lay community. On the other hand, the laity, in terms of religious life, is dependent on the monk community. The layman regards the monk as mediator and vehicle of merit-making activities and acquiring merit (Tambiah 1970:68). As members of the monastic order, the monks are subject to the 227 rules of the Vinaya. Acts involving the killing of animals, which apply even

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7 This study is based on parental reports from a random sample of 790 Nebraska youngsters.
to the smallest unseen germs, are considered as a sin. Cooking rice, boiling water, handling money, breaking and cultivating the ground and burning wood, are only a few examples of what a monk cannot perform (Bowring 1969, 1:323-331). These acts need to be carried out by the lay people. This necessity motivates the monks to have temple-boys at their service.

Recruitment of the servitors

As shown by the data on temple-boys, they are children from different backgrounds. They are sons of farmers, traders, government officials and fathers in other occupations (Ayabe 1973:44). They can be sons of the nobility or commoners. There are, however, procedures to follow to have a boy serve a monk in the temple.

Parents who take the initiative to send their child to the wâd (typically, it is the village temple) will usually go to the head-monk (caâw ãawâd). They simply ask the abbot to take their son as temple-boy. In a case where the abbot already has servitors, the parents may ask him whether he could assign their child to one of the monks in his temple. The head-monk will then ask the boy whom he would like to serve (Kaufman 1960:121). It is taken for granted that the abbot or the monk in charge of the youngster will also be the teacher (ãéaãé) of the latter.

Anuman Rajadhon (1972:454) gives a description of the confirmation of the agreement between the parents of a boy and the head-monk. On the decided auspicious day, which will be determined by the monk, the parents have to take the child to the temple, bringing with him a tray containing flowers, candles and incense sticks. This is regarded as a
ritual offering. Furthermore, he must also bring another tray with betelnut (maag) and betel leaves (bajpluu) as a token of homage. The boy has to present all these things to his future teacher. This formal act of paying homage to a teacher which is called wajkhruu, according to Anuman Rajadhon (ibid.), has to be conducted for any kind of teacher including boxing trainers and dance tutors. It is said that it will have supernatural influence on the well-being of the pupil.

The life of the temple-boy

As Tambiah (1976:343) says, temple-boys do not belong to one of the categories of the ordained members of the monastic order, i.e. monks or novices. However, their life has much to do with the temple community. Researchers have tended to describe the clegwad's life exclusively in terms of his duties to the monks and temple rather than in terms of a child in its own environment, i.e. his life as a child in the temple and how it relates to his parental home life. My attention will here focus on the boy's life in the temple.

Phra Worakawinto (Silcock 1976:5) illustrates in his poem the temple-boys' life under an abbot who was determined to have order in his temple, called Wad Krāag. It is said that the temple had rules as strict as laws. The head-monk insisted on the obedience of the servitors. He was revered by monks, novices and men in all the villages around. Even the gangsters were afraid of him. Although life of the temple-boy was harsh at Wad Krāag, Phra Worakawinto also reveals the other world of children, such as the fun and pleasures when the abbot withdrew to take

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8 The flowers consist of Dōogkhem (ixora flowers) and Dōogmakhya (eggplant flowers) and a kind of grass: jāaphrēeg (Bermuda grass).
9 For the wajkhruu ceremony for dance teachers see Dhanit Yupho, 1964.
a rest for a while in the afternoon hours. Anuman Rajadhon (1965: 217-222; 1972:456-457) writes of similar situations. However, he does not specify the location of the temples. In general the life of the temple-boy can be divided into three kinds of activities; duties to the monks and temple, learning activities, and their leisure time activities as ordinary children in the wād. Learning activities will occupy a separate and major part of the following discussions about temple education.

Duties of the temple-boy

The domestic chores of the servitors are not heavy. They are usually awakened by the monks about 6 a.m. (Terwiel 1971:84; see also Ayabe 1973:43) in order to accompany and collect the daily food (binthabāad) from villagers or people in the vicinity (Kaufman 1960:122). The child will walk behind the monk and carry a set of containers (pintoo) for curries and other kinds of liquid food. The alms-bowl (bāad) is carried by the monk himself. Usually, housewives will put rice into the bowl. Ayabe (1973:42) says that in the village of Ban Khem, the duty to collect food is carried out by the temple-boys and novices rather than by the monks. They go to assigned houses and food kiosks.

In many parts of Thailand villages are located along rivers and canals. To collect food, monks use boats. Usually they do not need the degwād as companion. If the boat is big enough to take one as boatman, he can help the monks by holding the containers. In small boats the monks paddle themselves. Temple-boys rarely accompany monks on their morning pedestrian rounds in municipal areas because the school curriculum prevents them from doing so (Terwiel 1971:84).

In most villages in North Thailand monks do not collect food in the morning (de Young 1955:115-116; Kingshill 1960:145; Moerman 1966:142;
Potter 1976:40-41). The people divide the village into sections according to geographical demarcations or territorial units. Each section has a leader whose duty, amongst other things, is to notify its members of the task of preparing food for the monks. The announcement is usually done by beating the drum (khâöy) on the preceding evening. Representatives of the concerned section deliver the food to the temple, e.g. the village of Ku Daeng comprises eight sections which take food to the wád. In this way monks never embarrass those villagers who cannot donate food.

Other tasks that temple-boys have to perform are setting out the dishes and presenting food to the monks ceremoniously (prakheen). It is only after this ritual which implies that the food is theirs that monks can eat breakfast and lunch. The daily domestic chores include washing the dishes and cleaning the floor after every meal, tapping water for cooking and bathing. It is the servitor's duty to boil water for monks would sin by killing any form of life in the liquid. It should be noted that most villages in rural areas depend on wells, ponds, rivers and canals and rain water for their water supply.

A popular job among temple-boys is beating the drum and bell-ringing. The sound calls upon householders to prepare food that will be collected by the monks early in the morning and announces the time for the monks' meals. Furthermore, it also publicates religious activities, such as the morning and evening prayers or chanting in the main hall (búod) (Kaufman 1960:160).

Monks are formally forbidden to handle money. All the purchasing of materials (cigarettes, tooth paste, soap, kerosene and other daily necessities) is often the task of the temple-boy (Bunnag 1973:33). Ingersoll (1966:70) says that the ÿëkkëd has only to carry the money in
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his pocket and pays out as directed by the monk. It can be said that because of this kind of duty the servitor has not only to be instructed in the basic knowledge of arithmetic but also needs to know how to bargain. 10

Monks are usually invited to various social occasions or other kinds of festivities and ceremonies which are performed in the villagers' houses. They come to recite prayers and to bless the occasion. These festivities and ceremonies include weddings, housewarmings, funerals, births, and so on. The monks may take their helpers along. It is the task of the youngsters to carry the monks' paraphernalia and most importantly, to intercede in the presentation of food to the monk by women, who cannot touch him (Kaufman 1960:122). Terwiel (1971:87) observes that servitors may also be taken along by the monks who are invited to chant at fund-raising ceremonies in other temples. A boy may accompany the monk to the provincial capital. These outings indicate that the child's life is not confined to the wâd he stays in, but that he has contact with the wider community life. Apart from experiences in the temple, the boy is also familiar with religious observances in and outside the village. However, compared to the past, i.e. before the introduction of secular schools, these travels are restricted to holidays since most of the temple-boys attend school.

In the evening hours after the day's work has been done, the children have to say their prayers. Before they go to bed a monk might ask his servitor to massage him. It is during this kind of contact that the monk will talk and teach the child informally about his skills, such as healing and magic spells and some others depending on the monk's

10 Miles, personal communication.
vocation (Silcock 1976:9; see also Ayabe 1973:43).

To fulfil his duties a temple-boy will usually be near the monk's residence, except during school hours, so that he can hear the monk when he calls and be at his service (Ingersoll 1966:64).

**Leisure time activities**

The occasions when temple-boys do not work or study, have been described by researchers. I would specify these occasions as leisure time activities which, however, are determined largely by the activities of the monks. As described by Kaufman (1960:86, 122) ดุ๋งวด used to play between 9:00 and 11:00 a.m. and between 3:00 and 5:00 p.m. Apparently these hours were not consistent with the school hours prescribed by the Ministry of Education when the Bangkhuad village school was established in 1934. Since then school starts at 9:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m. In other areas it starts at 9:00 a.m. until 3:30 p.m. (Terwiel 1977:53; Ayabe 1973:43). Possibly Kaufman (1960:122) is referring to the "traditional" temple-boy who, as a preparation for novicehood, received Pali lessons twice a week for half an hour.

According to Anuman Rajadhon (1972:456) it was during the time that the monks retired to their apartments to rest or take a nap (acamวด) about 1:00 p.m. that servitors played, swam and did some fishing. This was also reported by Kaufman (1960:122). He says that one of the favourite games of these children was a game similar to the western tossing of pennies called ิ่งตลอด. Other games (see also Anuman Rajadhon 1972:456; Silcock 1976:6-7) are described in the appendix of this chapter. The youngsters played happily together in the วัด compound after all domestic chores and possibly after the evening prayers were performed and until bedtime at about 8:00 p.m. (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:439).
Apart from playing, the clegwad also quarrelled and fought. However, fighting had to be carried out somewhere that was out of the monks' sight. And usually it was behind the chapel (bod) (ibid.).

The leisure time of the servitors has changed with the establishment of government schools in the villages of rural Thailand. However, it is likely that in some remote areas, where the temple is still the only place of education, similar activities may still exist but are adjusted to the new regulation of school hours as observed by Ayabe (1973:43). It can be concluded that games play an important role in a temple-boy's life, similar to that of any child.

**Meals and eating arrangements**

In general the temple is known to be a place of plenty. However, not every wad is well enough supplied to feed the members adequately. The reason for this has to be investigated, such as how strongly the lay community supports the temple with food and other material help. Wâd Mahãathâad, an urban temple in Bangkok, as reported by Tambiah (1976:317) has not enough food for their residents so that monks have to buy additional provisions for the temple-boys.11 Food collected in the morning is pooled to be eaten by the temple's residents, i.e. the monks, novices, temple-boys and other lay people. The servitors eat three times a day, i.e. breakfast, lunch and dinner. Because monks do not eat after noon, the children have to fix their own dinner. Some will return home if it is near the temple and some may have the left-overs from lunch time. Some others try to fast, not having dinner in order to get used to the feeling for when he will be ordained as a novice (neen) (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:457). Usually the boys serve and eat after the

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11 According to Tambiah (1976:337) Wâd Mahãathâad had 250 monks, 83 novices and 369 sidâad in the post Lent season in late 1971. All had to be fed.
monks and novices, with any other laymen who come to render services (dish-washing, cooking) (Ingersoll 1966:56; Terwiel 1971:85; Kaufman 1960:122; Kingshill 1960:110; Silcock 1976:4). The monks sit and eat in circles of five. The novices sit in the same formation but separately. Only the head monk eats alone. Monks may prefer to dine in their rooms and have servitors perform the necessary arrangements.

Tambiah (1976:338) reports that monks, novices and servitors from the same residential unit (khana) have their meals together. But they sit separately as three different groups, each making a circle. It should be noted that in urban areas, temples house a large concentration of monks, novices and temple-boys. Within such a wūd, especially in Bangkok-Thonburi and Ayutthaya, monks, novices and temple-boys are grouped into residential units (Reynolds 1972:197-201; see also Tambiah 1976:332).

This division is part of the Sāṅgha's organization in the administration of its members into manageable units. Each unit has a head called cāvakhanā, who has the task to supervise the monks, novices and servitors in his group. The head of a khana is responsible to the abbot of the temple. A temple's residential units in the capital tend to consist of monks, novices and servitors from the same region or province recruited through the teacher-pupil relationships (Tambiah 1976:332, 337).

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12 The word khana has several meanings. In certain contexts it may be used for the entire Sāṅgha itself as a body. It may also be applied to label the formal divisions of the monastic order administration, i.e. the northern, southern and central divisions of the Mahāantikaaj sect and the division of the Thammajūd sect. The word is also used to denote provincial and district and other territorial divisions of the monastic order whose heads bear the title cāvakhanā; i.e. Provincial Heads (Cāvakhanā Cēppād), District Heads (Cāvakhanā 'Amphoe), Commune Heads (Cāvakhanā Tambon).

13 Thailand is divided into four regions: Central, Northern, North-Eastern and Southern region, comprising 72 provinces.
Sleeping arrangement

Tambiah (1976:338) writes that monks, novices and servitors use separate sleeping places or rooms. Once ordained, a monk sins by sharing a bed with his disciples or any other person (Bowring 1969, 1:330). Various writers (Kaufman 1960:122; Terwiel 1971:84; Anuman Rajadhon 1972:458) report that aegwad may sleep on the porch of the monk's cubicle, huddled together on the floor covered with cast-off robes. Sleeping facilities may be more comfortable in urban temples which generally offer better facilities. A case observed by Tambiah (1976:339) shows that a residential unit (khana) has three separate monks' residences or kuti. In one lives the head of the khana. In the second live a senior monk with his novice, each occupies a separate room. In the third kuti reside three temporary monks in three separate rooms. The temple-boy attached to the group stays in a small room adjoining the bathroom. One of the important facilities of the temples, especially in urban areas, is the dormitory which can accommodate a great number of temple-boys (Ayabe 1973:40). It can be said that the accommodation the aegwad receives, may differ from temple to temple both in rural and urban areas. However, space is always available. Temple-boys apparently enjoy sleeping together with their peers on the floor and commonly do so.

Conclusion

From the various ethnographic accounts it can be concluded that the temple-boy practice as part of the temple education can still be observed in various temples in many parts of Thailand. Furthermore, that there are several other motivational factors, apart from educational factors in terms of monastic education, that induce the existence of the servitor-practice in contemporary Thailand. These factors are economic, religious and other personal considerations of
families for having their children sent to the monks. The persistence of the practice has to be looked not only from the laymen's point of view, but the monks' interest has also to be taken into account. It can be said that at present there is no single characteristic of the temple-boys. They can be students from elementary to university students or even working young men who may be wealthy or impoverished. The one thing in common they have is their obligation to serve or assist the monks or temple at least with the daily domestic chores.

The ethnographies have led me to doubt some generalization concerning family and temple education, especially Piker's assumption that before the advent of western type education boys had no family-centered roles and that their education took place only in temples. Piker's assumption requires an examination of the family as well as the temple as educational institutions. Taking into account the fact that the temple servitor practice concerns the family as well as the temple, it is my intention to focus the next two chapters on both the home and the temple as educational venues.
This chapter examines the family and family education in rural Thailand at about the turn of the century. Two assumptions lead me to do so.

On the one hand, there is the view (e.g. Benedict 1952:31; Piker 1975:100-102) that the family treats boys and girls differently; that young boys, in contrast to young girls, are excluded from performing family-centered roles at home. Frustration causes them to seek their refuge in the temple. Implied in this perspective is that all young boys prior to the advent of government schools became servitors at the age of five to seven years. This has not been fully supported by some others (Moerman 1966:145).

On the other hand, there is the assertion (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:94) that family environment was not conducive to the development of school education during the early years of the introduction of government schools in the provincial temples. Temples, apart from being places of study or schools, became places of residence of the boys. Implied in this view is that parents have good reason not to send their sons to school. Household and farming activities form most of the "detrimental" influence on school education.

Both assumptions refer to the family and family life at about the turn of the century. Both impute an "unfavourable" educational function to the family. The validation of this fact requires an investigation of the family and family life.
Education

The notion of education has been defined in several different ways. The differences often reflect contrasting disciplinary interests. It is not my intention to discuss those differences. I regard education here as a process of learning and transmission of culture, applied to a human society.

The main function of education is to equip an individual in a particular society to take his or her full place in adult life, so that the individual can act competently as a member of society. Learning is a continuous process that a person has to undergo throughout life, i.e. from birth to death (Middleton 1970:xii; Ambasht 1970:vii).

Concerning human society Middleton (1970:xi-xii) writes,

A human society cannot be understood merely as consisting of an aggregate of people, like a herd of animals or a nest of insects. Rather, it consists of people who regard themselves as belonging to it because they possess a common culture or way of life, a common language, the recognition of certain common interrelationships, and the acceptance of common values and sanctions that order and maintain these interrelationships. These are but rarely invented by the members of a society: they exist apart from its members, before they were born and after they have died. The essential fact is that one of the basic features on man's social condition is that culture is learned and not genetically inherited.

It can be said that culture has to be learned in order to perpetuate human society. The question now is, what is culture?

There have been so many definitions discussed about the notion of culture. There has not yet been one single acceptable definition agreed by scholars that could be used to analyze a human society. Keesing (1981:68) citing Goodenough (1961:521) writes that "anthropologists have been talking about two quite different orders of things when they
have used the term culture - and too often they have moved back and forth between the two sorts of meanings. First, culture has been used to refer to the 'pattern of life within a community - the regularly recurring activities and material and social arrangements'. This sense of culture refers to the realm of observable phenomena, of things and events 'out there' in the world. Second, culture has been used to refer to the organized system of knowledge and belief whereby a people structure their experience and perceptions, formulate acts, and choose between alternatives. This sense of culture refers to the realm of ideas.

I shall make my point by taking the second meaning of culture. Because it is knowledge, in terms of systematized information that any human society requires. I also agree that knowledge has to be learned and is not genetically derived. However, the transmission of culture, of knowledge and belief, can be observed in everyday life actions, such as in the rearing and upbringing of children in the family.

Middleton raises several questions concerning transmission of culture from one generation to the next, how individuals share in this transmission, and how learning and transmitting culture are related to society's social organization. To find the answers he says, we have to look at the process of education in different societies. I shall examine the Thai.

Relying on Middleton's view, I first relate education to the Thai social organization. Social organization refers to the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision. Social organization involves unified, planned and concerted efforts of actions performed by a group of individuals (Firth 1971:36, 40) which is commonly
called a social group or social unit. A social group is a plurality of individuals who recurrently interact in a system of interlocking social identities, i.e. a social position or capacity that a person assumes in a particular setting (Keesing 1981:518). Social relation itself refers to the recurrent interaction of members of a social group based upon their roles, i.e. behaviour patterns appropriate to an individual acting in a particular social position or capacity.

My immediate interest concerning the social unit is the family, a kingroup in a broad sense whose members are related through consanguinal (blood) and affinal (marriage) ties. Because of its broad meaning the notion of family has to be explained since the term may denote several types of families, e.g. nuclear family, extended family, a single-parent family and so on. The crucial problem here is now which of the family types forms the basic kingroup and functions as a social group in conformity to the needs of its members in society. These needs cover the biological, economic, social and educative spheres of the kingroup or family.

The family

This sub-chapter considers the structural diversity of the Thai rural family and relates to arguments concerning the basic form of that unit. I stress the prevalence of the matrilocal extended families whose constitution gears them to losing membership of young males while their size and age structure promote the capacity to cope with that loss. However, a number of scholars (e.g. Phillips 1965:27; Wijeyewardene 1967:65 and some others) consider the nuclear family basic and dominant. A nuclear family is a kingroup consisting of a man, his wife and unmarried children with one or more additional persons living in the same house or compound. The nuclear family is a socio-economic unit.
Its members constitute the working unit for the cultivation of land to subsist. As a consequence, adult members of this kingroup are responsible for the education of the young generation, the children.

On the other hand, Potter (1976:151-152) claims that the extended or more precisely, the matrilocal extended stem family (rather than the nuclear family) is the dominant form of family among the Thai. A matrilocal extended stem family comprises a senior nuclear family and the youngest daughter's nuclear family living in the same house or compound. Potter says that the nuclear family is only one temporary stage in the structural cycle of the domestic group. A domestic group is essentially a householding and housekeeping unit organized to provide the material and cultural resources needed in order to maintain and bring up its members (Goody 1971:8). In Northern Thailand, the domestic group is the matrilocally extended family which comprises a parents' nuclear family and a married daughter with her husband and children living in the same house or compound. According to Keyes (1975:848) the domestic group in Northeast Thailand is called "laphaahyan."

Evers (1969:120, 122-123) reports that nuclear families are more numerous than extended families in Thailand. However, the proportion of extended families is higher in Thailand than in other Southeast Asian countries. Evers comes to the conclusion that apart from the nuclear family, the extended family is also an important kingroup in rural Thailand. Mizuno's (1968:848) study in the village of Don Daeng (Northeast Thailand) endorses Evers' reports.

Although the high frequency of extended families is also revealed by Potter (1976:153), he argues that statistical data alone regarding family composition do not explain family life. Important factors such
as rules that regulate post marital residence and family life of the people concerned have to be considered.

I agree with Potter. For an understanding of family life an investigation concerning the relationship between members of the family is required. Education is implied in the relationship. What I am suggesting is the interaction of members based upon their roles in the family whether it be nuclear or extended. Through such interaction or communication between parents and children, especially those performed through language and gestures, messages that are communicated may often reflect the nature of relationship. That is to say that communication may contain teachings of any kind of knowledge by parents to children. More about this will be discussed later.

Concerning post marital residence pattern, reports from North Thailand (de Young 1955:23, 64-66; Kingshill 1960:47; Wijeyewardene 1967:69; Kemp 1970:80; Turton 1972:221; Davis 1973:55; Potter 1976:24; 156) suggest the prevalence of initial matrilocal residence. Davis even reports that in the village of Landing (Baan Thaa) in the province of Nan, Northern Thailand, initial matrilocal residence is mandatory. That is to say that after marriage, a young couple must reside at the wife's parental household or village for a certain period, ranging from several months to a couple of years. Usually a couple will stay until after the first child is born or shortly before a wife's sister marries (Potter 1976:122-123; Davis 1973:55). Two married couples under one roof are regarded as inauspicious and tending to cause friction and conflict in the household (ibid.; see also Keyes 1975:284-285).

Initial matrilocality has also been noted for the Northeastern part of Thailand (Mizuno 1968:849; Tambiah 1970:12; Keyes 1975:282).
Studies by Charles Madge (1957:42) and Thomas Lux (1966:5) as cited by Kemp also report this tendency. Reports from Central Thailand as cited by Potter (1976:154) say that matrilocal ity is less common there. However, recent studies (e.g. Piker 1964:41 as cited by Potter; Hanks 1972:13) show a strong pattern of matrilocal ity in the Central Plain area.

It should be kept in mind that there exist other patterns of post marital residence in Thailand. Under some circumstances patrilocal residence follows initial matrilocal domicile. When the husband's family is economically more prosperous than the wife's kin group, the couple is likely to reside at the husband's parental home. If there is no daughter in the man's family the husband will bring his wife into his parents' house. A female is needed to perform the woman's work in the household. Furthermore, if the husband's parents have only sons, the last one is expected to stay with his wife and children at his natal place. When his parents die, he and his family will inherit the parental house apart from other shares of the inheritance, e.g. land. Personal conflict between husband and wife's family may also cause the young couple to reside with the husband's parents (Potter 1976:119).

Patrilocal residence pattern is connected with the patrilocal extended stem family type, i.e. a senior nuclear family with a married son, wife and children living in the same compound. Bang Chan in the Central Plain has a greater percentage of this type of family compared to villages in other areas in Thailand. However, more stem families are matrilocally rather than patrilocally extended (ibid.:151, 154).

Moerman (1968:107) observes that in the village of Ban Ping, couples reside alternatively, first at the wife's parental home for three years and then with the husband's family for the same period. It
is interesting here to examine the consequences of such rules of residence pattern for the education of children in the family.

Potter (1976:120) himself reports that in Chiangmai Village, more than half (88) of the 140 cases of village-endogamous marriages, i.e. life partners who come from the same village, are matrilocal. Only 16 couples choose to stay with the husband's parents after the initial stay with the wife's family; 18 couples follow the matri-neolocal pattern whilst the remaining 18 pairs of young people decide to establish their house neolocally, i.e. apart from the wife's and husband's parental house or place, right after the marriage.

Davis (1973:54) gives only one case of a patrilocal marriage out of 17 within a period of 15 years in the village of Landing. The majority of marriages are matrilocal and in addition there are four neolocal marriages.

The question that should be raised now is what causes people to choose matrilocal residence pattern rather than patrilocality or neolocality?

Kemp (1970:83-84) writes that matrilocal marriage is regarded as a means of ensuring a woman's moral and financial welfare. Patrilocality on the other hand, is viewed as indicating the inability of parents to care for their own offspring. Kemp's reasoning concerning this moral welfare is based on the assumption that a husband can adapt easier to his wife's family since his contact with the latter is made before marriage while the young bride will come to know or come in contact with her in-laws after marriage. This relates to the custom of courtship whereby young men (baaw) visit the young girls (saaw).
Another consideration is that to have daughters rather than daughters-in-law to care for aging parents is believed to be more convenient and secure, and therefore, to minimize domestic conflict (ibid.). This preference for consanguinal kinsmen is also supported by Keyes (1975:290), as he put it: "To be surrounded by one's mother and sisters at the time of childbirth and during the period when one needs help with small children, is far more assuring than living among strange women who are not bound to one by blood ties."

Other studies, especially those focussing on Northern Thailand, relate matrilocality with matrilineality and matrilineal spirit cults which I shall not discuss here. However, we should take into consideration, in relationship to matrilocality, the existence of matrilineal descent groups or matriclans (Davis 1974:2). A matriclan (kōg phii) consists of all descendants of a founding ancestress whose identity has usually been forgotten (ibid.:1973:56). Potter (1976:141) gives a more exact distance of the founding ancestors:

Matrilineages are groups of related households which trace common descent through the matriline - through females only - to a group of sisters who lived from three to eight generations ago. Each matrilineage is a coresidential group which tends to inhabit its own section of the village.

Furthermore,

Some households are scattered outside the lineage areas in other sections of the village, but this is a recent occurrence and is because population pressure and land scarcity have prevented people from building their houses in their lineage area. Even if a household that belongs to a certain lineage moves out of its area, its members continue to have important social ties with their lineage group. Since matrilineages are coresidential group, the social ties between lineage members are re-inforced by propinquity and by cooperation in labor exchange.

1 Some other writers use different terms to denote similar groups: female cults or matrilineal spirit cults (Wijeyewardene 1977:19), matrilineage (Potter 1976:141) and cult group (Hale 1979:138).
It can be concluded that post marital residence patterns define the social environment of the individual. As Potter (ibid.:138) writes, people belong to and grow up within the lineage group territory of the mother and are surrounded by her relatives through the matriline. A husband is, upon marriage, incorporated in the wife's matrilineage. However, he still retains membership in his own matriclan by right of filiation. On the other hand, a wife or female can only belong to one matriclan although patrilocality may cause dual membership.

My discussion of family structure reveals the prevalence of both matrilocal residence and the extended family. The practice of matrilocality requires sons to leave their parental home in marriage. Their entry to the temple as servitors during childhood anticipates their ultimate departure from the home as husbands but has nothing to do with their lack of roles in domestic affairs. On the contrary, religious considerations provide males with important roles in their parental families. As one of their duties, sons are responsible for helping their parents to accumulate merit for the latter's betterment of life whether it be in this or the next existence.² This task is preferably accomplished during their youth since marriage itself will bring other responsibilities to males as householders (e.g. to work for the father-in-law, raising children, commitments to community life etc.). A combination of matrilocal residence and the extended family is highly conducive to temple service for the larger domestic unit is better able to replace the labour of the boys who depart.

The impact of secularization on education has contributed to the extended family's fragmentation. But this does not mean that a son's role in accumulating merit for his parents has decreased accordingly. Temporary novicehood and monkhood before marriage is still a highly

² I discuss about the temple-boy's merit for parents in Chapter 4.
valued tradition. Contemporary sources also show that males are ordained while employed in various offices. The male who is unable to make merit for his parents during their life can still perform that duty after their death.

Having discussed the family I shall now consider its educational role which applies largely to rural Thailand.

The family as an educational institution

Concerning the family Grandstaff (Brembeck and Grandstaff 1969: 127-132) writes,

The family has a long and venerable history as an educational institution - it was undoubtedly the first and has traditionally been the strongest. However, consideration of the family's educative role seemingly has gone out of fashion.

Grandstaff (ibid.:127) gives several reasons for the decline of the educative function of the family, e.g. specialization of skills deprives parents of confidence in their competence as educators. This implies that the task of parents in the educational process of their offspring has been reduced or replaced by special organizations outside the family, such as schools or other educational institutions, which is a general tendency of modern societies throughout the world. However, the role of the family in socialization process will never completely die, while the family system itself continues (Maruyama 1973:16). Both Grandstaff and Maruyama are referring to the nuclear family.

In Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries the family, in its nuclear and extended variants, still plays a very important role in an individual's life, as has been reported by Maruyama (ibid.:16-17). He says that the educational function of the family is unique and different
from that of special organizations (e.g. schools etc.) which provide rigid academic curricula. Therefore, the educational role of parents in nuclear families cannot be ignored.

In the family children receive more basic and general education, such as language acquisition and discipline (Maruyama 1973:16-17). Descriptions of family life as reported by Kaufman (1960:163-164, 222-224), Kingshill (1960:51, 54-55), de Young (1955:24, 36-37) and some others of what children have to learn at home, show that they do not only receive basic and general education. They also have to learn by doing real work at a very early age. Doing real work as part of training in work forms one of the important modes of the inculcation of ideas of good habits in the family. I shall discuss this later.

I agree with Maruyama concerning the importance of the family as an educational institution. The fact is that a child, normally speaking, has to be born in a family, and usually is reared and cared for in the family. There are also other reasons for looking at family education: these include the assertion that family environment exerted detrimental influence on school education during the beginning of the implementation of secular primary education in rural areas. As a consequence the temple became the home and place of study of the male children (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:94). Furthermore, there is the assumption adhered to by some scholars (e.g. Benedict 1952:31; Piker 1975:100-102), that, in the family, girls rather than boys, are given more responsible household tasks. As Piker reports, the boys are not charged with family-centered roles and are therefore free to live in the temple. Piker relates such differential treatment of children in the family with personality or character forming in adult life.
The educational process in the family is inherently related to everyday family life. Hence, the nature of family education is informal. Family life refers to behavioural relationships between members of the family. These relationships involve those between husband and wife, relationships between parents and children. In the case of an extended family, relationships have to be considered between grandparents and grandchildren and parents-in-law and children-in-law, etc.

Concerning these relationships, which often reflect the rights and duties of members of the family, Mizuno (1968:847) citing Com Buntabed (1959:559-566), Buncan Buacan (n.d.:15-18) and Phrā' Anujodthamphan (1957:5-7),\(^3\) writes,

Whatever the family composition, each man or woman is supposed to be responsible for and loyal to his or her own family, a small domestic unit. The villagers organize themselves in a system in which each has his or her status and role.

It is the responsibility of parents to bring up their children and help them live on their own. There are other duties that parents have towards their offspring: to instruct them in proper behaviour, to teach them to refrain from doing evil, to train the youngster to make a livelihood, to find spouses for and bequeath property to them. In response, there are a number of obligations that children have to fulfil towards their parents. Children are expected to help parents as much as possible; to become persons to whom parents can bequeath property without misgiving. Moreover, children ought not to disgrace parents; they must take care of parents in their later days and render religious service after their death (Mizuno 1968:847). The extent to which these ideals conform with the realities of relationships between parents and children

needs further investigation.

**Education in the family**

Children are welcome in the family. Thai culture accords them high value. They are also of considerable economic importance (de Young 1955:49).

From birth onwards up to about three to five years of age, the child receives the full attention of the family (Benedict 1952:26; Piker 1975:106). The baby is always under the watchful eye of the mother or of another adult member of the family residing in the house or someone who comes over. If there are older children in the family, the mother can ask one of them to look after the younger sibling (Kaufman 1960:146; Maruyama 1973:17). It is also common for a family to have a sister or other close relative (e.g. sister of the mother) come to serve as a nurse (phiáiláag) for the child for several months after birth. The mother may be too weak to care for the youngster or too cautious and concerned with its welfare (Kaufman 1960:145-146). Possibly the motive for having a nurse suggests the idea that too much attention may, on the contrary, spoil the child. Or the mother resumes her daily task in the household and farmwork and therefore has to leave the child.

Amongst household members the mother is the primary agent of care and comfort. She retains the most important role in the indulgence of the child. However, this state of indulgence ends with the arrival of a new baby in the family. Therefore the child has to be weaned which usually occurs several months before the birth of the younger sibling. From two to three years is the usual time for weaning. But it can be postponed when the mother has not borne another child (Piker 1975: 106-107).
Babies are toilet trained without punishment. No special point is made of toilet habits until a child can walk and talk. At about three the youngster is usually entirely toilet trained. In learning to walk he or she is coaxed by members of the family. No special emphasis is put on forcing the child to walk. At about twelve to fourteen months when the baby is able to walk, he or she is gradually taught to swim. Parents consider swimming important because it prevents the toddlers from having accidents, such as drowning since most villagers live along rivers and canals. Swimming may also be related to the notion of cleanliness. It is by swimming that children take a bath at least twice a day (Benedict 1952:27-29; de Young 1955:52-54).

Relying on the aforementioned five duties of parents, the task of educating children in the family is performed by both the father and mother. This implies that both have authority in the family. There have been arguments concerning the problem of authority in the nuclear family. Kingshill (1960:51) reports that in the village of Ku Daeng, Northern Thailand, there is no strict division of authority in the family. Each of the parents has the power to enforce obedience to the children according to his or her section of family life. Kaufman (1960:39) says that in Bangkhuad village, Central Thailand, the father functions as the putative head of the family. The mother, however, has the actual task of disciplining their children when they are still very young. When they grow older and things become more serious, the mother should consult the father. Similar situations have also been observed by some others, e.g. de Young (1955:24) and Piker (1975:101). This suggests that most fathers have had more experience because of contact with the wider community life (Kaufman 1960:39) and therefore will know more about what is good or wrong in life. Furthermore, children fear the father because of his firmness as a disciplinarian.
Potter (1976:123-126) illustrates authority in the extended-stem family in Chiangmai Village, Northern Thailand. He reports that as a consequence of matrilocal residence, young couples are under the control of the wife's parents. The husband has to work for his father-in-law in the ricefields. In return the young family is dependent on their parents' granary. This implies that the wife (daughter) and children are also under the authority of the wife's father. This can be observed from the power of a father-in-law to assign his son-in-law, his wife and grandchildren (daughter's offspring) to represent the extended family in the labour exchange in the village.

However, Potter (ibid.:126) also writes that the role of a father is well defined. He says that the father is responsible to teach his young sons farming, fishing, weaving bamboo mats and baskets, and many other things that men are expected to do in the village. Moreover, if the father has the means, he sends his son to the temple for a year or so to serve as a novice in order to make merit for his parents' souls in the afterlife. In return for his education in the ways of manhood and in return for his livelihood, a son owes his father love, respect and obedience. Therefore, before marriage, a son has to work on his father's farm.

Land forms the basic factor in defining the authority of a father-in-law as head of the extended-stem family. As Potter (1976:126) put it: "Control over the family is dependent upon the retention of the land, and so older people like to retain ownership of their land to ensure that they will be well-trained in their old age. When the father-in-law retires or dies, the resident son-in-law succeeds to his position as male head of
The acquisition of land is not always through inheritance. Potter (1976:67, 75-77) and Mizuno (1968:846) report that young couples manage to buy land and build their own houses by one or several means. A son-in-law will hire himself out as a wage worker, for instance to dig ditches, to harvest at other people's ricefield or help other villagers in constructing houses. He may also cultivate cash-crops on his father-in-law's land as a wage worker. Young wives may help their husbands in earning money by becoming market women. However, all these efforts of the young families have to be performed after their obligations to work for the husband's parents-in-law have been completed. This again, indicates the authority of the father-in-law in the extended family.

Keyes (1975:287-288) and Mizuno (1968:846) write that although daughters and sons-in-law are able to save money for their own benefits, land on which to build a house is usually provided by the wife's parents. Family life in the Northeastern extended families involves cooperative activities between parents' and daughters' families, which is not only confined to agricultural work but extends through many other activities of life.

The rights and obligations of members of the family which form the basis of interaction, reflect several important ideas or notions of what are being inculcated during an individual's early years of life. These ideas refer to respect for older people, good behaviour and politeness, gratitude, moral and ethical attitude, work etc. On the basis of these

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4 Keyes (1975:287) reports that in the village of Ban Nong Tuen, the right to control all types of land is in the hands of couples rather than individuals. As a consequence, headships of domestic groups are in couples, i.e. husband and wife.
ideas I shall discuss the education of children in the family in more detail.

The child learns early to respect the parents and other older members of the family. In this regard parents, especially the mother, will usually teach the baby the gesture of obeisance (wàaj) expressing respect to others. It is the Thai way of salutation (Benedict 1952:26). Simultaneously the child learns to accept his or her place in the family hierarchy (de Young 1955:54). Fundamental distinction between older and younger members in the family, differences between senior and junior generations, are of great importance in the education of children in the family. Later, with the acquisition of language, these distinctions can be expressed by the use of kin terms, i.e. terms of address and terms of reference denoting a child's relatives in the family (Turton 1972:238).

Good behaviour and politeness are expected from every child. Kaufman (1960:39) reports that children are normally allowed to be present when older people gather and talk. However, it will disgrace their parents if they take part in the conversation. Improper conduct, such as aggressiveness, loudness of speech and boasting, are discouraged. Parents like their children to be docile, subservient and modest.

Since I am concerned with the family in rural areas, it can be said that the education of children has a practical purpose. That is to say that children are trained to become like their parents, e.g. farmers.

Children have to help their parents in household and farmwork from about five to seven years of age (Hanks 1963:10; Kaufman 1960:16, 164; Kingshill 1960:54-55; de Young 1955:55). Hanks reports that children work in the fields before and after school hours. The writer refers here to present-day school hours, i.e. from nine o'clock in the
morning until three o'clock in the afternoon.

Telling, asking and "commanding" are the usual methods of parents or other older members of the family in teaching the youngsters. Often the mother or father will simply work, thus providing an example for children. Conversely, children learn by listening, watching and doing.

Hanks (1963:10) and Potter (1977:96) write that parents do not force their children to work in the fields until they reach the age of fifteen to sixteen years. This suggests that the former are well aware of the physical strength of their offspring who are not yet ready to perform the heavy agricultural work. Sharp (1953:94-98), Kaufman (1960:222-224) and Hanks (1963:10), each provide a list of what children have to do to help their parents. Hanks gives more emphasis to farm-work whilst Kaufman illustrates many kinds of activities that relate to children's upbringing in the family which I shall describe below.

Activities, including work that children under fifteen years of age have to perform in the household, can be divided according to age and sex. Apparently, there is no strict division according to age and sex. Boys' and girls' tasks include looking after younger siblings, feeding and caring for chickens and buffaloes, weeding (to free weeds and pests in the ricefields), rat and frog hunting during the day, net-fishing and small shrimp-fishing. There is other household work for girls, e.g. fetching water from the well, milling rice, cutting vegetables (kāb phag), cutting wood, cooking rice, weaving, doing simple needle work, laundry, operating stores, selling prepared food and winnowing by hand. Boys may wash their own garments and they sometimes do operate stores or sell prepared food. Several kinds of work that are usually not assigned to children, especially males, are cooking for the
household, looking after the garden, presenting food to the monks, preparing food for all temple functions. These are adult tasks for which children are considered to be too young (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:451; Kaufman 1960:222-224; de Young 1955:36-37, 92).

I previously mentioned a disagreement between scholars about the difference in treatment of boys and girls in the family. Piker (1975:102) writes that a child after the birth of a younger sibling is removed to the second rank. He or she falls into a state of relative neglect even though other members of the family care for the baby. But the latter can not find a "surrogate" mother in an aunt or grandmother because the mother is the only person for care and comfort. When the second youngest sibling grows older a difference in treatment occurs. That is to say that boys and girls are raised differently.

At about five years of age, girls are given household tasks as part of their education which according to Piker (1975:102) is an initiation period to a proto adult. On the other hand, young boys are excluded from this kind of work. As Piker says, "the sequel to second youngest siblinghood for boys, is virtually total exclusion physical as well as social from the family. Therefore, for boys, the temple and indirectly the monkhood, is literally a refuge." Parents hope that by entrusting the children to the care of the monks in the temple, they will do well and thereby enhance their employment prospects. Parents also expect that their children will work diligently in the family when they return from the wād later.

Piker's findings are not fully supported by others. It seems likely that children, both boys and girls between seven and fifteen years of age, are still required to help their elders in household and farm-work. They are particularly important during the busiest period,
44.

i.e. planting and harvest seasons (Kingshill 1960:55; de Young 1955:49, 92). There are usually seasonally specific shortages of labour. Men and women above sixteen years old have to work in the fields more intensively. Therefore, it is the duty of the old people and young children to keep the household running by doing the cooking, caring for younger siblings and so on.

We also have to consider the problem of school absenteeism as one of the consequences of the importance of child labour in the family. At present, school holidays have been arranged so as to coincide with farming peak seasons (Hanks 1963:10). However, to what extent this government arrangement influences school absenteeism needs further investigation. Sharp (1953:70-71), aware of the government's precautions, reports that "truancy is rarely the result of insistence by parents that children stay home to participate in farmwork."

Piker applies his assertion that boys are not expected to carry out household-work to both landless and landed families. This seems contradictory. In the case of the first group, children may help other families' farmwork, e.g. weeding or doing some other kinds of work, in order to earn money to assist their parents. Families who own land certainly expect their children's help, e.g. caring for the buffaloes and chickens and many other kinds of errands. Such kinds of work also require a sense of responsibility which a child is expected to demonstrate. Possibly Piker fails to observe the meaning of these children's activities. For instance, looking after the draft animals is usually done by the boy while playing games or swimming in the river together.

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5 Sharp (1953:94-98) gives about 25 kinds of children's work. Caring for the cattle, tree climbing and some others are regarded as the responsibility of the children in the household.
with his peers who have the same task. However, carelessness towards his duty is seriously reprimanded by the father (Kaufman 1960:164).

There are other reasons why some kinds of work in the family are not assigned to boys. Fetching water from the well, milling rice, cleaning up after meals and washing dishes and women's clothes, especially the phaasin skirt, are all taboo for any male (de Young 1955:37). Maruyama (1973:18) writes that magico-religious beliefs underly these taboos and have to be taken into account when analyzing the educational function of the family in rural Central Thailand. Mizuno (1968:852) on the other hand, finds that because girls are more gentle in nature and usually are near the mother in the house, they are charged with the housework. There is also the view that girls pose a greater threat to parents' social standing than sons. Therefore, they have to be under stricter supervision of parents (Kemp 1970:84). Helping the mother is seen as the best way in educating and supervising girls in the family in preparation for their adult roles in later life.

The view that parents pay less importance to male children in terms of not assigning them responsible duties in the family, is also denied by Keyes (1975:291) and Potter (1977:96-97). In the village of Ban Nong Tuen, Northeast Thailand, boys perform work that girls cannot do. Boys do the much heavier farmwork. In Changmai Village, the young boys will be assisted by their brothers-in-law if there are any. This implies that the latter may teach the younger sibling-in-law to farm.

I mentioned above that children are obliged to perform funeral rites for their parents. When parents die, it is the responsibility of

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6 The phaasin skirt is regarded impure because it is contaminated with menstrual blood.
the sons to perform these rites. However, it has to be noted that after marriage, the responsibilities of a son are transferred to his wife's family, whilst those of a daughter remain in the family even after the completion of the funeral rites. The fact that a man is still a member of his matriclan by right of filiation, suggests that even after marriage, his responsibility in fulfilling the obligations towards parents cannot be denied.

I do not agree with Piker (1975:102) who reports that the temple is a place of refuge for boys. This suggests that the family almost completely relies on the temple for the education of the males. Piker assumes that before the introduction of western type schools in Banoi, Ayutthaya province, all males became temple boys. Furthermore, he says that all adult males interviewed in 1960 had been temple boys. This may be true but it has to be noted that at that time, there were already government regulations defining temples as centres of secular primary education through the servitor-system. Piker's notion of temple-boy refers to the "regulated temple-boy" by the government which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The sending of boys to the temple as part and parcel of their education has been described by the venerable Phra Worakawinto (Silcock 1976:2) in his poem:

As parents now, they toiled to rear their child,
trained him, to build character firm and straight,
till seven years old, and then to read and write
his alphabet, sent him to Abbot Boon
to ground in learning, led him to be wise
lest farming ways make him a loutish clown
....

Parents fear that their children will become rough-mannered if they stay at home and only work in the fields. Parents are referring here to
the importance of ethical and moral conduct. As I mentioned earlier, it is the duty of parents to teach their offspring in these matters. However, there are limits on the ability of parents to perform their task thoroughly. Several factors prevent them from carrying out their duties satisfactorily, e.g. work activities during the day take their entire time. Possibly parents do not have the knowledge to teach their sons properly and therefore send them to those who have the competence, i.e. the monks in the temple. Here lies the educational motivation as mentioned in Chapter 2. In this regard I consider the sending of sons to the wād for their further education as one of parents' responsibilities in the family (before the establishment of government schools). However, de Young (1955:118) writes that parents do not force their children to go to the temple to serve monks.

Parents' obligations towards their offspring are not confined to matters that concern the economic aspect of life, i.e. to train them in work to make a livelihood. Family education also involves the inculcation of knowledge about many other aspects of life, e.g. spiritual, social, political life, art and recreational activities. These can be observed from activities that children are allowed to do as part of family and community life as well. For instance, children may accompany elders to visit places, such as to attend Buddhist holy day ceremonies in the temple and make journeys to sacred shrines. They may sleep at the wād because some religious ceremonies are conducted during the night (Kaufman 1960:222-224). Kaufman's report is supported by Moerman (1966:143). The latter writes that children are taken by parents or grandparents to attend religious services at the village temple. It is here that children watch and therefore learn the simpler Buddhist rituals at an early age. The child is introduced to the wider community life other than the family circle. The youngster begins to learn about the existence of another
category of people, i.e. the monks and some others, to whom the child has to pay deference apart from his parents and grandparents.

Kaufman (1960:222) reports that in Bangkhuad, children are permitted to accompany their parents to attend entertainments or recreational activities. These consist of local performances some of which are for adults only, e.g. the lamtād. People also love to see folk dance drama (likee), and the shadow play (nājtalug).

When parents need to go and see the traditional doctor (mō booraan) for some cure, sometimes children are taken along. Some children might occasionally witness a childbirth (ibid.:244). According to de Young (1955:55) children learn about sex early for they sleep in the same room with their parents until the age of ten to twelve years. However, de Young does not disclose the extent of children’s knowledge concerning sex. This needs further investigation. Furthermore, girls will certainly be taught by the parents that they, in contrast to boys, cannot associate freely with the monks.

The temple compound functions as a venue for village gatherings such as political meetings and for the election of village leaders. This suggests that children learn and are aware of the people possessing power and authority in the village whom they have to respect and obey.

All the activities in which a child participates - visiting temples, attending entertainments etc. - reveal that education in the family stimulates other agents of education, e.g. folk performances, the

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Lamtād is a folk performance performed at night time: 8 p.m. until 5 a.m. It is a series of repartee episodes between two men and two women to the accompaniment of song and music. Musical instruments comprise flutes, cymbals and small drums. For further details see Kaufman (1960:171).
wand, the traditional doctor and some others, to play their role in the transmission of knowledge and cultural values in a much wider context than in the family. In this regard I shall only discuss temple education.

A reward system which consists of praising and punishing is common in the education of children. Up to two years of age a child is allowed to play freely. He or she is petted and appeased even when the child is petulant. However, when the baby grows older, obedience and discipline are expected (de Young 1955:54).

Parents exercise discipline by several methods. Kaufman (1960:146) gives instances of threats of ghostly attacks to ensure the obedience of children. But Piker (1975:101) says they are too terrifying and the menace is rare. In persuading children to comply with parents' wishes, e.g. to go to bed early, to be nice to younger siblings, etc. parents will make statements, saying that "an evil spirit will carry them away if they are disobedient." Another method which is also put into effect is the use of the fear of animals as mentioned by Piker (1975:101) and Kaufman (1960:146). They report the common use of statements to threaten children, "If you do not go to bed, the gecko or the lizard will eat your liver", or "If you do not obey, the cat will eat you up."

It is not clear to what extent children believe in spirits as a consequence of such sanctions in family education. Regarding animal fear, apparently children older than three begin to see that the aforementioned animals are not harmful if they are treated nicely and the cat may become the child's play mate. Therefore, a more effective punishment has to be employed in disciplining youngsters between three and fourteen years of age, e.g. verbal chastisement and corporal punishment.
As reported by de Young (1955:54) verbal chastisement is usually sufficient for little children. He observes that parents often pretend to repudiate a disobedient child, saying that they found him floating in the river or bought him from an Indian or one of the hill tribes. Piker (1975:102) writes that banter rather than threat of abandonment is common in the village of Banoi. When the child is naughty parents will jokingly invite a passer-by to take their child. Usually children are frightened to be given away to strangers.

Corporal punishment is imposed on older children. The switch is always ready for correcting disobedient youngsters. Parents strike their children for neglect of duties, climbing trees, destroying property, crying without valid reason and for unwillingness to learn swimming.

The task of carrying out physical chastisement is usually performed by the mother rather than the father (Piker 1975:102). On the other hand, Kaufman (1960:146) and some others maintain the reverse. Mothers, they say, use scolding more than striking as modes of disciplining children. It is interesting to note here that, as Kaufman (ibid.) writes, punishment by deprivation of food is never practised in Bangkhuad village.

From the scolding and physical punishment performed by parents, as part of educating their children, the message of what is good or bad or what is right or wrong can be deduced. Negligence such as not looking after the buffalo with care implies irresponsibility. The father becomes angry because of the fact that a buffalo is an important asset in farming. Without a draft animal the farmer will not be able to plough his land unless he borrows one from others. Children are expected to know this from practical training they received in the family.
I suggest that parents also teach their children in a gentle way. Parents may talk freely with their children, giving advice and explanation to them perhaps during the meals or any kind of get-together of the family. Activities of teaching children can be observed from conversations between members of the family: more specifically between mother and daughter, father and son, grandparents and grandchildren and so on.

One of the rewards that parents would like to receive is the realization of their hopes or expectation that their children will become respectable adults. Concerning the ideal man Moore (1974:179-180) writes,

In most of Thailand the ideal man is the monk - the man who either devotes his whole life to Buddhist precepts as a permanent member of the priesthood or, on a more practical level, serves in the Buddhist temple for some months or years (attaining considerable merit from this and other activities). This ideal man is also a good farmer and a good provider for his family, a renowned storyteller, serves his community as a local leader, and has the other virtues defined by his society. The ideal woman is pictured as one who is an able worker in the paddy field and in the home, is respectful, obedient, and helpful to her husband and provides him with children, is a wise manager of the family purse and a shrewd dealer in the village market, is religious, and has the other virtues valued in both sexes.

I shall confine myself to the ideal man rather than the ideal woman. Moore's report has to be justified statistically. Questions should be raised such as how many males of the total adult male population become monks and novices annually. And from these, how many become the permanent monks and novices. Mulder (1969:35) provides figures concerning the number of monks since 1927 until 1966. He says

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The publishing of an annual report by the Monastic Order started in 1927 (Wells 1975:26). This, however, does not imply that the Order had not begun with keeping records of its religious and lay personnel of the monasteries. A department of the ecclesiatical administration was mentioned by Pallegoix (Tambiah 1976:230) which had the function to register monastery residents before 1927.
that the ratio of monks, during the Buddhist Lent, among the adult Buddhist population declined from 1:16.5 to 1:34.1. Furthermore, he says that the present permanent monkhood numbers slightly over 2% of the adult male population. Tambiah (1976:266) writes that monks during the Buddhist Lent of 1968 represented about 0.5 percent of the total population (33,855,000) and 1 percent of the male population. Both monks and novices represented 0.9 percent of the total population and 1.8 percent of the male population. This category includes temporary monks amounting to 25 percent, which does not differ considerably from Mulder's 1966 figure of 24.6 percent.

Moore's exaltation of the monk as the ideal man needs to be examined more carefully. Tambiah refers to the monk as the world renouncer and contrasts him with the warrior or world conqueror. Moreover, the position of the monk and the soldier or army should be seen from a macroscopic view of the relationship between Buddhism and the polity in Thailand, or more precisely, relationship between the monk and the king, between the Buddha and world ruler (Cakravāhakacchakavati) as the two wheels of the law of the cosmic order (dharma), between the Sākhā and the polity and society, and between this worldly and other-worldly pursuits. It is not my intention to discuss all these relationships since they have already been fully examined by Tambiah in his latest book (1976), World Conqueror and World Renouncer.

Thailand's war experience with neighbouring countries in the past provides evidence of the importance of warriors and the warrior spirit. Moreover, the army's dominant role in Thailand's present-day system of government should also be taken into account. Somehow, the notion of the world conqueror poses the question of how society educates its people in that ideal.
This ideal is concerned with worldly matters which include the killing of man and animals, intoxication and some other acts that are against Buddhist principles, but are regarded as manly virtues or qualities in society. Life in the family and community provides such an education or training, e.g. in horsemanship, wrestling, sword-fighting and some others. I assume that a father skilled in the art of war may transmit such knowledge to his sons.

Battye (1974:55) says that some boxing and sword-schools in the past were located in temples. This might be true but I suggest that laymen acted as teachers rather than the monks. Temples usually have the space to carry out various kinds of community activities. I do not have enough evidence to go into further details concerning these schools.

The existence of a military department in the royal palace, mobilization or conscription for military service may explain some of the institutions engaged in the education of the world conqueror. For the modern institutions we may refer to the boyscout (tøugeyga) organizations established at grass-root up to nation level. The formal and specialized training is represented by the military academy. The state legitimates the world conqueror and requires soldiers who are not entirely entrammelled by Buddhist precepts. This relates to the policy of governance exercised by the state to defend the country and religion (Buddhism) from its enemies.

The notion of world conqueror should not be restricted to the soldier or warrior only. Ceremonial events reveal that people are required to commit violent acts. Spirit-cult practices provide evidence, e.g. killing of animals for sacrifices, which should be explained according to the spirit-cult belief. But people even kill animals to prepare food to be presented to monks. I observe that people drink and
gamble at funerary rites held in the families. These all suggest that it is life in the family and society that teaches children in the ideas involving forceful acts or behaviour indispensable for the world conqueror.

The world conqueror ideal invites the query whether this forceful behaviour is justified by the people. It is difficult to answer in full detail here. We need to have an understanding of Popular Religion which I shall discuss in Chapter 4. Furthermore, justification concerning the role of the warrior requires an investigation of the relationship between religion/Buddhism and politics in Thailand which I am not able to discuss here. However, Kingshill's (1960:141) report may serve as one answer concerning the killing of animals in everyday life. He put forward the utilitarian reasoning adhered to by villagers in Ku Daeng: "Little sinning will not do much harm if plenty of merit can counterbalance it." Despite the importance of the education in the ideal of the world conqueror, I shall confine myself only to the temple and temple education in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Two basic family forms are observable in Thailand, the nuclear and the extended family. Concerning the latter, matrilocal exceeds patrilocal extended family. The practice of matrilocality requires sons to leave their home in marriage. Their entry to the temple as servitors during childhood anticipates their ultimate departure from the home as husbands but has nothing to do with the lack of roles in domestic affairs. A combination of matrilocal residence and the extended family is highly conducive to temple service because the larger domestic unit is better able to replace the labour of the boys who depart.
Further systematic research on the nuclear family as an educational institution on the one hand and the extended family on the other, has still to be conducted in order to have a better understanding of a child's education in the family. But it can be said that relationship between nuclear and extended family throws some light on the basic factor of authority in the family, i.e. control of land. It is under this authority that family relationship should be observed. The transmission of knowledge can be observed clearly from the daily interaction between family members; that this interaction is based upon the rules of conduct imposed on the members of the family according to their positions and roles.

Looking at both families as socio-economic units, doing real work as part of children's education, forms one of the important modes of inculcation of ideas and knowledge. Children work from an early age in preparation for their roles in adulthood.

Difference in treatment between the sexes do occur. Boys usually perform "outdoor" and the heavier work. Magico-religious considerations may help us explain the exclusion of boys from some household tasks.

Despite the importance of child labour in the family, this does not always cause school-absenteeism. Family attitude towards secular education should also be viewed from religious and practical points of view.
Introduction

The temple has always played an important role in Thai society. It is the centre and pride of the community. Its main function is religious, but its social and educative roles have been no less important. Each function is directly or indirectly related to the others.

Before the advent of western-type education the temple supplemented the family as an educational institution. It was the only institution of formal learning through which a boy experienced further training in preparation for adulthood. Formal learning was usually concerned with religious training.

A closer examination of the temple educational system reveals that it covers a broad range of learning, both formal and informal, religious and secular. The significance and purpose of this temple training is obviously connected with the preservation of the Buddhist religion itself.

Since my study involves the temple servitors, my aim in this chapter is to look at the general temple educational system rather than the specialized religious training given to monks and novices. However, discussion of the temple's physical form is a necessary preliminary to consideration of the institution's religious and social importance in the community. Finally, I present a description of Buddhism as practised by the people in daily life as the background to the temple education for their children.
The temple as centre of education

Temples as centres of instruction and learning have evolved since the Sukhothai period (1238-1350) and have been described by various scholars, both Thai and foreign (Wyatt 1966:2-3; Tambiah 1976-201; Citarakon Tajkeesomsug 1982:15-33). The evolution of temples as centres of education cannot be described without reference to the Buddhist religion itself.

Early Thai chronicles indicate that before the Sukhothai period, the Khmer or Mon city of Lopburi (Central Thailand) may have served as a centre for Buddhist and classical Indian studies. It is likely that young men from the North (now known as Sukhothai in North Central Thailand) were attached to such centres (Wyatt 1969:4).

The inscription of King Ram Kham Heng of Sukhothai, which was discovered by Prince Mongkut (later the king) in 1833 at Sukhothai, gives us a picture of a Buddhist community complete with temples during the thirteenth century. The inscription states that there the city of Sukhothai was a seat of a kingdom with the same name. The city had four big gates behind which were viharas or vihaan, golden statues of the Buddha and monks. These monks were nissayamutta, theera' and mahaatheera.' West of the city lay Wad Aranjika, a temple which is now called Wad Saphaanhin and which was the site of a large rectangular vihara built by King Ram Kham Heng as a gift to the Mahaatheera' Saqkharaad, a learned

1 Nissayamutta (Pali) is one who is set free from reliance on supports and has been ordained for at least five years. Theera' is a monk who has been ordained for ten years and more (Griswold and Prasert Nagar 1971:212). At present a mahaatheera' or elder is a member of the Council of Elders of the Sajka administration (Tambiah 1976:237).
2 Saqkharaad or Phrasavkharaad is the Buddhist supreme patriarch.
monk from Nakhon Si Thammarat. East of the city were villages, homesteads and farming land, a large lake, and groves of areca and betel as well as stands of mango and tamarinds. The aves to the north were the location of the market, the Buddha (‘Aacaan) statue, the palace (prasaad), villages and homesteads. The monks' cubicles and viharas were in the south (Griswold and Prasert Nagara 1971:210-213).

Tambiah (1976:201) and Wyatt (1969:21) agree that evidence is insufficient to give a realistic picture of temples as centres of monastic education during the Sukhothai period. The inscriptions report nothing more than their existence. It is also difficult to trace changes that occurred between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The existence of well developed centres of religious learning in the Ayutthaya period (1350-1767) has been described by seventeenth century visitors such as Joost Schouten (Caron and Schouten 1935:108) and La Loubère (1693:113) who mention that boys entered the temple after they were raised and reared in the family.

In 1767 Ayutthaya was sacked by the Burmese. They destroyed the temples which might have served as a major source of evidence concerning temple education in its chronological sequence.

Restoration efforts by the Siamese kings after 1767, help us form a fairly accurate picture of temples from the beginning of the nineteenth century; and of activities which served to the needs of the monastic order and the lay community as well. These activities reflected the temples' importance in urban and rural affairs. I shall present a brief description of its religious, social and educational functions.
The temple

In its physical form a temple (wād) is a complex of buildings dedicated to the religious life. The main construction is the chapel (bōod or ōbōod) where the purely monastic rites of the monks are conducted. It is the place of the main Buddha statue and the venue for ordination ceremonies. The vihara (wīhaan) is a building where sermons are held for the laity and where other Buddha statues are sheltered. There is a special place (sāalaa) where people may sit or rest. This functions as a hall for village gatherings. A temple may also have a special room (hūo kaanparian) for Pali studies. Furthermore, there is a room (hūo sīəən) for chanting sessions, the dining room (hūo chan), the monks' residences (kuti). Some temples may have apartments for the Buddhist nuns (mEEchii). The grounds typically have a kitchen, a well, a pond or a water tower, toilet facilities, a coffin store house and a crematorium. Other important structures are the ceeəti or stupa within which, near the base, are kept sacred or valuable objects.

The temple bell or gong (khoDI) functions as a clock, calling the monks to prayer and meal-times. But it also alerts the people in case of danger. Eight stone structures (sīimaa) that surround the bōod function as the boundary of the sacred area. There is a ninth and most important boundary stone in the centre of the consecrated soil under the floor of the chapel.

A temple may also have a library (hūo Traajpidog). Formerly the construction was often erected on stilts and surrounded by water in a pond to protect books from attacks by termites and fire.

There may also be a building (mondOb) to shelter the Buddha's
footprint. Since meditation forms also part of the monk's vocation some temples provide special rooms for that purpose. It is also common to see a spirit shrine housing the temple guardian spirit somewhere in a dark corner of the temple ground.


Not all temples correspond to the description mentioned above. Urban temples compared to those in rural areas are larger and tend to have better facilities, especially in the field of education. Hence they accommodate more monks, novices and servitors.

Royal temples (wád làag) in Thailand are located in urban areas. They are usually larger than the non-royal temples (wád raad). The abbots are chosen from high ranking title holders in the Sàdkha hierarchy (raadchakha). They are appointed and installed by the king at the beginning of every reign. Royal temples have historically been founded and endowed by royalty and nobility. The most important ecclesiastical titles are allocated to members of these temples.

On the other hand, heads of non-royal temples are appointed by the people, under whom are nobles, who have founded and who support the institution (Tambiah 1976:231-232, 270, 360-370).

By members of a temple I refer to the permanently ordained monks and who are registered as its residents and occupants of particular

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3 There is a difference regarding the description of the mondāb. Wells says that it contains the Buddha's footprint whilst Tambiah reports that it shelters the sacred manuscripts.
positions in the Sāṅkha hierarchy. Their status ideally accords with educational qualifications and length of time in the monkhood.

It is important to note that not all temples possess a chapel (bod). A temple with a chapel is called visāṅkha amāraimāa. The structure is necessary for the members to perform ordination ceremonies and those lacking it (sāmācāṅkha) conduct only ordinary services for monks and the laity. In absence of a chapel, monks usually join other temples for the monastic rituals. There are about the same number of them in each category throughout the Kingdom (i.e. temples with and without bod) (Wells 1975:27-28).

The procedure of construction itself explains why some temples have no chapel. The builders belong to the future congregation and this is so even in cities. Condominas (1970:17-18) illustrates how a temple comes into existence when people establish a new village and favour the surrounding countryside. The community is incomplete until a temple sacralizes the settlement. People begin with constructing a residence for monks who have agreed to live with them. Later on villagers add a saalaa to shelter visitors. It has to be noted that all efforts to build a temple depend on the people's strength in terms of manpower, material and financial support. Condominas (ibid.) writes that the village must be capable not only of assembling a work force, but also of raising money to buy materials such as brick and tiles, etc. and to pay the salaries of specialized workers, i.e. bricklayers, sculptors and so on. It seems likely that villagers are determined to have their own chapel so that the community can have its own ordination ceremonies. Ordination allows lay people to make more merit.

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4 Condominas (1970:9-27) account is based on his research in Laos.
Apart from the villagers' capability to build temples the government's consent is required since this concerns the use of government's land and, especially for the establishment of the chapels, a special arrangement has to be fulfilled: the consecration of the area where the *boud* will be built. Another formality prescribed by the government is that a temple should be located at least two kilometres apart from another (Wells 1975:28, 178-179).

**Religious function of the temple**

The temple functions as a place for the performance of activities which relate to the spiritual life and especially Buddhism. These include rituals and ceremonies which divide into two categories, those conducted exclusively by the monks as part of their profession; and rituals performed by the lay people but under monastic advice. The first group of activities are usually known as the monastic rituals which in practice comprise the daily morning and evening prayers, services on Buddhist Sabbath days, the bimonthly recitation of the Vinaya rules, rituals on other important Buddhist holy days, i.e. *Wiśakha Buuṣhaa, Maakha Buuṣhaa*. The most important period during which monastic rituals and ceremonies are performed and intensified is during the Buddhist Lent. This period is a manifestation of the Buddhist ideal, i.e. retreat and isolation from worldly affairs by the clergy. In practice, apart from performing monastic rituals, monks, novices and servitors whose numbers increase during this season, devote themselves to the study and learning of Buddhist teachings. On the part of the laity it is a period of piety and ascetism. During this time, people bring food to the temple. The monks have suspended their daily rounds.

Davis (1974:276) writes that it is forbidden to hold auspicious
(mokkhon) rites during the Buddhist Lent: e.g. weddings, ordination, housewarming etc. Non-Buddhist religious rituals, i.e. sacrifices to spirits, except to the temple guardian spirit, are also not allowed to be performed. Davis (ibid.:277) asserts that the prohibition is a manifestation of the supremacy of Buddhism over the spirit cults. The supremacy of Buddhism has also been observed by other writers but is nevertheless problematic.

The second group of religious ceremonies conducted by laymen in cooperation with the monks centre on the temple and take place within its walls. These ceremonies and their festivities are connected with seasonal changes in the year (e.g. SoKraam festival, Buddhist Lent festivals), which have an impact on agricultural activities. The ceremonies are also related to life cycle stages (e.g. ordination, funeral rites) and other occasions which motivate people to have rituals carried out in the temple.

Such rituals may have Buddhist and non-Buddhist features which need further explanation. However, the crucial point is that these religious activities enable people to make merit according to Buddhist ideals by observing the five (sīn hāa) or eight precepts (sīn pēēa)\(^5\) and no less importantly, to donate food and other kinds of gifts to the temple and monks. Another way of making merit is by becoming a monk.

The cooperation of the monks is necessary because they are the ritual experts in conducting the rites along Buddhist lines. Their skill is the product of education in the temple. To mention only a few examples, the leader of the congregation (lao cew wād) uses Pali in a

\(^5\) The five precepts are: refraining from taking life, from taking what is not given, from unchastity, from speaking falsehood and from drinking intoxicants (see page 93 of this chapter). The eight precepts comprise the five precepts and three additional ones: refraining from taking meals after noon, from enjoying music or the fragrance of sweet flowers and from sleeping on a soft bed.
formal request for the recitation of the precepts. The monks then deliver them while the congregation responds in unison. Meanwhile, the *wâaj* position, i.e. sitting with the handpalms close together at chin level, is taken. Requesting and presenting the precepts are rituals since they are repeatedly performed in the same manner. The efficacy of the ritual is made clear by the use of the Pali language which is usually unintelligible to the laity but sanctifies the ritual.

It has to be noted that the monks' function as ritual experts is not confined to religious activities in the temple. As shown by the literature religious ceremonies are also carried out within the houses of householders or families, schools, offices and other public places depending upon the occasions. Monks are invited to officiate at ceremonies and for reciting chants and prayers in Pali. The essence of Buddhist ceremonies is the chanting of Pali stanzas (*khaathâa*) whereby the three Gems (*Phnarâtanaâra*): Buddha (*Phraphud*), Dharma (*Phratlam*) and *Sâjka* are praised. Merit or blessing is invoked upon the occasion, objects or persons involved (Wells 1975:44).

Although the rituals are performed outside the temple, invitations and requests to monks to preside over the ceremonies have to be carried out. The temple has to be visited, the headmonk contacted and arrangements made concerning those who are going to be present at the occasion.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, a *deguâd* can be taken along to assist monks. Ingersoll (1966:63) reports that gifts a headmonk receives at home rituals provide a greater yearly income than receipts from temple ceremonies.  

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6 Ingersoll (1966:63) reports that in the village of Sagatiam each monk and novice must receive the same gift in money or equipment from laymen making merit at home or temple ritual. But Moerman (1966:155) disagrees with Ingersoll. He claims that monks, because of the greater ritual responsibility, receive more than the novices.
The most elaborate of all life cycle ceremonies for which laymen are very dependent upon the monks and temple, are the householders' funeral rites. Tambiah (1976:264) asserts that conducting mortuary rites is the major function of the monks. The rites may start at the place of the deceased and further rituals continue at the wād because the dead are usually kept there for some time before cremation. The temple morgue provides the space to keep the corpses. The final rite, i.e. cremation, is usually carried out in the temple (Wells 1975:214-216), but there are some reports, including Miles: pers. comm., of cremations outside the temple ground.

Social functions of the temple

These have been described by various scholars (e.g. Moerman 1966:161, 163; Condominas 1970:16-17; Davis 1974:279; Potter 1977:83-84) and in great detail by Kaufman (1960:113-115) who says that in the village of Bangkhuad the temple not only serves as a community centre, but functions also as a counselling agency, hospital, school, community chest, free hotel, news agency, charity employment exchange, bank, clock, sport centre, morgue, poorhouse, landlord, home for the aged, water reservoir, asylum for the psychotic, music school, a refuge for criminals and a canoe house. Moerman (1966:161) asserts that the temple is the only institution that stores community property apart from the village headman's compound. Property stored at the latter's house may be regarded as "quasi-personal" and therefore not unequivocally available for communal use.

From the temple, people can borrow property such as mats, crockery, and other kinds of utensils and furniture. The temple even lends money to those in need of cash. I am not quite sure whether borrowing money has to be repayed with interest. However, I suggest that other kinds of gratitude may be implied in the repayment of the loan.
All property stored in the temple is under the care of the temple committee (*kammakaan wađ*), i.e. laymen, usually ex-monks, who, in cooperation with the headmonk of the temple, have the task to supervise temple affairs in the village.

Other functions of temples are as places of inter-village contact whether it be individual or communal in nature (Moerman 1966:164; Davis 1974:279). Kaufman's reference to the "free hotel" makes this explicit. Moerman (ibid.) observes the moral function of the temple by saying that, "the honor of the village and the self-respect of its inhabitants are implicated in the reputation of the clergy. When policy observed some clergy gambling, the entire village 'lost face, lost name'."

Apart from being institutions of learning, temples also serve as centres for meditation. In fact, the existence of meditating monks who are usually equated with forest monks, is indicated by the organization of the monastic order itself. The *Sākha* divides into four divisions: the Northern (left), Southern (right), Central and the division of the *Thammajud* Sect. The Central division is now in charge of the administration of the meditating or forest monks (Tambiah 1976:232, 419).

The canonical scriptures provide references to meditating practices (Conze 1975:24). However, most temples in both urban and rural areas do not teach meditation and therefore the monks and novices do not practise it. There are indeed temples which are renowned for the practice of meditation. Such places then become centres that attract people who want to learn that discipline. These people may be monks and laymen as well. The latter comprise men and women (Tambiah 1976:419-420).

Although meditation has been part of monastic life from ancient times, it is not part of the compulsory religious training today.
Meditation classes are reserved for the more advanced monks, for example in the famous Buddhist university at Wadh Mahathâad in Bangkok.

Classes last for about one hour per week within two semesters. Apparently, meditation is only a part-time activity. This is understandable, because the monks' reliance on the support of the laity for their maintenance, implies that the former are obliged to make a return in the form of teaching, giving advice or consultation, officiating ceremonies. Moreover, monks are also in charge of the administrative work of the Sâqkâha.

My question is now why do monks and also the lay people meditate?

Tambiah's (1976:422) recent study helps to answer this question. His investigation, however, is based only on interviews with monks rather than laymen. The majority of the respondents (324 monks) told him that meditation produces calmness, peace and happiness. Some others stated that meditation removes worries, lust and desires, bad emotional states, anger and prejudice. Several monks gave more sophisticated statements: that meditation produces concentration of mind, self-awareness; leads to truth, to right action and other Buddhist features of mental training.

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**Popular Religion**

Scholars (Tambiah 1970:116; Spiro 1978:xxxii) distinguish between Canonical Buddhism and Buddhism as practised in society which I called Popular Religion. The first is based on the strict observances of the Buddhist teachings and texts as documented in the Buddhist Canon (Tripitaka, Trajpitôg).

Studies on religion in Thailand and other Theravada Buddhist countries, e.g. Burma (Spiro 1967), Laos (Condominas 1970:13-14) and

Some scholars (e.g. Spiro 1967:265-267; Tambiah 1970:252-262) have concerned themselves with the examination of the relationship between the two religious systems which compose the overall religious pattern of Popular Religion. Some studies defend the view that the two religious systems merge into one religion which is known in the literature as syncretism. On the other hand, there is the assumption that Buddhism and the spirit cults form two separate and distinct religious systems of belief and practices.

Tambiah (1970:252-262) argues that Buddhism and the spirit cults in Thailand are integrated into one religious system, that Popular Religion unifies Buddhist and spirit-cult beliefs and rites into one single system. He rejects the notion of syncretism. He finds that the connection between the two systems is a complexity which involves hierarchy, opposition, complementary and linkage. I shall not discuss this in further detail. Spiro (1967:265-267) on the other hand, sees Buddhism and supernaturalism as two separate religions, coexisting in conflict among Burmese.

What causes Buddhism to incorporate the cult of the spirits in its system? Spiro's (1967) functionalist and psychological theory of Burmese supernaturalism provides us with the clues of the persistence of the spirit cults in society. His point of departure concerns the function of religion. Spiro (ibid.:2) says that religion has many functions and different religions have different functions. However, their aims are similar: they help their devotees to cope with suffering. Religion serves this function in two ways: by offering an explanation and by providing techniques. These two ways can be referred to as Durkheim's (1976:36) two fundamental components of religion: beliefs
Spiro (1967:4) writes that Buddhist explanation of the cause and resolve of suffering does not entirely satisfy people emotionally. Buddhist salvation emphasizes on other-worldly matters, i.e. the attainment of nirvana (nibbāna), i.e. complete eradication of suffering which implies the extinction of the cycle of rebirth. This goal is unattainable by ordinary people and in fact, is not their aim. People are more concerned with seeking solution for betterment of life while in this and next existence. Betterment in life lessens suffering by promoting material and immaterial wealth. The latter involve good health, happiness, position and prestige in society. To achieve all these Buddhism postulates the necessity of the principle of cause and effect or karma (karma). Good deeds result in good karma and bad deeds produce the reverse. No one can escape his karma. People feel constrained about this and require another resolution to their problems which can provide concrete results. The practice of supernaturalism is taken as one of the alternatives.

The spirit cult bases its practices on the belief in spiritual beings. They are personified and unpersonified, good and evil, and endowed with supernatural or superhuman power. They are believed to live in human surrounding but they also have their own spirit world. Spirits harm people who mistreat or neglect but help others who propitiate.

According to the spirit-cult explanation suffering is caused by evil or potential harmful spirits whilst the sufferer is wholly blameless. He can lessen his burden of problems by performing appropriate ritual techniques or employing spirit ritual specialists (Spiro 1967:3-4).
Fundamental discrepancies concerning the cause of suffering lead to the conclusion that Buddhism and supernaturalism differ in their approach of solving human problems in life.

Buddhism is maintained and perpetuated through the temple and monkhood. The latter is reserved for males only. The temple educates young boys in the ways of Buddhist salvation. One stage of such an education is by becoming a temple servitor. This does not imply that young girls are exempted from learning about Buddhist teachings and rites. I mentioned in Chapter 3 that their education in the family involves activities such as frequenting the temple to attend services with their parents or grandparents. Further details about temple education will be treated separately in the following pages but emphasizing on the old rather than the new educational system.

Supernaturalism is preserved through the spirit-cult ritual experts whose education derives from practitioners, e.g. khwan ritual specialist (moo khwon, phraam), astrologer (moo duu), diviner (moo sog), exorciser (moo tham) etc. But since literacy in the sacred script is required, lay ritual specialists seek that knowledge in the temple. More about this will be discussed later. Some temple servitors in the past might request monks to seek information about spirit-cults in the temple library. The latter then teach their helpers informally about some of these non-Buddhist religious knowledge.

Spirit-cult rites involve activities contradictory to Buddhism, e.g. dealing with spirits who have to be propitiated by the slaughter of animals. As I mentioned previously in Chapter 3, people also kill animals to make curries for the monks. Considering the prevalence of animistic rituals and festivities, children are from their early age exposed to spirit-cult ideas. These are given in the family or life in
the community, e.g. children must be well aware of the importance of spirit-houses attached to their family homes where parents place offerings to the guardian spirit of the house. They must also know about the village and temple guardian spirits whom people propitiate on certain occasions during the year to ask for good harvest or some other favour. In regard to the temple servitor, as helpers of the monks, they learn that before ordination a would-be monk is subject to a khawan ritual which is usually performed at home.

In fact, the temple transmits spirit-cult ideas and knowledge through its ceremonies and rituals. In this regard I agree with Tambiah over the complexity of the relationship between Buddhism and the spirit-cults. The following illustration is evident.

I attended a sermon in a village temple of Nakhon Si Thammarat province on Wan Saad Day. The occasion commemorated the spirits of the dead. The story the monk rendered was about preta spirits (phii pṛed). He said, they wandered around and suffered because of the sins they committed during life. People made merit for these spiritual beings by preparing a certain kind of snack and other foods which were brought to the temple and placed on a table in the compound. In one of the rooms monks performed a ritual to bless the food which they afterwards offered to the spirits. But simultaneously, people, mostly young boys and some adults, snatched the offerings. To get such food, they said, brought luck and happiness.

Temple education

Temple education is in a broad sense religious education. That is to say, the secular aspects are incorporated in the religious education. The latter refers to the inculcation of knowledge concerning Buddhism, based on the Buddhist Canon and literature concerning the life of the Buddha (Tambiah 1968:104).
Before the educational reforms temple education was divided between elementary schooling (which was intended to instruct the servitors) and advanced education which was usually reserved for novices and the more recently ordained monks (Terwiel 1977:39-40).

The general characteristic of this educational system was the open and relatively loosely structured method. That is to say that there were no formal classes and grades (Wyatt 1969:13). Furthermore, it may be surmized that the teachers, i.e. the monks, were of varying ability, who had personal followers loosely around them, persisting in traditional means of oral instruction and translation (Zack 1977:98).

When temples became the seats of the implementation of western-type education after the second half of the nineteenth century, the temple educational system was changed. Primary secular schools with formal classes and grades replaced the old system whilst the religious educational system was maintained but later on also modernized. It is my purpose to discuss the old system. One may ask first about the significance and purpose of temple education.

**The significance and purpose of temple education**

As a centre of religious education one of the temple's functions is to train people for the monkhood and to guarantee the perpetuation of the monastic order. However, ordinary people who do not belong to the Sāṅkha are also beneficiaries of such education. In other words, apart from the monks and novices, lay people may attend classes in the study of the Buddhist teaching offered by the temple (Tambiah 1976:294, n.7).

Reynolds (1972:194) writes that training for the monkhood is to produce qualified administrators of the Sāṅkha. Monks are a privileged minority. They form a separate group by living in temples. Their way
of life differs from that of the laity. Monks specialize in being religious figures responsible for conducting religious rituals and providing spiritual guidance to laymen. The monks' role is subject to the Vinaya, i.e. the first part of the Buddhist Canon which contains the rules of monastic discipline. Administrators of the monastic order require not only a keen sense of the monks' role but also a thorough knowledge of monastic organization according to the Vinaya. The Sāṃgha educates these administrators through its temples.

It has to be kept in mind that not all young men who undergo training in the temples will become administrators or choose monkhood as a profession. Some of them enter the holy order only to fulfil the traditional observances by ordained monks during the Buddhist Lent season (phansaa), i.e. from about mid-July to mid-October, after which they leave the temple and re-enter the lay community as mature (sug) rather than raw (dīb) persons (khon). The image of a socially mature person (khon sug) is seen as one who, by virtue of his moral and religious training, knows the good from the bad deeds. He therefore becomes a refined man who knows the ways of the wise man and is regarded as a good Buddhist. It is by ordination that the socially immature person becomes socially mature (Anuman Rajadhon 1965:195). 7

Davis (1974:280) regards the khon dīb as a man who has never been ordained or as he put it: "Raw people are males who have not undergone the emasculation implicit an ordination." Davis discusses this notion of the immature person in relationship with the meaning of the Buddhist Lent season.

7 Concerning women, maturity comes through the ritual of laying by the fire (tew faj) after giving birth (Hanks 1963:71).
8 As already mentioned there is also another ideal man who is totally masculine, i.e. the World Conqueror.
In discussing the meaning of the Buddhist retreat, Davis (ibid.: 275-290) analyzes the meaning of festivals and rituals performed in connection with the occasion. Of great importance are the rituals conducted to mark the day of the beginning of the Lent (Wan Khâw Phansâa). These rituals are first dedicated to the monks and later to the temple guardian spirit named Taaw Khaa Kaan. This spirit is said to be of lay status and is the guardian of the religion (ibid.: 280). A dualism in ritual is clearly explained by Davis which illustrates the dichotomy between the raw and the cooked man. I use the word cooked because the Thai word sug, literally means ripe or cooked. The latter is preferable, it relates to the notion of fire or heat which is relevant in explaining the khon sug later.

The ritual dedicated to the monks is usually performed earlier, that is on the evening preceding the beginning of the retreat. But since raw precedes cooked man, relying on Davis, I shall begin with the ritual performed for the temple guardian spirit.

The ritual is performed on the day of the beginning of the retreat. It is officiated by an intermediary of the temple spirit. Because Taaw Khaa Kaan is of lay status, the intermediary must be a khon dib, a man who has never been a monk. He represents the lay community. Considering Tambiah's (1968: 92) report, this officiant falls into the category of non-literates (not literate in the Buddhist sacred script) village ritual experts who are usually concerned with practices employing spirits "opposed" by the monks. The temple guardian spirit is benevolent but has to be propitiated on important occasions such as the Buddhist retreat. The officiant, on behalf of the lay community, delivers a speech, informs the spirit of the event taking place and places the offerings in his shrine. These offerings are presented by
the congregation. In the speech the spirit is asked to protect the monks and the congregation with his benevolent power. It is said that failure to share the monks' offering, which is presented earlier, with the temple guardian spirit, may inflict illness upon the monks and villagers (Davis 1974:278-280).

For those newly ordained young monks, Khaw Phansa is the initiation period. Their ordination rites have to be performed before the retreat, that is between the fifth to eighth of the waxing moon of the eighth month (Wells 1975:100, n.2). It is during Lent season that these young ordained men are introduced into the austerity of monastic life which is based on the 227 precepts of the Buddhist Canon. In practice they have to learn how to live as a monk by observing the rules of conduct and study the Buddhist teaching under experienced teachers. The aim is to gain mental and spiritual experience which ideally is similar to that of an ascetic. Eliade (1965:86) quotes the Dhammapada that says that the Buddha "burns" with heat because he is practising asceticism or tapas which is a Sanskrit term meaning originally extreme heat. I suggest that this "burning" or "magical heat" experienced by the young monks causes them to be labelled as cooked or sug. The monks' purity can be enhanced by prodigious increase of heat (ibid.). And according to Davis (1974:289) candles are symbols of heat that aid the monks to acquire their heightened powers. In this regard the ritual performed by the laity on the evening before the beginning of Lent season is of great importance for understanding the notion of khon sug.

Davis (ibid.:280) asserts that this ritual constitutes the main feature of the religious ceremony marking the Buddhist retreat. The ritual consists of a procession performed by the congregation bringing candles with them. They circle the chapel clock-wise, three times.
They then present the candles to the monks who later light them during the Lent sacerdotal rites. As said the candles can be lit by the monks only.9

Candles also represent phallic symbols. The act of surrendering the candles by the laity to the monks symbolizes suspension of sexual activities during Lent season (ibid.).

It has to be noted that the rituals performed in relationship to the Buddhist retreat are more complex in meaning. The ritual on the eve of Wan Khaw Phansa is also concerned with fertility rites. These rites are dedicated to the rice goddess named Lady Kosōq (Davis 1974:283) or Naan Phrái Kosōb (Tambiah 1970:351). She is important in spirit cults still observed by the people in rural areas.

An interesting question is whether males who have never been ordained because of the advancement of secular education and the implications of it, can still be regarded as raw persons. I shall leave this question unanswered.

Because temples were the major places of learning in the past, they were also the chief agencies for spreading literacy. In this regard, Tambiah (1968:86, 122) asks whether literacy was the purpose of seeking temple education. Based upon his research in Ban Phran Muan village, he asserts that despite the fact that entry into the temple was open to all males, only those who were willing and able to submit to a discipline of some years of novicehood and monkhood gained an adequate level of literacy.

9 Wells (1975:101) observes that the King lighted Lent candles at the royal temples.
Literacy here refers to the ability to read and write the religious script (น่าเกย์ ทะม). This kind of literacy has to be distinguished from the new literacy, i.e. the ability to read and write the Thai or the Lao secular script. In Northeast Thailand the sacred or ritual literature was written in the Lao Tham which differs from the secular Lao writing system. In Central Thailand the sacred books were written in the Khoom or Khmer script whilst in Northern Thailand the sacred literature was in the Northern Thai or Lannaathaj script (Tambiah 1968:90; Moerman 1966:164).

Tambiah (1968:107) reports that literacy was previously important only for a selected few, i.e. men who later became the lay leaders or elders (พี่อุทฺทาว). This group of men included the leader of the Buddhist congregation (ผ่าศรัณวัติ), who was usually an ex-abbot. He functioned as the mediator between the monk community and the laymen at merit-making ceremonies in the temple.

Other figures literate in the sacred script were the lay ritual specialists: the officiant of the khun rites (หมู่ ขัน or phraam), the herbal doctor (หมู่ ยา) and the astrologer (หมู่ ดวง). Village elders and ex-monks were also among them.

Not every monk could become a lay ritual expert in the past. The recommendation of the practising practitioner who acted as the teacher was decisive in addition to literacy in the sacred script, ability, interest and effort. Kinship relationship may also have influenced the choice (Tambiah 1968:109, 112).

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10 Lao Tham script is a branch of Shan writing system rather than Sukhothai and is used solely for religious writing. As a type of writing it is a mixed form influenced by Mon writing rather than by the Khmer script (Tambiah 1968:90).
Tambiah (ibid.:108-109; 1970:257) describes a case of a village phraam in Ban Phran Muan. The man, called grandfather Phan, aged 70 at the time of research, had been a monk for three years after which (at about 25 years of age) he resumed lay life and married. At the age of 30 he learned medicine from his mother's younger brother who was the village herbal doctor (moo jaa). Tambiah does not say whether the medicine man invited his nephew but I assume he did because after the former's death, Phan succeeded him. Meanwhile Phan became village elder, he was 'aacaam wad and member of the temple committee.

Phan had an old relative practising khwan rituals in another village. The latter needed a successor because he was too old to perform his work. The old man (of Phan's grandparental generation) invited Phan (who was 50 years old) to come and learn the art of conducting khwan rites.

Later when Phan could not fulfil his duties any longer he chose a distant relative to be his successor. This relative, 46 years of age, was a respected village elder. He had been a village headman, his education was through the village primary school, novicehood and monkhood. I conclude that there is no clear and fixed kin relationship between pupil and teacher. But factors, e.g. that of village leadership, play an important role in appointing a successor.

The evidence that afore-mentioned lay ritual specialists had to be literate in the sacred script was clarified by the sacred literature found in Ban Phran Muan. Apart from Buddhist texts and chants, the Lao Tham literature also included medical texts, khwan rites texts, texts for dispelling inauspicious omens and afflictions which were not caused by harmful spirits, and astrological texts (Tambiah 1968:111). These texts formed manuals or textbooks which had to be consulted by the
specialists concerned when performing the rituals. Medical texts contained knowledge dealing with the cure of various diseases: stomach-ache, the bleeding of the mother after childbirth, nausea, tuberculosis, food poisoning, venereal disease and so on. Texts relating to khwăn rituals were (and still are) of great importance because they provided information concerning the procedures of the rites performed on occasions such as khwăn rites at ordination, when a person is sick, at a wedding etc. (ibid.). The ability to write is reflected in the activities of copying sacred manuscripts by monks, novices and laymen in the temple. Personal interest may be one of the reasons for making copies of the manuscripts.

The afore-mentioned group of village ritual specialists has to be distinguished from another category of men who in the past, were not required to be literate in the sacred script, i.e. for whom temple education was unnecessary. This group included the diviner (moo seq), intermediary of the village guardian spirit, medium of the village guardian spirit, exorciser of malevolent spirits (moo tham) etc. Their art consisted of manipulating ritual objects (e.g. looking through an egg or into a mirror), interpreting signs and memorizing divining codes, spells, or forms of invocation and thanksgiving (Tambiah 1968:92, 129; 1970:132).

Of relevance here is the intermediary of the village guardian spirit. His recruitment is through possession by the village or temple guardian spirit rather than literacy or apprenticeship. Possession is unpredictable. In daily life the spirit officiant is a common householder (Tambiah 1970:274). But it is likely that only a literate man can respond to this vocation because his duties include consultation of sacred books (Condominas 1970:16) he must have copied in the temple library.
The new literacy was a later development. With the introduction of government schools based at the temples and developments in the reorganization of the administration of the country, Central Thai became the major language of communication.

Monks, novices and lay religious specialists are usually literate in the secular Thai script. Apart from these men, the new literati are represented by the secular specialists, e.g. teachers (khruu), village headman (phuujajbāan) and folk opera entertainers (mōo lam (Tambiah 1968:122, 129). As Tambiah (1976:207) reports, monks preserve and also are agents for transmission of regional languages, script and literature. This situation is also revealed by others, e.g. Davis (1974:276) and Moerman (1966:147, 156). But on the other hand, temples also serve as the venues for transmitting the nationally dominant and central Thai language (Siamese), promoting at the same time a certain amount of national integration.

The fact that temples in some areas are centres for regional and Central Thai language as well, poses some problems. One evidence that clearly shows the "problem" is reported by Moerman (1966:164):

Despite the advent of the national language, mastery of the old script is still quite highly regarded, but its societal function has changed. The "alphabet of the temple" no longer links the village with the great traditions of Buddhism and Northern legend. Instead it helps to decrease Ban Ping's participation in the new national culture and to provide standards of intellectual accomplishment independent of certification by government schools.

Temple education not only equips an individual with the necessary qualifications for ordination but also is important for the accumulation of merit. Condominas (1970:21) writes,

The man who enters holy orders provokes an immediate increment of merit, not only for himself, but also for
others such as his dead parents and the donor - who may or may not be a relative - who provides the necessary accoutrements for his new vocation. After having becoming a monk, the offering of food that he receives provokes a more diffuse increment of merit for the daily donors. ... 

Regarding the young servitors, temple education entails separation from parents, siblings and other relatives. Although he may still be in the same village and visits his parents, it is in the temple, Moerman (1966:163) reports, "that the young boy learns to cooperate with a larger group of his age and makes friends. Some of these peers may continue their friendship and will work together when they become old enough for secular responsibilities."

**Attitude towards education**

The attitude of the Thai people towards education cannot be understood without referring to the Buddhist religion. The Thai believe (nāb thyy) in the Buddha as the Exalted One, as the Supreme Teacher of the Buddhist teaching (Phratham). They believe in the community of monks (Sañkha) who observe the Buddhist teaching through ordination. The Buddhist teaching, preserved in the Buddhist Canon (Tripitaka or Trajpitāg), forms the basic source of religious knowledge that every Buddhist ought to know.

As a consequence, the concern of teachers, monks and religious knowledge is held in high esteem. Learned monks, usually addressed as 'aacaan (scholar) are highly respected. Such evaluation of religious knowledge encourages high regard for learning itself. This is evident in reports of religious ceremonies. Terwiel (1977:39) mentions that in one of the ancient ceremonies surrounding the dedication of a new temple, religious items were used to symbolize an individual's educational condition. These items were needle and thread which symbolize the wish to have a keen intelligence, paper and writing materials are tokens of
good education in the next existence.

There were other manifestations of popular attitudes to education in the past. These included the ritual performed to pay homage to the teacher(s).\textsuperscript{11} In relation to temple education, this ritual had to be conducted before and after the daily lesson. The blackboard must be treated with care and respect. Before writing on the blackboard, pupils had to prostrate themselves three times. The same ritual was conducted at the end of the lesson. A hole on top of the blackboard was for flowers (\textit{dāgtramāj śo nāgāyy}) in the rituals after lessons and before \textit{ācāran} were allowed to go home. The blackboard was sacred and one should not step over it. Trespassing the taboo caused dullness. The blackboard should always be hung above the children's heads after use (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:461).

The attitude towards the education of the temple servitors has always been a favourable one. Kaufman (1960:122) reports that the servitor status was not only a requirement for novicehood and monkhood, but also a privilege. Monks and novices were the chief groups that were entitled to the full range of formal education until the establishment of government primary schools in Bangkhuad in 1934-1935. In contrast, Moerman's (1966:145) findings which were based on the reports of clerics in the 1960's reveal that there were difficulties in convincing parents to accept invitations for their sons to become \textit{khajoom}.

Moerman (\textit{ibid.}) reports that monks in Ban Ping do not have the high prestige as clergy in Central Thailand. But this does not imply that the people of Ban Ping village do not need monks for merit. Villagers still see the temporary monkhood as the ideal and manage to have their sons

\textsuperscript{11} This ritual which persists is now performed at the beginning of the academic year, i.e. the first week on Thursday in June.
ordained. However, monkhood as a profession is a different matter.\textsuperscript{12} At the same time people are concerned with the perpetuation of the wād as the village centre. Therefore, when a monk intends to disrobe, he must have the consent of the villagers. The ambiguous attitude towards monks, however, cannot be equated with attitudes towards education itself, e.g. the process of teaching and learning. Obviously, as shown by Moerman, there is a kind of resistance towards the formal religious educational system introduced by the government.

With the advent of western-type educational system after the second half of the nineteenth century in rural areas, attitudes towards temple education began to change. The earlier attitude transformed into respect for formal secular education. I shall discuss the latter in Chapter 5.

The Teachers

Prior to education by secular instructors, most teachers were monks. The term for teacher which was also used for scholar, was 'āacaan dāawārmnāg. Although monks acted as teachers, not all monks had the competence or ability to impart formal instruction to servitors, because not all monks could read and write with ease (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:53). It was usually the head of the temple, the dāaw 'ācaawād, who was in charge of teaching his pupils. The headmonk could also be assisted by a layman (khārawād), who was usually an ex-monoq. They received no pay for their teaching (Krom Sinlapaakoon 1972:15; Tambiah 1968:94-95).

The assistance of ex-monoqs who were able to give sermons, was usually requested by the abbot. This suggests that monks also respected

\textsuperscript{12} According to J.P. Ferguson and Shalardchai Ramitanondh (1976:122) there is a chronic shortage of older monks in temples in Northern Thailand.
the abilities of the lay people. However, their help in teaching was
generally performed after the daily activities of farmwork were over
(Anuman Rajadhon 1965:224).

Temple education involved also the imparting of knowledge about
vocational crafts. Some of them did not require the ability to read
or write. Battye (1974:55) mentions the existence of boxing schools
(samnāg muaj) and sword schools (samnāg dārab) which were located in
temples. Some others, e.g. Anuman Rajadhon 1972:474-475), Phrā?
Worakawinto (Silcock 1976:8) and Kaufman (1960:113-115) report that
people could find various teachers in many different skills in various
temples. But it has to be realized that no single wād could have all
kinds of artisans in the monkhood. All the teachers in the arts of
life were scattered in different temples throughout Thailand.

A temple might be famous for its fireworks, its carpentry,
handicraft, its building construction (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:474-475)
or a variety of music and dancing. Kaufman (1960:113-115) reports that
the temple functions as music school.

Usually people knew where to find skilled and specialized teachers
they were looking for, owing to the fact that the temple, as a community
centre, also functioned as news agency. Parents then could send their
sons to specific teachers on a servitor system basis (Anuman Rajadhon

The pupils

Theoretically, in former days, most young boys were entitled to
temple education by being a novice or monk for some period. Slaves were
excluded from this privilege (Tambiah 1976:202). The temple servitor status was a precondition for novicihood and novicihood for monkhood. Wyatt (1969:10) doubts whether to be a servitor was a universal practice in the past.

According to Van Vliet, servitors during the seventeenth century included three types in addition to novices and young ordained monks (Tambiah 1976:201-202). The first group were those boys who received little education and who left the temple early in order to help their parents in the fields. I suggest there were no specifications of when they should depart. Moreover, the educational system was not bound to formal classes, grades and rigid schedule. Possibly parents might consider around the mid-teens the appropriate time to assign their sons to farm work. The second group involved young males who became students to pursue an education in order to prepare themselves for positions in government service. The last group were those who would become novices and subsequently the ecclesiastics who would perpetuate the community of monks. I assume that afore-mentioned division of servitors is applicable until the establishment of secular government schools at the turn of the century.

The groups of servitors described by Van Vliet were not necessarily intended to form exclusive groups, or put in another way, boys from the first and second group did not need to be excluded from recruitment as monks. There can be a time gap between the moment of ceasing to be a servitor and the moment of return to be ordained as novice or monk. Males do not become monks until they are twenty years old, but

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13 Slavery existed since the Sukhothai period (Wales 1965:58) and continued during the Ayutthaya and Bangkok period. Steps to abolish slavery began in 1874 (B.E. 2417). But it was not until 1905 that slavery was completely abolished in terms of that people were forbidden to sell themselves into slavery (Prachoom Chomchai 1965:50-65).
ordination for novicehood may occur some time before the age of twenty (Tambiah 1968:96). As shown by Phra Worakawinto (Silcock 1976:2-3, 9-10, 60), Pian, a rural boy from Ratburi province, became degvād at the age of seven until his mid-teens. He returned home to assist his parents with farm work. Later he came back to the temple to be ordained as a monk.

Formerly, there were no formal classes according to western standard. Apparently, students in the temple were divided into grades based upon the "traditional" system of temple education.

There were seven levels. Schooling began by learning to write in pencil (phûaq khîrâi). Next were the reading group (phûaq àon) which was followed by those who studied arithmetic (phûaq rian lêeg). The more advanced students (phûaq chân chûb khîrâi myîg) learned to write in ink. Those who had mastered the three basic knowledge, i.e. writing, reading and arithmetic, belonged to the phûaq thamtwamîiûun. Students engaged in the study of the elementary knowledge of the Buddhist Canon were called phûaq Phrákhamphiîiûun. Advanced students (phûaq pleê) were engaged in translation work. The Buddhist Holy Book was written in the sacred language, i.e. Pali language.14 Sacred texts were also written in Khmer or Khôm script, Lannaathaj or Northern Thai, and Lao Tham script. The phûaq pleê had the task to excerpt sacred texts into Thai.

Another ability that temple education demanded in the past was to write with stylus (phûaq rian caara'). There were two other groups of students. They were assigned the duty of making all the written materials, i.e. written palm leaves, in book form. This task required

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14 The first edition of the Thai Buddhist Canon was completed and printed in 1893. The translation into Thai was based on the Sinhalese Pali Canon.
a separate instruction in knowledge and technique (Krom Sinlapaakoern 1972:19-24). My concern here is only with the first three levels because these grades related to the servitors' education. The rest were more relevant to the training of novices and monks in the past.

Wutthichai Munsin (1973:13) asserts that most pupils were sons of nobles or government officials. Common children including farmers' sons were fortunate to have temple education and in a minority. A poor boy who became a temple-boy, scarcely had time and opportunity for learning. He was regarded merely as a servant without prospect and ability. Wutthichai Munsin's account which is more concerned with the formal western-type education, does not explain much about the temple servitors. Concerning farmers who were not able to send their sons to the monks, I suggest that parents needed their children's help at home and in the fields.

Families from the nobility and other rich people had their servants or slaves to work in the house and land. We should also not forget that sons of nobles and government officials would occupy positions that required the educational programmes offered by the temples as a base for their future apprenticeship in the offices they work.

One may ask why children become pupils as servitor rather than as novices and whether the former provided merit for parents. These questions can be answered by considering several factors that influence parents to make their decision in sending their sons to the temple for their education.

I assume that before the advent of western-type education the tendency was that being a deguad was a precondition of novicehood. According to an old Thai saying, a novice brings merit for his mother.
Having a boy as servitor in the temple may be seen as a sound investment in making merit provided he became a novice later. The evidence is not clear but it seems that a temple-boy brought some merit to his parents (Kaufman 1960:121) but not nearly as much as a novice.

The reasoning is that consent of parents is required when a monk requests the services of a boy. Parents usually agree when the boy is willing too. The act of consenting can be seen as a good deed since it represents a form of support to monks which is meritorious. Perhaps merit through novicehood is more rewarding in terms of merit and in the view of the people because it involves ordination.

Potter (1977:96) reports that ordination of a novice brings religious merit to the sponsors of his ceremony (see also Moerman 1966:150). But the ceremony also brings prestige to the novice's family. Prestige here can be viewed as the reward or merit (bun) of the act of making merit (tham bun), i.e. by presenting a son to the temple in order to be a follower of the Buddha.

In the case of the servitor there is no grand ordination ceremony which may attract people and raise the status of the family of the boy. I agree with Ingersoll (1976:225) that making merit in social situation, such as ordination, enhances the family's merit by sharing it with others in the act of making merit. Furthermore, Ingersoll writes that presenting food daily to monks is an act done on behalf of the family and that merit goes to the family. I suggest that this may also be true for sending a son to the temple as servitor. However, the hypothesis needs further research.

Regardless of the amount of merit gained through the servitor status, it certainly has some advantages if we look from the children's point of view. First of all the youngsters do not have to fast (not having meals
after noon). دِقَّام usually go home after duty and meet their parents and relatives. Servitors can play freely during off time. They are not bound to study like the novices. Wearing the yellow robe, requires the latter to behave properly and according to monastic rules. A lay boy always has the chance to become novice later. The سُعْكَة regulation stipulates that ordination of a novice should be conducted before he is twenty.

The سُعْكَة's rule provides some alternatives to servitors' parents. Some elders may be able to have their sons ordained as early as possible, i.e. about 13 or 14 years of age. But some others may not have the means to finance the merit-making expenses or finding a good sponsor for their son. By having a son serving a monk diligently, the latter may perhaps arrange the boy's ordination (Kaufman 1960:122; Bunnag 1973:98).

What might have induced the servitor status as preferable rather than novicehood is difficult to generalize. At present, a temple servitor can stay at the temple and attend secular school. He is not committed to the temple's formal religious educational programme reserved for the novices and monks. I suggest that this might also be the case in the past. The difference is that, instead of attending secular school, the old temple-boy learned a particular craft, art or skill from the monk he served.

Teacher-pupil relationship

There was a procedure through which a boy became a pupil of a monk. A ritual, the ُعْلَجَحْرَع, was required to contract the relationship (ُعْلَجَحْرَع-ْلَجَرْث). The servitor then was put into the care of the monk-teacher.

A monk, usually the headmonk, who was in charge of a number of servitors, but rarely more than twelve, had the responsibility for
more than teaching the basic knowledge of reading and writing, arithmetic and the basic Buddhist principles. He also had to care for their physical welfare, health and safety. He might counsel the servitors and help them out of scrapes. He might also arrange for their ordination as novices or monks and for their higher temple education elsewhere (Wyatt 1969:12).

The relationship between monk and degwād was like that of a parent and child. Unfailing homage and respect for his monk-teacher prevailed throughout the life of the pupil (Terwiel 1971:85-86). This teacher-pupil relationship as reported by Reynolds (1972:196) formed the core of an informal unit of monastic organization (سامมัง), i.e. the pupils gathered around a learned monk.

Content of education

What was taught to temple servitors in terms of formal primary education was, as pointed out by Wyatt (1969:14), a "relatively simple matter". It was basically, little more than introducing youths to the workings of the Thai writing system. Terwiel (1977:40) writes that what was imparted were collections of syllables and rhymes which were intended for rote learning.

In fact, in some areas temple servitors had to learn not only the Thai writing system but also the local or regional script: Lannaathaj in Northern Thailand (Moerman 1966:164; Tambiah 1976:282), the Khôm script in the Central Plain area (Kaufman 1960:84; Terwiel 1971:79) and Lao Tham writing system in Northeast Thailand (Tambiah 1968:90-91).

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15 Lannaathaj was the language in which most of the sacred literature was written. A temple boy before being ordained as a novice in Northern Thailand had to pass the "examination" in that language. This custom is supported by Moerman (1966:147). Similar situations could be applied to Central and Northeast Thailand in regard with the Khôm and Lao Tham script.
There had been written materials which were used as "textbooks" by the monks which dated from the last part of the Ayutthaya period, namely the Cindaamunii or Cindaamunii I. This book was written by Phrämahārādkhruu Kawai, a poet in the reign of King Narai (1656-1688) whose real name is unknown. The Cindaamunii was popular in those days and it was used up to the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910). It was, however, a difficult book for the servitors, I guess, because it rather stressed poetry learning. It has been suggested that there were in addition manuals to be used as models of learning. Unfortunately, there is no firm evidence to support this (Department of Fine Arts 1963: 1-2).

Immediately after the Ayutthaya period (after 1767) there existed other manuals used for teaching in the temple. Notable were the Prathom Maalaa and the Prathom Koo Kaa. The writer of the latter is unknown. Compared to other books the Prathom Koo Kaa was more relevant to the dēguād. Looking at the content of the book, it was estimated not older than the Prathom Maalaa which was written by Phra'Théephamoollī from Wād Buurana in Bangkok and was used during the Third Reign (1824-1851) when poetry was flourishing (ibid.).

There were also reading books which, however, were more relevant for advanced students rather than the youngsters of primary school age. I shall only mention the titles of the books here: Subinthakumaan, Prathom Cindaamunii II, Sākhoo, Canthakhoorob, Anirūd, Samūdkhoosā, Phēdnogkū, Sapthoom, Naag Kaakii, Phrājaa Chādthan, Sawāddī Rāgetāa and Phrāporamād. Other advanced literature included texts used in the teaching of astrology (hīoovasaad), traditional medicine and some others (Krom Sinlapaakoon 1972:25: Anuman Rajadhon 1972:473-474.
The content of temple education was not restricted to pedagogy. Informal education in the arts of life, such as carpentry, weaving, curing, pottery, building construction and many other kinds of occupational activities, has been known from the literature (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:474). To give only one of the many examples, Wād Krāaŋ in Ratburi province was renowned for this kind of education as illustrated by the Venerable Phra1 Worakawinto

Krāaŋ monks who know the use of planes and saws will show the boys the way to use them right. Those who can heal with jungle herbs will let the boys help cut and slice and mix and grind.

Those who weave wicker have them split bamboo and show them how the baskets are designed. The rocket-makers teach the boys to pound powders to send their fire-flowers showering flame.

Such training in the knowledge and the skill makes Krāaŋ a school of country crafts, whose name is known, and those who learn there when they come can learn at home a living by their art (Silcock 1976:8).

Another informal aspect of temple education that was usually taken for granted taught the boys how to serve the monks daily. All the domestic chores which had to be carried out properly in the temple, such as how to present food to monks (prakheen), to boil water, to set out dishes and other monkly utensils, how to assist monks especially during ritual observances and merit-making ceremonies, both in the temple and at the villagers' places, these all had to be taught by the monks. Experienced servitors could usually provide example.

Luang Prasoet's (Krom Siṇlapaakooon 1972:38-53) account on temple education in the past describes what monks expected from their pupils and servitors. He writes about 87 points comprising rules, teachings, advices and expectations covering formal and informal education, morality, religious teaching and conduct.
Education in terms of religious training was performed after the end of the lesson. It was the daily afternoon religious ritual as mentioned earlier (on page 63 of this chapter). The servitors presented flowers to the teacher, a symbol of request for recitation of the five precepts. After the presentation the pupils prostrated themselves three times and the teacher presented the precepts to them. The ritual consisted of repeating the sentences said by the teacher which involved refraining from taking life, from taking what is not given, from unchastity, from speaking falsehood and from drinking intoxicants (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:457; Wells 1975:53). These five precepts form the basic moral guidance to the degvad.

Other activities in religious training can be observed from the daily rituals of the monks. The morning and evening chanting sessions in front of the Buddha statue, are held in all monasteries amongst monks. Kingshill (1960:110) reports that temple-boys in Ku Daeng village take part in both chanting sessions. But at Wat Sagatiam, these monastic rituals are performed only by monks and novices (Ingersoll 1966:56). Although specialized religious training was and still is reserved for novices and monks, a brief description of the subject may help us to understand the future the servitor confronted once he decided to don the yellow robe and perhaps to wear it for the rest of his life.

Prior to the advent of secular government schools, the novice was required to learn reading and writing in the sacred script of Lannaathaj, Khoom or Lao Tham. The method used in imparting this knowledge was similar to that of learning the Thai script. However, writing itself was secondary to reading (Tambiah 1968:98-99).

Previous discussion has distinguished several categories of students in the temple. One group was engaged in writing with stylus. Skill in writing or calligraphy was very important before the introduction
of the printing press in Thailand. Its purpose was to make copies of sacred texts concerned with various branches of religious knowledge.

The temple library in the village of Ban Phran Muan as observed by Tambiah (1968:106) for instance, indicates the range of knowledge in documents which skilled monks and ex-monks could copy for various personal uses in later lay life. The texts concern medicine and astrology or khwan rites. Others record local tales, stories of the Buddha, chants and sermons etc. I suggest that other temple libraries, urban and rural, enshrine a wealth of knowledge.

At present, as a result of western influence, the study of the sacred language has been limited because the Thai script has become dominant in contemporary temple educational system.

The study of the Buddhist chants was another important part of the religious temple training. It remains so to this day. The ability to chant constitutes the required specialized skill of monks as ritual specialists. Their skill enables the performance of rituals on behalf of laymen. Then the question here is what chanting stands for in the ceremonies.

Wells (1975:44) has already mentioned that by means of chanting the Three Gems (Buddha, Dharma and Saïkha) are praised and merit or blessing is invoked upon the occasion, objects or persons involved (see: Religious functions of the temple). Furthermore, chanting also served to ward off evil spirits and bad luck (Wells 1975:276; Spiro 1967:251; Tambiah 1968:101-102). Both Tambiah and Spiro agree that chants, which are recited in the Pali language, possess supernatural power, because they are regarded as the words of the Buddha. This supernatural power exceeds the power of the spirits. Only by employing the monks, as mediator and by means of a proper ritual, can this power be tapped to
protect the people from dangers and problems of suffering. Simultaneously, these chants also function as the confirmation of merit gained by the laity. Merit is the consequence of the act of making merit by means of donating food and gifts to monks on various religious and social occasions in their life.

In fact, the phraam as lay ritual specialist, has this power similar to that of the monks. Khuan rituals performed at various life stages are performed for the well-being of the client. But one should not forget that this lay practitioner gained part of his knowledge from the temple.

The technique of learning chants is through listening to performances by monks during their daily morning and evening observances. What the students hear has to be repeated and practised, i.e. memorized. Memorizing Pali chants does not imply the study of the Pali language as such. Tambiah (1968:101) and Spiro (1967:265) report that most novices and monks and moreover, the laity, do not understand the Pali texts.

Apart from listening to chants performed by monks, pupils learn them from teachers. The fact is that there are many and various chants, each appropriate to a particular occasion. For instance, chants at a wedding ceremony will differ from those at a house warming ritual. Reading ability in the sacred language may help the students read and memorize printed texts given by the teacher (Tambiah 1968:100).

Another part of temple training is the practice of rendering sermons. Sermons are chanted or recited. Reading ability is important. A sermon is a discourse based on scriptural texts. It is standardized rather than a free creation. The quality of recitation is gained through practice (Tambiah 1968:102). Skill in giving good sermons, in terms that it attracts people to listen, makes the reputation of a monk.
Therefore, such a monk will be frequently visited or invited by the lay people.

One may ask what importance sermons have for the people. Sermons contain messages. They vary in type each with a distinctive message. Tambiah (1976a:102) distinguishes three types of sermons: those that "tell the advantages of making merit", those reserved for the celebration of the opening of newly constructed or repaired buildings in the temple compound. Both of these are concerned with the encouragement of performing good deeds according to Buddhist values. The last type of sermon involves tales, stories of local origin which are called thêed nîthaan. Obviously these sermons are loved by the people in Northeast Thailand. They are recited on certain calendrical rites and festivals, usually after harvest time because people have the means to donate and time to relax after hard agricultural activities.

I agree with Tambiah (1968:103-104) that thêed nîthaan forms one of the important agents of the transmission of knowledge beyond the "narrowly religious". And I also feel that such sermons help to preserve regional culture and tradition since they are communicated in the local language. Therefore, sermons by contrast with chants, are understood and I would say, enjoyed by the people. 16

I mentioned previously that temples also serve as venues for social gathering. Visiting the temple is more than performing rituals. Sermons recited by skilled and reputed monks usually attract people to listen. Villagers, who usually bring their children, will meet families and

16 A sermon held in a village temple in Southern Thailand (Nakhon Si Thammarat province) which I observed in 1975, was recited in Southern Thai. The sermon was in connection with the Wan Saaad ceremony. Looking at the expressions on the faces of the audience, apparently they were enjoying the service. The large room was crowded but silent.
friends from their own and other villages. News is discussed. Food is distributed and eaten.

Although listening to sermons may be seen as a sort of entertainment, they usually contain moral values. Tambiah (ibid.) writes that the ed nithaan forms part of the sacred literature which people love to hear at important merit-making ceremonies in Northeast Thailand. He says that it is the people rather than the monks who choose the stories to be recited.

System of instruction in reading and writing

The system of instruction employed by the monks in the temples was called the boog nāgsiyy. That is to say that the teacher wrote the alphabet on the blackboard and read out the letters, then asked the pupils to imitate and memorize them loudly in unison.

After reading had been mastered writing was practised on the blackboard. The first step of writing required, the degwad had to point at the letter named and to replicate it with a used incense stick. This practising of "reading" and "writing" went for about seven times after which the child could write his own alphabet but still under the teacher's supervision (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:463-464). Similar methods of teaching were observed by Tambiah (1968:99) in the village of Ban Phran Muan where monks taught novices the Pali script (nāgsiyy Tham) in 1966.

As mentioned previously (on page 90 of this chapter), what actually had been taught were collections of syllables and rhymes which were intended for rote learning. It has been commented that rote learning does not stimulate the pupils' initiative and skill in creative thinking (Sirirat Tareesung Tanphaichitr 1977:148); furthermore, that
the effectiveness of their education depended entirely upon individual interest and taste. I suggest that initiative and creative thinking should also be sought in other fields of education outside reading and writing. Since there have been no detailed longterm studies concerning the temple servitors' education, it would be difficult to judge their lack of creative thinking or otherwise.

The actual reading began after the pupils completed the required book for beginners, the Prathom Koo Kaa. The teacher usually assigned the Phra Maalaj as a reader. However, before temple-boys had mastered the book they had usually left the temple in order to help their parents in the ricefields. Only servitors who continued to stay in order to be ordained as a novice and later as a monk, would have the opportunity to learn the sacred script.

Despite the introduction of western-type education, ethnographic accounts show that teaching and learning techniques and even the content of learning in some village temples have remained largely the same (Tambiah 1968:86).

**Time of instruction**

Lesson in reading and writing was not conducted within the fixed and rigid time schedule of contemporary formal schooling. The rhythm of monastic life must have influenced "school" hours.

The general picture was that the time after breakfast (8:00 to 9:00 a.m.) until the second or last meal for the monks (11.30 to 12 noon), were used to instruct the temple servitors. At about midday teaching resumed for about one hour. Then the monks withdrew to rest and the

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17 Cook citing Terwiel (1979:193, 258) reports that Phra Maalaj is an account of the adventures of a famous monk who visits the various heavens and hells. Kingshill (1960:173) writes that this monk was the fifth life of the Lord Buddha before he became the Buddha.
children were left to study on their own. They had to repeat the lesson that the teacher had assigned by heart. The memorizing of the lesson should not be understood as a collective act. Rather, each child learnt his own part of lesson by heart (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:456).

From the picture mentioned above it can be said that the degwad had been exposed to a training that needs skill in concentration. But because they were children and with no teacher to supervise them, the youngsters often would make use of this "self-study" as a time to play and make fun (lèn ūakan). It was the hour that every temple boy liked best (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:456).

Lessons were resumed in the late afternoon. The monks, refreshed from their rest and bath, inspected every pupil individually how far assessing each for progress in writing, reading and memorizing. Usually the children were asked to continue their study until it was time for degbāan to go home. The late afternoon learning activities ended at about 4:30 or 5:00 p.m. (ibid.457; Krom Sinlapaakoon 1972:16).

The foregoing description of the learning schedules, cannot be applied to every temple in Thailand. Time of instruction was usually set aside in accordance with the availability of monks for teaching and the kind of temple.

Larger temples, usually in urban areas, seemed to have more regularity in terms of time of formal instruction than smaller rural or village wād. At the latter, instruction was imparted only during the Buddhist Lent season (phansa). At this time many young men, newly

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18 One of the children's delights was to catch chickens wandering under the temple floor. They spread rice to lure the animals while ropes were used to snare their legs. The game was, apparently, performed from the "class-room".
ordained, were usually accompanied by servitors. Moreover, it was
during the Buddhist retreat that the temple arranged teaching and
learning activities for monks, novices and temple boys (Terwiel 1977:41;
Wells 1975:100).

The flexibility of teaching hours was also a result of the need
to adapt to seasonal invitations to monks from villagers. The period
between the rice harvest (February-March) and rice planting (May-June),
was the time when householders invited monks to conduct religious
ceremonies, such as chanting Pali chants and blessing the occasions
concerned, i.e. housewarming, weddings, birthdays and so on. Usually
degvād accompanied the monks (see duties of the servitors) and missed
lessons as a result (Ingersoll 1966:59).

Traditionally, on the Buddhist Sabbath day (Wan Phra) and the day
before, monks refrained from teaching activities. Wan Phra is held on
the day of the full moon or the 15th day, the eighth day of the waning
moon, on the eighth day of the waxing moon and on the day of the new moon.
The lunar calendar is followed in temple services. Monastic rites are
usually held on this holy day. Lay people may attend the rituals as an
act of making merit by observing the five or eight precepts of the

During the 1950-1960's there were contrasting reports regarding
Wan Phra holiday. The village schools in Bangkhuad (Kaufman 1960:84)
and Ku Daeng (Kingshill 1960:65) already adhered to the western calendar
system adopted in 1940. That is to say that Sunday replaced Wan Phra
as the formal weekly holiday. However, as quoted by Kingshill (ibid.)

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19 The traditional Thai luni-solar calendar began the year in April, in
the fifth or sixth month of the lunar calendar. Until 1940, the
official Thai year ran from April 1 to March 31 (Wyatt 1969: p.xviii).
this was not the case in the village on Bang Chan during the 1950-1960's. The Buddhist Sabbath day was still regarded as a holiday whilst on Sundays the temple was active in teaching. I do not have enough evidence whether this is still the case at present. The evidence from Bang Chan may also be based on the activities of the religious school rather than the secular primary school. Further details concerning religious training programmes during that time have to be consulted.

Lessons were also interrupted during shaving days (wan koon or oed khâm) of the monks and novices in the past. Shaving day is the day before Wan Phrá'. However, some temples ended their lessons earlier at about three o'clock in the afternoon on that particular day (Krom Sinlapaakoorn 1972:16).

I suggest that monks were also unable to teach their pupils on other Buddhist holy days, e.g. Wisakha Buuchaa, Maakha Buuchaa day and on the bimonthly recitation day held on the 15th day of the waxing and waning moon. The bimonthly rites consist of the recitation of the Disciplinary Code (Patimokkha) which according to the Vinaya rules is compulsory to all monks (Wells 1975:152-153).

As a result of the Compulsory Primary Education Act, first in 1921, later in 1935, contemporary young servitors of primary school age are subject to the government school curriculum and time schedule prescribed by the Ministry of Education.

Instructional facilities

It has been said that before the educational reforms there were no fixed class rooms. The students had their formal instruction in rooms or buildings that were temporarily available, that is to say that the rooms were not used for ceremonial observances. Usually teaching was conducted in the dining, prayer or chanting room. The monk's cubicle
also served as classroom when the number of pupils was small, i.e. two to five youngsters (Krom Sinlapaakoon 1972:12-13; Anuman Rajadhon 1972: 455-456). Apparently there were neither tables, chairs nor benches. The children sat on mats on the floor.

 Degwad needed few writing materials to start learning to write and read: a blackboard (māajkradaan), pencils (dīnso) and chalk (dīnsōophoog) and a wooden ruler (māajbanthād). All these equipment were made locally both by laymen and monks employing the local technology (Krom Sinlapaakoon 1972:18-24; Anuman Rajadhon 1972:458-463). I shall not discuss the technology manufacturing these writing materials because the subject requires separate research project. However, it can be said that there must have been craftsmen answering the demands of temple education. Furthermore, the environment provided the necessary raw materials, such as various kinds of trees from which wood blackboards were made; several kinds of soils and stones to produce pencils and slates.20

 A tool that was important to students in the wād was the wooden ruler. They wrote under the lines in the belief that the lines (sēnbanthād) represented the teacher. Writing on or above the lines would imply disrespect to the teacher (Anuman Rajadhon 1972:363). The ruler which was about one and a half inches wide and had the same length as the blackboard, about two metres long, was carved with the letters that the temple-boys had to copy. The teacher did not always need to write them on the blackboard every time. If the students had to write other letters or words that were not written on the ruler, the monk would give his pupil another one with the required alphabet or words (Krom

20 These trees included the 'yū, Tiinped, 'Udog and Thoogidaag trees. See for further details in the appendix. Pencils, chalk and slates were made of the hard compact soil (dindaan), clay (dinniaw), chalk (dīnsōophoog) and whetstone (hinlabmīid).
To practise reading students were required to use the reading book, an underlayer to put the book on and a wooden pointer. Those who learned arithmetic used chalk and slate (kradaanoathanan) (ibid.:20).

There were other writing materials but these were more relevant to the novices and monks: a white writing book, a wooden pen (pàakkaa), inkbar (mỳgthēgp), a tool (hìnformyg) to sharpen the inkbar, a wooden ruler and a metal liner (tak'ua sēn) and sabaa seeds. Students engaged in translation work needed a small pot or jar of ink or gamboge (roy). The latter produced the golden yellow ink which was used for writing on locally made books of black paper in Thailand. Students writing with stylus were required to have palm leaves (bajlaan) and other equipment. The incised palm leaves were bound into a book. When reading, the book had to be placed on a wooden book-rest (krom) (sínlapaakoon 1972:20-24).

Conclusion

The preceding pages have discussed the significance of the temple in Thai society. It can be concluded that the temple constitutes a complex of buildings which together serve the needs of a monastic community. Looking at the temple's religious, social and educational functions, we see that it serves not only as a place of residence and vocations for monks but also the needs of lay people. It is the community centre, the place where people meet and gather to conduct their religious, social, educational activities. With these functions the temple provides the dynamics of village community life.

The significance of the temple as a religious educational centre

21 The seeds taken from the Entada Phaseoloides (scandes) (Leguminosae) or sabaa tree, were used to smooth papers for writing.
has been known from ancient times. As mentioned previously, it involved a broad and various range of training, both secular and religious, formal and informal. Formal training usually refers to religious education reserved for novices and monks which was formalized by ordination. The main purpose of this religious education was to produce Buddhist ritual specialists and সাধ্যঃ administrators. The fact that monkhood is not necessarily a lifelong commitment and considering also the various ranges shown by the temple library, the temple helped train village lay leaders, non-Buddhist lay ritual experts, artisans in various crafts and arts and some others.

The old temple educational system employed monks and ex-monks as teaching staff. The pupils, divided in gradations, included servitors, novices and monks. The servitor status, contracted by a বাজক্ষরু ritual, formed the lowest grade in the ladder of monastic education. But these three levels need not necessarily be followed along unbroken time sequence. Facts reveal that training in practical knowledge could also be carried out on a servitorship basis.

An important element of temple education was the teacher-pupil relationship which evolved from the monk-servitor relationship. The significance of this bond, symbolized by the বাজক্ষরু ritual, is reflected in the authority of the monk over his pupil, and respect and loyalty of the student towards his monk.

The aforementioned servitor educational programme conformed with the rhythm of temple activities rather to the chronology which the standardized primary educational programme followed in later years. Content of education, based on old books and manuals from the Ayutthaya and early Bangkok period, was limited to the instruction in the basic knowledge of reading and writing, some simple arithmetic and moral

Formal learning was only part of the role a servitor performed in exchanging his services for the benefit his monk provided him. Considering this and the consequences of informal learning activities may help us give some idea about servitors' educational achievements in the temple.

The temple's educative role could survive and serve the needs of the people. But its function was challenged, I shall argue, when secular education became inevitable in the transformation process of Thai society after the second part of the nineteenth century.
Introduction

This chapter examines the causes for the changes in the preservation of the servitor practice despite transformations in the educational system.

Historical developments reveal that changes in the educational system were part of the general process of transformation resulting from Thailand's contact with the western world. The latter's influence, especially in the advancement in science and technology, exerted an impact on many aspects of Thai society.

As a result, Thailand had to adapt to the demands of the day in order to maintain its freedom from foreign domination. This was accomplished in part by changing the old or temple educational system. Western-type secular schools were introduced and established, first in Bangkok and later on, the provinces.

The course of change, however, was strongly guided by the ideas of Thailand's leaders, mainly King Chulalongkorn and his men. These ideas were manifested in the royal decrees which functioned as the bases of the implementation of the educational policies.

It is also my purpose to examine these decrees promulgated under King Chulalongkorn's reign. But I shall confine myself largely to those decrees between 1870 and 1900. For this I rely heavily on Wyatt's (1969) study.
Factors of change

The temple educational system as described in the previous chapter remained in function until western-type education was introduced in the temples. Those changes began in the mid-1880's in the royal monasteries located in Bangkok and Ayutthaya (the old capital of the Kingdom).

By change I refer especially to alterations in ideas and beliefs or values and norms about how things might or should be done. There are several factors that bring change in a given society. One of these is culture contact, i.e. contact between two societies with different cultural patterns (Encyclopedia of Anthropology 1976:97).

In the case of Thailand, explanation for change in temple education cannot be illustrated without reference to the country's historical developments, especially in the last century, during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910).

Archaeological sources reveal that Thailand's contact with foreign countries, especially with western countries, began long before the advent of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. However, of special relevance here were those relations developing from the second quarter of the nineteenth century onwards.

Vella (1955:360) reports that the "primary concern of the majority of westerners was not political but economic. Their principal demand was for trading facilities, and was to a large degree satisfied by the enactment of specific reforms in commercial policies and reformation of government organization to provide greater efficiency." However, a minority of the westerners, the missionaries, were more committed to the propagation of the Christian religion. As part of their evangelist
activities they established churches, schools and later on, hospitals, orphanages and other humanitarian institutions (Thompson 1941:651-652).

The missionary schools were the first to bring a western-type educational system into Thailand. The aim of these schools was initially to teach the Christian religion in order to convert people. The latter were expected to disseminate their faith to others. For this purpose literacy, especially for reading and biblical commentary, was of great importance.

One crucial point that was conveyed through the missionary schools was that to be literate in some western languages enabled one to gain knowledge in western science and technology. These facts were realized by Thailand's leaders when missionaries arrived in the last century.

Three western countries with missionaries to Thailand should be mentioned: Portugal, France and the U.S.A. The Portuguese and French missions were Catholic; the American, Protestant. The impact of the French and the American missionaries on education was more significant that Portuguese influence.

The French mission established the Assumption College in 1877 which later became the Assumption Commercial College (Sternstein 1976:58), the Convent for the Holy Jesus and the Assumption which were pioneers of the Catholic girls' schools in Thailand (Graham 1, 2

1 The Portuguese priests arrived in Thailand in the sixteenth century. The first French Catholic mission was established in 1662 (Bowring 1, 1689:347). After 1688 and during the eighteenth century persecution broke out against the French and French missionaries (Wood 1924:216-218; McFarland 1928:2). After 1830 the activities of the French missions were revived (Thompson 1941:651-652).

2 The French started their schools in the 17th century.
Furthermore, many elementary schools (forty-nine) for both sexes were established during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (Thompson 1941:651-652).

The American Presbyterian mission opened a school for boys and girls in 1848. Later in 1852, a boarding school was established with a Chinese as the first teacher. Other schools included the "Wang Lang" School for girls, established in 1875, which later became the "Wattana Academy" in Bangkok (Graham 1, 1912:256; Cole 1928:72-73; Oonta Nopakun 1977:10) and the Bangkok Christian College for boys. Control of these missionary schools later passed to Siamese management (Thompson 1948:39). In order to train Christian leaders the Theological Training School (later McGilvary Theological Seminary) was set up in 1883.

The first vocational education for boys was at Lampang (North Thailand) in 1894 and aimed at becoming an agricultural school but failed to do so because the introduction of modern equipment lagged behind training for its use. However, efforts were made on small scale to teach crafts like carpentry, masonry and gardening (Wells 1928:216-217).

Important innovation by the missions included type-writers and printing machinery equipped with Thai orthography. These facilitated evangelisation through the mass production of reading materials about Christianity for literate Thais.

The Kingdom's leaders were fully aware of the missionaries' activities in establishing their stations which later expanded into the provinces. The distribution of missionary schools throughout Thailand

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3 In 1851 there were three American Protestant missions working in Thailand: the American Baptist Missionary Union, established in 1833 and gave up its work in 1927; the American Presbyterian Mission, founded in 1840, and the American Missionary Association, established in 1850. The first American missionaries arrived before the opening of the treaty between Thailand and America in 1833. Their permanent establishment was sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This Board withdrew in 1850 (Bowring 1, 1969:381-383; McFarland 1928:5-6).
reflected their activities in the educational sphere (except in the Northeastern part up to 1917 which was perhaps due to the difficult communication compared to other regions). Moreover, the fact that after 1900 out-stations and parochial schools were established (Wells 1928:216), suggests that the missionaries succeeded in producing native teachers to be employed at the village schools on behalf of the missionaries. The imparting of western education, as reported by Wells (ibid.), was conducted in country chapels with most meager equipment.

The success of the missionaries in their work, apart from conversion itself, depended largely on the nature of contact made between Thailand and the concerned western countries. Contact was backed by formal treaties. Moreover, responsive personalities (the leaders) who had been able to foresee the advantages of western influence (the study of western languages, science etc.) helped pave the way for further efforts in the educational reforms that was inevitable before the turn of the nineteenth century.

When Thailand carried out its educational reforms during Chulalongkorn's reign, it was necessary for Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, as founder of the Education Department, to study the work of the missionaries. In this regard Prince Damrong (1928:6) reports that "for the immediate future, education in Siam, as I saw it, depended not alone on continuing to utilize the services of the monks, but also on enlisting the aid of the missionaries."

This is not the place to analyze the complexity of the process of Thai-western contact. But it can be concluded that relations with western countries whose scientific and technical achievements were advanced, had an impact on many aspects of Thai society, i.e. political, economic, social and educational life. These all forced Thailand to
adapt to the demands of the day. As Wyatt (1969:379) writes, Thailand had to modernize its society to maintain independence. Thailand is the only Southeast Asian country that never experienced western rule. Change in the educational system, from temple education to western-type or secular educational system, had been taken by the Thai government to defend the kingdom against foreign domination.

The course of change was strongly guided owing to the ideas and values of the leaders which were manifested in the government policies decreed by the King. By leaders I mean the King himself and his men or ministers in charge of the educational affairs in the country. Wyatt (1969:111; 1975:125) reports that "modern education became a direct object of royal concern and state policy. The manner in which these changes were promoted and accomplished depended greatly upon the political and economic circumstances of the day ..."

Interest in western education which aimed at the change in the education of children, had started under King Mongkut (1851-1868) in the palace during the years between 1862-1868. Informal classes in the palace for the imparting of western language to the King's wives, sons and daughters had first been conducted under Mrs. Anna Leonowens who was appointed for that purpose with the specific instruction not to attempt conversion to Christianity (Moffat 1961:166). However, proper schools were opened two years after King Chulalongkorn's (1868-1910) accession.

Wyatt (1969:110) sees six schools as the forerunners of present-

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4 The Thai attitude rejecting conversion to Christianity has also been reported by Bowring (I, 1969:358) and Moffat (1961:165).
day schools in Thailand: the Phrájaa Sīi Sunthcoon Woohaañ School (1870-1887), the English or "Patterson School" (1872-1875), Sūan Anon School (1879-1903), Sūan Kulàab School (established in 1881), the Religious Academy (Mahāathāad Widthajaalaj) and the Royal Thai Survey Department School (Roogrian Pheenthit) which was founded and run by McCarthy. Each of these schools operated independently because there were not yet organizational institutions which controlled and coordinated various educational activities and institutions with a common policy. This was later realized with the establishment of the Education Department in 1885. For discussion I shall exclude the two last schools as mentioned previously.

The first Thai secular schools

Wyatt (1969:63, 102, 145, 233) divides the process of the educational reforms during King Chulalongkorn's reign into several periods by reference to the leaderships that directed the reforms. The main leader was the King himself.

At the beginning of the reforms (1870-1880) the King established Thai and English schools in the palace. In his efforts he was assisted by the Royal Scribes Department (Krom Phra' Alag). The Thai school, named Phrájaa Sīi Sunthcoon Woohaañ School, was opened in 1870. The school was for training the King's brothers and cousins in matters other than military subjects which at that time were offered through the

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5 Originally the Religious Academy was located at Wád Phrá' Kêëw (in the Grand Palace. It was established in 1887 (Duangdyan Phisaanbûd 1977:16). In 1947 the school was raised to a university and since then known as the Maha Chula Buddhist University, located at Wád Mahāathāad in Bangkok.

6 The Royal Thaj Survey Department School was established in 1882 under the Krom Thañaan Mahaadîlég. In 1887 it was put under the Education Department (Duangdyan Phisaanbûd 1977:16).
Department of Royal Pages (Krom Mahāadhālēg). Headmaster of the school was Phrajaa Sīi Sunthoon Woohāan, an ex-monk and officer of the Royal Scribes Department. In 1871, by decree of the King, sons of government officials (non-royals), were invited to enrol at the school.

The school curriculum was based on the Six Primers which replaced the old textbooks from the Ayutthaya and early Bangkok period used in the monasteries (see Chapter 4). These new books were written by Phrajaa Sīi Sunthoon Woohāan and printed at the Royal Press (Battye 1974: 126). The programme was that after completing all the Six Primers, a student could enter government service or proceed to the secondary standard which was established in 1885.

In 1887, the school had to close mainly because of the curriculum’s inefficiency. The textbooks were considered too difficult and boring. Most of the prospective government officials completed only the first volumes of the primers and did not qualify for civil service (Wyatt 1969:122, 128, 132). Under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab’s leadership (1880-1892) the problem was solved by introducing examinations adapted from the Buddhist ecclesiastical educational system. The view of the language as the key to gaining further knowledge in the fast changing society, must have instigated the founding of a school offering English. Battye (1974:126) writes that the English school, the "Patterson School" was organized by Major Nai Ratchanatayanakun (later Cāw Phrajaa Phatsakorawong). This was established in 1872 and headed by

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7 Krom Mahāadhālēg is a department within the palace walls consisting of attendants comprising pages, cooks, keepers of the inner palace, storers etc. Specific about the royal pages status in the past was that it constituted the avenue through which teenage boys, presented by highly placed families to the king, could serve the king as personal attendants. This was part of their education in preparation of their careers in government service (Wales 1965:76; Wyatt 1969:103). The royal pages institution declined its prestige in 1880 but was later revived and modernized with the establishment of the Mahāadhālēg School and is at present known as the Wachiravut Academy (Krom Sinlapaakoon 1974:2).
F.G. Patterson, an Englishman who was contracted for three years.\footnote{8 Before the school could be established some students from royalty were sent to study English at the Raffles Institute in Singapore \textcopyright Wyatt 1969:70.}

Instruction was given to two groups of students. The first consisted of royalty who attended morning classes, and the second which met later in the day, comprised boys from the Royal Body Guard Regiment and was part of the Royal Pages Department. The curriculum of the school involved reading, writing and speaking English and French and mathematics. All students already had at least a basic Thai schooling (Wyatt 1969:70).

Many students dropped out because the school operated along the English model which did not fit well with Thai ideas about education. Only for some very bright and really motivated boys, including for example Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince Wachirayan Warorot and some others, did the school become the foundation of their later development in modernizing the country (Wyatt 1969:71, 381).

A royal decree was issued in 1875 to expand secular education outside the palace walls. The decree stated that monks of royal temples were persuaded to conduct their teaching in accordance with the Thai palace school curriculum \textit{(ibid.}:73).

The decree failed to gain support because both government and monastic leaders were reluctant to carry out the innovation. It was said that the decree lacked the Supreme Patriarch's support. Moreover, political conditions of the day may not have encouraged government leaders to give high priority to educational affairs. However, there were two royal temples: Wád Niwéerdthammaprawàd at Bang Pa-in (Ayutthaya...
province) and Wād Anongkhaaraam in Thonburi, that seemed to make use of the new educational system (ibid.:75, 79). Unfortunately, there were no further details about the matter.

Apart from the Phrajaa Sīi Sunthoon Woohāan School, another educational institution was opened in 1879: the Sūan Anon School. It was located in the Nantha Uthajāan Palace but known as Sūan Anon. The school was a day school but took some boarders as well. The headmaster, S.G. McFarland, was an ex-missionary of the Presbyterian Church. Other teaching staff included Thais and Americans (ibid.:1969:77, 108; 1970:7).

The purpose of the school was to train young people for the civil service. Most of the graduates, however, entered the business world. The school gained greatly in popularity between 1885 and 1892. In 1887, the Sūan Anon School was brought under the administration of the Education Department. Before it was under a lay committee comprising influential men from the government. The curriculum comprised a lengthy course of instruction in English, Thai, science, arts and mathematics. The teaching of Christianity was prohibited. The language of instruction was English (Wyatt 1969:77, 123-124).

The Sūan Anon School did not attract many Thai boys because it was run by an ex-missionary. Most of the students were commoners and Chinese. Nevertheless, before the establishment of the Sūan Kulàab School in 1881, there were 100 students who were sons of royals and nobles. Later the school had to move several times and was known by different names: Sunanthaalaj Boys' School and finally as "Ban Phraya Nana School".

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9 S.G. McFarland had actually opened a missionary school in Phetburi province. But he was assigned by the Thai government to head the Sūan Anon School in Bangkok.

10 This relates to the establishment of new government and private enterprises in Bangkok.
because it was moved to the former home of a member of the Bunnag family known as Phrájaa Nanaphitphasii (Wyatt 1970:3).

Due to the inefficiency of the English language instruction, the expenses and some other factors, the school had to be closed in 1903 (Wyatt 1970:6-7). I suggest that by 1903 government schools were opened within the monasteries and the government considered it important that all children had to attend Thai school education to conform with the government's primary education policy.

**Educational policy under Prince Damrong Rajanubhab**

The years between 1880-1892 saw the emergence of young planners assisting the King with the reforms of the country. One of them, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, half brother of the King, was charged with the task of educational affairs.

Prince Damrong began his work with experience of the Thai and English palace schools and by establishing a secular school in the Royal Pages Department: the Suan Kulâab or the Royal Body Guard Regiment School. Battye (1974:126) reports that this school was the first real secular educational institution in the Kingdom. The school aimed to find a means of taking up some of the functions of the Royal Pages Department which traditionally ran the apprentice system for sons of nobles and government officials. Prince Damrong who at that time was commander of the Royal Body Guard Regiment, must have observed the inefficiency of the Phrájaa Sîi Sunthoon Woohāan School and the reluctance of Thai families to send their children to Suan Anon School (Wyatt 1969:103-110).

Originally the school had a military character (like King's College in Sydney). However, it was the first Thai school that aimed to impart a common, standardized programme of instruction as preparation for
government service. The school attracted more students than it could accommodate. Therefore, the decision was made by the government to concentrate upon civil training. Suan Kulaab became model for schools established in later years (*ibid.*:105, 121, 131). The educational programme had two levels: Standard I and Standard II (SI and SII). The former was still based on the Six Primers but evaluated by an examination which was put into effect in 1884. Students of SII were offered eight subjects: rapid writing and calligraphy, editing of unseen texts, correction of erroneous pieces of scribbling, copying and precis-writing, letter writing, prose writing, arithmetic and accounting. Examinations for SII began in 1885 (*Prachoom Chomchai* 1965:99). Subjects such as history, science, geography, hygiene and religious instruction were introductions in later years (*Wyatt* 1969:132-133).

In late 1881, it was decided to establish an English school apart from Suan Anon in order to prepare young royalty and nobility for future study abroad, especially in England. The school was also intended for bureaucratic careers. The first teacher was a Calcutta Brahman, Baboo Ramsamy, who was later replaced by an Englishman, the Reverend J. Wastie Green. From then on until 1890, the teachers employed at this school were all Englishmen (*Wyatt* 1969:109-110, 124-125).

The idea of founding secular schools in the temples was revived by royal command in 1884 and applied to wād in the provinces¹¹ as well as in Bangkok. For that purpose the King appointed a committee to prescribe organization, textbooks, etc. The committee, headed by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, included Phatsakorawong, S.G. McFarland and some other high ranking officials. Remembering the failure of the 1875’s decree,

¹¹ It seems that by provincial temples Wyatt refers to temples in Ayutthaya province.
subsidies were given to royal temples to promote the religious instruction of monks and novices in order to have a useful precedent upon which support for secular schools could be based. The results of the committee were manifested in the establishment of schools in twelve or sixteen Bangkok monasteries. Wad Mahannaphaaraam was the first temple to operate the palace school system (Wyatt 1969:112-114). Despite the government's care to avoid monastic resistance, other rumors emerged, i.e. that the schools were used to recruit the youth for military service (Prachoom Chomchai 1965:69; Wyatt 1969:115). So far the educational policies were carried out through the King's palace. The need of an organizational institution in order to promote the educational policies more effectively, was seriously felt.

I follow Wyatt (1969:173) in dating the founding of the Education Department as from 1885 and the formal recognition in 1887. Due to further developments and complexity of educational affairs, the Department was later promoted to the status of a ministry but merged with the Religious Department (Krom Thammakaan) in 1892 (BE 2435) to form the Ministry of Public Instruction (Krasuaj Thammakaan).

Historical developments of the Ministry from its founding until the 1940's showed the complicated inter-relationship between education, religion and the state. Because of its importance, I shall describe the organizational institution in more detail. The present Ministry of Education (Krasuaj Siyaaathikaan) which comprises eight departments, was previously called the Ministry of Public Instruction from 1892 until 1920. The Ministry dealt with four kinds of government affairs: religion, education, health and museums (Wyatt 1969:125). Before the establishment of the Ministry, the four tasks were under various different departments (krom). Wales (1965:80) translates Krom Thammakaan as the Department of
Church Administration. Others retain the word Thammakaan or use the English translation of Religious Affairs. Originally, this Department was responsible for Sākhā affairs which included the keeping of registers of temple residents, numbers of temples etc. Moreover, its function was to control the behaviour of the monks. An ecclesiastical court was in charge of judging criminal acts by monks. Lay judges, called saŋkhakaarii, were assigned to that task (Reynolds 1972:16-18; Wales 1965:182, 190, 244).

From 1920-1926, the Ministry bore the name Ministry of Education. In 1921, Krom Thammakaan became directly responsible to the King and amalgamated with the Ministry of Royal Household (Pin Malakul 1975:11). During the reign of King Prajadhipok (1925-1935) the name Ministry of Education was changed again into Ministry of Public Instruction (Krasuaj Thammakaan), in order to stress that education should not be separated from the wād. Therefore, in 1925, Krom Thammakaan became part again of the Ministry of Education. On August 20, 1941 (BE 2484) it was officially named Department of Religious Affairs and it remains part of the Ministry of Education (Pin Malakul 1975:11; Tambiah 1976:161).

The fact that the name of the educational institution had been altered several times, provides also some explanation for the relationship between education, religion and the state. The incorporation of the Religious Affairs Department in the Ministry of Education denotes that the government found it important to have the loyalty of the monastic order in spreading secular education in the country. The loyalty of the monks was regarded as very important due to their significant role in society. Thai rulers were of course aware of the role of Buddhism. It serves as a "means of socio-political integration and as a unifying ideology of all classes of Thai-Buddhist society. Accordingly, control
over the Sangha and the quality of its life are of vital concern to the government' (Somboon Suksamran 1977:23, 30)). Therefore, in a rapidly changing society, the government's (King) role as protector and supporter of Buddhism was to promote the monastic order in order to redefine its function in society. For this, the introduction of secular education as part of monastic training was of great importance.

The separation of the Krom Thammakaan from the Ministry of Education in 1920 placed the Sangha under direct control of the King (Wachiravut). As Somboon Suksamaran (1977:66) writes, King Wachiravut used Buddhism as an instrument to enhance the spirit of nationalism and national unity. By the time of this movement (1921) the Ministry of Education had enacted the Compulsory Primary Education Act. I suggest that there is more behind the separation of the Religious Department from and later on, its reincorporation in the Ministry of Education in 1926, than I can discuss here.

The Textbook Bureau was an important part of the Education Department during the educational reforms in the last century. Its function was to compile manuals and other kinds of teaching materials for the standardization of the school curriculum. Most important during the bureau's early years, was the compilation of the basic textbooks replacing the Six Primers written by Phrajaa Sii Sunthoon Woonhaan. The "Rapid Reader" was put into use in 1888 and lasted until 1935 (Duandyan Phisanbud 1977:16).

There were later many other results accomplished by the Textbook Bureau: manuals of Siamese grammar, western style arithmetic textbooks, and English-Siamese dictionary, books for teaching reading, spelling, arithmetic, poetry, history, science and making maps of Bangkok, an abridged version of the Royal Chronicles, a translation of a "Universal
Geography" from English, translation from several Pali works into Thai, and Morant's "Ladder of Knowledge Series" for the instruction of English (Wyatt 1969:129-130).

It is not my intention to sum up all the Textbook Bureau's work. However, it can be concluded that through this bureau the government was able to distribute the printed teaching materials free of charge to various monasteries in Bangkok and the provinces in later years. Whether the monks were able to use these textbooks in their teaching needs further investigation.

Another instance of the idea that secularization of education was a political issue is evident in Wyatt's (1969:140-141) report. In 1891, several local governors asked Prince Damrong Rajanubhab to establish government schools in their provinces, e.g. Songkhla, Phetburi and Chanthaburi. This proposal was later approved by the King and it was decided that financial support and textbooks were to be provided by the Education Department. However, these schools failed to materialize, except in Songkhla, because the provincial governors did not know the procedures for their establishment. It was surmized that financial problems were the burden. However, some other factors might have caused the difficulties such as how to deal with the monks in the monasteries and how to gain their cooperation to teach according to the Education Department's wishes.

Cāw Phrájaa Phatsakorawong experienced the same obstacles later when he replaced Prince Damrong Rajanubhab as head of the Education Department (Ministry of Education) in 1892 and introduced secular education in the

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12 According to Wyatt (1969:130) this free distribution of textbooks lasted only until 1890. Thereafter, they were sold; but given to a few private schools. Concerning the printing machine with Thai orthography, Manich Jumsai (1951:16-17) reports that it started in 1828. The idea of having it made was originally that of an Englishman, Captain James Low who served under the Indian government at Penang, which he required for his Thai grammar to foreigners. In 1837, Dr. Bradley brought the printing equipment to Bangkok to publish his Bible in Thai.
Both aforementioned cases (those of 1891 and 1892) were approved by the King. Obviously, political factors obstructed the King's interference in the problem. One important factor that has to be considered was that secularization of education had to conform with the administrative reforms which major government projects were effecting. I refer to the introduction and application of western political administrative forms in the bureaucracy. This was made explicit by the 1892 ministerial reorganization and the establishment of the Ministry of Interior. Thailand's internal affairs should be connected with international events which affected the country's national stability during the 1890's. As Wyatt (1969:144) says, "the task of setting the provincial administration in order was more important at that moment than education". The statement refers to provincial schools. As a consequence, up to 1898, education was geared to training bureaucrats for new administrative positions in the capital and provinces.

The King was well aware that the Sangkha's loyalty was vital for secular education. However, I suggest that the government considered physical order, i.e. well-established provincial administration, as a pre-requisite for further developmental projects in the provinces.

**Educational policy under Câw Phrájaa Phatsakorawong**

Wyatt (1969:145) regards the period of Phatsakorawong's leadership between 1892-1898 as a time of uncertainty and indirection. Câw Phrájaa Phatsakorawong was assigned the task to further the policies made by the previous minister including the organization and further development of primary education. However, Phatsakorawong was unable to carry out the policy because of the ministry's inadequate budget. Therefore, he proposed the establishment of elementary and primary schools in the monasteries.
monasteries, in Bangkok and the provinces. This was approved by royal decree in 1892 (June). The educational proposal which was known as the "Draft Education Law" consisted of two parts: the first concerned the temples in the capital (Bangkok); the second, the provincial monasteries.

The first law determined that monks were to teach elementary school children in Bangkok according to traditional curricula but were given the Ministry's textbooks gratis. By traditional curricula Wyatt (1969:152) refers to the imparting of basic knowledge according to the discipleship system. The content of elementary schooling comprised instruction in morality, reading and writing (in Thai), composition, grammar and arithmetic. The law also introduced an examination system to enable enrolment for primary school.

The same law stated that primary schools in the monasteries were meant to teach pupils the elementary standard, (in advanced stage, I suppose) and the newly introduced subjects: geography, history, science, drawing, singing. The programme also intended to offer some other subjects, i.e. English, arts and crafts, agriculture and commerce, if qualified teachers were available. Furthermore, the law formalized ages of study (i.e. elementary and primary school age children ranged between seven and fourteen years old), length of courses, and that girls had to be educated too (Wyatt 1969:153). No such regulations were made for the elementary schools in the provinces.

The second law concerning provincial monasteries was more relevant to the education of the majority of the population and involved elementary

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13 Phatsakorawong distinguishes elementary and primary schooling. The first refers to the education of children between 7-10 years of age and the latter to those between 11-13 years of age.

14 There were at that time only four primary schools operating in four royal temples.
education only. Compared to the capital, the provincial elementary education was simplified. Phatsakorawong proposed that a monk should provide collective instruction to at least ten pupils, in reading, writing, arithmetic, morality and composition. However, the monk-teacher was free to employ whatever textbooks and methods he chose. Looking at the second law, obviously the Ministry was not able to distribute textbooks to provincial monasteries. This may have been due to insufficient supply of material or lack of communication with local monasteries. Therefore, I agree with Wyatt (1969:154) that in reality the traditional patterns and content of temple education remained the same as before.

Chaw Phrajaa Phatsakorawong failed to gain support. Enrolments at the monastery schools were relatively small. Thereafter further efforts to expand elementary and primary education, especially in the provinces, were suspended (ibid.). It was later in 1898 that ideas similar to those of Phatsakorawong were put forward and implemented in the provinces.

Another plan that had to be accomplished by the Ministry of Education in developing primary schools was the founding of a teacher training institution, the Normal School, established in 1892 after the unsuccessful "Draft Education Laws" proposal. The school was to train lay teachers (only men) to replace monk-teachers in the near future.\(^{15}\) The school employed foreign and Thai teachers, and was headed by G.H. Grindrod, an Englishman. The course was lengthy and followed the English secondary curriculum as model. The first three students had to be paid.

Apparently, the school was not so successful. There were only twenty graduates produced within a period of six years (from 1892-1898).

\(^{15}\) A teacher training school for girls was established in 1913 (Manich Jumsai 1951:76).
Moreover, the few new teachers were so highly trained that they chose to work at secondary schools or in a government ministry rather than at primary schools (Wyatt 1969:150-151).

It seems that educational developments during the mid-1890's received public attention. Some criticism had been put forward through the media about the unsatisfactory state of the government initiatives in education. The complaint was that Thailand's educational programme fulfilled needs not of the people at large but of a minority, i.e. children of royals, nobles and government officials. Furthermore, that the trend of education emphasized advanced and western education rather than elementary schooling (Wyatt 1969:180-182) which was obviously of great importance for a basic and sound foundation to a literate nation from which further educational developments could be carried out.

The criticism may have reached the ears of the King. As a consequence, necessary steps were taken to investigate the truth. Head of the Department of Education, Prince Kittiyakorn, newly arrived from study abroad in 1895, was sent to inspect the schools (Wyatt 1969:182).

In the meantime, several circumstances had caused the King to make important decisions concerning the expansion of primary education into the provinces. His visit to England and other European countries made him very conscious of contrasting Thai realities. Furthermore, advice was sought from several influential and capable men (including Phrājaa Wisut Suriyasak, Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and Prince Wachirayan Warorot).

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16 One of the media included the "Bangkok Times"(July 1895) which was subsidized by the government (Wyatt 1969:180).
17 By literate I refer to the ability to read and write actively in Thai.
18 Phrājaa Wisut Suriyasak (M.R.W. Pla Malakul) was Thai ambassador at that time. In 1902 he was appointed deputy minister and director of the Education Department (Wyatt 1969:199, 299).
All led to the idea that solution of Thailand's internal educational problems had to be solved in Thailand itself by utilizing existing educational institutions, the temples. This idea, I think, was not new. All the decrees of 1875, 1884 and 1892, aimed to promote the wâd as an institution of secular education. But the problem was a matter of organization which involved leadership and diplomacy by the policy makers, in getting the support and cooperation of the "traditional" teachers (monks), local leaders, and the people especially in rural areas. Before I proceed to the 1898 decree concerning the expansion of primary education into the provinces, I shall examine some of the dilemmas that I think hampered the previous efforts in monastery education.

Causes of the unsuccessful results of the 1875, 1884 and 1892 decrees

The decrees to promote modern education in Thailand met with many problems. I shall discuss only a few of them.

It was said that there was lack of demand from either the monastic order or the general population. Furthermore, problems were also revealed by the misunderstanding that schools were used as means by the government to recruit youth for military service (Manich Jumsai 1951:21; Prachoom Chomchail 1965:99). Moreover, there were also complaints regarding the inability of local administrators or governors to establish schools in the provinces. The meager results of the teacher training school during its initial stages may also be seen as an obstacle since the graduates were insufficient to replace the monk-teachers.

The attitude taken by the monastic order and the people in response to the government's decrees is understandable. We have to consider the way people perceive education. Hanks' (1958:9-14) study concerning the indifference to modern or secular education in the village of Bang Chan, provides some answers that can be related to the obstacles of the
educational reforms. The resistance of the monkhood may be explained by what Hanks (*ibid*. :9) reports:

... Education dealt with important knowledge which was discovered only by heroes or saints, not by ordinary mortals. Such knowledge had to be obtained from one who received it through the chain of teachers leading back to the original hero or saint. This kind of knowledge alone was education.

It is clear here that monks considered themselves responsible only for imparting the teaching of the Buddha.

The fear that the school was used to train the youth for the army was not without reason. The fear and dislike of parents to have their children trained as soldiers may be explained by taking into account two recognized institutions in Thai society: military service and corvée labour. The reluctant attitude towards the former has been attested by several scholars. Wales (1965:149) writes that the Thai had been a warlike people as manifested by their early victories over the Khmers. However, military service was regarded with disgust and despised by the Siamese in the early Bangkok period. Therefore, it was difficult to get them to serve as soldiers. La Loubère (1693:90-91) as quoted by Wales, reports that the Thai were not interested in fighting since Buddhism denounces the taking of life. Battye (1974:11, 135) agrees that to be in the army was unpopular in Thailand throughout the nineteenth century. But he also observes that in later years military status becomes more prestigious pioneered by the Royal Body Guard Regiment. Turton (1972:229), however, reports that people still perform and make efforts through magical rites to avoid conscription before the annual recruitment. 19

19 Military conscription was introduced in 1904 (Girling 1981:52-53). Men over 21 years of age are liable to two years of service in their nearest military district (Graham I, 1912:315). In regard to this
Corvée labour was abolished in 1899. Before then, free men over seventeen years of age were obliged to perform duties determined by the government for six or three months every year. Their work included constructing roads, fortresses, temples and canals. Corvée labour was a substitute for tax to the government and in return for what people received from the King, i.e. land as means of livelihood (Blanchard 1958:286-287; Wales 1965:45). Monks and government officials were exempted. People could avoid the obligation by making a payment of rice, timber, ivory or some other commodity (Blanchard 1958:286). Military service and corvée labour were regarded as a burden by the people because they also had to work to support their families (Akin Rabibhadana 1969:174; Pendleton 1962:14).

According to Hanks (1958:14) the villagers' indifference to modern education cannot be explained exclusively in terms of economics. He finds that the people in Bang Chan village, Central Thailand, lacked the will rather than the resources. In their view of education farmers judged the school on a more practical basis. They needed a realistic return, i.e. to help them grow more rice or to build better houses. They did not consider education an advantage because it did not enable children to gain salaried employment as a substitute for the agricultural work from which the young could support parents. Hanks (ibid.:13) writes that for resourceless farm labourers, the decision

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20 Akin Rabibhadana (1969:30-33, 172-174) describes corvée labour during the early Bangkok period in more detail.

21 Damrong Rajanubhab (1959:13) as cited by Akin Rabibhadana, reports that
not to send their youngsters to school was easier, because these children had to assist their parents as early as possible. Other considerations, however, may have affected the reluctant attitude of well-to-do farmers. Although they were aware of the loss of manpower in the family and were obliged to support the child with his educational facilities like writing materials, uniforms, pocket money to buy their lunch, they were more concerned with the idea that their children might not live with them in the extended family circle and care for them at old age. Also relevant was a fear that children might forget obligation to perform the funeral rituals and other ceremonies to ensure merit for their parents and hence less suffering in the next existence (Hanks 1958:19).

The decree of 1898

The Royal Decree of November 1898 became the basis of the government's policy to expand secular education into the provinces (Wyatt 1969:228-230; Tambiah 1976:219).

According to this decree the authority charged with the task of carrying out the policy was the Sānjha which was represented by Prince Wachirayan Warorot, in collaboration with the authorities of the Ministry of Interior (Krasuang Mahāadthakaj), headed by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. One important point of the decree was that in the extension of education into the provinces, the temples were maintained as the seat of promoting secular education (Wyatt 1969:230, 268).

The maintenance of the temples as the venue for modern education was based on several arguments of the policy makers who were in favour

Fn. 21 continued.

a commoner was not allowed to have more than 25 รื่อง of land. It was considered that that amount of land could still be developed by a farmer's household. One รื่อง is equal to 2/5 of an acre.
of the wād's potentialities, i.e. considerations such as that formal education had already been conducted in the temples which provided also the physical facilities to sustain formal instruction: buildings or rooms with a minimal of instructional facilities. These prevented the unnecessary financial waste of constructing new buildings. From the temple's point of view, the pupils could be useful to the monks in daily household services. Moreover, the planners also hoped to gain support of families when their children were to be enrolled at the government school in the temple (Wyatt 1969:112).

One may ask why the Sañkha was assigned responsibility for implementing the provincial primary education policy. Several circumstances caused the responsibility of the Ministry of Education to be transferred to Prince Wachirayan Warorot, half brother of the King and who at that time was abbot of Wād Bowonnivēd in Bangkok. Prince Wachirayan's efforts at the Mahāamakūd Academy had shown positive results which the King thought could serve as model in the provinces. Moreover, there had to be leaders (innovators) who had the capability to approach the monks in the monasteries, the common people comprising families who would send their children to school. One should not forget that local government officials had also to be persuaded to assist the government in the realization of the education plan. I ask now whether all temples in the provinces could function as government schools. The fact was, according to a survey conducted in 1907-1908,

22 Mahāamakūd Royal Academy for religious studies which was under Prince Wachirayan Warorot's direction, was formally opened in 1893 at Cāw Phraja Phatsakorawong's proposal. The opening was to commemorate the 25th anniversary of King Mongkut's death and was also to celebrate King Chulalongkorn's 25th year on the throne (Reynolds 1979:xxxiii-xxxiv). Since the 1880's Prince Wachirayan Warorot with some other monks experimented with the new teaching methods of religious studies at Wād Makūd (ibid.:xxxii). As head of the Thammajūd Sect he was in charge of all secular education in the Thammajūd Sect temples. By 1898 there were four schools in Bangkok with 450 students and three others in the provinces. These schools were apart from the Education Department (Wyatt 1969:217). The model school that I shall describe in this chapter was that from Wād Bowonnivēd,
that this was not the case. There were four classes of temples recognized by the Ministry of Education. One had schools which instructed pupils in formal classes, and taught the curriculum prescribed by the Ministry; this represented about 2.6 percent of all the temples throughout the Kingdom in 1907-1908. The second group, amounting to eight percent, were not recognized as government schools and therefore did not receive government support in terms of textbooks for teaching facilities. But these wad had to organize their students into classes for collective instruction. Furthermore, there were monasteries that still followed the traditional methods of individual instruction, i.e. based on the teacher-pupil relationship. This group of temples comprised 37.9 percent of all the temples in 1907-1908. The last group were monasteries that offered no secular instruction at all and comprised 51.5 percent of the temples in 1907-1908. Most of them were concentrated in the Northeastern part of Thailand (Wyatt 1969:334-336; see also Manich Jumsai 1951:27). Wyatt's report suggests that the classification of temples made by the government was based on the ability of monks to offer instruction in the Central Thai language.

I conclude that the three last and especially the last two kinds of temples continued to offer knowledge according to the old servitor system, instructing the youngsters in the local language, e.g. Northeastern and Northern Thai language. For temples in remote areas this situation continued until the 1930's which had been reported by ethnographers, e.g. Kaufman (1960:113), Tambiah (1968:98) and some others.

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23 According to an educational programme in Monthon Ratburi compiled by the Lord Lieutenant and presented to Prince Wachirayan Warorot, only temples with at least 30 primary school age children could open a government school. The minimum age of students was eleven years so that they could assist monks as servitors (Wachirayan Warorot 1975: 99, 104).
It is interesting to note that in fact, the government not only maintained but reinforced the servitor system in the first group of monasteries. This was the approach of the policy makers in order to have the cooperation of parents in sending their sons to school.

According to the educational programme parents could send their children to the village wād as dēgswād or now termed student of the temple school (nāgrian sīdwād), or as nāgrian dēgbān, to have their primary education formalized. The temple could also accept pre-primary school age children with the condition that later, when they reached primary school age, i.e. about seven to eight years old, would be sent to a primary school.24

The procedure of sending the boys to the temple school involved four parties: the parents, the child, the lay teachers and the wād personnel, i.e. the abbot and the monk whom the boy would serve. Each party had its rights and obligations (Wachirayan Warorot (1975:129-143) in fulfilling their cooperation to maintain the modernized servitor system. It should be noted that in the beginning of the implementation of the policy there were still problems concerning the education of girls.25

The educational policy stated that the lay teacher, i.e. the headmaster, was responsible for the administration of enrolments of students at the school. Both, nāgrian sīdwād and dēgbān, if they were

24 There were discrepancies about this primary school age. Rural conditions might delay children to enter primary school, i.e. after their eighth birthday.

25 It was later, by royal decree of the Compulsory Education Law of 1921, that education also became compulsory for girls. The fact that a teacher training school for girls was opened in 1913, suggests that before that year girls, especially in urban areas, were already entitled to school education.
enrolled at the school, had to have a monk to serve. Nagrian degbāan served the monk only during the day. In order to find a monk to serve parents were allowed to look for the monks they wanted for the child. In case they could not find one, the headmaster of the school should assist the families. The teacher would consult the abbot of the temple who in turn would select a monk among his wād personnel. When the temple had no school, the headmonk had to choose a monk who also should be the teacher of the boy (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:130-137) or, it seemed likely that the abbot may take the child as his responsibility.

The confirmation of being accepted as servitor and as student at the government school located in the temple, was strengthened by the wāajkhruu ritual. The educational programme recognized the tradition of this ritual which involved parents, the boy and the monks. A teacher could also take the child to pay obeisance to monks.

Later, the same ceremony took place within the school where the pupils paid obeisance to lay teachers on Thursday at the beginning of the "academic" year. This ritual enforced and confirmed students' registration at the school (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:137). By paying homage to teachers as well as to monks, the child confronted to two kinds of authority. However, it was here that a shift from the old to the new system could be discerned. Behind the second ritual was the idea of transferring authority of monks as educators of children to that of lay teachers.

Kingshill (1960:67) gives a description of the wāajkhruu ritual performed at the village school in Ku Daeng in 1953 (June 4). I suspect that this involves more than paying homage to teachers as educators in Thai society.

At present the wāajkhruu ritual is conducted in every school.
shall confine myself to that conducted at primary schools supported by ethnographic accounts, e.g. Kingshill (1960:67), Kaufman (1960:89-90); Wells (1975:258-260). Although the aim of the ritual is similar, i.e. to venerate teachers, there might be some slight variations in the details of the rites performed at various villages.

As reported by Kingshill (1960:67) the official order to conduct this *waajkhrau* ritual came from the district officer (naaj'corrphzi). The head-teacher was informed of the news the previous day. I assume that the teacher instructed the pupils, boys and girls, to collect egg-plant flowers and Bermuda grass to present in the temple. The children had also to collect money to donate to the temple. The ceremony itself started at 10 a.m. and was performed in the *wthaan*. In Bangkuad village (Kaufman 1960:89) the ritual was performed at the school. This suggests that the school was located independently from the *wād*.

In the *wthaan* boys sat in front, the girls behind and the teachers at the side. The head-teacher then lit several incense and candles in front of the Buddha statue after which all prostrated themselves in homage to the Buddha. This act of prostration is usually performed three times symbolizing the Buddha, Dharma and Sañkha. A leader of the students then led the others in a chant to praise the Triple Gems (Wells 1975:259). Wells writes that this chant was led by the teacher. Meanwhile, representatives of each class presented a tray of flowers, gathered by the students, to the Buddha image. The ritual was followed by a speech by the head-master. He explicated the importance of teachers, including parents, relatives and others who function as teachers in the arts of life. A chant of veneration to teachers (Wells 1975:259) concluded the speech. The chant was specially prescribed by the Ministry of Education. Finally, the head-monk came into the scene. The students prostrated themselves and the monk presented them with the five precepts which the
students intoned in unison. The abbot also made a speech similar to that of the head-teacher and reminded the children of their duty: to obey the regulation of the school and teachers. The head-monk then blessed the occasion. Kaufman (1960:89-90) writes that no monks were present at the ceremony he described. 26 He says that at the end of the ritual the head-teacher made three magic dots on a book with one of the candles which was dipped into a special perfumed powder. The purpose of these magical signs ('\textit{purnaloom}') was "to bestow upon the students a greater power for absorbing knowledge." 27 Or the presiding officer anointed the set of books used by the students with lustral water (Wells 1975:260).

Teachers Day also became a means employed by the government to nurture, strengthen and maintain the Buddhist religion as a unifying or binding force of the nation. 27 The school functioned as the link between villagers and the wider community: the local and central government.

The policy makers preferred to have \textit{nāgrion śāvād} to \textit{nāgrion āgān}. Unfavourable family environment was one of the major factors given by the educational planners (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:95; Wyatt 1969:73). I have described in Chapter 3 that children had to help their parents with various kinds of work in the family. This was seen as detrimental to the educational development of children. 28 Moreover,

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26 There was apparently another ceremony which was performed on the next-to-last or third-to-last day of school. On this occasion monks were invited to give a prayer of blessing. Each student brought food for the monks to eat (Kaufman 1960:90).

27 At present, the importance of the idea of nationalism is shown by the daily flag-raising ritual performed at schools at about 9 a.m. before lessons start.

28 This situation was also endorsed by the Dutch Colonial Educational authorities in Java, Indonesia, during the first part of the 19th century (Publicaties Hollandsch-Inlandsch Onderwijs-Commissie, No.9, 1930:5).
we also have to take into account parents' indifference towards modern education. As a consequence parents may not encourage their children to go to school but let them stay at home to care for their younger siblings for instance. From the temple's point of view monks required the assistance of the šêññâd as they were used to.

The preference of having nûγriçn šêññâd may have raised the question of how the temples maintained their students. The government supported temples only in the sense of providing the necessary textbooks rather than material or financial support. We already know that temples' residents including dêguñâd are fed by surrounding populace.

Statistical reports show a large concentration of servitors in urban temples. According to the Provincial Education Survey of 1907-1908, there were for the whole country 101,173 šêññâd compared to 13,915 dêguñân in 13,164 temples (Wyatt 1969:335).

The fact that the government's support to the temples was limited to the distribution of textbooks, suggests that financial and material aid for the servitors and teachers had to be sought in the village community itself. I mentioned earlier (page 130 of this chapter) that the educational planners hoped to gain assistance from the people who sent their children to school. However, the policy makers were also aware of the people's attitude towards education. On the one hand, they resisted sending their children to government schools because no merit could be gained. Resistance to modern education can also be explained in terms of the willingness of villagers to make donations. Kaufman (1960: 94), Hanks (1958:13-14) and some others assert that villagers gave much more willingly to the temple than to the school inasmuch as they gain much more merit in this way. As Hanks (ibid.) reports, "for every five
baht of cash, or five baskets of rice given to the temple, only one goes to the school."

On the other hand, villagers consider the servitor status as meritorious to the family and the boy because it supports the monk and the wäd. The fact that families were allowed to choose the monk for their child would imply that support to the temple could be guaranteed. Donations, especially during merit-making ceremonies, would pour into the temples. The temple then became the most suitable instrument for fund-raising.

The traditional merit-making ceremonies and festivals which supported the temple were highly valued by the people. The government endorsed such practices by establishing formal merit-making seasons. These, however, had to coincide with the people's leisure time; when the villagers had completed harvesting. The cooperation of the local government was required for formal promulgation of the dates of the ceremonies and festivals,\(^{29}\) and to assist with opening a meeting of the temple, or to arrange entertainments such as the likée during day time and puppet play and some others at night, to rent space to sell things at the temple compound, all to the benefit of the temple. Apart from these formal festivals were merit-making occasions of a more individual kind involving the temple and the merit-maker(s) only (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:96-100). The purpose of the government policy to preserve traditional customs was to make merit-making activities a source of subsidization in order to keep the temple running during the difficult beginnings of the educational

\(^{29}\) Local government officials in Nakhon Si Thammarat province (1974-1975) went around the city with their car. They used loudspeakers to announce the date of merit-making occasions. This went for several days. Written announcements of merit-making ceremonies were also done by some temples by placing notices at strategic places to attract people to come and donate. People make merit on Söñkraan Day (Thai New Year's Day), Thaad Kathin (the ceremony of offering new robes and other gifts to monks), on Wan Saad Day, i.e. the day when people commemorate their ancestors.
reforms, especially in the provinces.

Temples received donations from the people in the form of milled and unmilled rice and other gifts. When there was a surplus from the material used to feed the people during the festivals, it could be sold and the money used to improve the temple. Funds received from visitors attending the entertainments were to be spent on the permanent teachers' salaries. This income would be the basis for the number of children the temple could accept, i.e. the number that could stay and be taught in the wād (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:99). How far the results of merit-making activities covered the needs of the temple is not easy to conclude because the information is insufficient.

According to Wyatt (1969:278) there were few schools "fully" supported by and as a consequence controlled by the government. The number depended on the budget allocation to the Ministry of Education. Several considerations qualified schools for state support: high educational standards, distinguished achievements by former pupils, conformity with the government's goals in education and viability over time.

In fact, as was also shown by Wyatt (ibid.:184-185) some royal (government) schools, e.g. the King's College (established in 1897) were significantly "financed" by influential, noble and wealthy personages. Donations of money or some other gifts to promote secular schools were viewed as acts of merit among the elite. The Girls' Sunanthalaj School was initially only partly supported by the Ministry of Education which paid the salaries of women teachers from England. The court had to lease some of the school buildings to government or commercial firms to cover the running expenses of the school (ibid.:166).
Shortly before the 1898 decree, there were only four primary schools that were fully maintained by the Ministry of Education, all in royal temples (ibid.:278). However, commoners must have also donated to these schools in making merit, especially if their children were students there. Some other schools were partly or occasionally subsidized by the government which partly bore the maintenance expenses of the temples.

Missionary schools were not supported by the government. They were part of the Christian churches' activities. The missions had their own financial resources. I do not have enough evidence concerning this. But regular collection of offerings during church services indicates that they also received local support from their own congregation, which included some Thai as well as Chinese. This second source of income also supported schools. Reports reveal that King Mongkut further subsidized mission education (McFarland 1928:31-32). Malone (1933:41) writes that when S.G. McFarland failed to collect money for the construction of a school building in Phetburi, he appealed to King Mongkut. The latter provided the Presbyterian Church half the amount of money required, and the rest was donated by some princes and nobles.

Since 1918 missionary and other non-government supported schools were placed under the Private School Act. The Act obliged all private schools to register and conform with the government's educational policy. Later, further regulations concerning private school activities were...
enforced by the Private School Act in 1936 and by later legislation.

Model schools at Wâd Bowonniwêed

The model schools established at Wâd Bowonniwêed supported servitors. The splitting of secular from religious education at the afore-mentioned temple around 1904 was based on the rules that Prince Wachirayan Warorot had made.

In the organization of secular schools two monasteries - Wâd Bowonniwêed and Wâd Râgsîi (Râgsîsuthawâad) - were merged. The latter was partly altered to form a boarding school. The old chapel became the room for religious instruction and observances as well. The wîñaan housed the Buddha statue. The pali study room was changed into a library. Other rooms functioned as class-rooms for instruction in exact (chemistry and physics) and vocational sciences. The monks' cubicles became children's bedrooms. One large kuti accommodated twenty primary school age boys. Older students of secondary school level were given one small room each. There were three schools inside the monastery accommodating 600 students. One was a large building with 240 students. The two smaller ones had 180 children each (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:148-149). Wachirayan Warorot did not specify the students in more detail in terms of level. I assume that the three schools included primary and secondary education.

There were three kinds of students enrolled at Wâd Bowonniwêed's secular schools: nágrîn sî́sâd, nágrîn dëgbâan and the phûak khâd. The first group were those who stayed at the temple as boarders and whom scholars (e.g. Bunnag 1973:87) mentioned as the part-time or school-term

31 According to D. Swearer (1976:65) there are only fifty temples throughout Thailand offering secular studies in the upper primary and lower secondary grades at present.
term servitors I discussed in Chapter 2. These servitors differed from the "traditional" ones in that the former were given special accommodation to stay rather than live as accessories at the wād, and sleep at places such as on the porch of the monks' cubicles. Further study concerning these modern servitors would provide more details. The second group of students returned home after studies but had their lunch at the temple's dining room. A special room was built for that purpose, but details concerning finance for meals are obscure. The third group of students were those who became servitors by arrangement between the parents or their surrogates, the child and the wād. The purpose of this arrangement was that the child was put under the care and sponsorship of the temple in order to undertake primary and secondary education. He paid no tuition fee and received special attention from the temple if he needed to catch up with other students (Wachirayan Warorot:1975:150). There is no further information concerning these three kinds of student-servitors. It may be surmized that they relate to present-day urban residents migrating from provincial areas to pursue their studies in Bangkok.

The curriculum at the wād school conformed with that prescribed by the Ministry of Education and included extra curricular activities. These consisted of subjects in practical matters, starting at the primary level. To encourage self-reliance the schools offered lessons in carpentry, construction skills, tree climbing, swimming, paddling and sewing (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:165; see also Damrong Rajanubhab 1961:256).

The school also offered education in more specialized areas. Apart from religious instruction for future monks the programme included

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32 I leave out further details about tuition fee and other financial matters.
vocational training but only at the fourth and fifth grade of primary education. For instance, the school imparted knowledge in mechanics and used workshops of the Railway and the Public Works Departments. Pupils received diplomas from the temple and aforementioned departments recognized these as qualifications for appointment and promotion (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:153).

To broaden students' general knowledge lectures were conducted by speakers invited from outside and completed with examinations and certificated from the wād. Regarding mental training, the youth were subject to observe religious observances especially during Buddhist holy days. Instruction in sport, boy scout activities, handicrafts and recreational activities formed part of the servitors' schooling at Wād Bowonniwēed (ibid.). It is likely that dance, music, singing and some others were taught informally by laymen at the temple. Ethnographic reports (e.g. Potter 1977:95; Potter 1976:39; Tambiah 1968:114) reveal that dance groups played an important role during temple festivals. Potter (1976:39) writes that on such occasions dancers and musicians from within and without the village were the official hosts of the village temple. Practice sessions were conducted in the grounds under experienced dancers including women. It should be noted that some dance, drama, and music are religious in nature. This suggests that transmission of such a knowledge has to be carried out with caution.33 Training in dancing could also be carried out by staying at the teacher's place for some period (Tambiah 1968:116).

The servitors at the model schools at Wād Bowonniwēed were under the supervision of the monks. According to the temple rules, the children

33 For this kind of dance an elaborate ritual of paying homage to the teachers is of great importance. See Dhanit Yupho (1964) for further details.
were divided into residential units (khonai) which I already have discussed in Chapter 2. Older students had to assist the younger ones. Apart from helping monks in daily household chores, they also had to clean their own apartments (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:153).

Wyatt (1969:241) reports that schools under the Mahamakud Academy employed monk-teachers who had been trained in the government schools through Standard 11 in order to be assigned the task of teaching the Thai secular curricula in monasteries.

What consequences does the 1898 decree have for religious education? A fact is that at present secular and religious schooling in the monasteries is clearly separated. The latter is highly specialized training and cannot be discussed in detail. But decisive implementation of reforms in religious education itself began during King Wachiravut's reign (1910-1925). 34

New ideas and experiments to reform and standardize religious education already began to operate at Wad Makud in the 1880's and later at the Mahamakud Religious Academy in 1893. When Prince Wachirayan Warorot was assigned to implement the government's task of spreading primary education in the provinces between 1898-1909, he temporarily suspended his efforts at Wad Bowonniwedd, the headquarters of the Academy in Bangkok (Reynolds 1972:172; 1979:xlvii). But it seemed that he continued to spread his ideas in the provincial monasteries. Terwiel (1977:46) reports:

... The reformer of provincial education tackled both primary schooling and the education of novices and monks and recently ordained monks. The latter, rather than elementary education, seems to have received most attention. ...

34 One of the criteria of the standardization of religious study was also to prevent excessive numbers of liable men to be exempted from conscription (Reynolds 1979:xlvii).
After 1910 the results of religious education reforms came to fruition. A special training for novices and monks was based on the standardized curriculum of *nāgtham* and *parijatham* studies (Wachirayan Warorot 1975:178-179; Reynolds 1979:xlvi). Furthermore, the educational programme devised for the temporary monks was also standardized and distinguished from that for regular monks. Some temples began to open "Sunday" schools, an influence of Christianity, offering religious education to the public including men and women (Tambiah 1968:102-105; 1976:224-225, 465, 468).

The Sunday school for children evolved from an initial effort by the Buddhist University at Wād Mahāathāad in 1958. Religious education was offered on Sunday. Parents as well as children attended. Due to the enthusiasm of its audience, another school for the youth between six and twenty years of age was established in 1959 and run from the Buddhist University. Classes meet on Sunday between 9 a.m. and 11.30 a.m. for 120 hours per academic year. Instruction involves general morality, Buddhist philosophy, Buddhist history, English reading in Buddhism, inculcation of good manners, training in practice of the Thai ceremonial group cooperation, etc. Monk-students or graduates from the Buddhist University act as teachers. The younger students wear uniforms. The school also has a monthly magazine (Tambiah 1976:468).

An educational policy of King Chulalongkorn promoted teaching as a profession for females. Monks could not teach the "fair sex" (Manich Jumsai 1951:27-28) and schools for girls had to be established separately from the temple. At the instigation of Queen Saowaphaa, queen consort of King Chulalongkorn, the Girls' Sunanthalaj School was opened.

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in 1893 to provide both primary and secondary education. The institution employed foreign female teachers from England because Thailand had not yet produced any from the Kingdom's own population. They received salaries from the Ministry of Education but due to financial problems in the years of reform at the beginning of the century, the school closed in 1903 but reopened with some teachers from Japan the next year (Wyatt 1969:164-165, 170, 316).

Before the founding of the Girls' Sunanthalaj School, some parents sent their daughters to the French and American missionary schools, e.g. the Convent and the "Wang Lang" Schools which provided general education and trained the girls to be socially active. This training and socialization was necessary for a "democratic environment". Many other girls' schools opened later (Oonta Nopakun 1977:11).

The first teacher training school for men had opened in 1892. It was about twenty years later (1913) that such a school for girls was established. In 1921, there were only 180 Thai women teachers compared to 1,190 men teachers recruited through the teacher training institutions throughout the country (Manich Jumsai 1951:76). The position of women in society may explain this sex difference in the educational staff. Oonta Nopakun (1977:4) writes:

The education of Thai women was very restricted, as the traditional attitude towards Thai women then, and even now, was that the most important role of a woman was just to be a good wife and mother. It was not her natural role to venture outside the home to participate in the world of men. A Thai woman is the follower of man, and therefore it was not necessary for her to have equal opportunity in education. Her education and training was only to prepare her to serve her husband and family. Therefore, her

36 This school has to be distinguished from another girls' school in the palace: the "Rajakumari School" which was meant for royal daughters established in 1892 (Wyatt 1969:165).
education, was confined within the family. Young girls were not taught to read nor write, but were taught feminine skills in being a good homemaker. In some exceptional cases where a daughter was intelligent, she would try to seek someone to teach her how to read and write. Thai parents did not approve of this, in fear that their daughter would use this knowledge for love letters.

Oonta Nopakun (1977:16) is concerned about the status of women in the towns who were usually wives of nobles, aristocrats and wealthy merchants. She says that it would disgrace a husband if a woman had to work since this would mean he was incapable of supporting his family. On the other hand, the writer (ibid.) reports that women in rural areas were more independent than their urban counterparts. "Their labor was accepted by the community to be almost as important as the men."

The position of women has changed tremendously. When the government launched the Compulsory Primary Education Acts in 1921 and 1935, more schools had to be opened because of the increase of students' enrolments and therefore, more teachers were needed. To enhance the increase of teaching staff the involvement of women teachers is of great importance.

As women have become literate many of them have gone beyond the primary school level (Blanchard 1958:460). Thai women are now free to choose any subject that is of interest to them (Oonta Nopakun 1977:12). Many of them select the educational field, to be a teacher, as their profession. Blanchard (1958:460) reports that women teachers comprised 25 percent of the country's teachers. It is likely that this figure has increased during later years. Mattani Rutnin (1978:101) as cited by Cook, says that the number of girl students and female teachers in schools and universities exceeds that of men. It should be noted that during the 1950's the Thai government was so concerned, and still is, about the training of teachers to be employed in rural areas.
Several kinds of training schools were established by the government to recruit teachers from the populace. A complex system of certification was developed: certificates for elementary teaching were granted to students upon completion of the lower secondary school (Māthajom (M) III) or M IV (first level of higher secondary schooling) (Blanchard 1958:453; Wong 1973:32). A special rural teacher training programme began in 1956 in one of the Northeastern provinces in Thailand. This was later extended to other areas: South, North and Central Thailand. The main purpose of this project was to train boys and girls and send them out to schools (for three months) in remote villages for their practice. The founding of one College of Education in Bangkok in 1953, and another two in 1955, further increased the number of teachers as did the granting of Bachelor degrees in education by the Chulalongkorn University in 1953. (Wong 1973:32-33; Sternstein 1976:59).

Female teachers now play a dominant role in Thai educational life both in urban and rural areas. They are accorded high respect by the community. Some become so dedicated that they forsake marriage for the profession. Their teaching interests are not always restricted to secular subjects. Some are experts in teaching dhamma not only to lay people but men as monks.37 In other words, through the secularization of education women have assumed both the obligation of chastity which characterizes monks and status of the monastic teachers to whom vīraṭī pay homage in vājīkhāma ceremony.

37 A Thai female teacher that I know taught Thai language to foreigners in 1971-1973. But during the afternoon hours, once or twice a week she taught dhamma lesson to foreign monks at Wād Bowonniwēed. She frequently received invitations from other temples to give lectures on Buddhism, which were attended by the monks. Furthermore, her lectures on dhamma were taped and broadcast on every Monday morning from 6:00 to 7:00 a.m.
Another phenomenon that deserves attention concerns the Buddhist institution of the nuns (mē chīi). There are ethnographic accounts which report their presence in the temples of Thailand. Cook (1981) provides us with details about this institution. It was only until recently that nuns gained formal recognition. The establishment of the Nun's Institute (Sathāban Mēchīi) received patronage of the Queen in 1972. Like the degvād, the nuns are not part of the Saṃgha. Despite the educational programme devised for the nuns in the temple, they do not receive the training which prepares boys for monkhood. However, to some extent, the nuns as well as other women have assumed some of the religious status of the monk and much of his control over a large proportion of the pupils (tāmsīd) he previously monopolized.

The accomplishment of the transformation of the old temple educational system is now realized by present-day Thai educational system. Secular and religious training is now formally two separate systems. Both have achieved a standardized and elaborate educational programme from lower to higher education. Despite separation there are links between the two which need further investigation. The most fundamental is that since religious education became a specialized training, completion of the fourth grade of compulsory primary schooling prescribed by the Ministry of Education is a requirement for ordination as a novice or monk. Servitors of primary school age serving monks in temples are all subject to the Compulsory Primary Education Act.

A question now is whether at present all primary school children have to be servitors. The answer is certainly negative. But one can become one. Several motivational factors which I have discussed in Chapter 2 may explain the existence of present-day temple servitors, including those enrolled at secondary schools, universities and even adults waiting for employment and some others.
I mentioned earlier that urban temples are crowded with servitors. This should be connected with the fact that secondary schools and universities are located in the capital and provincial towns. Some parents from rural areas manage to send their children to these schools for their education. They entrust females to respectable families. As for the boys, considering the high cost of living in urban areas, the temple as a social institution is regarded as the most suitable place to stay. Parents trust the monks especially when the latter are relatives, and moreover, gain merit through their "donation" of a servitor. Parents may visit their sons in the temple and bring some gifts in whatever form to the monks and temple.

Contemporary Thai secular educational system comprises four levels of education: pre-primary school (kindergarten) education (meant for children between three to six years of age), primary education (seven to thirteen years), lower and higher secondary schooling (fourteen to nineteen years) and higher education (twenty to twenty-four). Secular education involves both general and vocational training (Uma Sukonthanam 1977:3-5).

There were between 1902-1966 eight national schemes of elementary education. These various schemes reveal the efforts of the Thai government to improve the administration of education. The national policy since 1921 was that the government made the first four grades of primary education compulsory and universal throughout Thailand, enforced by the Compulsory Primary Education Act of 1921. This Act was later re-enforced in 1935. In 1962 compulsory primary education was extended to from four to seven years. It should be noted that the intent of the Compulsory Primary Education Act was also to provide free education. I leave out the consequences of the Compulsory Primary Education Act since these need a research in itself.
There are four kinds of schools in Thailand, government schools, local schools, private schools and municipal schools (Landon 1968:97). Government schools are established and maintained by the state. They provide both general and vocational education. Local schools are primary schools supported by the government, but they are under the control of local officials and committees. Private schools are established and maintained by private individuals or associations in accordance with the Private School Act. Municipal schools are primary schools. They have been founded by the municipalities or have been transferred by the local authorities to the municipalities. They are supported by the municipal funds (Kingshill 1960:59-60).

Conclusion

Having delineated the educational reforms during King Chulalongkorn's reign which began in 1870, it can be concluded that ideas to change the educational system were initiated by the King as a consequence of western impact. The application of these ideas was carried out by employing the Royal Scribes Department and some foreign teachers, in order to establish and develop the first secular schools in the palace. These schools were meant for training the sons of royalty, nobility and government officials in preparation for their positions in government service. For some, these schools were also to prepare students for study abroad.

More effective results of the educational reforms were enhanced with the emergence of Prince Damrong Rajanubhab; also by the establishment of the Education Department through which organization, textbooks and standardization of secular schools could be accomplished. The spread of new printed textbooks into the monasteries was made possible.
The standardization of primary and secondary education which was concentrated in the capital had little impact on temple education except for some selected royal monasteries in Bangkok and Ayutthaya province.

Three unsuccessful attempts to implement secular education in the temples suggest that the educational reforms were not always easy to implement. The government confronted resistant attitudes of both lay people and the monks. The reluctance of the laity relates to some societal institutions (i.e. military service, corvée labour) which in the past were the usual contact between the government and the people.

One of the main problems was persuading the monks to perform the government's wishes. Lack of support of the Supreme Patriarch in 1875 was probably crucial to the monastic resistance. Another difficulty emanated from the organization of governmental institutions. Before 1892 temple affairs, including religious education, were under a separate department or krom, i.e. Krom Thammakaan. I suspect that, when this department was incorporated in the Ministry of Education in 1892, cooperation between the Sangkha and Education Department authorities had not yet developed as expected. It seems to me that there were yet no representatives or leaders of the monastic order responsive enough to initiate changes in the temples apart from a handful of monks headed by Prince Wachirayan Warorot. They established their own secular schools at Wād Bowonniwēed and some other temples but apart from the Education Department.

The failure to introduce secular education into the temples suggests that the old temple education continued to exist until the promulgation of the 1898 decree.

The results of this decree revealed that apart from the enforcement
of secular primary education in the monasteries, it also maintained or even enforced the servitor system. A new notion of dēguād was created. He became student of the government school and simultaneously servitor at the wād he stayed in. Statistical records of the new temple servitor was attested to by the 1907-1908 survey on temples throughout the country. Other indications that a new form of discipleship was developing include reforms in the model school at Wād Bowonniwēed established in the early years of this century.

Apart from nāgrian sīdwād, the old servitor system prevailed until the 1930's. This was because of the existence of temples without government support as reported by the 1907-1908 survey on temples in Thailand.

Further implications of the 1898 decree were that throughout, the state exercised influence on family life as well as education. This influence was later made explicit by further developments of educational policies in later years, i.e. decrees of the Compulsory Primary Education Acts of 1921 and 1935 applicable to primary school age children in Thailand.

One of the important consequences of the establishment of secular schools involves the role of women teachers. They have, in fact, taken over the monks' job of educating the young male children. In primary schools, male and female teachers may have the same proportion, but pre-primary schools or kindergartens where children learn the basic knowledge of reading and writing, are usually managed by females.

Secularization of education has led to extreme specialization of religious training. Changes in the system of monastic education were necessary to conform to the demands of society that monks should retain
their role as religious leaders and ritual specialists. However, it
does not imply that religious education is the monopoly of the monks.
On the contrary, to mention only a few, the opening of Buddhist Sunday
schools, the establishment of the Nuns' Institute and some others,
suggests that formal religious training, although it differs from that
of the monks, is offered to lay men and women, adults and children.
Concerning the women, some may become teachers in dhamma and teach the
monks.
Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters I have analysed the role and persistence of the servitor practice in the temples in Thailand. This I concluded is a continuation of the ancient discipleship system which was not only the first stage of training for novicehood and hence monkhood, but also an elementary phase of education in fields other than religion.

Present-day servitor status differs from the old in that the former no longer is a universal requirement for the ordination of novices. In Chapter 2 I argued that this may still be the case with the khajoom in Northern Thailand. On the other hand, male students and non-students of varying age become temple servitors. However, all primary school age temple boys are subject to the Compulsory Primary Education Act.

I also argued that economic, educational, religious and some other personal factors motivate boys and young men to become helpers of the monks. These factors inter-relate. Temples provide accommodation which is more satisfactory for students than boarding houses or live-in employment with merchants etc.

Entry into temple service is only one of several alternative means by which more impoverished parents seek to resolve the problems of supporting and educating sons. Immediate need of cash, inability to make donations to the temple and a realistic attitude towards life, may cause parents to have their children work and earn money by whatever means rather than send them to the temple. Child labour in Thailand's
many business enterprises is evidence.

Monastic dependence on the laity for material support and other kinds of assistance including labour, requires the Sāṅkha to recruit servitors. The monk-servitor relationship implies the guarantee of support and loyalty of the boy or young man to the temple.

The servitor practice initially entailed a voluntary contract, confirmed by the wāćkhrμnuu ritual, between a boy's parents and a monk based on the principle of dependence. It became enforced after the 1898 royal decree when the government began to introduce and expand secular primary education in the temples throughout Thailand. I argued that unfavourable family environment would hamper school education and therefore living in the monasteries as servitors was regarded by the educational planners as the best solution. Looking at the family as a socio-economic unit which I discussed in Chapter 3, I came to the conclusion that the supposedly unfavourable family conditions were the obligations of children to work at home. In fact servitors fulfilled obligations to both the temple and then households.

My discussion of the family had two purposes: first, to argue for the prevalence of matrilocally extended families in Thailand and that their structural size and composition is conducive to the servitor practice; second, to emphasize that real work within the family is part of education and forms one of the important means for inculcation of ideas and knowledge. Children work from an early age in the household and farm in preparation for their roles in adulthood. I concluded that the same conditions prevailed in the past. However, it is also revealed that child labour does not always cause school absenteeism. Other factors include people's religious attitude towards education
which they view as preparation for gaining and accumulating merit through ordination. Apart from their religious attitude, villagers' practical view of education should also be taken into account. Farmers expect concrete returns from secular education.

The enforced servitor practice was not merely used to counter disadvantageous family influence. It was actually one of the important means to help change the old temple educational system. In Chapter 4 I considered the temple's importance as a community centre and the meaning of Buddhism as practised in society.

The old temple education aimed at a broad and various range of training involving both formal and informal, religious and secular, elementary and advanced education. The main purpose of the temple's educative function was and is still to train men to be Śākha administrators and Buddhist ritual experts and thereby to perpetuate the Buddhist religion.

A deeper understanding of Popular Religion and the fact that monkhood is not necessarily a lifelong commitment also leads to the conclusion that the temple helped to train people to become government officials, lay leaders, non-Buddhist ritual specialists. Informally, the temple imparted knowledge in various kinds of arts and crafts to lay people.

The enforcement of the servitor practice was part of the government's educational policy using temples as seats of implementing secular primary education after several unsuccessful attempts had been carried out. Chapter 5 discussed the causes for changes in Thai educational system.
Increasing and intensified international relationship after the second part of the nineteenth century compelled Thailand to modernize. The impact of the West on Thailand's political, economic, social and educational life urgently required a new system to cope with new demands. This could only be accomplished by modern means and methods which temple education, due to its primary religious objectives, was not able to perform. The Thai state had to change its old educational system in order to preserve its own interests. Therefore, secularization of education was from the outset the state's concern.

I argued that the course of the educational changes was strongly guided by the government. This was revealed first by the Thai and English schools established in the palace and later by some other royal schools. These new secular educational institutions were meant for the upper class (i.e. sons and daughters of royalty, nobility and later on government officials). They were supported and controlled by the government. Their main purpose was the recruitment of "modern" government officials, and to some extent, preparation for study abroad.

The state's concern with secularization of education was made explicit by the establishment of the Education Department which later, amalgamated with the Department of Religious Affairs and became the Ministry of Education. Through this ministry the government was able to establish the necessary organizational apparatus, produce textbooks and standardize secular schools.

The government's educational policies on the standardization of secular primary and secondary education were concentrated in Bangkok and Ayutthaya province but had little impact outside a few select royal monasteries.
Government policy did not always conform with the peoples' needs and attitude towards secular education. This was made by the three unsuccessful royal decrees promulgated in 1875, 1884 and 1892. The policy makers were insufficiently sensitive to social and religious factors detrimental to secularization of education. The state confronted resistance from both the people at large and the monastic order. Reluctant attitudes and misunderstanding on the part of the people related to their negative view concerning some institutions inherent in society, e.g. military service, corvée labour, which were usually the means of contact between the government and the people. As I argued in Chapters 3 and 4, peoples' religious and practical views of education explain their uncooperative response towards the government's policies.

One of the main problems was that the state had to deal with monks who ignored royal decrees. The Supreme Patriarch's refusal to cooperate was one of the main expressions of monastic resistance towards secularization of education. The autonomous character of governmental departments, in this case the Education and Religious Affairs Departments, may also explain the Sāṅkha's attitude towards the Education Department. As evidence, secular schools at Wād Bowonnīwēed and some other temples were established apart from the Education Department.

I argued that the failure to introduce secular education in the temples accounts for the continuation of the old temple education and its servitors until the promulgation of the royal decree in 1898, which became the basis of the government's provincial primary education policy.
I have already said in the beginning that the temple servitor status was maintained and even enforced by the government to implement secular primary education in the temples. I conclude that the preservation of the servitors, as part of the policy using temples as seats of secular education, had far-reaching implications. These involved the preservation and legitimizing of other old traditions and customs, i.e. merit-making ceremonies to support the temple and the school. The wâajkhruu ceremony has now become one of the important ceremonies conducted at every school at the beginning of the new academic year.

It took King Chulalongkorn about thirty years to have the first secular schools established in the provincial temples outside Ayutthaya. It should be remembered that during the initial difficult years of the reforms, decisions had to be made according to options and priorities of the country. Education was used as a tool to maintain independence which implies that the country needed new leaders. As a consequence, the first Thais to receive modern education were members of the ruling class. It was from this group that the King expected to recruit leaders to modernize the country.

Facts reveal that lay leaders alone could not have realized the educational policies. Cooperation of Sânjha leaders was inevitable. The problem was to find religious leaders responsive to change. Despite the lack of support of the Supreme Patriarch (he died in 1900), the King as ruler and protector of Buddhism was able to assign his half-brother, Prince Wachirayan Warorot, to implement the primary education policy in the provinces. In fact, it was this royal monk who advocated the preservation of the servitor practice.
Monk-servitor or teacher-pupil relationships as the core of monastic organization and temple life had to be maintained in the transitional period of change in order to prevent disorder in society as a result of the disruption of the monk-layman relationship. The latter forms an important factor of stability in village life.

Not all of the far-reaching consequences of secularization of education need further reference here. But I emphasize women teachers. Once excluded from formal learning, they are the backbone of the nation's educational staff. They have largely replaced the monks in educating the young and they are major recipients of the *vâajkhruu* ritual. Like the monks of former times, modern women teachers now have their disciples (*luugsârâd*) (see Chapter 2, p.4-5).

Advancement of secular schooling continues to erode the temple servitor practice resulting from the royal decree of 1898. This has already caused the *Sânjha* to utilize a variety of strategies in recruiting temple servitors. For example, the *Sânjha* now has temples in major western cities and provides accommodation for Thai students who work as *dêgsâd* while studying at universities abroad. Their conditions are enviable.
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<tr>
<td>Maruyama, K.</td>
<td>Some Aspects of Socialization Process in a Thai Rural Society, with a special reference to the educational functions of families and Buddhist temples.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>Office of the Prime Minister</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Thailand into the 80's.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pin Malakul</td>
<td>Education during the time when His Highness Prince Dhaninivat was Minister of Public Instruction. Journal of the Siam Society, Vol.63, Part 1, January, pp.9-27.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Plyaŋ Na Nakhon</td>
<td>Phódcanaasaaraanûkrom Chabâb thansamaj, 1êm 2 Phâagsaaraanûkrom, Thajwâdthanaaaphaaniûd.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prachoom Chomchai</td>
<td>Chulalongkorn The Great. The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Kyoto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rajavaramuni, Phrä'</td>
<td>Phódcanaanûkrom Phûdthasàad. Maha Chula Buddhist University.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Somboon Suksamran</td>
<td>Political Buddhism in Southeast Asia: The role of the Sangha in the modernization of Thailand. London: C. Hurst.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Tanphaichitr</td>
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<td>Sitsayamkan, Luang</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>The Greek Favourite of the King of Siam.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Author/Title</td>
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</table>
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The Politics and Reform in Thailand.

1970
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1975
Education and the Modernization of Thai Society.
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Young, J.E. de
1955
Village Life in Modern Thailand.

Zack, S.J.
1977
### Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'aacaan</td>
<td>teacher (who has a degree); scholar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aacaan-10ugsîd</td>
<td>teacher-pupil relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aacaan wâd</td>
<td>leader of the Buddhist congregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aawâd</td>
<td>Buddhist temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amphõô</td>
<td>district (sub-unit of a province)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâab</td>
<td>sin, demerit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâad</td>
<td>monk's alms-bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâan</td>
<td>house; village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baaw</td>
<td>young men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajlaan</td>
<td>palm-leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajpluu</td>
<td>betel-leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binthabàad</td>
<td>food received in the alms-bowl; alms gathering (applied to monks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bôod, ²ûboosôd (Pali/P)</td>
<td>chapel; ordination hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bôög nãjsûy</td>
<td>to tell the knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bun</td>
<td>merit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caarâ³</td>
<td>stylus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câaw or câw</td>
<td>prince; ruler; holy being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câaw 'aawâd</td>
<td>abbot; head of a temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câaw khanâ³</td>
<td>head of a temple's residential unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câaw phôc phrǻkhâaw</td>
<td>temple guardian spirit (the spirit of a pious man dressed in white)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câaw sâmñâg</td>
<td>abbot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câgkraphâd, cakkavatti (P)</td>
<td>universal ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cam wâd</td>
<td>to sleep (applied to monks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cagwâd</td>
<td>province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câw phrájaa</td>
<td>title for persons of the highest rank of conferred nobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceedii</td>
<td>- stupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chān</td>
<td>- to eat (applied to monks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chān</td>
<td>- level; class; grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēgbāñ</td>
<td>- day-time temple servitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēgwād</td>
<td>- temple servitor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhamma (P), dharma (Sanskrit/S)</td>
<td>- law of the cosmic order; Buddhist doctrine/teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhammapada</td>
<td>- a line or stanza of the Dhamma; a sentence containing an ethical aphorism; a portion or piece of the Dhamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīb</td>
<td>- raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dindaan</td>
<td>- hard compact soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinnaw</td>
<td>- clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinsū</td>
<td>- pencil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinsūrphocag</td>
<td>- chalk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōg (māaj)</td>
<td>- flower; blossom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōgkhem</td>
<td>- ixoraflower (<em>Rauwolfia Serpentina</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōgmaaj ihanna khām</td>
<td>- flowers which are presented by dēgwād to the teacher as symbol of request for recitation of the five precepts after lessons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōgmakhya</td>
<td>- egg-plant flower (<em>Solanum Melongena</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinfōnnīyg</td>
<td>- stone to sharpen inkbar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinlabmiid</td>
<td>- whetstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōoraasāad</td>
<td>- astrology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōochān</td>
<td>- dining room in the temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōokaanparian</td>
<td>- Pali study room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōosūadmon</td>
<td>- chanting session room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōotrajpīdog</td>
<td>- the sacred scriptures room</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
jaa - medicine
jâa - grass
jâaphrêgg - Bermuda grass (Gynodon dactylon)
jùu faj - lying by the fire, is a ritual performed by a woman (the mother) after giving birth
kaakajia - book supporter; wooden book-rest for reading
kaanparian - Pali study
kam, kamma(P), Karma(S) - self operating law of cause and effect
kammakaan wâd - temple committee
kèb phâg - to collect vegetables from the garden
khâalâwrian - tuition fee
khaathâa - verse, stanza
khajoom - servitor in North Thailand
khanâ¹ - temple's residential unit; group
kharawâad - laymen
kharua - aged monk
khâw phansâa - to enter the Buddhist retreat
khon - man, person
khon dîb - a raw person; a man who has never been ordained; a socially immature person
khon sug - a man who has been ordained; a socially mature person
khôom - Khmer; Cambodian script or language
khôräj - gong
khruu - teacher
khwaamthug - suffering
khwân - energy elements; spirit essence; soul
kôgphiï - matriclan; matrilineage
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kradaanchanuan</td>
<td>- slate (for arithmetic study in the temple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krasuanj</td>
<td>- ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krasuanj mahaadthaj</td>
<td>- Ministry of Interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krasuanj sygsathikaan</td>
<td>- Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krasuanj thammakaan</td>
<td>- Ministry of Public Instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krom</td>
<td>- department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krom mahaadleg</td>
<td>- Royal Pages Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krom phra'alag</td>
<td>- Royal Scribes Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krom sinlapaakoon</td>
<td>- Fine Arts Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krom thahaan mahaadleg</td>
<td>- Royal Pages Military Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krom thammakaan</td>
<td>- Religious Affairs Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuti (P)</td>
<td>- monks' residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lao tham</td>
<td>- Laotian sacred script</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamtaad</td>
<td>- name of a Thai folk performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lannaathaj</td>
<td>- Northern Thai language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loinjhaahyan</td>
<td>- domestic group (kingroup) in Northeast Thailand (literally meaning: roof of a house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenhukan</td>
<td>- to play and laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likee</td>
<td>- name of Thai folk dance drama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lostsoog</td>
<td>- name of a game of tossing pennies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luugsid</td>
<td>- pupil; student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luugsya</td>
<td>- tiger cub; boyscout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maaj</td>
<td>- wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maajbanthad</td>
<td>- wooden ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maajkradaan</td>
<td>- wooden blackboard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maag</td>
<td>- betelnut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maakha buuchaa</td>
<td>- Buddhist holy day to commemorate the four &quot;miraculous occasions&quot; during Gautama Sidharta's life. It is held on full moon day in January-February</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
madthajom - secondary school level
mahamakūd wīdhajāalaj - Buddhist Religious Academy at Wād Bowonniwėd (it is now the Mahāamakūd Buddhist University)
mahānīkaaj - the "Mahanikaya Sect"; Greater Sub-Order of the Thai Monkhood.
mahāathaad wīdhajāalaj - The Buddhist Religious Academy at Wād Mahāathaad in Bangkok. It is now the "Maha chula Buddhist University"
mahāthaēerā - elder in the monastic order
médsabaa - seed of the sabaa tree (Entada Phaseoloides)
meechii - Thai Buddhist nun
mon - sacred words; prayers; sacrificial formula; incantation; magic spell
mondēb - construction to house the Buddha's footprint
monthon - circle, governmental administrative unit in Thailand before 1933
mōnkhon - auspicious
mōo - medical doctor; physician
mōo booraan - "traditional" doctor; ancient doctor
mōo duu - astrologer; fortune-teller
mōo jaa - herbal doctor
mōo khwān; phraam - khwān ritual specialist
mōo lam - folk opera entertainer; Thai folk opera
mōo sōng - diviner
mōo tham - exorciser
myg - ink
mygthēēŋ - inkbar
naaj 'amphēō - head of a district
<table>
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<tr>
<td>nāṇḍ phrākosūb/phrākosūg</td>
<td>the Rice Goddess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāb thyy</td>
<td>to profess a religion; to respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāgrian</td>
<td>a student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāgrian dēgbān</td>
<td>students who do not stay in the temple but serve the monks during the day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāgrian sidwād</td>
<td>students who live in and serve the temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāgtham</td>
<td>dhamma scholar; graduate of dhamma studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāngṣyy tham</td>
<td>sacred script</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāŋtaluj</td>
<td>shadow play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navaka (P)</td>
<td>temporary monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neen, sāmameen</td>
<td>novice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nibphaan, nirvana (S)</td>
<td>the extinction of all defilements and suffering; the extinction of the cycle of rebirth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nissayamutta (P)</td>
<td>one who is set free from reliance on support and has been ordained for at least five years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīthāan</td>
<td>tales, stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇaanthambun</td>
<td>merit-making ceremonies and festivals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ājīw</td>
<td>name of a tree (Bombasidae Ceiba petandra); kapok tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāakkaa</td>
<td>pen (literally meaning: crow's beak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parijathām</td>
<td>Pali studies; study of the Scriptures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parittā (P)</td>
<td>verses of protection; protective chants; holy stanzas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patimokkha (P)</td>
<td>a collection of the fundamental precepts (227) of the Order which are recited every fortnight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phāasāṅ</td>
<td>sarong-like lower garment of Thai women's dress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
phi - spirit; ghost
phi - older sibling
phi∩aj - female "relative" who looks after someone's child; nursemaid
phi prēed, preta (S) - hungry ghost; departed spirits
phrá¹, phígsu¹, Bhikkhu (P) - Buddhist monk
phraam, mõokhwän - Brahman; khunm ritual specialist
phrájaa - title for persons of the second highest rank of conferred nobility
phrá¹ maalaj - name of a reader describing the story of a famous monk: Maalaj or Phrá¹ Maalaj
phráphúd - Lord Buddha
phrárádtanātraj - the Triple Gems: Buddha, Dharma and Śākña
phráṣaŋkhâraad, sāŋkharâad - Supreme Patriarch
phrátham, tham - the Buddha's Teaching; the Buddhist Teaching
phráwínaj, vinaya (P) - first part of the Buddhist Canon comprising the monastic rules
phüag - group; category
phüag′ian - group of beginners who learn to read
phüag kʰian - students who learn to write
phüag rian lêeg - students engaged in learning arithmetic
phüag kʰian nỳg - students engaged in writing in ink
phüag thamtuamiimuun - students who completed study in reading, writing and arithmetic
phüag phrákhamphiimuun - students engaged in learning the elementary knowledge of the Buddhist Canon
phüag plêc - students engaged in the study/translation of the sacred script
phüag rian caarã - students engaged in writing with stylus
phúag khąd - students sponsored by the wád
phúujèjbàn - village headman
phùuthàw - aged person; village elders
píntoo - food carrier: consisting of a set of containers stacked vertically and strapped together
praasàad - palace; castle
prakheen - to present or hand things to monks
prathôm kòo kaa - a book which was used as guide for elementary Thai language study in "traditional" temple education
prathôm cindaamunii - a book which was written by a famous poet in the seventeenth century and used for poetry learning
prathôm maalaa - a book which was written by Phrá¹ Theephamooli from Wád Buurana in Bangkok and used as "textbook" in nineteenth century temple education
râj - measurement of land: one râj is equal to 2/5 of an acre
roongrian phëenthîi - Royal Thai Survey Department School
ron - gamboge
ràadchakhaná² - high-ranking title in the Sàjkha hierarchy
sàalaa - hall or place to rest and relax
sàmaneen, neen - novice
sàaw - young girl or women
sàmnàg - abode of monks, lodging place
sàmnàgdàab - sword "school"
sàmnàgmuaaj - boxing "school"
sàmnàgšàjkha - temple without a bûod
sàjkha - monastic order
sàŋkhakaarlii - judge of lay status in charge of work in the ecclesiastical court
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saññikhatana, phraññikhatana</td>
<td>Supreme Patriarch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satthaaban maccilli</td>
<td>the Nun's Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senbanthad</td>
<td>line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sid</td>
<td>pupil; student; disciple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simaa</td>
<td>boundary-stone to mark the consecrated area in the temple compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sidwad, dēgwad</td>
<td>student-servitor, temple servitor, temple-boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin hāa</td>
<td>the five precepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin peēd</td>
<td>the eight precepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōjkraan</td>
<td>&quot;Thai New Year&quot;, held in the fifth lunar month (13-15 April)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūad mon</td>
<td>to chant sacred words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sūg</td>
<td>ripe; cooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taaw kaa khaan</td>
<td>name of the temple guardian spirit in North Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takūasēn</td>
<td>metal-liner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapas (S)</td>
<td>ascetic; hermit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tham, dhamma (P), dharma (S)</td>
<td>law of the cosmic order; Buddhist teaching, Buddhist doctrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tham bun</td>
<td>to make merit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thammajūd</td>
<td>the &quot;Dhammayutika Sect&quot;; smaller Sub-Order of the Thai Monkhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thēed</td>
<td>sermon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thēed nīthaan</td>
<td>sermons containing stories and tales of local origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thēerā¹</td>
<td>an elder; a senior member of the Ṣāṇīkha (of at least ten years' standing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thēd kathin</td>
<td>post-retreat Robe Presentation Ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thoɔŋjaŋ</td>
<td>name of a tree: Cerbera odollam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trajpiṅg, Tripitaka (P)</td>
<td>the Buddhist Canon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ùboosòd, bòod - chapel, ordination hall
ùlòog - name of a tree: Hymenodictyon exceZswn
ùnnaloom - magical sign
vihara (P), wíhàan - room or place to hold sermons for the laity, repository of Buddha status
vinaya (P), phràwínaj - first part of the Buddhist Canon: comprising the monastic rules
wàaj - to greet; to salute; to make an obeisance by placing handpalms together and raising them towards the face or higher
wàajkhruu - a ceremony of paying homage to teachers
wàd - a temple
wàd lùaj - wàd under royal patronage; royal temple
wàd râaad - non-royal temple
wan - day
wan cèd khâm, wan koon - monks' shaving day: the day before wàn phrà¹
wan khław phansàa - first day of the Buddhist Lent
wan koon, wan cèd khâm - monks' shaving day
wan phrà² - Buddhist Sabbath Day
wan sàaad - non-Buddhist holy day to commemorate the dead ancestors, held in the tenth lunar month of the Thai calendar
wíhàan, vihara (P) - room or place to hold sermons for the laity; repository of Buddha statues
wísàakha buuchaa - Buddhist holy day to commemorate Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death, and is held on full moon day in May
wisùnkhaamasìima - temple with a bòod
Some favourite games played by the temple-boys as reported by Kaufman (1960:122), Anuman Rajadhon (1972:456) and Phra' Worakawinto (Silcock 1976:6-7).

Lōbeṭōg (Kaufman 1960:122) is a game played by four to eight boys aged 10 to 18. It is similar to the western game of tossing pennies (Kaufman 1960:168). Anderson (1973:205-208) gives a more detailed description of this game which she calls "rolling coins". It is still played by boys at school and at home. "The minimal number of players is 2-3 boys. The game is estimated to be 85 years old. The game requires equipment, such as a flat rectangular board, 10" x 15" in dimension, a rock, a coin for each player and (optional) rubber bands or plastic toy pieces as pay pieces or stakes. The board is set, reclined over the rock at a 45° angle. One by one, each player lets go of his coin onto the board, trying to make it roll as far as he can. The player whose coin rolls the farthest stands where his coin has landed and tosses it to hit the coin nearest to him. If he makes a hit, he moves to stand where that coin was and again aims at the next closest coin. Whenever he misses, his turn is over. The player whose coin has been missed takes up the turn. The game can be played for stakes or without."

Thōd máaj kānthāùub is a game using used incense sticks which is similar to the western spillikins. It is described by Terwiel (1976:iii): "A fistful of thin sticks are set upright on the floor, and when the pieces of wood are suddenly released and fall about, one stick has to be grabbed before it has a chance to fall. With this single piece of wood the player has to move sticks out of the heap without disturbing the others."

Thōd krabṭag is a game using tiles of the temple floor to play deck-quoits (Terwiel 1976:iii).

Lēn tāmg kādōgkalaa is a "play which requires two coconut-shell halves, each with a rope passing through a hole at the bottom. One end of the rope is lodged against the hollow side of the coconut-shell half by being tied to a short stick. The player stands with each foot on an inverted coconut-shell half and the rope gripped between the big toe and the next toe. With the other ends of the ropes held in the hands in front at waist level, the player walks around balancing himself and synchronizing his hand moves to advance the coconut-shell halves with his feet."
are several other names for this play, such as dön kałaà, kûbkûb and kînkûng (Anderson 1973:310-311).

Pân lûgkhâan kîtipîny is to play with beeswax, i.e. to mould tops out of beeswax.

Pàw lûgkhîtipîny is a game by using the strength of blowing things made of beeswax in order to hit the opponent's piece of wax. Possibly this game is similar to what Anderson calls pàw kôb or blow over. But instead of beeswax, rubberbands are used. She says, "each player stakes down a rubber band and takes turns blowing his rubber band to go on top of the other's. He can blow only once in his turn and wins the opponent's rubber band if he accomplishes the feat" (Anderson 1973:276-277).
APPENDIX III

TABLE 1. Number of temples, sīdūpād, monks and novices in Thailand, 1927-1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Temples</th>
<th>sīdūpād</th>
<th>monks</th>
<th>novices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>16,503</td>
<td>109,697</td>
<td>129,698</td>
<td>83,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>135,727</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>17,592</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>149,146</td>
<td>70,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>119,044</td>
<td>156,952</td>
<td>83,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>21,380</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>157,113</td>
<td>92,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>23,700</td>
<td>97,338</td>
<td>173,126</td>
<td>88,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>24,105</td>
<td>104,828</td>
<td>175,266</td>
<td>87,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>24,634</td>
<td>108,424</td>
<td>185,921</td>
<td>96,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>25,116</td>
<td>112,956</td>
<td>174,873</td>
<td>108,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>25,659</td>
<td>117,815</td>
<td>194,561</td>
<td>116,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>26,463</td>
<td>118,169</td>
<td>213,172</td>
<td>121,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>28,196</td>
<td>102,022</td>
<td>233,978</td>
<td>105,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>28,628</td>
<td>87,014</td>
<td>340,788</td>
<td>141,629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2. Number of temples, ฯ๐๐๐๐, monks and novices in Bangkok\(^1\) 1965-1979

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Temples</th>
<th>ฯ๐๐๐๐</th>
<th>Monks</th>
<th>Novices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>6,751</td>
<td>6,949</td>
<td>2,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>6,751</td>
<td>6,949</td>
<td>2,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>5,977</td>
<td>6,937</td>
<td>1,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>4,897</td>
<td>5,728</td>
<td>1,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>8,856</td>
<td>12,335</td>
<td>3,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>10,433</td>
<td>17,307</td>
<td>4,362</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not included temples in Thonburi.

TABLE 4. Family Structure in Thirteen Southeast Asian Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
<th>SOCIETY</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLDS</th>
<th>TOTAL NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rank Ordered Acc. to Col. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nuclear Family %</td>
<td>Extended Family %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Nondwin</td>
<td>Burmese</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bang Chan</td>
<td>Thai (Central)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ban Pae Lugar</td>
<td>Thai (North)</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tendram Hilir</td>
<td>Malay (Selangor)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Yadaw</td>
<td>Burmese</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Modjokuto</td>
<td>Javanese (village)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Modjokuto</td>
<td>Javanese (town)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Village in</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jelebu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ku Daeng</td>
<td>Thai (North)</td>
<td>80*</td>
<td>14*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Khan Hau</td>
<td>Vietnamese (South)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Singapore</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Kampong Bagan</td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Rarak</td>
<td>Sumbanese</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Estimate

According to Evers, a nuclear family household consists of parents, their unmarried children, and/or other unmarried persons;

an extended family household consists of two or more nuclear families with or without other unmarried persons;

by other includes single person households, households of persons of the same sex, etc.

Source: Evers 1969:122-123, Table 1.
TABLE 5. Household Composition in Thai Villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village (ranked by % of extended-stem families)</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLDS</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total No. of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nuclear Family</td>
<td>Extended-Stem Family</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bang Khem</td>
<td>Central (southwest)</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bang Chan</td>
<td>Central (delta)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ban Pae Lugar</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Landing</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Baan Phraan Muan</td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ban Nong Tuen</td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Don Daeng</td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Chiangmai</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bangkuad</td>
<td>Central (delta)</td>
<td>a*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ban Nai</td>
<td>Central (southwest)</td>
<td>b*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* According to Potter Kaufman (1960) and Attagara (1967) give no exact figures concerning family composition in their villages of research.