

SOME SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE LAWĀ (NORTHWESTERN THAILAND)

Part II

by

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The following text is a continuation of a report on ethnographic material collected on three different visits to the Umphāi group of villages, and on the first anthropological survey of the northern Lawā. Part I of the report appeared in JSS, volume 60 part 1 (January 1972); part II will be followed by two more parts. A note on pronunciation, a glossary of principal terms, and a bibliography are appended to this part.

D. Some religious forms

2. Spirits

(a) The spirit world

The belief in spirits is deeply rooted in the souls not only of tribal people, whom we may deign to regard as "primitive", but also in the populations of highly developed cultures. In India the *bhūt*, in Burma the *nat*, in Thailand the *phī*, in Cambodia the *neāk ta* (the "spirit people"; *neāk* is a polite collective), in Viet Nam the *ma qui* (spoken "ma wi"), play an enormous role with the mass of the people. Even in sophisticated Europe and the United States all science and enlightenment have by no means eradicated popular concepts of spirits, ghosts and demons.

Dependable informants among tribal people will speak about spirits only to outsiders who have been longstanding friends. The enquirer would find that the few men who should know do not agree among themselves on particular points. This discrepancy of opinions was also stated for the Lawā of Bān Pā Pāe by Kunstadter (1965, 23 and 50, note 8). In recording some notions on the essence of the world of spirits, I must add that they are not uncontested and that they ought to be taken *cum grano salis*.

* Drawings by 'Shudhi' Chatterjee, Calcutta.

We have learned that, as a rule, spirits are calm when sufficiently placated by offerings, but all of them become evil and inflict punishment if something is done against their prescriptions (cf. the water spirit, part I, 279 of this article).

Similarly, Manndorff (1971, 145) writes of the Lisu in northern Thailand that they "believe in innumerable spirits... which stay invisible and untouchable. Their character is thought to be ambivalent: on the one side they might be good-natured and benevolent, on the other side they can get malevolent and dangerous."

Everything in the spirit realm is reversed, so what is small on earth is big over there (e.g. the small bits of sacrificial food for the spirits), what is near becomes far, what is above becomes below, etc. Kunstadter (1972, 52) states: "Daytime in the land of the spirits is nighttime in the land of the living", and Marshall (1922, 206) has remarked of the Karēn people in Burma that "this reversal of causal relations may represent a Karēn myth that everything in the spirit world is upside down". The reversed world seems universal, as André Varagnac writes (1969/70,7): "*Le Pierrot est tout de blanc vêtu parceque, pour se déguiser en faniôme, il suffit de se vêtir à l'envers, puisque l'Autre Monde est l'inverse du monde terrestre. On met donc sa chemise sur tout le reste.*"

Khun Suchāt, our guide, said that stairs to men's dwellings must have an odd number of steps: 3, 5, 7; while for spirit houses they should be even: 2, 4, 6. He showed us an even number of steps at the small spirit house in the sacred grove (*donggam*) situated in the eastern part of the Bān Den quarter of Bān Bō Luang. It seems indeed that generally there are four steps up to the *nyoe' nyū* or ritual houses, but in La'ub we noted only three. So the order of steps given above appears somewhat doubtful.

(b) Lawā spirits

The first man who wrote about Lawā spirits, those of the Bō Luang Lawā, was Hutchinson (1935, 159): "Our general impression was that reverence for the distinguished dead would appear to be the root of the religious beliefs of the Lawā who at the same time reveres the

force of natural phenomenon or 'genius loci'. Indeed, this has been stated by all those who have done research on the Lawā, that their animism is paralleled by a marked ancestor worship, more or less the same as professed by many other tribes around.

Hutchinson (1935, 157/58) writes of B. Bō Luang that "there are three principal *p'i* invoked by the Lawā:

the house spirit— <i>p'i huan</i>	(Thai: <i>phī ruean</i> , ^๔ ๙๑๕๙ = house spirit
the field or local spirit— <i>p'i ti</i>	„ <i>thī</i> ^๔ ๙๑ = place „
the mines spirit— <i>p'i rae</i>	„ <i>rūe</i> ^๔ ๙๑ = ore „)

(pronounced "hae")

"All three are regarded as the disembodied spirits of ancient Lawa heroes. The presiding *p'i* at the spirit grove is the spirit of a Lawā, P'ya In, who died in Burma long ago, and returned to haunt this grove... A *p'i* to whom offerings are brought at New Year is *p'i rā mang*—another disembodied ancestor".

Srisawasdi (1963, 174) is correct in asserting that all Lawā venerate the *phī la'māng* (๙๑๕๙) or ancestor spirits, while the other spirits form a lot of groups.

Hutchinson (1935, 158/59) observes "*p'i p'et* and *p'i lôk* were also mentioned as disembodied spirits. The only non-ancestral spirits... were *p'i kien* and *p'i koi*, forest powers inimical to wayfarers." I cannot identify any of these four names with spirit names of the Lawā in the hills. Furthermore, it must be noted that the house spirit and field spirit belong rather to the animistic order of spirits, and are not ancestor spirits in the proper sense which are decidedly overemphasized by Hutchinson; still, every house spirit is attached as a protector to its special household. If in Bān Bō Luang some ancient heroes of times long gone, being "distinguished dead", are worshipped as spirits of the ore mines, that practice is not exactly ancestor worship, which is simply the veneration of each individual's forebears.

Regarding the animistic practices of the Lawā, some authors have spoken of their "innumerable spirits" (Rangsit 1945, 496), "a host of spirits" (Obayashi 1964, 205; 1970, 416) or "an unnumbered variety of spirits" (Kunstadter 1972, 11). But elsewhere (1965, 20) he is more specific, speaking of "a great array of spirits believed to live in the

forest. These include spirits of the virgin jungle, spirits of streams, spirits of certain kinds of trees, of white ants, landslides, falling trees and so forth". He adds (1965, 45): "There are hundreds of spirits which are potential causes of illness."¹

Srisawasdi (1963, 175, 177, 180/81) gives the names of the more important spirits in Thai: house spirit (*phī ruean*, ผีเรือน), big village spirit (*phī luang*, ผีหลวง), forest spirit (*phī pā*, ผีป่า), sky spirit (*phī fā*, ผีฟ้า) and field spirit (*phī rai*, ผีไร่).

Obayashi (1970, 416 seq.) lists house spirit, village spirit, jungle spirit, sky spirit, ricefield spirit, river spirit (cf. part I, 279) and *phī ka* (ผีกะ). According to him the *phī ga'* are people who, without transforming into animals (or lycanthropy, which does not exist with the Lawā), eat other persons. He cites Hallett (1890, 106/08, 110, 376) who has noted that the Lao (North Thai) believe the *phī ga'* to be an evil vampire and to have the form of a horse. However, Kunstadter (1965, 51, note 12) says: "The bad spirit caused by an incestuous marriage is sometimes referred to as *phī ka'* (probably N. Thai), or *khə' gajm*."

Kunstadter (1965, 24) gives the following explanation of this evil spirit, as the Lawā told him: "Occasionally the soul of a person will become similar to a bad spirit, and will enter someone else's body (called *uphok to* in Lua'). This happens if there is an incestuous marriage..." (cf. Kunstadter 1972, 3). "A patient who is inhabited by someone else's soul becomes insane, and when asked who he is will reveal the name of the person whose soul has entered his body. Except for the case of incest, the person whose soul has entered someone else's body is not adjudged guilty. A ceremony can be held to frighten the intruding

1) A close resemblance is noted by Manndorff (1971, 145) to the Lisu in northern Thailand: the spirits "have their seat in certain trees, rocks and fields, and live also on hill-tops, on water sources or in rivulets; sometimes they are in the wind, the lightning, or in the field crops. Beyond it there are guardian-spirits of the village to whom there must be sacrifices offered at the edge of the settlement, and ancestor-spirits who are revered in the house." The pattern of other hill people in northern Thailand seems to be on the same line: the magico-religious sphere is formed by ubiquitous spirits on the one side, and ancestor-worship on the other.

soul out of the victim—for example by blowing hot grease into the fire—and the resulting explosion scares the intruding soul away. If this is not done, the soul will enter the victim's heart, eat his blood, and he will weaken and die."

This, of course is the story of a *phī ga'* but it hardly is of Lawā origin. I rather guess it is North Thai, taken over by the Lawā. The North Thai version may be useful, so it is given below.

The *phī ga'* (central and northeastern Thai: *phī bṛb*, ผีบง) is said to be very common in northern Thailand. Originally it was a protective spirit inherited by a family line, living in its house. There is a simple board, serving as altar, on which is put a bottle or a pot containing a cloth or a little cushion for the *phī* to sleep on. Around it are arranged some small plates for food which has to be given daily. If this is neglected, if it is forgotten by its family for only one day, the *phī* comes out of its accustomed residence to look for food elsewhere, never to return. It roams about and might settle down in the body of a sick person it might meet. Generally it is a woman, as most men have gone through a term of monkhood. People call this *khao pai sing* (เข้าปัสสง, or to enter and possess; the sick one is possessed by the spirit).

At first the possessed person is vigorous and shows off; but in reality it is the *phī ga'* which makes itself conspicuous in this way. A sick woman will always walk with her eyes cast down, being afraid people would recognize that she is possessed by the *phī ga'* whose eyes are staring out through her own. It does not last long, for the *phī ga'* goes on gnawing at the liver and inner organs, thus weakening her more and more.

To cure the sick person a spirit doctor (*mṛ phī*, หมอผี) is called who will have studied the science of magic and witchcraft (*wichā saiyasād*, วิชาสยศาสตร์). He wields a short knife made of ivory (without metal blade), and shouting at the sick person he stabs at her. This action menaces the *phī ga'* which tries to evade the knife by continually changing places within the body. If it is hit, the knife sticks, while the *phī ga'* laments and wails stridently through the mouth of the sick person.

The spirit doctor rapidly asks questions: "Who are you? What do you want? What are you doing?", etc. The sick person answers: "I am the woman so and so", not giving her own name but that of a woman of another family. Such an assertion often has given rise to heavy quarrels between families. All the questions of the spirit doctor are, of course, answered by the evil spirit through the mouth of its victim. If she awakens she does not remember anything of the magic procedures, but clandestinely, if nobody is watching, she will start to eat enormously to feed the *phī ga'* within. Nevertheless she will become weaker and weaker, and finally die. If one opens the body it will be found empty, and the corpse will decompose in an incredibly short time.

The *phī ga'* can be reckoned into the class of vampires, but that it has the form of a horse, as Hallett has remarked, is denied by my informant Khun Khrū Gānjanā Wongsīdthichōg from Lampāng, who often has witnessed spirit doctors exorcising a *phī ga'* from the body of an allegedly possessed person. Another informant, Khun Somjai Thabthimthēd from the region of Bangkok, has given nearly identical testimony.

Hutchinson (1935, 158, note) questions why the Lawā of B. Bō Luang have given him Thai names for the spirits, surmising they might be the actual names used by the Lawā for the nomenclature of superior beings, the same as the Thai use another language, Pali, for this purpose. As evidence he cites (1935, 168) a prayer of the Bō Luang Lawā: "When travelling by road and when sleeping in the forest; when making offering to spirits or praying to the Lady T'orani, make use of T'ai speech. Lawā speech is not (used)". This prayer, and especially the mention of Māe Thoranī, the earth goddess, revered by the Thai people, clearly shows that in their religious thinking the Bō Luang Lawā have been under strong Thai influence for a long time.

Kunstadter (1965, 22), too, has offered Thai names for some of the most powerful spirits to which the villagers of B. Pā Pae offer sacrifices: "*caw ti, caw naj, caw myang* or *phī pai bon* have names which are obviously Thai in origin, and are usually addressed in Northern Thai ... *caw ti* is

thoroughly integrated into Lua' spirit beliefs."² This statement seems only valid for the Lawā of B. Pā Pāē, as we never came upon other hill Lawā using Thai words for their spirits; they all had Lawā names.

Obayashi (1970, 417) calls the *phī ruean* (ผีเรือน) "village spirit" whom he thinks resides in a little basket attached to a high bamboo with leaves stuck up at a house in B. La'ub. "This bamboo is called *jungrachuk*" which is nothing else but *yuang* or *yuea ajúk*, the offering device for the spirit of that particular house. The Thai word *phī ruean* is translated "house spirit". It would be absolutely impossible for a single householder to own privately an offering place for the village spirit. "In the same village I noted still another village spirit called *phī rad*, that is, great spirit." In reality it is the spirit of a *lād* or ritual house which previously we have spoken of as *nyoe' nyū*. "Probably these two are different spirits. The *phī ruean* could correspond to the *ta-yuang* and the *phī rad* to the *phī sabait* (the uppermost village spirit) in Umphāi (cf. Steinmann/Rangsit 1939, 165/67; Wenk 1959, 116)."

Comparisons between the spirits of B. La'ub and B. Omphāi Luang would seem rather impossible, as both villages had long developed their spirits independently (part I, 249, 302). A *phī ruean* or house spirit of one village (La'ub) cannot be compared with a village spirit of another one (Omphāi Luang). In B. Dong there is a triple post (figure 13) called *sabaig ta'yuang* or, as they translated it, *sagang* of the village (part I, 298). In B. La'ub there are three single posts, and all three, together with the three *nyoe' nyū*, are owned by the village spirit *ta'yuang* (part I, 302), but the three ritual houses still have their own spirits called *sabaid*. In B. Omphāi Luang, according to Steinmann/Rangsit (1939, 165/67), just the opposite prevails: The high double *sagang* is for the uppermost village spirit *sapait*, while to the *ta-yuang* offerings are given on the low *ngiu* post in front of the ritual house. We might suspect the *ta-yuang* in B. Omphāi Luang to be the spirit of the ritual house, and not

2) Thai script and meaning of the spirit names: เจ้าที่^๔-spirit lord of the entire area; เจ้าใน^๕-spirit lord within (the palace or realm); เจ้าเมือง^๖-spirit lord of the city; ผีไปบน^๗-spirit gone up above.

a village ancestor spirit as originally suggested by Steinmann/Rangsit (1939, 165)—the more so as pigs are sacrificed to this spirit, the same as to the *nyoe'nyū* spirits *phī sabaig* in most other villages.

Not being aware of the problem we, unfortunately, did not enquire into this question when in B. Omphāi Luang. As in the northern villages the spirit of the ritual house is called *sabaig* (*sabaid*), Obayashi's comparison with the *phī lād* is correct, but the *phī sabaig* in the north is never "the uppermost village spirit"³.

(c) *Phī gum*

The "uppermost" position is occupied by the *phī gum* briefly mentioned in part I. Strangely enough we did not hear of this spirit on our tour before we reached B. Khōng. Here a female pig is offered to the *phī gum* in the sacred grove before the rice harvest. In the evening of that day everything is prepared for the sacrifice to the *phī sabaig* on the following morning (see part I, 294). While there is only one *phī gum*, every *nyoe'nyū* or *lād* (ritual house) has its specific *phī sabaig*. Sacrifices to the *phī gum* are generally made in the sacred groves of the villages.

B. Gōg Luang, B. Pae' and B. La'ub provide even better examples of such practices.

Bān Gōg Luang

At a crossroads in a small clearing in the jungle about 200 metres north of B. Gōg Luang (see figure 14), three altars are erected for the *phī la'māng*. Three metres south of them stands a tree to which a buffalo is tethered during sacrifices to the ancestor spirits when somebody of the family has gravely fallen ill. The animal is killed by cutting through its neck with a sword. At the side of the tree a small post, 60 centimetres high with a three-centimetre diameter, is put up; at the top of it four rings are engraved. This small post is called *sagang* (see figure 15).

3) Obayashi (1970, 417) has remarked that to the field spirit "at sowing dogs, rice, cotton and sparrows are sacrificed". This observation on sparrows is certainly a translation error of the Japanese author writing in German. As sparrows never are used for sacrifice, he might have meant chicks.

As *sagang* means "post" in Lawā, especially a sacrificial one, it might be assumed that the small post represents a real *sagang* the function of which has been taken over by a sacrificial tree. Nowhere else have we met with a similar device.

A short distance from this offering place to the northwest is a sacred grove in which the two ritual house groups of the village, the *yong yīag* and the *yong khro'* (see part I, 294), have a *sagang* each, both dedicated to the village spirit *gum*. About 100 metres from the three altars west-southwest stands the *sagang gum yong yīag* (part I, figure 9), and another 100 metres from it to northeast the *sagang gum yong khro'* (Kauffmann 1972b, 231, figure 3). These sacrificial posts are about 1.8 metres high with a 20-centimetre diameter, their tops are cut flat, and they are incised about 20 centimetres below the top with three rings, and from these another 20 centimetres down with three more rings; in between the rings is cut a wide lozenge pattern of oblique lines crossing at right angles.

Long before harvest, on a morning in August, a reddish-brown cow is tethered to each *sagang* and sacrificed to the *phī gum* with a spear thrust into its right side. A sign is made with lime on the cow to guide the blow, as the beast must die at once and fall on its left side. This sacrifice is made only about every ninth year.

The eight houses of *yong yīag* and the twelve houses of *yong khro'* must pay their respective offering; apart from those, two more cows are slaughtered for food, so altogether four animals are used. These two cows are paid for by the whole village. Only dried meat from the two sacrificial cows might be given to people not belonging to one of the two *nyoe' nyū*. Though there is no confirmation by informants, I assume that by the additional killings those households which do not own a ritual house will participate in the sacrifice to placate the *phī gum*.

A trial of sorts is performed in the presence of the village people at the *sagang gum* to settle quarrels. The two opponents must each kill a little pig; the livers are removed and weighed. The heavier liver determines who wins the case.

Bān Pae'

This is the only village which has *sagangs* both for the *nyoe' nyū* spirit *sabaig* (for whom *sagangs* are never erected elsewhere), and for the village spirit *gum*. While the *sagangs* for the *sabaig* are standing to the north of B. Pae' on the lowest point of the village (part I, 295 and figure 10), steep up to the south, outside the upper village, there is a forest in which sacrifices are made to the *phī gum* (part I, 297).

In this forest two sacred groves are near each other, and somewhat farther to the north is a fenced-in place called *tarē mang ra'* (see figure 16). In the small eastern grove there is nothing, but outside of it is standing an old *sagang*, which was said to serve the four non-*samang* sections of the village. In the highest or southernmost part of the main grove we find the *sagang gum samang ra'* for the sacrifice of a brown cattle bull to the village spirit *gum*; it is made once yearly after harvest by the *samang ra'* who must ask a *ta'nóg* or sacrificer of another section to kill it. This *sagang*, approximately 1.80 metres high with a 15-centimetre diameter, is already withered, and no more adorning incisions can be traced (figure 17). In a still worse state are the two very old *sagangs* standing a little more to the north and seemingly out of use.

Just beyond these *sagangs*, to the north, is a big tree used for the sacrifice of a large female pig in case a bull is too expensive. The offering is laid down on an altar (*dyong*) to the east of the tree. When a special pig sacrifice to the village spirit *gum* is due (to which every house must contribute) then it is executed on the *tarē mang ra'*; after the offering it is fenced in, not to be desecrated accidentally by people or straying animals. On this day village-closure is imperative.

A *jau ngau* (เจ๊นงอ) of ordinary extraction leads the ceremonies. The killing can be executed by any man but a *samang*. The bull is killed simultaneously by two men with spears from the right side. Pigs must be killed with a sharp bamboo, knives are taboo (the same as with other tribal people, e.g. the Nagas in Assam, because very old tradition must be preserved not to displease the spirits). The *ta'nóg* gets half of the head and half of one foreleg of bull or pig. The hair of the animal is singed and the skin is eaten.

Bān La'ub

Here there are three kinds of village spirits :

(i) *Ta'tū* (elder brother) and *ta'geng* (younger brother). These two control every kind of field, the harvest depending on them. After harvest a morning sacrificial ceremony is celebrated for them outside the northern part of the village. Two big pigs, a male and a female, and—if people have enough money—a reddish cow and one more female pig are killed. Moreover, every house must take along a cock.

(ii) *Gum* (elder brother) and *la'wū* (younger brother) together prevent severe illnesses (cholera, smallpox, influenza, etc.) from penetrating into the village. They receive a yearly sacrifice on the same day as *ta'tū* and *ta'geng*, in the evening and outside the southern part of the village : during one year two large pigs, a male and a female ; the following year, a reddish bull and a reddish cow.

At both offering places, to the north and to the south, an altar is erected under big trees with a small platform for the offerings. On the sacrificial day and the two following days strict village-closure is kept.

The people of *yuang hē* (first two, now six families, affiliated slightly to the *samang* group, cf. part I, 299-300) have their own place for sacrificing to *phī gum* and *phī la'wū*, but people would not reveal its whereabouts. Their sacrifice is the same as that of the other villagers, to the remaining spirits they offer together with the *samangs*.

(iii) *Ta'yuang*, the specific village-spirit, is the "owner" of all three *nyoe' nyu* with their *sagang la'* (high offering posts), and protects houses against fire and bandits (part I, 302). A sacrifice is to be held in the fifth month (end of January or in February) before felling the new swidden: in one year a buffalo bull is killed, in the next one a reddish bull of ordinary breed, then again a buffalo bull, and so on. Such costly sacrifices do not take place every year; in January 1969 we were told that the last sacrifices were held six years earlier, in 1962 or 1963.

(d) Miscellaneous sacrifices

B. Gog Luang. Before harvest there is a family meeting to judge if the rice is ripe for cutting. Every family takes a handful of cooked rice,

a handful of steamed glutinous rice, and a small chicken with them for an offering. They resolve to sacrifice a pregnant sow to the *nog phī ra'*, the forest spirit. This kind of offering was introduced a long time ago by a childless *samang* on his deathbed (see part I, 267). The sow is killed in the field. Anyone may eat the foetuses inside it; or, they are to be thrown away, but one must be laid on the altar of the *nog phī ra'*. On that day people consult as to which new field shall be cleared.

After harvest in October the villagers sacrifice a buffalo to the *phī gain prī* (rice field spirit) by killing it with a spear in the field. All houses must contribute toward its purchase.

B. Pae'. After harvest one pig and two chickens are sacrificed in the name of the whole village, on the path leading from the village to the swidden-field, to the *phī fim brē* (rice field spirit). All people contribute to the costs. As in Rangsit's vocabulary (1942/45, 698) "thunder" is translated by *noeum brē*, it could be that *phī fim brē* is equivalent to the spirit of lightning to whom offerings are given in many places. But this is only a conjecture.

B. La'ub. At the altar of the *jao thī* (เจ้าที่, "field spirit") on the rice terraces a pig and two chickens are sacrificed at sowing time, and the same day a red cock is offered to the *phī rechūg* (field-hut spirit) at an offering tree attached to the roof of the field-hut. The same sacrifice is given to the house spirit at the houses of their respective owners, but only when the new rice is in the barn.

In La'ub, a headache is ascribed to the sun, therefore a bow with an arrow is put up on a bamboo pole and directed to shoot at the sun spirit, here called *tā sangai*. It is the same as the *phī ta'wan* (ผีตะวัน, sun spirit) in B. B5 Luang where, in a case of headache they plant a bamboo shoot, rub gently around it with an egg, and implore the sun "please, take my headache away".

The *samangs* of La'ub sacrifice a red bull every ten years anytime after harvest to the *phī ta'nāi(d)* (Thai: ผีท้องฟ้า, *phī thong fā*) the sky spirit (part I, 300). For this purpose the *samangs* go to a special place, which they refused to show us, revealing no more than "it is near the,

village". At this spot four posts, the size of the *ngīu* in front of the ritual houses (part I, 300), are established; over them a pavilion is erected large enough for all participants who must stay within this kind of "*sālū*" for the time of offering. The spirit is fed on all four posts, which they told us in 1969 were decayed; if the *samangs* want to feed the same spirit again they must put up new posts.

Obayashi (1964, figure 9; 1970, 416) calls the sun "heaven spirit" (*phī malon*) against whom he has seen directed a bow and arrow, and, indeed, *malōng* means heaven (Rangsit 1942/45, 699). However, a discussion with our informants made it clear that the people in La'ub believe in the existence of a spirit in the sky but *not* in heaven. So it might be better to speak of a "sky spirit", not to imply that the La'ub people, and by the way other Lawā, worship a high spirit or even god in heaven. The sky spirit has nothing to do with Buddhist or Christian conceptions, although B. La'ub is one of the very few hill villages where there live some Christians (part I, 243).

In case of an epidemic the village as a whole will fix a bow over a *talao* made of nine bamboo lathes on a high stick against the evil spirit bringing the illness. If the bow could not deter him, then the *talao* would keep him out. This device can only be put up at the house of a headman, *phuirīd* or old man. The *talao* is called *talīa sataēm phrām*.

B. Chāngmō Manōd. A jackfruit tree (*Artocarpus*; Thai: *ton khanun*, ต้นขนุน) near the village had not yielded fruit for some time. So the owner sacrificed a pig to the tree spirit right in front of the tree, winding some bast around its trunk. The tree was then said to produce fruit again. This procedure is a Brahmin custom also followed by the Thai.

B. Yāeg. At the side of the big *rang* tree, along the broad path leading from B. Yāeg to B. Omphāi Luang, we saw in February 1962 that 14 thin trees had been stuck up in a row by 14 households. In their centre stood a small, ramified tree set with cotton flocks, a sure sign that it concerned a *phī* sacrifice (see Obayashi 1966, 250-51). Cotton flocks used for religious purposes are said to represent stars (part I, 291). At the side of this tree two short strong pegs were put up,

between which the sacrificial pig had been tethered and killed. Some pieces had been hung onto a square bamboo frame, 15 by 15 centimetres, attached to the central spirit tree (figure 18).

B. Omphāi Luang. A short distance from this village in a north-western direction we penetrated some bushes in spite of the prohibiting sign of a *talao*. In a small clearing we found in front of a big tree a fireplace for offerings to spirits, a few little baskets for eggs which had been sacrificed, and a low altar made of bamboo sticks. The top and rear wall of the altar consisted of plaited bamboo battens, while the creepers hanging down to the altar were set with cotton flocks (figure 19).

Close to paths near villages of the Umphāi group we still were able to see miniature houses for the spirits in 1962. On our tours in 1964 and 1968 we did not find anything similar. These little houses were built like real ones, on posts with a roof, and were provided with a ladder for the spirit to climb. Inside there was usually some food and alcohol in a cup (figure 20).

If somebody falls ill in the Umphāi group, he must give an offering to the road spirit *tab-grá* at a path outside the village. The *gorīd* rapidly builds a somewhat circular altar of very low bamboo sticks, connected above by strings of split bamboo from which dangle white cotton strands. There he kills a female piglet, by piercing it with a sharp bamboo spike, and a small tawny she-dog and a small chicken. On the altar are placed bits of the piglet and the bitch, and bits of the chicken in three little bamboo baskets. The bulk of the meat will be roasted in a pan and distributed to other people; the sick man himself is not allowed to partake of it. We often encountered such altars along the road, sometimes several of them in a row (figure 21).

The Lisu of B. Tham Ng5b (Fāng District, Chiang Mai Province) also sacrifice along the roadside to a spirit which has brought illness. The medicine man determines which spirit is involved, and leads the ceremony. Still, rites and paraphernalia are to some extent more elaborate than those of the Lawā (Kauffmann 1966, 57-58).

B. Pā Pāe. Opposite the half-dilapidated *nyoe' nyū* in which we stayed for the night stood two withered altars at the edge of the forest. They were used for offerings to two spirits at "the final ceremony of the

agricultural cycle" (Kunstadter 1965, 42; describing the ceremony in detail). Here shall be given nothing more than a description of these two altars (figure 22). They were more than two metres high, three metres apart from each other. Six or eight branches with green leaves had been stuck in the ground together, arching up and outwards to support a sacrificial table 40 by 40 centimetres, at a height of about 1.7 metres above the ground. This table consisted of two cross bars, each of three centimetres diameter, on which bamboo battens had been laid. A white cotton thread demarcated a kind of border two centimetres high at the sides of the plate. The twigs reaching up beyond it were set with cotton flocks. Strands of cotton and 'flowers' made of bamboo laths were hanging down, and from one of the altars a buffalo bell made of a bamboo knot was dangling from its rope. Below, at each of the altars a big *talaeo* was attached, very carelessly made of bamboo laths.

B. Tūn. Here dogs are only sacrificed at *pio khw'* (ส่งเคราะห์) for sending bad luck away. This ceremony is performed yearly by the whole village between harvest and felling of the new field. After the dog is slain, its throat is cut. A black cock is sacrificed with it. Then they call the spirits: "Here, this is for you all, prepare it yourselves!"

(e) **The *satuang*** (สะตวง)

In *B. Tūn* they said that, in addition to the above, horses, elephants, pigs, etc., made of unburnt clay, as well as a clay figure of the offerer himself, are put into a *satuang* together with 900 rupees represented by a cup broken into nine pieces. The whole should then be put into the *donggam* (sacred grove).

However, it seems certain that the offering of a *satuang* has nothing whatever to do with the yearly sacrifice against bad luck as related above, because this sacrifice is executed by the whole community while a *satuang* is only offered to an illness-causing spirit by a sick man. To put a clay figurine of the offerer into the *satuang* clearly indicates that it is a strictly individual action.

As described earlier, in case of illness the Lawā sacrifice to the road spirit *tab-grā* on altars along the path. There is another procedure used when somebody falls ill: the ritual of the *satuang*. It is not quite clear to us which system must be practised in any particular case.

When the medicine man has ascertained which spirit has caused the illness, he makes a square frame out of a banana stem into which he puts things which will please the spirit: a little comb, a piece of a mirror, unburnt clay figurines of pigs, a horse, an elephant and one of the sick man himself signifying 'take this, not the living one'. The medicine man, after going through a rite, puts the *satuang* with incantations on the path to the burying place or where he deems appropriate.

Two *satuang* lay along the path from B. Chāngmō Manōd to B. Chāngmō Luang. One was at the path from B. Bō Luang to the cemetery in the west of that village, said to be a sacrifice to the path spirit by a sick man.

Another *satuang* for a sick man of the 'Thai-ized' Lawā we found at the road near B. Nā Fōn, a village of the Bō Luang group of which I am giving a more detailed description (figure 23). The medicine man (Northern Thai: *mō pad*, หมอแปด) had made a square, 25 by 25 centimetres, of bamboo sticks with bamboo rims three centimetres high, and had stuck at its four corners little sticks with leaves as flags. Inside this *satuang* were laid rough, unburnt clay figurines symbolizing the sick man (about five centimetres high), a buffalo, a pig and a chicken. In other cases figurines of an elephant or a horse have been added; in principle all should be expensive animals. Furthermore there were to be found tobacco, chewing-bark⁴, rice, curry, and a burnt bean as a sign of good

- 4) Chewing bark (Thai: *nang gō*, นังก่อ) is collected by Karēn people off the *gō* tree (ton *gō*, ต้นก่อ; *Quercus brandisiana*, *Cupuliferae*). This bark is used for dying cloth in a brown shade, and for chewing instead of or together with areca nut (Thai: *lūg māg*, ลูกหมาก) and with lime (Thai: *pūn*, ปูน) rolled in a betel leaf (Thai: *bai phlū*, ใบพลู). The Karēn chew much of this bark, as well as the bark of the wild cinnamon tree. We witnessed a Thai man who had bought a lot of *nang gō* at 30 satang per kilogram, to sell it for 50 satang in Chiang Mai (prices of February 1964).

(Cf. Alice Peeters et Jacques Barrau, "Chaux et plantes masticatoires", *Proceedings of the VIIIth International Congress of the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Tokyo and Kyoto, 1968, vol. 3, pp. 29-32.)

For the identification of plants I acknowledge with deep appreciation the help of Khun Tem Smitinand, Leader of the Natural History Section of the Siam Society.

luck. All this is given as a present to the evil spirit by the sick man who is sitting next to the *satuang* while the medicine man strokes over his whole body with two kinds of leaves soaked in water: *bai nād* (ใบหนาด; *Blumea balsamifera*, *Compositae*) and *bai phī suea* (ใบผีเสื้อ; *Lourea vestertilionis*, *Leguminosae*). At the end he binds a black thread around the neck of the sick man for health and good luck, and puts the two plants back into the *satuang*.

Kunstadter (1965, 21) mentions of B. Pā Pāe an illness-causing spirit sometimes inhabiting people, about which informants seemed reluctant to speak. "The ceremony for exorcising this spirit requires the construction of a small (15 cm. square) 'boat' or tray out of a bamboo stalk (referred to by informants in N. Thai as a *səto.n*). Flags may be placed at the corners, and offerings placed on it include rice, turmeric, thread and small models made of a rice paste which represent horses, elephants and people. After a ceremony at the patient's house the tray is taken to the edge of the village and thrown away."

We see that the Lawā in the hills as well as those on the high plateau use the *satuang* for magic treatment in case of sickness. But the same custom is also widespread among the northern Thai. Phya Anuman Rajadhon has described the use of a *satuang* in the province of Phrae, and Sanguan Chotisukharat has related from Chiang Mai in which way the *satuang* is used there for healing sick people.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1958, 5/6) has written: "In the province of Phrae, near Chiangmai, when a person is sick a rite of sending a *satuang* is performed. A *satuang* is a square tray made of banana stems . . . On this tray are placed the clay doll and clay figurines of such domestic animals as an elephant, a horse, a buffalo, a cow, a pig, and a dog. Also placed on the tray are one or two heaps of food and a candle, a joss stick and a flower. The tray is brought in and placed in front of the sick person. The performer of the rite, a medicine-man, places a mouthful of partly chewed betel-and-areca on the tray and gives a jumbled incantation enumerating various kinds of *phii* (spirits), both good and evil, coaxing them to partake of the food and depart. After the incantation, the tray is taken out and placed far away from the house."

According to Chotisukharat (1971, part 1, 230/31) the healer knows many types of propitiation for curing a sick person, he gives directions

for the offerings. He puts into a *satuang* made of banana bark 10 by 24 inches (this is about the largest): small triangular paper-flags (white, red, black, yellow), clay figures of humans, an ox, buffalo, tiger, snake, chicken, elephant, and a little each of bananas, sugar cane, betel nut, chillies, cigarettes, pickled tea, cooked rice, curries of raw and cooked meat, sweet meats. The healer "will take the *satuang* to a fork or crossroads, or to one of the cardinal points, depending on where the evil influence comes from. He will spread a loin cloth, light candles and incense and worship the ghost or spirit concerned..." Raising the *satuang* above his head he invites the spirit to receive the offering; placing it on the ground he recites propitiatory verses from his text book. He includes the name of the sick man and an entreaty to allow him to recover.

If it is a greedy or dangerous spirit, it will be abused and told to get out and go somewhere else. When the ritual is over, the *satuang* is left on the spot for the birds, dogs and monkeys. The healer goes to the patient's house for his fee and other offerings. He may bind the patient's wrists to increase his strength.

Chotisukharat mentions also (1971, pt.1, 225/26) the use of four *satuangs* at the cardinal points and of one *satuang* in the centre of the place destined for a new house to exorcise evil influences. But it is significant that these five *satuangs* are filled exclusively with food of many kinds, but no small figurines.

Comparing the various statements on the *satuang*, we note that it can be made of bamboo or banana trunks. As to its size, there are two totally divergent opinions: we gave 25 by 25 centimetres, and Chotisukharat even gave 10 by 24 inches (25 by 60 centimetres) as "about the largest", while Kunstadter's 15 by 15 centimetres and Rajadhon's "half a foot square" (15 by 15 centimetres) seem too small for loading a *satuang* with the many things to be offered. Kunstadter writes of "small models made of a rice paste", the other reports of clay figurines. The contents of a *satuang* may be somewhat diversified yet its characteristic trait is the little figurines. The ceremony of exorcising generally seems to be executed at the house of the sick person by the medicine man, and afterwards he puts or throws away the *satuang* somewhere outside the village.

The use of the *satuang* appears to be a North Thai custom which is, as far as we know, not practised by any of the hill tribes but the Lawā.

(f) The *sūēbcha'tā* (สับชะตา)

When Khun Suchāt, our guide, was going down east from B. Yāeg to B. Den he found in the forest some sticks, about 1.7 metres long, leaning against a big tree, just behind the *mbueang* posts (erected for the dead; part I, 265). Three of those sticks put together to form a tripod are used for the life-prolonging rite called *sūēbcha'tā*. It is a Buddhist Thai rite, said to be Hinduistic in origin. Everybody, man or woman, might subject himself to it, hoping to prolong life for one more year. The informants showed us the *sūēbcha'tā* of the *samang* and former headman Lung Gao (mentioned in part I, 262) who at the age of 80 years underwent the rite not long before his death in 1963, and they added smiling a bit mockingly: "It was of no avail."

At the same place there was also a quite new *sūēbcha'tā*; to each of its three legs were fastened bundles of sticks, about 30 centimetres long. Their number must be one more than the age of the person undergoing the rite. For the ceremony a lighted candle is put on top of the tripod. Men must sit cross-legged under the tripod, women with legs to the side. From his or her folded hands, a white cotton thread runs over the tripod to the performer who is murmuring incantations. In Umphāi the performer had been a monk who could read the prayers in northern Thai script. There they only gave him money; but if the rite is performed in a temple, at the side of the tripod are laid a mat with a pillow, a red and a white cloth, and two bowls, one with husked and one with unhusked rice, for the priest.

On 20 January 1964 I visited Khun Kraistri Nimmanahaeminda in Chiang Mai, who told me that *sūēbcha'tā* is performed all over northern Thailand, particularly during construction of a new house⁵. Chotisukharat

5) Khun Kraistri described a frame made of two banana stalks connected by two or three bamboo sticks, with threads stretched lengthwise; wealthy people use gold and silver threads. On the threads cowries are strung and rice grains pasted at intervals. For the ceremony a lighted candle is put up on each of the upper ends of the frame, and a white cotton thread leads down from the top of it to priests who keep it in their hands whilst chanting.

tells of a life-prolonging rite in Chiang Mai, not for an individual but for the whole city⁶. The same holds good for the Shans in Kengtung State, Burma, according to Telford⁷.

The *sūēbcha'tā* was confirmed by the informants to be a magic rite connected with Buddhist practices, spread over northern Thailand and into the Shan States. Both *satuang* and *sūēbcha'tā* demonstrate a strong influence of northern Thai on Lawā culture, to which we shall refer later.

(g) *Sompōi* (ສົມປອຍ)

In B. Gōg Nōi the grandson of a poor woman called Boid was ill, and she brought some gifts thinking me to be a 'great man', an honoured guest credited with a strong *phī* (everybody has a more or less strong one). Asking for blessings and good wishes for the health of her family, she presented to us the following:

- 6) Chotisukharat (1971, part 1, 214) mentions the ritual of prolonging the life (*sūēbcha'tā*) of the city of Chiang Mai. "In former times this was a very big annual ceremony. It was abandoned after the last war. About two or three years ago the Chiangmai Municipal Council arranged to revive the ceremony."
- 7) Telford (1937, 167/68) states that in every big town of the Shans in Kengtung State there is a *sai mung* tree (Thai: *jai mueang*, ไผ่เมือง, "heart of the city"). In the Shan town of Mung Yang, Telford observed during two days ceremonies executed by Buddhist priests and laymen at the foot of the *sai mung* tree. The whole community took part, bringing four big bamboo trays with offerings of all kinds, sacrificing them with prayers to the tree. The trays were removed to the "four furthestmost boundaries of the township". On this first day evil spirits and illnesses were driven away by the rite.

On the second day Buddhist priests in their yellow robes were sitting on mats in a long row about 20 metres in front of the tree. Between it and the priests were sitting the representatives of the households, everyone of them below a tripod made of bamboo sticks in the uppermost knot of which was put a bit of rice. White cotton-threads were wound around the trunk of the holy tree, and one thread extended to every tripod and was connected with it. The ends of these unbroken threads, seemingly symbolizing unity and good comradeship of all participants, were put before the priests, who recited prayers for the good luck of the whole town. On this second day the good spirits were asked to come and give their protection.

Item	Thai	Lawā
1. Turmeric	<i>khamīn</i> (ขมิ้น)	<i>khiang</i>
2. Karēn cucumber	<i>taeng yāng</i> (แตงยาว)	<i>gē</i>
3. Necklace of small white seeds	—	<i>hang gu giang</i>
4. Pods	<i>sōmpōi</i> (ส้มป่อย)	<i>garueha'</i>

While in this case *sōmpōi* contributed to conjure the force of my *phī*, Kunstadter (1965, 35-36) writes of the use of its pods as shampoo for head-washing ceremonies⁸.

But what is *sōmpōi* really? Violet B. Turner (1971, 49) has remarked that in northern Thailand burnt pods of *sōmpōi* (*acacia concinna* DC.) are added to the water to give it a faint but distinctive odor. And in greater detail, Helen Duncan (1971, 102) points to its use in a mixture applied for Thai painting: "The glue used in this mixture is made from the pods of *sōm-poi* (*acacia concinna*) boiled in clear water. Incidentally, the *sōm-poi* pods come from a climbing shrub and the leaves of this shrub have many and varied uses in Thai culture. They are toasted over charcoal until yellow and then added to water. This becomes the 'lustral' water sprinkled by the monks during the Thai New Year ceremony to ward off evil spirits and bring good luck."

It is only to be added that the monks use lustral water at some other occasions also. At any rate, we now know that pods and leaves of *acacia concinna* DC., a shrub called in Thai *sōmpōi*, are applied for "many and varied uses" not only in Thai but also in Lawā culture, for secular as well as for sacred purposes.

Incidentally, pharmacies in Thailand sell a very efficacious mixture against bronchitis, by the name of 'Sompōi'.

8) Kunstadter (1965, 35/36) relates of B. Pā Pāe that in the hot season after cutting the new fields, "people who have left the village to live in Maesariang... visit their elder relatives... in the mountains, and honour them with head-washing (*dam hua*, lit. 'head blackening', N. Thai)". Among other gifts they bring "a cup containing seed pods (*som poj*, N. Thai) used as shampoo. The elder's head is washed..., and no one cares if the shampooing is a little too vigorous—it is a good way to cool off on a hot afternoon... Similar *dam hua* ceremonies are held as a part of weddings."

(h) House spirits

There are two kinds of house spirits, or perhaps better: 'spirits in the house': ancestor spirits and ancestral guardian spirits, or *phī la' māng* and *ta' lamāng*.

Among the *phī la'māng* (ผีละมำง, people just say *la' māng*) the spirit of the ancestor of a lineage is most important as good luck of the family depends on him in the first place. All those who die a natural death in their houses and not an 'evil death' (*tāi hōng*, ตายโหง) or a death far from home (cf. Kunstadter 1965, 17, 19) become *phī la'māng*. Yearly after harvest when the rice is stored in the barn they are offered food (chicken, pig or even buffalo, according to the money available) on the path leading to the graveyard.

The *phī ta'lamāng* are the ancestral household guardians for the door, the stairs, and the whole house.

We could not do more than simply locate the different spirits, and to note the kinds of offerings and the time of sacrifice as far as the informants would tell us. To lead to a better understanding it will be helpful to give a summary of the interplay between households and spirits in the house so aptly described for B. Pā Pā by Kunstadter.

"Several varieties of spirits are believed to live in and around each family's house. The primary function of the spirits is to protect the members of the household against bad spirits, illness, theft, or other misfortune. Altars are built for these spirits in or near the houses, and sacrifices are made to them when the altars are renewed, when divination reveals them to be the cause of illness, and when a resident of the house is going on a long journey." (1965, 19)

On the other side, "the primary ritual functions of the lineage occur in the worship of spirits which are believed to live in each of the houses. During the periodic sacrifice to these spirits, the various households in a single lineage cooperate and move from one house to the next to make sacrifices according to the order of precedence within the lineage." (1965, 14; 1966 A, 70)

"All the households which belong to a single lineage must furnish at least one person to work in the field of any given household of that lineage when that household is planting; also the households of in-laws of lineage members are obliged to furnish one person. This pattern of cooperation is

symbolized in the ancestor worship which accompanies the planting—each household which furnishes a worker must also send along a bottle of rice liquor to be used in a sacrifice to the common lineage and in-law ancestors.” (1966 C, 6)

On this day of planting there must not only be sacrifices to the ancestor spirits of the household and of the wife's father's household, but also “to the ancestors of the previous owners of the field, whoever they may have been . . . These ceremonies are conducted on behalf of the household (and related households) by the male household head, often assisted by one of the old men or priests.” (1970, 12)

When a household is split because the eldest son sets up his own household, “the ancestral spirits (*phī la'māng*) are informed⁹, and the ancestral household guardians (*ta'lamang*) are divided, a portion being invited to the new house with a special offering.” “Henceforth the eldest son . . . is considered to be senior to his father . . . and to precede his father in making offerings to the ancestral spirits at the time offerings are made to the guardian spirits of the house (*nok phī kain bong*, to feed spirit, head of stairs).” (1972, 1 b)

Location of and sacrifices for house spirits¹⁰

The approximate ground plans show the only room of the Lawā house with the smaller porch in front of it. This porch is covered by a small roof, but is open towards the adjoining veranda. As a rule, stairs lead up from the ground directly to the porch. In rare exceptions the porch is closed on top of the stairs by a door; we have seen this in one case each at B. Hō' (house of the Headman Nāi Run Khunwong) and at a house of B. Gōg Nōi.

In the schematic sketches the house posts consecrated to spirits are indicated by a dot within the circle of the post; only in one case (B. Dong) a dotted post has a ring in addition to show that two spirits are worshipped at one and the same post. The names of the spirits have been noted down as they were pronounced by our informants or, at least, as we understood them. Often seemingly different names are identical, so *lamuag chroit* in B. Pæ' (German “ch” as in Bach, etc.) is the same as

9) Cf. the information given to the *nyoe'nyū* spirit *sabaig* in B. Mūēd Lōng, when somebody has died: part I, 292.

10) For the location of villages, cf. list and map in part I of this report, JSS, vol. 60 part 1, p. 238.

*lamúag roid*¹¹ in B. Gog Nōi and *lamúag rōd* in B. La'āng Nuea, B. La'āng Tai and B. Dong. No reader should be surprised if we confess not to have been able to obtain a translation of the spirit names.

Unfortunately, the house spirits of B. Tūn, B. Sām and B. Mued Lōng could not be investigated thoroughly¹². Furthermore, any such research requires much discretion, for strangers are usually not allowed to enter the inner room (similar to the custom of the northern Thai¹³, of the Lamet in Laos¹⁴, and presumably of others). At B. Tūn the Headman Un Khamjan flatly forbade photographing the holy trees outside the wooden wall of his main room; later Khun Suchāt told me that the Headman, having debts, would have agreed for a considerable sum of money which I certainly would not have been prepared to pay.

Here it is to be remembered that we inquired about house spirits only in the villages of the northern Lawā. B. Tūn however, just north of the Umphāi group across a deep valley, is the last village still belonging to the southern Lawā.

Bān Tūn

In the house of the Headman Un Khamjan of Bān Tūn (see figure 24), a board (Thai: *khūe*, ทุ่; Lawā: *nōēg*) is fixed on top of the wooden wall separating the main room from the porch. From the porch floor along the partition wall two thin trees (Lawā: *kho'ayu'*) with twigs but without leaves are stuck up reaching through a square opening (30 by 30 centimetres) in the ceiling of the porch into the loft. In the loft only maize, golden and green pumpkins are stored, at any rate no sacred rice

- 11) *Roid* might mean high or great (cf. part I, 267: contrast between low and high *samangs*, *samang thiam* and *samang roid*).
- 12) At this time we did not realize how grave Khun Suchāt's illness was. In spring of 1972 he died from that extended illness. We will always remember his extraordinary devotion to the task entrusted to him.
- 13) Nimmanahaeminda (1966, 133) states that the inner room of the northern Thai house is only accessible to the houseowner and his family, and eventually to those guests who do not displease the family spirits.
- 14) LeBar (1969, 225) writes that the Lamet must strictly maintain the sacred character of the house: "tools may not be made or repaired within the house, nor may a stranger sleep there".

seed or the like. Inside the main room at the second post to the right of the door, two trees or offering sticks of the same kind as outside are attached. At sacrifices the holy trees are wound with leaves of a special kind (unidentified).

Offerings are put into so-called *talaeo gob* (ตะล่าวโถง) or "frog" *talaeo*, because of their rounded form. These are small baskets, the bigger ones being about 20 centimetres in diameter (figure 25a), with the smaller ones about 8 centimetres in diameter. They have nothing to do with the flat *talaeos* made of bamboo strips in an open wickerwork, which are signs of prohibition and serve for keeping off men as well as spirits.

There are two sets of *talaeo gob*, one outside and one inside the house at their respective offering trees. When we arrived at B. Tūn, the skull of a sacrificed pig was lying on the *khūē* board near the trees outside, covered by four large *talaeo gob* put upside down one upon the other (figure 25b). At the offering trees inside the house two small *talaeo gob* were hanging one above the other, opening upwards.

At a sacrificial ceremony to the *phī samā* (informants identified it as 'sky spirit') the trees are decorated with cotton flocks representing stars; there must always be 16 *talaeo gob*, eight outside and eight inside the house, hung up one above the other (figure 25c). At each offering tree two *talaeo gob* are filled with cooked rice, two with cooked glutinous rice and four with cooked young chicken. After a while the small *talaeo gob* are taken down and thrown away. The big ones are left hanging at their place for some time; later they are emptied, turned over and kept in respect to the spirit.

A sacrifice to *phī samā* is made only if the people have a good life, pigs, money, and no illness. A time limit for this sacrifice does not exist but if during a ten-year span they think they have endured hardships, they refuse to make any offerings to this spirit. According to Kunstadter (1965, 43) after the post-harvest ceremonies in B. Pā Pāē, "another house spirit, *phī sama*, which lives in an altar outside the front wall of the house may be worshipped. This altar should be renewed every few years, and the whole lineage should do it together, but there is no obligation to participate, and not all of the families do so."

In B. Den, at the house of Nāi Duang (father of Headman Ping Chumphut of Umphāi) we found a *talaeo gob* fixed perpendicularly to the partition wall in the porch (figure 26). This the informants at B. Tūn declared to be wrong, the correct place being the *khūē*, but they agreed that once hung up in the wrong way it would be impossible to change it for fear of provoking the wrath of the spirit.

Ban Sām

Nāi Yē has put his old *talaeo gob* on branches of a tree near his house. He said: "This is holy or magic equipment and must not be thrown on the ground, out of respect for the spirit." For this reason he kept them at an elevated place.

Ban Gəg Nōi

In every house of Bān Gəg Nōi (figure 28) the same pattern prevails. There are three offering trees which are said to be "for the family name" (*nām sagún*, นามสกุล) of the houseowner, i.e. for his lineage. These thin trees are fixed to three different house posts standing in the same line. They are for:

- (i) *Phī lamúag*, at the first post ("middle post") to the left of the door. Offering: once yearly a male pig.
- (ii) *Phī jua taig*, at the first post to the right of the door, opposite (i). Offering: once yearly a red cock.
- (iii) *Phī ta' khueang*, outside the house, at a post supporting the overhanging roof in the line *lamúag-jua taig* (figure 27). Offering: once yearly a white cock.

The offerings for (i)-(iii) must be performed on the same day, in the morning of a Monday of any month, usually in January or March. If the inmates want to remember the grandfather they address the *phī lamúag*, which apparently is the most important of the ancestor spirits.

- (iv) *Phī lamúag roid*, two offering trees at the second post of the right side for the lineage of the houseowner's wife. Offering: once yearly a female pig, in the evening of a Friday of any month.

- (v) *Phī win jūag*, outside the house, a tall bamboo with leaves stuck through the corner of the roof on the same side as the *ta'khueang*; halfway up a small funnel-shaped offering basket (Lawā : *rog*; N. Thai : *sa'lō* น้าล; "funnel") is attached. This bamboo pole is intended for offerings to the house spirit, the protector of the whole family, and must be renewed at every sacrifice. Offering: a chicken before every new enterprise (e.g. the sale of anything large).
- (vi) *Dyung pueang dyung bē* (Lawā for "soul board"), a small board with flowers, candles, joss sticks, etc. above the beam in the farthest corner to the right when entering the room.

When the house is built the souls of the inmates are called: "Please, come all, reside here and be happy." When someone is leaving for a long trip he goes there to pray for a lucky voyage. There is no sacrifice because there is no *phī*, the board is the residence of the souls of the inmates. Presumably the soul board is a North Thai Buddhist custom, which was corroborated by Khun Suchāt.

Bān Hō'

In the house of the Headman Run Khunwong (figure 29), the only house with a stair door in this village, there are two offering trees for the houseowner's lineage:

- (i) *Phī lamūa*, at the first post to the right of the door. Offering: a male pig when the house is built, and also after harvest (October/November), in the morning.
- (ii) *Phī jō* (= *jua tāj*), in the porch, to the right side of the room door¹⁵. Offering: once yearly a red cock.

15) Kunstadter (1965, 41) mentions one of the house spirits "*phī cho*, which lives inside the house above the bed of the elder of the household, and is the special guardian of children". It appears questionable if this *phī cho* of B. Pā Pāe has anything to do with the *phī jō* of B. Hō', especially because *phī cho* resides inside the house and *phī jō* in the porch, quite apart from the fact that *jō* apparently is identical with *jua tāj*.

- (iii) *Phī ta'khueang*, in the porch, just at the left side of the stair door a tree is erected for sacrifice to this spirit. Offering: a white cock in the morning of the same day as for (i) and (ii).

The other houses of B. Hō', having no stair door, fix the offering tree for the *phī ta'khueang* to the roof supporting post on the stair side which is in line with the *lamúa* (cf. B. Gōg N5i).

- (iv) *Phī roe moegút*, at the second post to the right of the door for the wife's lineage. Offering: a female pig sacrificed by the wife's side in case she falls ill.
- (v) Soul board, in the farthest corner to the right (cf. Bān Gōg Noi).

Bān Khōng

The location of house spirit offerings is illustrated in figure 30.

- (i) *Phī lamúag*, at the first post to the left of the door for the ancestor spirit of the male family line. Offering: once yearly a male pig on a June morning. It must be on a different day than the sacrifice to the *phī sabaig* of the *nyoe' nyū* (part I, 294).
- (ii) *Phī jua tāg*, at the first post to the right of the door for the couple who owns the house. This is the only instance of sacrifice we have recorded for both husband and wife. Offering: a red cock.
- (iii) *Phī ta'khueang*, at a special post outside the house on the left side of the lower end of the stairs, said to be for the stair spirit. Offering: a white cock in the morning of the same day as (i) and (ii).
- (iv) *Phī lamúag hlaing* (Lawā: *hlaing* = "closed"), inside the room just behind the door to the left, for the door spirit. Offering: a black chicken on the day when the first basket of rice of the new harvest has been brought to the rice barn. Both sacrifice and eating must be behind closed doors with only the family of the houseowner partaking.
- (v) Soul board, in the farthest corner to the right.

Bān Gōg Luang

The location for house spirit offerings is illustrated in figure 31.

- (i) *Phī lamúag*, at the first post to the left of the door for the lineage of the houseowner. Offering: a male pig once yearly after harvest.
- (ii) *Phī jua tīg*, at the first post to the right of the door for the wife's lineage. Offering: a red cock once yearly on the same day as (i).
- (iii) *Phī lamúag lāid*, in the inner room just left of the door for the door spirit. Offering: a black hen after storing the new rice in the granary.
- (iv) Soul board, in the farthest corner to the right.

Bān Pae'

There are two offering trees for the lineage of the houseowner (see figure 32):

- (i) *Phī lamúag*, at the first post to the left of the door. Offering: a male pig once yearly after harvest, in the morning of any day during the waning moon.
- (ii) *Phī jua tīg*, there is a small basket at the first post to the right of the door. Offering: a red chicken on the same day as (i).
- (iii) *Phī lamúag chroit*, at the second post to the right of the door for the wife's family name. Offering: a female pig will be sacrificed in the evening by the wife's side when she is sick.
- (iv) *Phī lamúag lāid*, for the door spirit of the inner room. The offering tree is not behind the door as in B. Khōng and B. Gōg Luang but in the room's farthest corner to the right at the place where the soul board is usually to be found. Offering: a black chicken when the first basket of new rice has been stored in the rice barn.
- (v) *Phī gai bong*, for the stair spirit (at which place we did not get out). Offering: a dog when somebody is ill. No soul board.

Băn La'ăng Nuea

There is no *phĩ lamúag* in Băn La'ăng Nuea (figure 33). The husband's lineage is only represented by:

- (i) *Phĩ jua tãg*, at the first post to the right of the door. Offering: a red chicken after harvest, in the morning.
- (ii) *Phĩ lamúag rōd*, at the second post to the right for the wife's lineage. Offering: a female pig is killed by the wife's side in the evening if she falls ill.
- (iii) *Phĩ gai bong*, for the stair spirit (Thai: *phĩ bandai*, ผีบันได). A tall, thin bamboo with leaves is stuck through a corner of the roof; a little offering basket is fixed at mid-height.

In this village it was expressly stated that the stair spirit here is not called *phĩ ta'khueang*. Offering: three chickens after harvest.

There is no door spirit (*phĩ lamúag lāid*) as in B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang and B. Pae', and no soul board.

Băn La'ăng Tāi

There is no *phĩ lamúag* in Băn La'ăng Tāi (figure 34), only the same two offering trees as in B. La'ăng Nuea:

- (i) *Phĩ jua tãg*, at the first post to the left of the door for the houseowner's lineage. It is a small basket like a *talaao gob* (cf. B. Tun). Offering: a red chicken when the house is built, and again when a boy is born.
- (ii) *Phĩ lamúag rōd*, at the second post to the left of the door for the wife's lineage. Offering: A female pig is sacrificed by the wife's relatives if she is ill.
- (iii) *Phĩ gai bong*, for the stair spirit. The same device is erected as in B. La'ăng Nuea. Offering: Two small chickens every year after harvest.
- (iv) The soul board is in the farthest corner to the left (everywhere else to the right). Here also an offering tree for the door spirit does not exist. In the porch of Headman Lēng's house we noted a small tablet fixed to the wall with pictures of Buddhist monks (cf. Kunstadter 1965, 26).

Bān Dong

For both the husband's and the wife's lineage in Bān Dong (figure 35), the respective offering baskets are at one and the same post, the second to the right when entering the room:

- (i) *Phī jū* (= *jua tāg*), a small basket similar to a *talaao gob* at the upper part of the post. Offering: three chickens (a red cock, a speckled cock, a hen) when the house is newly built, and once yearly after harvest.
- (ii) *Phī lamúag rōd*, a small basket below (i). Offering: a female pig is sacrificed in the evening by the wife's relatives if she is ill.
- (iii) *Phī gai bong*, for the stair spirit. Offering: a male pig is sacrificed on the right side of the lower end of the stairs, and a chicken on their left side every two years after harvest.
- (iv) *Yuea ajuk*, for the house spirit. Outside the house a tall, thin bamboo with leaves touching down onto the roof is stuck through a corner of the roof; at mid-height a small funnel-shaped offering basket is attached (figure 36). Offering: a cock (of all colours but white) once yearly during a day of the waning moon in any month.

There is neither *phī lamúag* nor soul board.

Bān La'ub

For the location of offerings in Bān La'ub, please refer to figure 37.

- (i) *Phī jū* (= *jua tāg*), at the second post to the left of the door for the houseowner's lineage. Offering: a male pig when the house is newly built and once every year—"provided that there is enough money", as they said.
- (ii) *Phī gai bong*, for the stair spirit at the lower end of the stairs. Offering: a pig at the right side and two chickens at the left side of the stairs once yearly after harvest, in the fortnight after the full moon in the ninth moon-month (October/November).

- (iii) *Phī ajúk* (or *juang ajúk*) for the house spirit. Noticed only at one house, outside the house at a post supporting the roof near the stairs. Offering: a chicken (not of white colour) once yearly when the new rice is stored in the rice barn.
- (iv) *Ta'lamāng*, the soul board in the farthest corner to the left. It is not for a spirit but for the souls of the inmates, here called *ta'lamāng* (cf. discussion in (h) above, for contrary example).

Analysis

Of the two spirit categories in and around the house, the *phī la'māng* are the spirits of the deceased ancestors of the houseowner as well as of his wife in a direct line or lineage. In every house they have special posts for their veneration and offerings dedicated to them (see table 5).

But some information indicates that these ancestor spirits reside at the burial place somewhere in the forest near the village. Over the graves low huts are erected, called "soul huts" by some researchers. On one or the other occasion sacrifices are presented to the spirits of the dead on the road to the cemetery. Apparently, there are two residences believed to exist: in the house and at the graveyard; it is not yet clear how far this theory is accepted, and especially how and for what reasons the spirits would move to and fro between these two places.

The *phī lamúag* (B. Hó': *lamúa*), ancestor spirit of the houseowner's lineage, enjoys the highest esteem: it gets a yearly sacrifice of a male pig. Otherwise a pig is only provided for the *phī gai bong* (stair spirit) in B. Dong and B. La'ub, and for the *phī jū* in B. La'ub; also in five villages a female pig is killed for the *phī lamúag roid* (spirit of the wife's lineage) when the wife falls ill. The other spirits receive a lower degree of sacrifice: not more than chickens (table 6).

The word *lamúag* might be etymologically related to *la'māng*; it also appears in *lamúag roid* (*chroit, rōd*) for the wife's ancestor spirit and in *lamúag hlaing* (*lāid*) for the door spirit. What this word means can hardly be guessed; a verifiable translation or explanation is lacking.

Table 5. The house spirits of the northern Lawā

Village	1.			2.			3.			4.		
	<i>lamuag</i> (man's ancestors)	Offering	Time	<i>jua tōg</i> (usu for man)	Offering	Time	<i>ta'khueang</i>	Offering	Time	<i>lamuag roid</i> (wife's ancestors)	Offering	Time
B. Gōg Nōi	x	1 male pig	once yearly	x (<i>jua taig</i>)	1 red cock	once yearly	x	1 white cock	once yearly	x (<i>lamuag roid</i>)	1 sow	once yearly
B. Hō'	x (<i>lamua</i>)	" " "	after harvest and house building	x (<i>jō</i>)	" " "	" " "	x	" " "	" " "	x (<i>roe moegūi</i>)	" " "	if wife ill
B. Khōng	x	" " "	once yearly (in June)	x (for the couple)	" " "	" " "	x	" " "	" " "	0		
B. Gōg Luang	x	" " "	after harvest	x (for wife's lin.)	" " "	" " "	0			0		
B. Pae'	x	" " "	" " "	x	" " chicken	after harvest	0			x (<i>lamuag chroit</i>)	" " "	" " "
B. La'āng Nuea	0			x	" " "	" " "	0			x (<i>lamuag rōd</i>)	" " "	" " "
B. La'āng Tāi	0			x	" " "	house building and son born	0			x (" ")	" " "	" " "
B. Dong	0			x (<i>jū</i>)	3 diff. "	after harvest and house building	0			x (" ")	" " "	" " "
B. La'ub	0			x (<i>jū</i>)	1 male pig	once yearly and house building	0 (at one post)			0		

5.			6.			7.			8.	Village
<i>lamuag hlaing</i> (door spirit)	Offering	Time	<i>gai boug</i> (stair spirit)	Offering	Time	<i>win juaag</i> (house spirit)	Offering	Time	soul board (no offering)	
0			0			x (high bamboo)	1 chicken	before an enterprise	x	B. Gōg Nōi
0			0			0			x	B. Hō'
x (<i>lamuag hlaing</i>)	1 black chicken	after storing harvest	0			0			x	B. Khōng
x (<i>lamuag lāid</i>)	" " hen	" " "	0			0			x	B. Gōg Luang
x (" ")	" " chicken	" " "	x	1 dog	in case of illness	0			0	B. Pae'
0			x (high bamboo)	3 chickens	after harvest	0			0	B. La'āng Nuea
0			x (" ")	2 " "	" " "	0			x	B. La'āng Tāi
0			x	1 male pig, 1 chicken	" " every 2 years	x (high bamboo) (<i>ajūk</i>)	1 cock (not white)	once yearly	0	B. Dong
0			x	1 pig, 2 chickens	" " "	x (<i>ajūk</i>)	1 chicken (not white)	after storing harvest	x	B. La'ub

Table 6. Animals sacrificed to the spirits in the house

VILLAGE	PIGS			CHICKENS											
				RED			WHITE			BLACK			NO COLOUR MENTIONED		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
B. Gog N5i	1 male 1 sow	yearly "	<i>lamúag</i> <i>lamúag</i> <i>rōd</i> (for wife)	1 cock	yearly	<i>jua taig</i>	1 cock	yearly	<i>ta'khueang</i>				1 chicken	before enter- prise	<i>win júag</i>
B. H3'	1 male 1 sow	after harvest, house building (wife ill)	<i>lamúag</i> <i>roemoegút</i>	1 cock	yearly	<i>jō</i>	1 cock	yearly	<i>ta'khueang</i>						
B. Kh5ng	1 male	yearly (June)	<i>lamúag</i>	1 cock	yearly	<i>jua tãg</i> (for a couple)	1 cock	yearly	<i>ta'khueang</i>	1 chicken	after storing harvest	<i>lamúag</i> <i>hlaing</i>			
B. Gog Luang	1 male	after harvest	<i>lamúag</i>	1 cock	yearly	<i>jua tãg</i> (for wife)				1 hen	after storing harvest	<i>lamúag</i> <i>tãid</i>			
B. Pae'	1 male 1 sow	after harvest (wife ill)	<i>lamúag</i> <i>lamúag</i> <i>chroit</i>	1 chicken	after harvest	<i>jua tãg</i>				1 chicken	after storing harvest	<i>lamúag</i> <i>tãid</i>			
B. La'ang Nuea	1 sow	(wife ill)	<i>lamúag</i> <i>rōd</i>	1 chicken	after harvest	<i>jua tãg</i>							3 chickens	after harvest	<i>gai bong</i>
B. La'ang Tãi	1 sow	(wife ill)	<i>lamúag</i> <i>rōd</i>	1 chicken	house built, son born	<i>jua tãg</i>							2 chickens	after harvest	<i>gai bong</i>
B. Dong	1 male	after harvest every 2 years	<i>gai bong</i>	1 cock (+2 other chickens)	after harvest, house building	<i>jũ + lamúag</i> <i>rōd</i>							1 chicken	after harvest every 2 years	<i>gai bong</i>
	1 sow	(wife ill)	<i>lamúag</i> <i>rōd</i>										1 cock (not white)	yearly	<i>ajúk</i>
B. La'ub	1 male 1 pig	yearly and house build. after harvest	<i>jũ</i> <i>gai bong</i>										2 chickens 1 chicken (not white)	after harvest after storing harvest	<i>gai bong</i> <i>ajúk</i>

Note: The five columns relating to sacrifices are subdivided into (a) which sacrificial animal, (b) time of sacrifice, and (c) for which spirits.

Generally the post for the *phī lamúag* is at the left side of the door, only the *lamúa* in B. Hó' is at the right side. It must be emphasized that this spirit does not exist in B. La'āng Nuea, B. La'āng Tāi, B. Dong and B. La'ub, i.e. the southwestern villages of the northern Lawā group.

The next important spirit of the male lineage is the *phī jua tāg* (B. Gōg Nōi: *jua taig*, B. Hó': *jō*, B. Dong and B. La'ub: *jū*). It certainly has its foremost rank in villages without *phī lamúag*. Its offering tree is present everywhere from B. Gōg Nōi to B. La'ub usually at the first post to the right of the door, in front of the post for the *phī lamúag*. Exceptions are as follows: (i) in B. Hó' it is outside the room in the porch, (ii) in B. La'āng Tāi it takes the place otherwise occupied by the *lamúag* at the first post to the left, (iii) in B. Dong and B. La'ub it has its place at the second post, in B. Dong to the right and in B. La'ub to the left.

For the lineage of the houseowner's wife, offerings are given to the spirit *lamúag roid* (B. Gōg Nōi), *roe moegút* (B. Hó'), *lamúag chroit* (B. Pae'), and *lamúag rōd* (B. La'āng Nuea, B. La'āng Tāi, B. Dong) at trees fixed to the second post to the right of the door, except at B. La'āng Tāi where it is to the left. Generally there is no yearly sacrifice as for the husband's lineage, only in case the wife falls ill a female pig will be sacrificed by the relatives of her lineage. There are the following exceptions: (i) in B. Gōg Nōi a female pig is sacrificed once yearly; (ii) in B. Khōng the *phī jua tāg* serves for both husband and wife it receives yearly a red cock as in B. Gōg Luang, but here the *jua tāg* is exclusively for the wife's lineage. In these three villages (B. Gōg Nōi, B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang), moreover in B. La'ub, nothing was related of a female pig's offering by the wife's relations in case of her illness.

Rather controversial is the question how the *phī ta'khueang* should be classified. It seems that this spirit is only known from three villages (table 5); at any rate we did not note any more *ta'khueang* offering trees. In B. Gōg Nōi and B. Hó' its tree is fixed outside the house at a roof-supporting post, in line with *lamúag* (figures 28, 29). In B. Khōng, on the contrary, it is outside at the foot of the stairs and said to be for the stair spirit (figure 30), similar to the position of the posts for the *phī gai*.

bong or stair spirit in B. Dong and B. La'ub (figures 35, 37). It is significant that in the Headman's house of B. Hó', an offering tree is put up in the porch aside the stair door for the spirit of this door which we can suppose identical with the stair spirit elsewhere, especially as Kunstadter (1967, MS. 4) refers to the "*phī kain bong*, spirit of doorway, fed in July". If in B. Góg Nōi the *phī ta'khueang* was reckoned among the ancestor spirits of the male lineage, then it might as well be a misunderstanding or misinformation. Looking at table 5, it is conspicuous that for the above three villages no *phī gai bong* but only the *phī ta'khueang* is mentioned, while in the rest of the villages (but one: B. Góg Luang, from where we have no note) the stair spirit is called *phī gai bong*. In B. La'āng Nuea it was even stated that the stair spirit is not called *ta'khueang*. Most probably the *phī ta'khueang* is nothing else but the stair spirit *phī gai bong* in the other villages.

A special feature concerning the position of offering posts in the house is remarkable: in B. Góg Nōi the posts for *jua taig-lamúag-ta'khueang*, in B. Hó' for *lamúa* and *ta'khueang*, in B. Khōng, B. Góg Luang and B. Pae' for *jua tāg* and *lamúag* must be in one line. This is reminiscent of the North Thai prescription that at house-building the two important posts, *sao mongkhon* (เสามงคล, or "post of good luck" for the husband) and *sao nāng* (เสานาง, "woman's post" for the wife), form a pair and "should be in a straight line opposite each other" (Chotisukharat 1971, 226, 228; Nimmanahaeminda 1966, 34). The difference is that the North Thai put up such posts in a line for husband and wife, while the Lawā do so for the spirits of the husband's lineage; those for the Lawā wife's lineage are one row behind it.

There is also a difference to the Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu) because "at the ancestral feeding rites both the ancestors of the household head and those of his wife are invited to partake of the feast" (Walker 1970, 37), while the Lawā regularly only sacrifice to the ancestor spirits of the male line (in the morning) and not more than occasionally to the ancestor spirit of the female lineage (in the evening).

Nearer to the customs of the chiefly patrilineal Lawā are the Lamet¹⁶ and Khmu¹⁷, where the veneration of the ancestor spirits is directed by the male head of household.

In speaking about the stair spirit, we have already begun to elucidate some items of the second category of spirits: the hereditary spirit-protectors of the house and its inmates, firmly connected with the specific house since ancestral times.

The stair spirit (Thai: *phī bandai*, ผีบันได) is, as a rule, called *gai* (*d*) *bong* (ไต่ต๋บง) by the Lawā (*bong* = "stairs", Rangsit 1942/45, 700: *mbōng* = "ladder"). In our schedule it is only mentioned from B. Pae' to B. La'ub, but certainly it is known in some more villages. So, in B. Den (Umphāi group) they sacrifice to the *phī gai bong* every two years after harvest a pig (male or female) and a chicken which might be of all colours but white. This is in contrast to the three villages which just offer white chickens to the *ta'khueang*. Again the question: is the *ta'khueang* really equivalent to the *gai bong*?

When in B. Pae' someone of the family falls ill and the *jau ngau* (เจ้าเงาะ; North Thai: *tonhid* ต๋นฮิด, an office which passes from father to

- 16) LeBar (1969, 225) tells us that the Lamet have a "socioeconomic ritual system involving sacrifice to ancestral spirits (cf. Izikowitz, Lamet, 1951) ... It is their system of beliefs about the relation of man- and in particular the housefather- to the paternal ancestor spirits that motivates much of Lamet behavior ... The ancestral spirits reside within the extended family household ... They are central to the Lamet scheme of things-they can 'help' the Lamet by ensuring health, happiness, well-being and abundance of food-but they must be kept happy lest they depart from their accustomed residence. The way to keep them contented and well disposed is (1) by strict observance of prohibitions and rules of conduct (cf. note 17) ... , (2) the spirits must be fed and elaborate sacrifices made in their honor." Only the housefather will sacrifice to and care for the spirits, "in this sense he is the 'priest' for all those under his roof".
- 17) According to Roux and Tran-Van-Chu (see bibliography) the Khmu have "a house spirit, a kind of embodiment of the souls of ancestors, responsible for the well-being of people, domestic animals and crops. At the same time, this spirit punishes any breach of custom by making the housefather ill without actually causing him to die."

son) states that the illness is caused by the *phī gai bong*, then a reddish-brown dog is killed in the evening and its muzzle, ears, paws and tail are sacrificed; the rest is thrown away. If a *samang* is concerned, he asks a simple Lawā to perform the sacrifice for him.

According to Kunstadter (1965, 41) in B. Pā Pāe "about the middle of July a ceremony is held to renew the altars of some of the house spirits: *phī kajn bong*, which acts as a guardian and lives inside the house beside the door, and *phī cho*... These sacrifices must be made according to the order of precedence within the lineage... Households of the Chang Maw group do not sacrifice to these spirits, but the next morning they make a sacrifice to another spirit, *phī sapajc*, using a buffalo every fifth year, and chickens the other four years." They kill these animals tied to a carved *sagang* just west of the ceremonial house.

These statements of Kunstadter are interesting in several respects. Firstly, they show that within two quarters of the same village different ceremonies might be held depending on the tradition of the inhabitants' origins. No wonder if spirits, their names, altars and sacrifices vary often enough between different villages (part I, 290). In the special case of B. Chāngmō Nōi (part I, 283), a southern village, the people immigrated to B. Pā Pāe apparently with no *phī gai bong* but a *phī sabaig*, spirit of the *nyoe'nyū* (part I, 291). Still, the *phī gai bong* known nearly everywhere in the north is also to be met with in the south, as we have noted from B. Pā Pāe (eastern section) and B. Den. The *phī sabaig*, typical for the north, is found to exist in a village quarter originating from a Chāngmō village belonging to the Umphāi group of the southern Lawā. The logical inference is that both spirits, *gai bong* and *sabaig*, are more or less common to all Lawā, and if they are noted little from the south it is only because the southern villages have not been investigated thoroughly in this regard.

Secondly, the location of the *phī gai bong* inside the house beside the door in B. Pā Pāe is reminiscent of the door spirit *phī lamūag hlaing* (or *lāid*) in B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang and B. Pae' (table 5 and figures 30-32) which is fed inside the main room, in the first two villages behind the door, in B. Pae', strangely enough, in the farthest corner to the right and in this way far from the door of which this spirit is supposed to be,

the guardian. When Kunstadter calls the *phī gai bong* "spirit of doorway" (1967, MS. 4) and gives its location as being "inside the house beside the door" (1965, 41), difficulty arises in distinguishing between stair spirit (*phī gai bong*) and door spirit (*phī lamúag hlaing* or *lāid*). Kunstadter's *phī kajn bong* apparently takes the place of the door spirit of the main room.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1952, 8) writing on *phra' phūm* (พระภูมิ) or *jao thī* (เจ้าทิ), the guardian spirit of every Thai house, mentions that there are all together nine *phra' phūm* spirits. Of one of them he relates (1952, 9): "The *phra' phūm* of the door and head of the stairs is no more, but still lingers as an old superstition that when going into a living room, one must not put one's foot on the threshold but pass over it. Undoubtedly, in the old days, the spirit of the door was there." Here again stair and door spirit melt into one, but in the Lawā villages they generally make a distinction which is marked by different colours of the sacrificial animals (table 6): red chickens for *phī jua tāg*, white chickens for *phī ta'khueang*, and black chickens for *lamúag hlaing*¹⁸.

It is noteworthy that in the two La'āng villages the offerings to the *phī gai bong* are given in a little receptacle attached to a tall bamboo stuck through a corner of the roof, a procedure elsewhere preferred for offerings to the house spirit (Thai: *phī ruean*, ผีเรือน), called by the Lawā *win jūag* (B. Gəg Nōi), *ajūk* (B. Dong and B. La'ub) or *achok* (B. Sām).

Srisawasdi (1963, 175) mentions correctly (in other instances he seems to confuse different spirits and their altars) that the Lawā "put up a bamboo with many twigs rising high above the roof... and bending its leaves towards it. The receptacle serving as residence of the house spirit is called *sa'lō* (North Thai: ฆ้อง, "funnel"; Lawā: *rog*).

Tall bamboos of this kind, always at the stairside of the house, were apparently erected for the stair spirit in B. La'āng Nuea and B. La'āng Tāi; and for the house spirit in B. Tūn, B. Sām, B. Gəg Nōi, B. Dong and B. La'ub.

18) This distinction is also made by other tribal people. e.g. by the Oraon in Chota Nagpur (central India) of whom Hermanns (1973, 360) notes that their sacrificial animals are killed in varying ways, and must have different colours according to the spirit.

Quite a number of them had been erected in B. Dong, at any rate more than in any other village. In B. La'ub we saw only one, as did Obayashi (1964, 417). It seems strange that apart from the tall offering bamboos for the stair spirit in the two La'ang-villages from B. Ho' to B. La'ang Tāi, we did not notice any such bamboos for the house spirit. They only appeared again in B. Dong as *yuea ajúk* and in B. La'ub as *yuang ajúk*, *yuea* and *yuang*, both meaning house in Lawā.

When we stopped over in B. Tūn we found tall bamboos with a little basket attached to them stuck through the roof corners of two houses. These offering devices had been erected for the house spirit by two families willing to give up their houses in B. Tūn with intent to move to Maesariang (part I, 242). Into the little basket they had put rice grains, a candle, an incense-stick and flowers for the Buddha. All their belongings to be taken along were sprinkled with holy water (water containing toasted and broken *sōmpōi*). This sacrifice is for good luck (Thai: *khwan*, ขวัญ) and is called: *plian khro' plian nām* (เปลี่ยนเคราะห์เปลี่ยนนาม, or "change fate, change name"). It is not Lawā but North Thai, and the performer of the ceremony must be a monk; here it was a Lawā monk from B. B5 Luang invited for the occasion.

In B. Sām there were stuck through the corner of a mighty roof at the left side of the stair two thin, three-metre-tall bamboos, narrowly tied together, with leaves in their upper part. About half way up each bamboo was attached a small basket. The whole erection is called *yong dyong achók* (house-altar-*phī achók*). Yearly between harvest and felling of the new field an offering is made to the house spirit *phī achók* by every family lineage, excluding in-laws, for their own house. They sacrifice a pig and put small cooked bits of its muzzle, ears, tail and feet together with some cooked rice into the small baskets on the tall bamboos. This is done to bring good luck and to ward off evil, as the *phī achók* has the power to make people rich or poor.

Finally, I would like to call attention to a remark of Funke concerning the Umphāi-Lawā (1960, 144): "The various sacrifices of animals for the spirits are often in connection with the phases of the moon." Kunstadter (1965, 38) hints at similar conceptions of the Lawā.

in B. Pā Pā: "About the second week of May, at a time set by the moon, a ceremony is conducted by the Samangs . . . to insure that the rain will fall." In writing about the custom of mothers, lying by a fire after giving birth, he mentions among other reasons that it "also depends on the phase of the moon" (1965, 47).

Though our notes from the northern Lawā are fragmentary in this respect, we can state the following about sacrifices executed during the waning moon in these villages:

(i) B. Pae': for the *phī lamúag* a pig and for the *phī jua tīg* a red chicken after harvest, in the morning of any day during the waning moon.

(ii) B. Dong: for the *phī ajúk* (house spirit) a cock on a day of the waning moon of any month.

(iii) B. La'ub: for the *phī gai bong* (stair spirit) a pig and two chickens after harvest in the fortnight after full moon (i.e. waning moon) in the ninth month (October/November).

Certainly this question is not yet explored sufficiently.

In some cases even days of the week are taken into consideration:

(i) B. Gəg Nōi: Monday of any month for *lamúag*, *jua taig*, *ta'khueang*;

Friday of any month for *lamúag roid* (female line).

(ii) B. La'āng Nuea: Tuesday in December for *sabaig* (part I, 297).

Being in communication with the plains people, they certainly have calendars to know the days of the week. Still, it leaves us with the question why they choose special days for their sacrifices. Many features remain unexplained in Lawā magic and religion.

PRONUNCIATION

The consonants are pronounced as in English, the vowels as in Italian. The exceptions are "ae", "oe", "ue", which correspond to the German *umlaut* as in "ä", "ö", "ü" and are close to the Thai vowels "uə", "i-ə", "ə", as respectively in the following sets of examples: (a) "talaeo"; (b) "nyoe' nyū, poegvad"; (c) "khue, mbueang, yueng". Only one phonetic letter is used: "ɔ", for the "open o" (in English usually transcribed as "aw").

Long vowels are marked by a dash (e.g. "dyōng"), a stress by an accent ("sagáng"), a glottal stop (abrupt ending of a vowel) by an apostrophe ("ta' nóg"). Tones in Thai words are not indicated; Lawā words have none.

GLOSSARY

dyōng: altar made of four sticks with a small bamboo platform on top; also, small conical basket attached to a high bamboo for offerings to the house spirit

gai (d) bong (Lawā): see *phī bandai*

gorīd gaurid, in B. La'ub *phuirīd*: *tonhīd*

gum: village spirit (northern Lawā)

jau ngau: northern Lawā for *tonhīd*

khūe (Thai), *nōeg* (Lawā): board on the separation wall between porch and inner room

lām: assistant headman, in B. Pā Pæ leaders of the constituent villages, in B. La'ub and B. Bō Luang announcer or herald of the *samang*

la'māng: ancestor spirits

mbueang: memorial and feeding post for the dead, low post

miang: leaves of a special kind of wild tea, fermented and rolled, chewed with a grain of salt, sometimes also sweetened

nām: ancestor post for a dead male *samang*, high post

nyoe' nyū: ritual house. In B. Sām, B. La'āng Tai and B. Pā Pā often called *lād*. Also, guesthouse in the southern group where big enough and in good repair

phī bandai ผันไค (Thai), *gai (d) bong* (Lawā): stair spirit

phū chuai ฟูชัย (Thai): assistant headman, often also called *lām*

phū yai bān ฟูไยบ้าน: village headman, more often called *phī luang* พ่อหลวง, sometimes *gāe bān* แก่บ้าน. Lawā: *poegvad*

paegvad (Lawā): headman

rai ไร่ (Thai): fields under slash-and-burn (swidden) cultivation

sabaig, *phī sabaig* (*sabai'*, *sabaid*, *sabait*): *nyoe' nyū* spirit

sagāng: high post, double in the south, single in the north, for tethering buffaloes or cattle to be sacrificed to the village spirit. In the north sometimes also in front the *nyoe' nyū* for the *phī sabaig*

samāng: higher social layer of feudal descent, spiritual leader

talāeo ตะเภา (Thai), *talīa* (Lawā): sign of prohibition for men and spirits, made in various forms with bamboo splints in open plaiting

talāeo gob ตะเภาโอบ: little baskets for offerings to the ancestor spirits

ta'nóg (northern Lawā): sacrificer who prays and offers to the spirits

ta'juang: village spirit (southern Lawā)

tonhīd ต้นฮีด (Thai): preserver of old customs (cf. *gorīd*, *jau ngau*)

"village-closure": at certain festivals or in case of an epidemic, nobody is allowed in or out of a village; indicated by a *talāeo* at every village entrance

juang (*yong*), northern Lawā *yueng*: village, Lawā house, especially used for the *noey' nyū*

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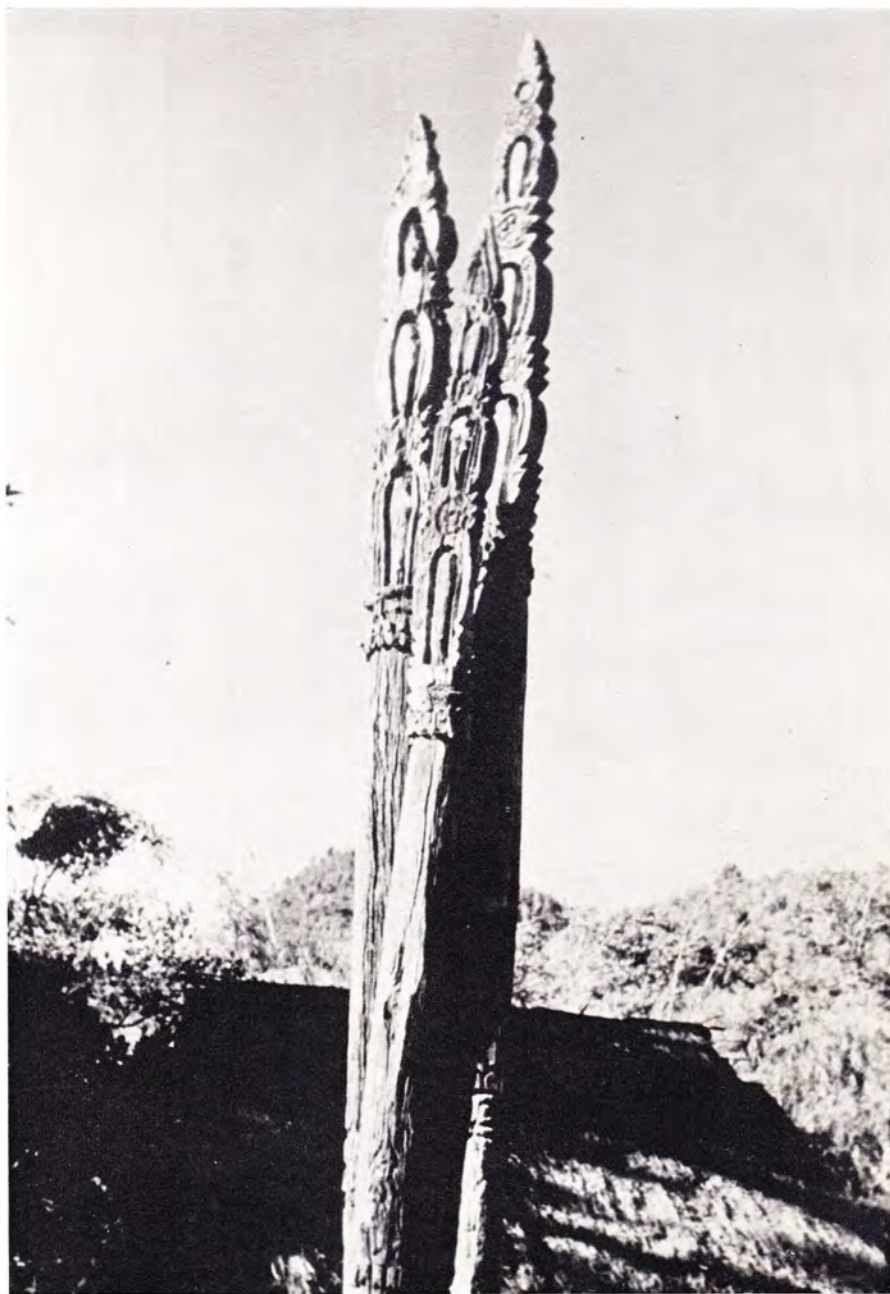


Figure 13. The bundle of three *sagangs* called *sabaig ta'yuang*, in front of the ritual house at Băn Dong

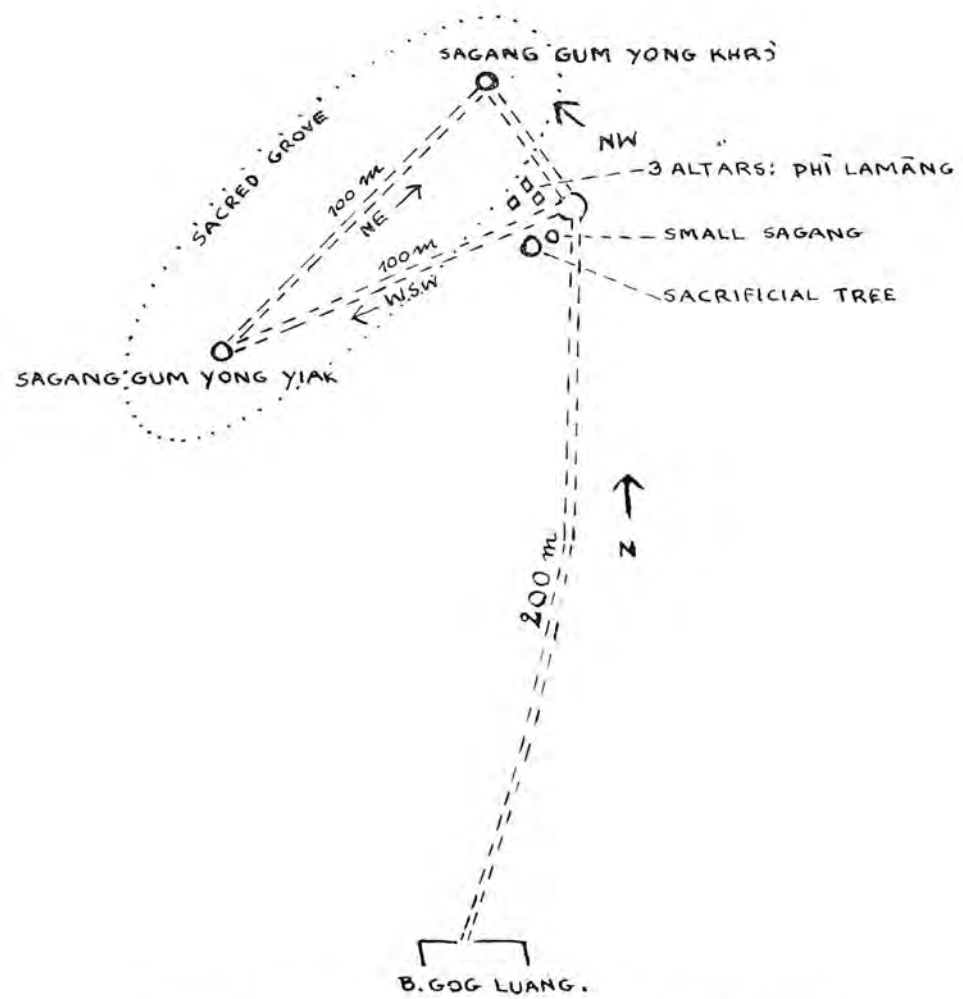


Figure 14. Places of sacrifice north of Bān Gōg Luang



Figure 15. Băn Gog Luang: offering tree, flanked by the small "sagang" .

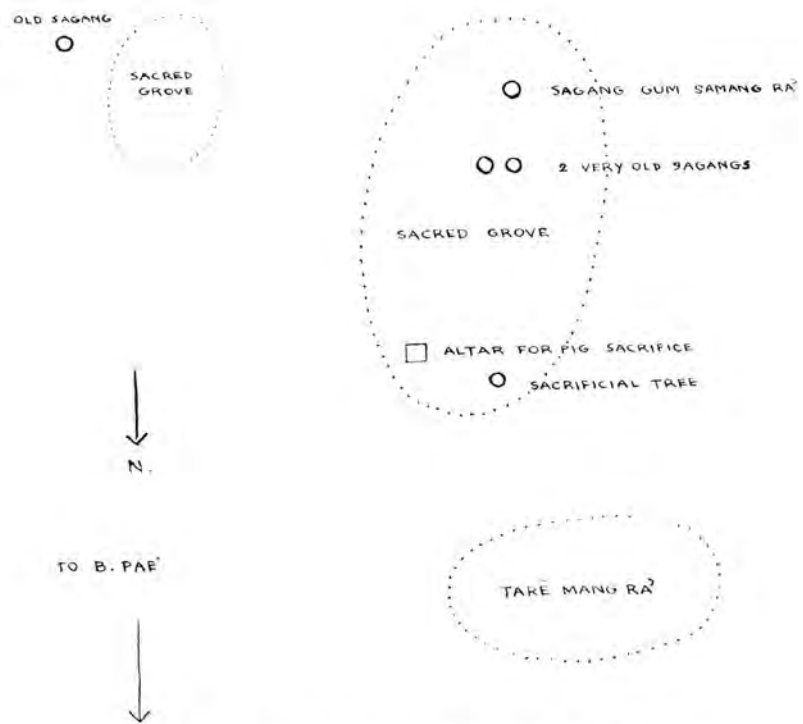


Figure 16. Places of sacrifice south of Bān Pae'



Figure 17. The withered *sagang gum* of the *samang ra'* at the southern offering place in Bān Pae', with Nāi Dū standing at its side

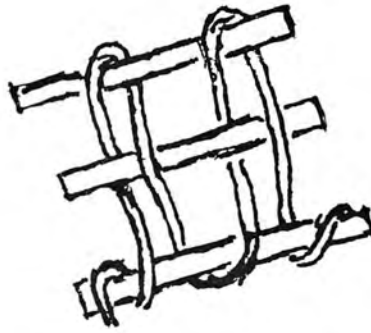


Figure 18. A square for holding pig-offerings in Bān Yāēg



Figure 19. An altar for a *phī* sacrifice near Bān Omphai Luang



Figure 20. The *samang* and former headman Lung Gao squatting at a spirit hut near Bān Chāngmō Nōi

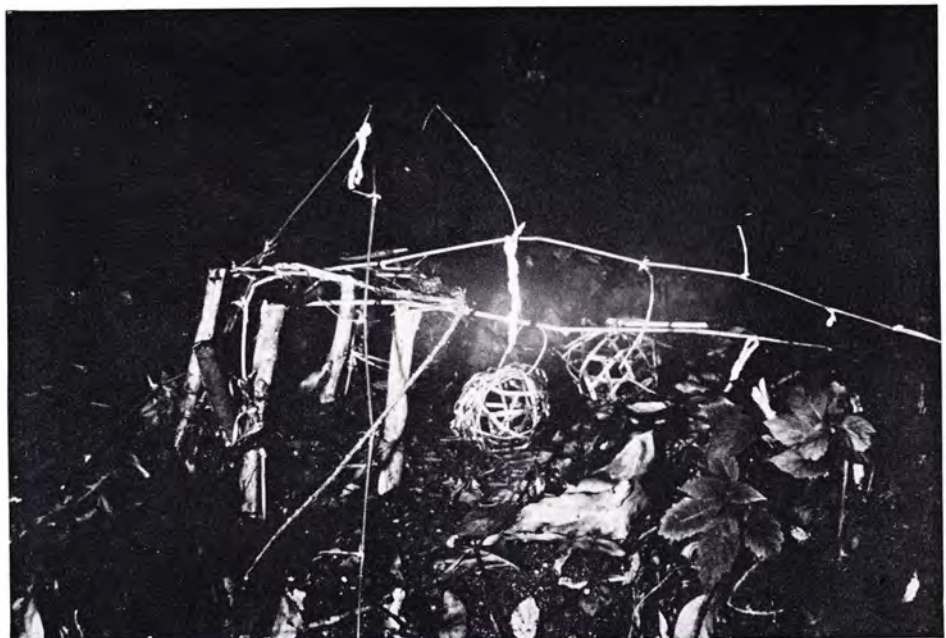


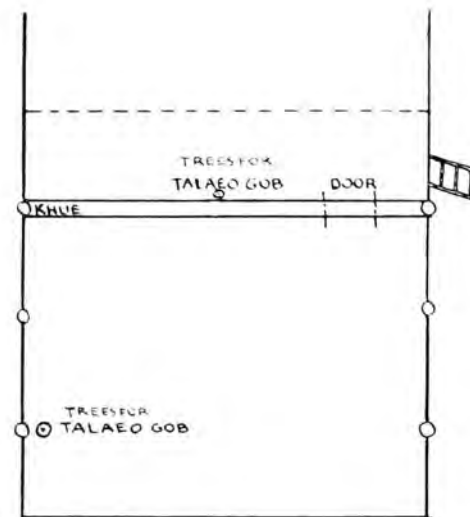
Figure 21. Altar for sacrifice to the road spirit near Bān Ōmphāi Luang



Figure 22. One of the two spirit altars in front of the ritual house in Bân Pā Pāē



Figure 23. A satuang at a path near Bân Nā Fōn



B. TUN

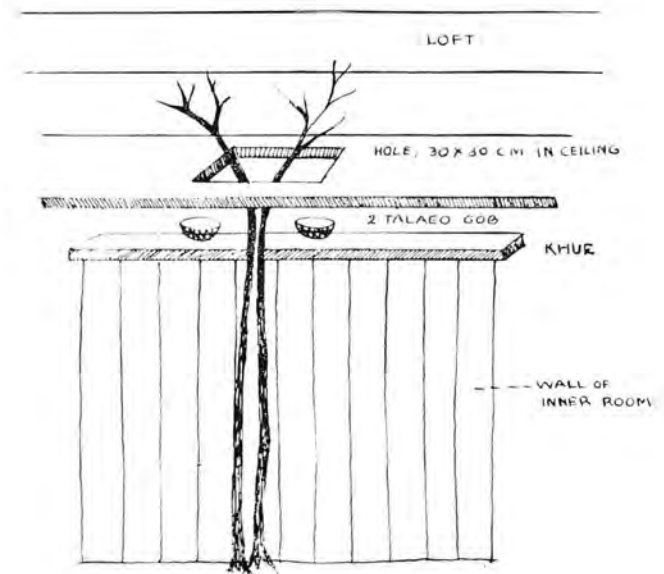


Figure 24. Headman's house and sacred trees at the partition wall

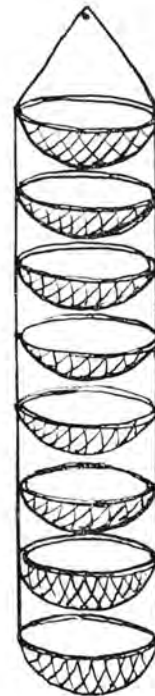
← ca 20 cm →



a



b



c

Figure 25. Bān Tūn: (a) *talao gob*, (b) four reversed *talao gob*, (c) eight *talao gob* hanging one from another

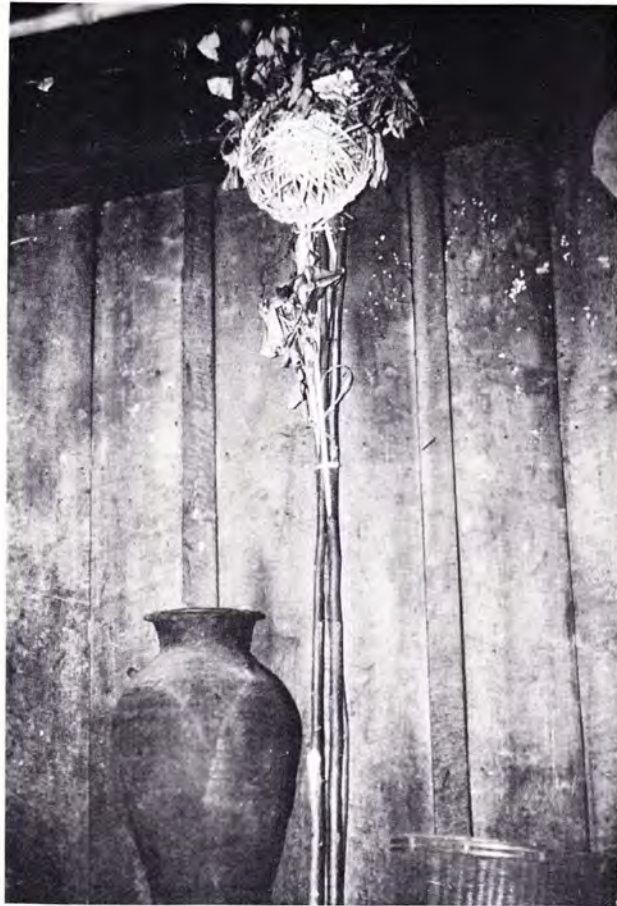


Figure 26. Bān Den: *Talao gob* hung perpendicularly at the partition wall of Nāi Duang's house. Notice in the foreground the big earthenware pot with little "ears" on the shoulder; according to Mr. Charles Nelson Spinks (personal letter of 7 September 1966), it appears to be in the Sawankhalōk style.

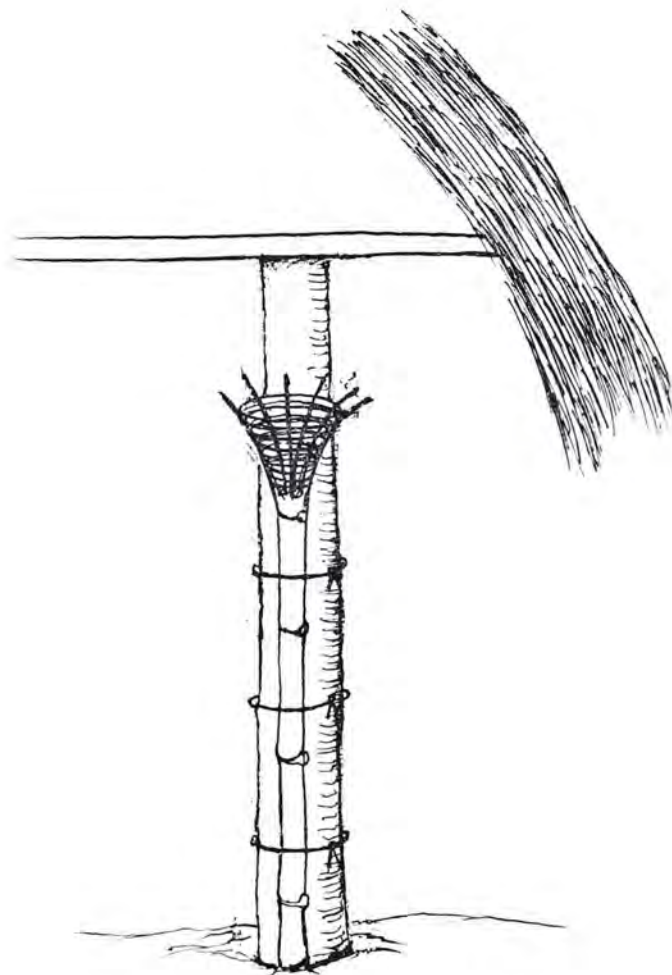


Figure 27. Offering basket for the *phī ta'khueang*, attached outside the house to a post supporting the overhanging roof

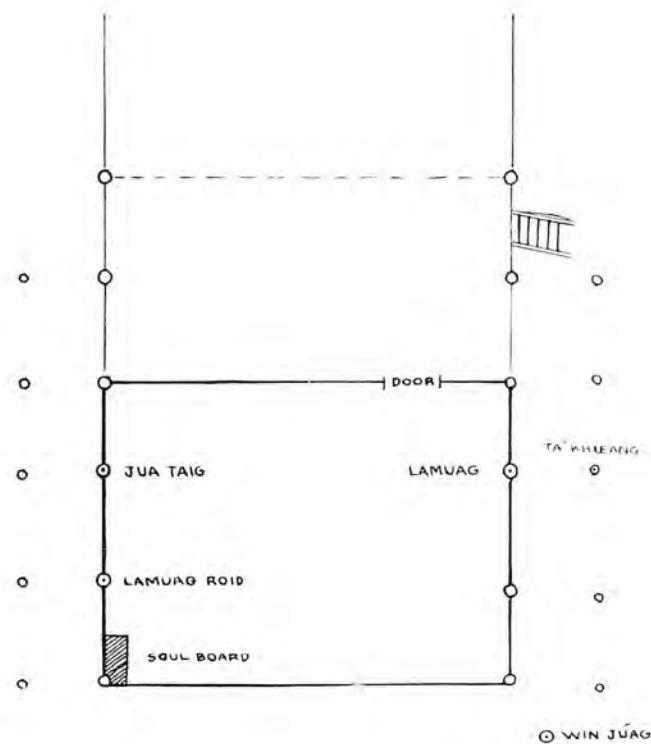


Figure 28. Bān Gəg Nōi

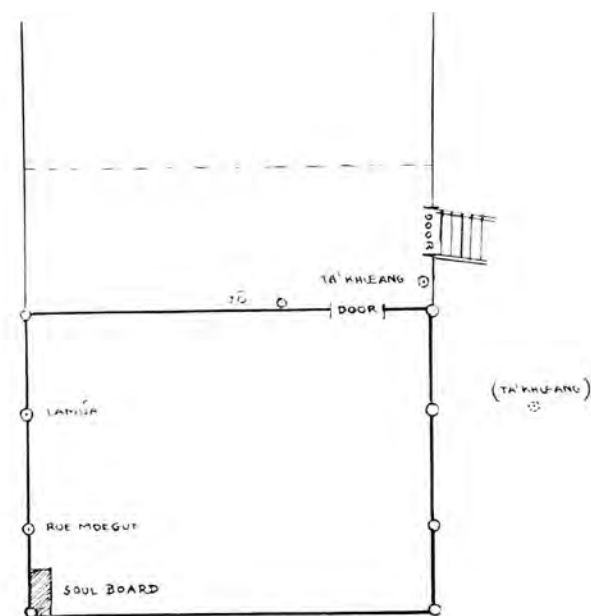


Figure 29. House of Village Headman Run Khunwong in Bān Hə'

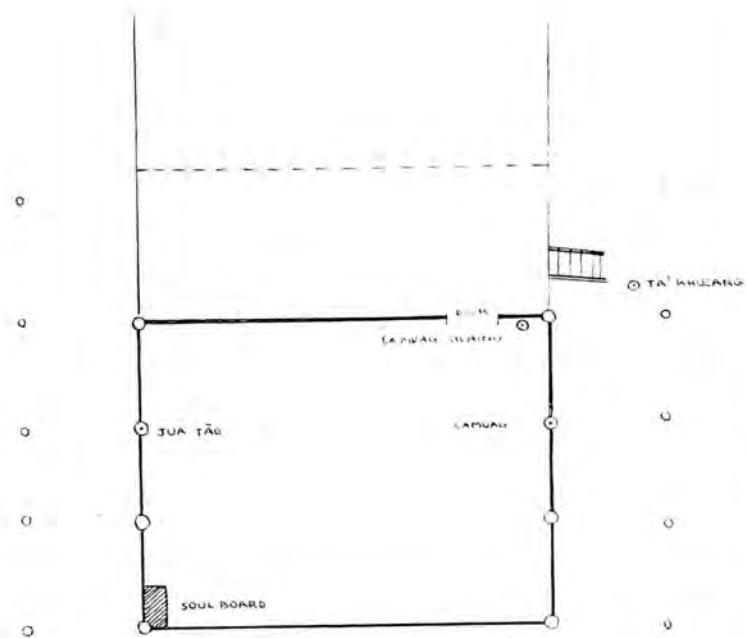


Figure 30. Location of offerings in Băn Khōng

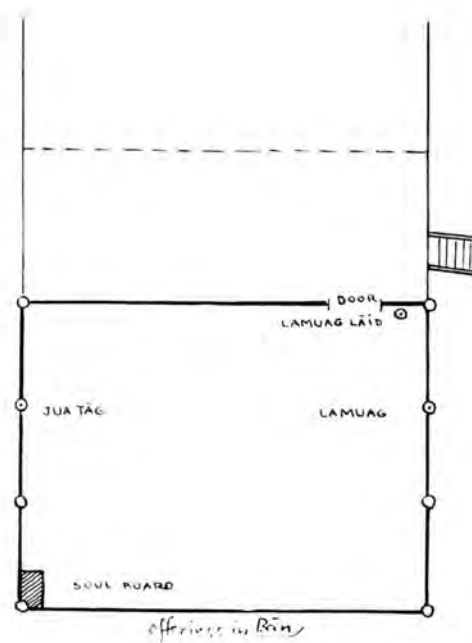


Figure 31. Location of offerings in Băn Gōg Luang

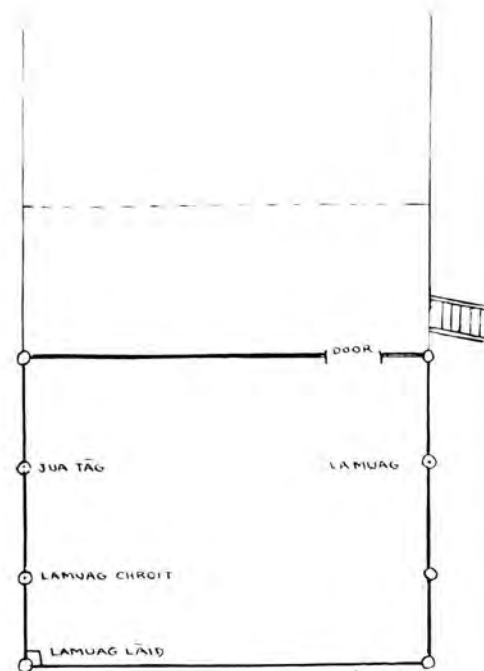


Figure 32. Location of offerings
in Bân Pae'

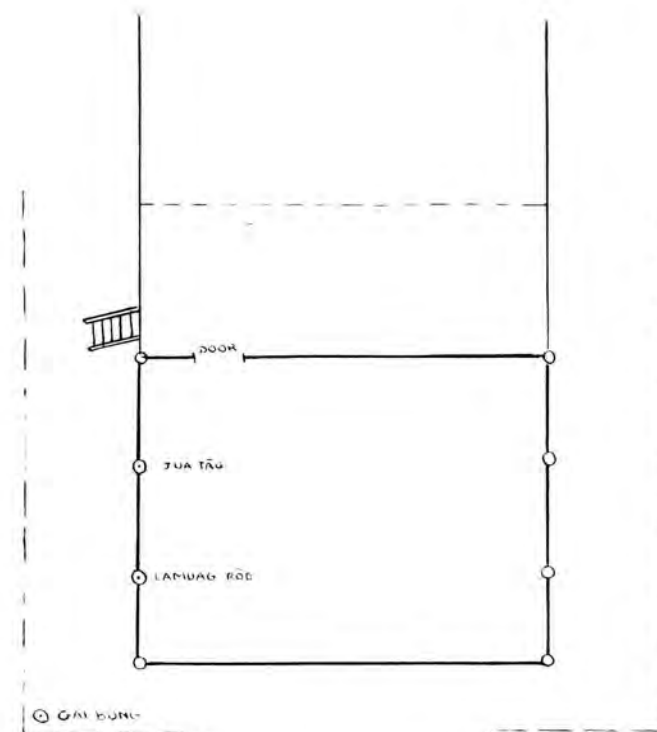


Figure 33. Location of offerings in Bân La'ăng
Nuea

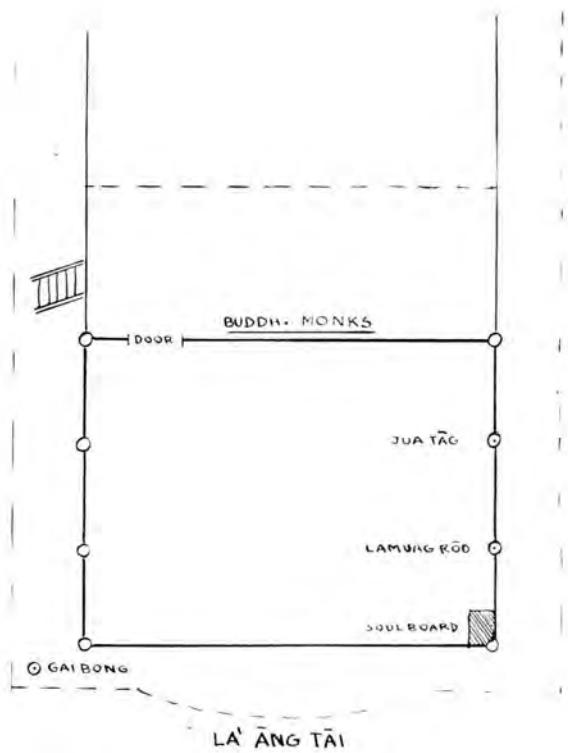


Figure 34. Location of offerings in Bān La'āng Tāi

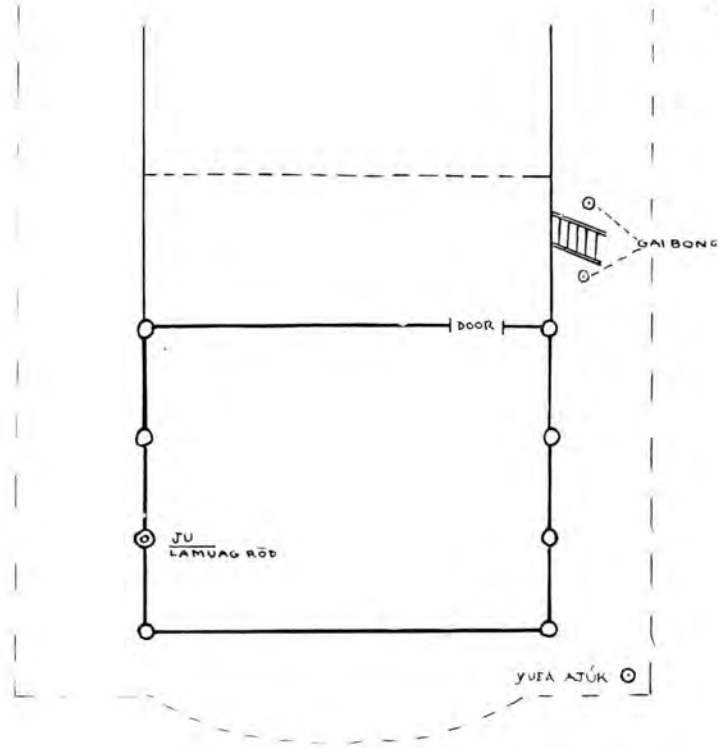


Figure 35. Location of offerings in Bān Dong

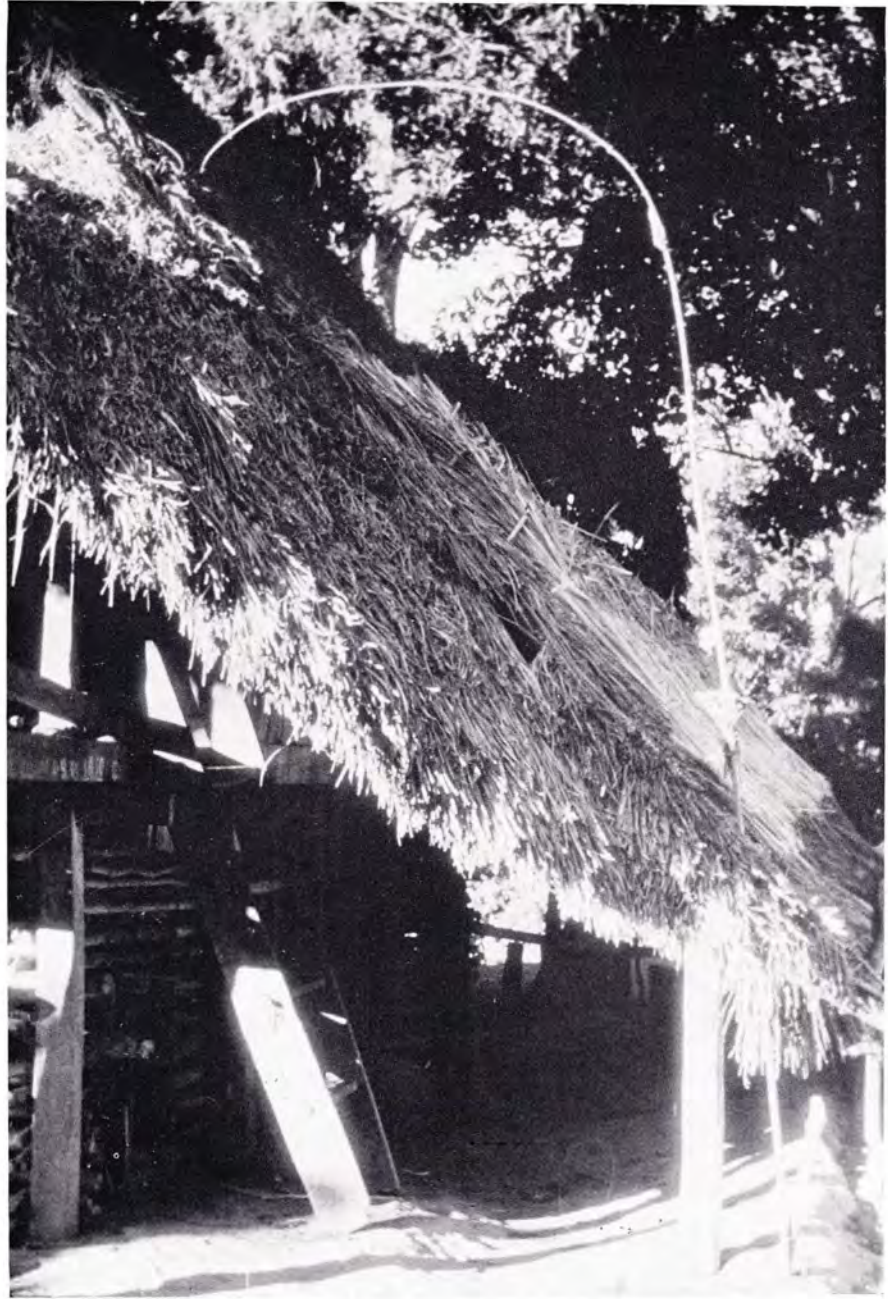


Figure 36. Bān Dong: High bamboo with funnel-shaped offering basket stuck through the roof, for the spirit of the house *ajùk*

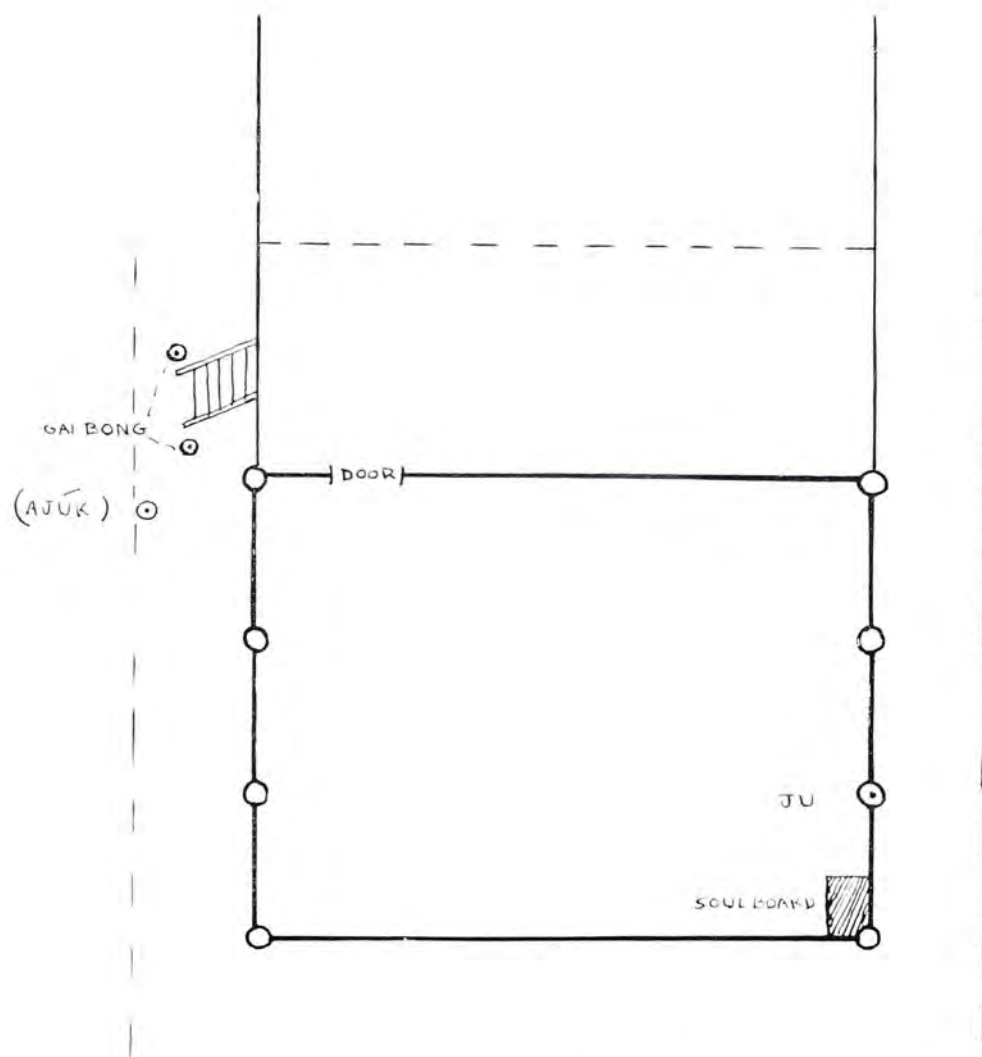


Figure 37. Location of offerings in Bān La'ub