

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

PART III

by

H. E. KAUFFMANN*

Part III concludes the report on ethnographic material collected on three different visits to the Umphāi group of villages of the Lawā, in northwestern Thailand, and on the first anthropological survey of the northern Lawā. Part I of the report appeared in volume 60 part 1 (January 1972) of this journal; part II appeared in volume 65 part 1 (January 1977). These parts of the report are referred to in notes in the following text as 'I' and 'II', respectively. A glossary of principal terms mentioned and a bibliography are appended.

3. Death rites

(a) *The funeral of an adolescent boy*

In the evening of 7 February 1964 we had just had our meal and were preparing for the night, intending to leave our quarters, the ritual house (*nyoe' nyū*) of Bān (B.) Yāēg, early the next morning, when suddenly cries came from the direction of Omphāi Luang. A man swinging a torch passed running by and shouted to us that somebody had died in the last house up north-west. It was Nāi Gāeo, a 15-year-old boy who had died of an unknown fever. While to the people it was a very sad event, it was also a rather rare occasion for the ethnologist to observe the ceremonies and rites in a case of death. So we delayed our departure until the burial was over. Because of the youth and poverty of the dead boy, as well as his status of not being a *samang* (although his mother was a *samang*) and not being married, we could not expect more than the ordinary ritual, a "small custom" funeral (Kunstadter 1968: 29); only an adult man of merit and good standing, descended from a well-to-do *samang* family, would receive the full honours at his death: a "big custom" funeral.

Wailing. We set out in a hurry to the deceased boy's house and heard from afar the monotonous wailing and crying of women according to custom. The single small room of the house was packed with people, relatives and friends, sitting closely around the corpse; but I did not enter. I dare say that there is a limit, even to a scholar most eager for knowledge, to obtruding on the people and hurting their feelings. On two later occasions, it proved right to have been discreet. But our guide *Khun* Suchāt, as a man from the country, took a look inside, and saw five women wailing (Lawā: *lāe*) near the corpse which still was lying dressed in daily attire on the floor. The guide said the five women had come from five different villages; they wailed

*Photos were taken by the author, excepting figures 52, 59, 60 (by M.C. Sanidh Rangsit, Bangkok) and figures 69, 70, 72 (by Hans Obländer, Bangkok). Drawings are by 'Shudhi' Chatterjee of Calcutta: figures 42 b, 49, 50, 54, 65 a and b, 88-99; and by Wolfgang Meyn of Munich: figures 61, 62, 77-82 a.

without tears, and even laughed in between.¹

Rather late, more than one hour after the death, the big gong and the drums resounded from the ritual house of B. ʔmphāi Luang (figs. 38, 39). At this sign all the people came to the house of the dead. Drums and gongs were to be beaten still more often during the following two days. Srisawasdi (1963: 187) writes that a big gong hung in the corner of the terrace is beaten continuously "with a loud din". Also in B. Pae' the gong is only beaten in a case of death. In B. Pā Pāe (Kunstadter: 1968), to the contrary, such an accidental drumming and gonging does not exist, seeming to be more or less strictly regulated. Many other remarks affirm that there the gong is beaten three times at the beginning and ending of certain events or rites.

Removal of the house door. The door of the house was put up horizontally at the side of the open terrace. It must be taken off until the burial is over (fig. 40) and replaced thereafter. A *talaē* (Lawā: *talīa*) for the door spirit was fixed on it to keep other spirits away (II: 218). According to Kunstadter (1968: 19) in B. Pā Pāe the door must be removed, as should be the tray over the front fireplace, "in order to make room for the large crowd, and to make it easier to come in and out of the house". The fireplace tray is thrown away, but the door is replaced after burial. Young men were sitting there laughing, chatting and smoking. They also renewed the cord for hanging a gong which had a diameter of 70 cm.

The hē. Then followed a highly interesting and never-before-mentioned act. On the terrace were standing two *hē*, pots filled with rice chaff covered with leaves; into each of them was stuck a 15-cm-high bamboo splinter having the shape of a V-spiral (fig. 41). The spirals were 12 cm wide from one side to the other. The same form, which reminds of the chest tattoo of eastern Naga tribes in the Patkoi Range of Assam, India (now autonomous Nagaland) and other tribes (cf. Carl Schuster 1952), is to be found painted on the lower end of a western post in the ritual house and carved on the *sagang la'* both in B. ʔmphāi Luang (cf. "Art: Megalithic influences", below).

These *hē* were said to be brought later to the ritual house and put up there, but I never saw them in that place. Local opinions on their significance were divided. In B. ʔmphāi Luang they said it should remind the dead to recognize his cups and other belongings among many in the land of the dead. They also like to use soot to draw designs as reminders. More truth seems to be in the explanation that the *hē* should advise the dead he may not return, and should go to the Lawā village below the earth in the west where the dead lead the same life as before on earth. This idea might be acceptable as we shall see later when other devices for keeping the dead from coming back are related.

Neither explanation was confirmed, and the men of B. Chāngm̄ N̄ōi and B. Chāngm̄ Man̄d rejected the first one. They said it is not a sign of recognition but simply of practical use for squeezing in a torch, and in fact, the same shape is made for this purpose out of iron

1. Obayashi (1966: 252/53) saw only two wailing women at the death of a 32-year-old man in B. ʔmphāi Luang in April 1963, but they as well as the mourning people were sitting in the same order as we have seen it. Kunstadter (1968: 17) observed at the death of a 2-year-old boy in B. Pā Pāe in December 1966: "When he is pronounced dead, there is an immediate loud wailing from the women in attendance." In B. La'ub they said that all young people must go *yūeam-lāe lāe* or else pay a fine of 5 baht per day. On wailing see Grambo (1971).

in B. Ho', B. Khōng, and possibly other villages. My opinion is, however, if ever they make V-spirals of iron for attaching their torches, which I have never seen, this practical purpose has nothing to do with the small and fragile *hē* on the dead man's terrace. I firmly believe that there is a meaning they kept secret and did not let us penetrate, an identical attitude as with the "death game" (cf. *tarē*, section c). Still, in a culture where the buffalo sacrifice plays such an eminent role, I tentatively suggest that the V-shape of the *hē* could be symbolic for *bovine bucrania* as shown in Červíček (1976: 247, fig. 20) of a rock engraving from the Hamasén region, Eritrea.

Cross in a winnowing basket. A boy painted hastily with betel lime a somewhat slanting cross in a flat winnowing basket which seems to be an abbreviation of the design used for the "death game". The *gorid* Ling strewed some rice upon the cross, and murmuring invocations he poured some alcohol on the ground. The winnowing basket is used to contain the food for the dead. At burial it is put down at the grave. In B. Pā Pāe it does not exist.

Duration of the wake. The wake in the Umphāi group of villages may last from three to seven days, according to the prestige or wealth of the dead. In B. Sām corpses of very old men stay seven days, adults five days, and children three days. In B. Mūēd Lōng the period is five days if one or two buffaloes are sacrificed, but nine days if there is (a very rare) sacrifice of four buffaloes. In B. Pā Pāe the corpse might stay in the house from three to nine days (Kunstadter 1968: 19). It must always be an odd number of days, but mostly it is not more than three (cf. table 7).

After death in B. Mūēd Lōng (I: 292), B. Gōg Nōi, B. Ho' and B. Khōng the *gorid* must call to the *phī sabaig* in the ritual house: "one of your people has died and now we bury him"; then he will say how many days the body is to be kept in the house. Probably this rite is executed in all the northern Lawā villages.

Lying in state. In the morning of 8 February 1964, reckoned as the first of the three wake days, the burial apparently having been projected for the 10th, the dead boy was firmly wrapped in a red-and-black-checked cloth and bound with white cotton cord in four places (head, feet and two places in between; figs. 42a, 42b). In B. Pā Pāe old men tie legs and arms (Kunstadter 1968: 20).² He was lying along the small side of the house with his head in a northern direction

2. Turner (1971: 49) writes of the North Thai that hands, feet, and knees are bound. "A satang coin is put into the mouth... a pre-Buddhist practice to help the spirit pay his way" (p. 50). "During the wake there is laughing and joking, playing games and eating." According to Le May (1925: 167) the Lue in northeastern Thailand tie the hands as well as the feet together with white thread. Flowers, candles and a boat, moulded of wax, are placed in the dead man's hands. "The boat is supplied to carry him across the vast Ocean of Eternity, and to help him escape from the relentless Wheel of Life." This reminds of a *tung*, a small wooden stand I have seen put up at the side of a dead person in a *wat* of B. B5 Luang; seven small wooden 'oars' were hanging from it with which to row over that ocean (Kauffmann, 1968: 292).

The Mon, as Halliday says (1922: 30), put a chew and a piece of money into the mouth of a corpse. "The two thumbs are tied together, and the big toes with cotton thread." Lemoine (1972: 108) mentions of the Hmong (Miao): "le corps étroitement lié aux chevilles, aux genoux, aux hanches et aux épaules par des bandes en toile de chanvre blanche." Chindarsi (1976: 82) relates of the Hmong Njua (Blue Maeo): "the corpse must be washed and dressed in new clothes... because it is believed that the dead man will then be accepted by the ghost people in the other world, and also that the people who clean the corpse will gain good fortune." Thiele (1975: 101) remarks of the Chinese in northern Taiwan: "As soon as death occurs the deceased man will be washed and clothed with his shroud. Some coins are put into the coffin. The dead man will be kept in the house of mourning up to 49 days (7 × 7)."

under a bamboo frame bent ovoid about 60 cm high, the lattice of which consisted of squares 12 x 12 cm. In front, at the feet, it was about 35 cm wide; towards the head, about 60 cm. In its interior at two places bamboo cords were braced over the dead to keep the frame in its form. Over the lower part of the frame a red-and-white-checked cloth was hung, over the head part a white one. Behind near the head were hanging two carrying bags and a little basket, at the wall was a board with some burning candles, a kind of altar; and just before the candles, hiding them, were six new coloured cloths hanging on a string, narrowly folded (Thai : *phākhāumā*), belonging to the family. This hanging of cloths (Thai, Lawā : *khruang gōd*) serves to tell the dead person "we all of your family have come to help at your death". After burial the owners of the cloths take them back again. A corresponding ritual in B. Pā Pāe is described by Kunstadter (1968: 32).

The helping at death is of special importance. *Khun* Suchāt said that both of us would be allowed to accompany the coffin-makers only if we would 'help'.

Under the head of the dead some wooden sticks were placed as a pillow (Obayashi 1966: 252-53; Kunstadter 1968: 20). *Khun* Suchāt said that over the dead was hanging a string touching the wooden floor on both sides to indicate his width, because the boards of the width of the dead would be torn (not cut) out at full length of the floor and thrown out of the house later. Afterwards they put in new boards. This custom, he said, the Lawā called *ramōs* and does not exist in his village B. B5 Luang. In B. Pā Pāe women remove the floor board (Kunstadter 1968: 47).

Making a coffin. While the two gravediggers (Lawā : *pa gaung-to*; Thai : *sābpārā*; a third one had died) were preparing the two thatch layers for the roof of the grave hut, we descended at 11.15 hrs. with five men, each of another village, on a steep path shortly behind the western end of the village down to the rivulet Huai Mā Omphāi. There the coffin (Lawā : *kho' phī yum*) was to be made. This work was directed by the 70-year-old *Nāi* Pūd, *gorid* and only potter of B. Chāngmō Luang.

Before arriving there the four young men took to the left and made a steep ascent through dense thorny bushes to the tree to be felled which had been marked beforehand for such a case.³ While waiting at the rivulet, we heard the young men hacking at the tree and cutting off the branches. In 1964 it was said that there ought to have been made an offering of a leaf-parcel containing rice, dried meat and a black cotton thread to the female tree-spirit. Such a female spirit is believed to live in every tree, and with this sacrifice she is also asked to stay a long time with the dead and watch that the coffin might not break soon.⁴ *Nāi* Pud did not climb up, but

3. The tree was ordinary white wood (Lawā : *kho' khro*; Thai : *mai ngiu*) for this 'small custom' funeral. In B. Pā Pāe, for a 'big custom' funeral with a buffalo sacrifice, a redwood to be fetched from quite far away is prescribed (Kunstadter 1968: 29). In most villages *kho' khro* is used for ordinary villagers, but in some villages for *samang* or when a buffalo is sacrificed *kho' retum* must be used, a hardwood, the best of all. For rich people in B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang and B. Pāe' also *kho' reni* (Thai : *mā'faen*) may be employed (cf. table 7).

4. Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1962: 120) mentions the belief of the Thai that "every big tree in a forest is supposed to be the residence of a tree spirit either male or female. A tree with certain usefulness... has a female spirit called *nang-mai* (นางไม้) or wood nymph, while a tree with no such economic value... has a male spirit called *rukha devada* (รุกขเทวดา) or tree angel."

made the offering afterwards when the tree trunk had thundered down. He did this rapidly in an unwatched moment before I had time to use the camera.

In 1968, on the contrary, the informants said that there is no sacrifice for the *phī* of the tree felled to make a coffin. But as soon as the tree trunk is split into halves an offering of rice and meat is given to the spirit of the dead. The offerer calls the dead's name: "This will be your house, please help that we will make it so strong and beautiful that it does not break."

This following description from Kunstadter may be taken as accurate (1968 : 29-30), being a very similar proceeding noted from B. Pā Pāe.

After the felling a chicken is killed and its blood smeared on the log. "The eldest man present conducts the ritual and prays, calling to the dead person's spirit asking the coffin to be a good one, that the wood will not crack while it is being carved and that the men will not cut their hands and feet while they are working." Then the chicken is roasted, a small bit with rice and salt on a leaf offered beside the log for the dead person's spirit which is considered to be the owner of this wood. The men, except those of the dead person's lineage, eat the rest of the chicken. Thereupon the log is wedged apart.

The young men still had to help the tree roll closer to a small open space near the rivulet, then at once they started to partially cut off the bark with their chopping knives or billhooks (Thai: *phrāō*—Rangsit 1942-45: 699; in Umphāi, *rangōng*) which are exactly like those of the Nagas in Assam and the Chittagong hill tribes (Kauffmann 1962b: 114, fig. 1). The cutting edge is curved slightly inside, and the broad end of the blade has two points. One of the men rapidly cut wooden wedges, then the four turned the trunk to and fro to decide how it could be best halved. They next drove three wedges in a line with vigorous blows, first at one end, then two more in between, and still one or two more after the wedges had fully entered the log. At the same end two wedges were driven in farther above, and the same was done at the other end of the trunk (fig. 43). While doing this they alternately helped by hacking along the separating line. More and more the cleft was opening and after more than half an hour of very hard work the trunk cracked and split into halves.

Meanwhile *Nāi* Pūd had killed a small chicken, plucked and singed it. A man washed it in the rivulet, then *Nāi* Pūd stuck small bits of it on twigs to roast them over a fire. When he had finished he went over to the two halves of the coffin-to-be and measured with a blade of grass the length and breadth taken from the dead man (fig. 44).⁵ With axe and billhook all was cut down in front and behind except a projecting peg at each end. Then started the protracted work of hollowing out the coffin as well as the lid with the axe (fig. 45). Both were exactly the same and finally fitted quite well. When the roughest work was finished, the inside was smoothed, with the iron shoe of the digging stick (Rangsit 1942-45: 699; in Umphāi, *krimo*) being used as a plane, and again and again with the axe they hacked transversally to diminish the wood pieces to be taken out. Following this they hacked off on the outside as much as possible and with this

5. Srisawasdi (1963a: 188) relates that "if one puts a dead one into the coffin it must be fitting; in case it is too short the makers of the coffin must pay a fine of half a *pīb* (about 10 litres) of unhusked rice, if it has the correct size they get as a reward a pig's foot and silver hook-money weighing three baht" (1 baht = 15g). Although this statement was not verified to us, it is a matter of fact that during a funeral in some cases fines are to be paid (e.g. not to come to the house of the deceased person for singing) or compensations: *samang* households must make a gift of a litre of rice "because they are tabooed from participating in the funeral and burial preparations" (Kunstadter 1968: 40).

the last of the bark disappeared (fig. 46). All the time the working men checked the thickness of the wall, but in spite of doing so they could not avoid hacking a hole through it.

At 15.00 hrs. we ate our frugal lunch of chicken and hill rice, after which more finishing work was done. Finally, when the wall was about 1 cm thick, they pierced a hole with a point of the billhook into the two protruding ends. Nearly unnoticed and in haste the *gortid* Pūd had laid down rice and dried meat where the log had been worked first, and in doing so he had murmured prayers (cf. Kunstadter's report). Then a man pulled a black thread through the holes at both protruding ends of the coffin (fig. 47), to indicate the lower or female coffin half on which the lid or male half is placed. Meanwhile another one had already found a suitable liana, cut off its shoots, and cut lengths for fastening the coffin to a bamboo, which a third man had cut ready. By 16.15 hrs. the last blow had fallen, and in no time everything was packed up and in an hour we had climbed up again the steep hill at a glowing heat and deposited the coffin in front of the ritual house where they tinted its interior white with rice flour.

A small coffin costs 10 baht, a big one 15 baht, but in this case it was gratis because the mother of the dead boy was a widow.

Singing. On this first day of the wake the people in and outside the deadhouse were quite cheerful, laughing freely at the side of the dead boy. An old Karēn from the neighbouring village of B. Mā Aeb close to the dead boy slowly danced around his carrying bag in which he had brought chillies and salt. While dancing he was singing a song (Lawā: *yue am*) only sung at death cases. The Karēn of B. Mā Aeb and the Lawā of the Umphāi group have long-standing good bartering relations. From time to time the big drums and the gong were beaten, all the time calling the people to the death-house where youngsters were singing in the evening. After 21.00 hrs. a group came from B. Den, while another one from the Chāngmō villages was still awaited. So the events proceeded during this night and also the following ones. Those of B. Omphāi Luang who do not attend must pay 1 rupee and 1 bottle of rice alcohol for every day missed (Obayashi 1966: 252-53).

In B. Pā Pāe from midnight to dawn bachelors and maidens sang every night at the dead person's house. They complained of their tiredness and their sore throats. "Funerals offer an important opportunity for courtship, especially . . . between villages, as guests are invited . . . especially if the dead person's family has relatives there." (Kunstadter 1968: 23, 25, 27).

Thread-squares. In the morning of the second day (9 February 1964), the *gortid* made the 25 thread-squares (or thread-crosses; Northern Thai: *pīn*) given to every dead male in B. Omphāi Luang, and attached them to a thin bamboo stick which he stuck into the wall in the ritual house. The whole bundle hanging down was about 80 cm long (fig. 48). The squares generally consist of a cross of flat bamboo or thin wooden sticks which are narrowly wound around from one end to the next with multicoloured threads, forming a square (Kauffman 1964: 420). The *gortid* made the thread-squares in an extremely cursory way, and some of them were hardly recognizable as such. The flat bamboo splinters forming the cross were askew or about to slip out. Only a single thread-square was well made, of a size of 6 × 6 cm. But even on this one the threads were not wound narrowly. All the thread-squares were made from one reel of thread

on which threads of four colours (red, yellow, white and black) were intertwined; they were thereby all connected without a break from the first to the last thread-square. The remainder of the spool was put on the bamboo from which the thread-squares were hanging. The system of hanging the 25 thread-squares in B. Ōmphāi Luang was verified by *Khun* Suchāt and myself (fig. 49; cf. the version of 1962 in Kauffmann 1968: Abb. 17, p. 285). Having hung the thread-square bundle, the *gorid* Ling sacrificed rice on leaves, a little piece of chicken, a small bowl of chicken broth, and a pinetorch below the bundle, in a flat winnowing basket.

In B. Chāngmō Manōd (of the six villages in the Umphāi group called in Lawā *yuang salōng*) 25 plus three thread-squares were hung up for a dead baby. The three odd ones, they said, were "only for decoration". In B. Pā Pāe old women make 14 thread-squares, called *mbong byang*, with cotton yarn of the same colours: red, yellow, white and black. Together with them they make *lacong thia*, a bamboo traversed by three smaller bamboos stuck at right angles from each other, and from the ends of which dangle roses, cigarettes and matches (Kunstadter 1968: 32). These *lacong thia* seem to be unknown in all other Lawā villages. The two funeral devices, *mbong byang* and *lacong thia*, are first hung on the string over the dead person, and on the last day taken down, put into the basket containing other grave goods, and finally, at burial, hung over the head end of the grave hut (Kunstadter 1968: 43, 49). The *phū chuai* Bun Lā at B. Pā Pāe however, told us that 15 thread-crosses are given to a dead man if a pig has been sacrificed to his spirit, and 30 are given if the sacrifice is a buffalo. The uppermost has a diameter of about 25 cm, the others are 6 × 6 cm, and they are hung up in front of the grave hut.

Apart from the Umphāi group and B. Pā Pāe we noted thread-squares only from three other villages. In B. Sām one bundle of nine and one of seven *pīn*, altogether 16, are put up on sticks to the right and left of the grave hut front. They are made by an old woman (cf. B. Pā Pāe and B. La'ub) and are given to women as well in case a buffalo has been sacrificed. Their meaning is unknown. In B. Mūēd Lōng nine thread-squares, here not called *pīn* but *lējog* (cf. "Glossary"), are hung up from a stick put at the head of the grave. In B. La'ub exists a group of six old women called *pia' poeng tā guad liag nueng nōng* who prepare everything in cases of death, including the 16 *pīn* which are laid on the dead woman's chest to be buried with her. The meaning is unknown and nobody wanted to speak of such ominous things. Of the northern villages only in B. La'āng Nuea was it said that formerly thread-squares were used but now no more.

The thread-square in a way looks like a cobweb, and indeed, by some people (e.g. the Tibetans) it is used as a device for catching demons or at least for warding them off. Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 172) hint at this meaning with the Lawā of Umphāi. Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1967) has written on 'cobweb' flags of the Lao (cf. Kauffmann 1968: 296-97). The construction and use of the thread-square makes it strictly different from the *talāeo*, which is a sign of prohibition for men and especially spirits and consists of an open plaited work of bamboo splices without any threads (Kauffmann 1964: 420-21). Funke (1960: 142) has erroneously remarked that all houses in Umphāi show thread-squares for apotropaic purposes; he has confused them with *talāeo* which I often have seen there, while thread-squares are never to be found in a village, only at graves.

The informants, after some discussion, agreed that the Thai word *pīn* for thread-square was correct everywhere. The word *pīn* is explained in the dictionary of the Royal Academy (Bangkok, 1967) to be tantamount to *ta' gai* (ตะกั่ว), to scramble up or clamber up, and, in fact, it is thought to be a ladder to the realm of the dead; others have said "a ladder to heaven, not to fall into hell", but this clearly originates from the well-known Buddhist conception. When putting up the *pīn* at the grave an elder says: "If five days have passed, 'go now away'; if seven days have passed, 'now have a rest'; and if nine days have passed, 'now eat for the last time at your *mbueang*'." (cf. "Glossary"). Some people call the thread-square *dyóksedyá*, but this is a confusion with another device (see section 3d, and "Glossary").

Finishing the coffin. On this morning both halves of the coffin were lying open in front of the ritual house (fig. 50). Similarly as in B. Sām and in B. La'ub, the coffin was put in front of the ritual house, but in B. La'ub coffins are brought empty to the grave and not with the corpse as in B. Ōmphāi Luang. In B. Pā Pā the two halves of the coffin are put hollow-side down alongside the house of the dead person (Kunstadter 1968: 30); also in B. Dong the coffin is put in front of the house of the deceased man.

In the afternoon the gong was beaten many times. By 17.00 hrs the coffin and the other paraphernalia were all ready. At one end of the coffin lid, flat holes were hollowed out in which four 50-satang coins and a cowrie fitted exactly (fig. 51). At the other end two 50- and two 5-satang pieces and a cowrie were inserted as well. With rich people the whole lid is filled with coins of higher value; also the lids are afterwards painted by young men with colour made of pounded lime, charcoal, and turmeric. Kunstadter (1968: 39) describes the painting of the top of the coffin of a two-year-old boy in B. Pā Pā with black and white figures. He describes designs of three patterns for 'small' and 'big custom' funerals, but all three are very different from the drawings on a coffin of B. Ōmphāi Luang that M.C. Sanidh Rangsit photographed in 1938 (fig. 52); similar to these were the figures we have seen in B. Chāngmō Manōd on the small coffin of a baby. Kunstadter remarked of B. Pā Pā (1968: 40) that when the work is finished, curry, rice and liquor are offered at its side as an inducement for the dead person's spirit to take up its new dwelling place.

Paraphernalia. At the side of the coffin a *mbueang* was leaning against the ritual house, a post given to every dead person (fig. 53). It was 1.2 m high, had three superficial notches around it, and one more 10 cm below them. The top was ringed round by a strip of sheet metal. There were five white lines below, each 1 cm wide, executed in paint (not carved). On top an aluminium plate was nailed. Similar to the thread-squares this also was very flimsy work. The boy was poor and not even married. There was no buffalo to be sacrificed, and consequently neither *tarē* nor *chua la'māng*; he did not get a *dyóksedyá* and his coffin was not to be painted. Of course, he could not get a *nām* post put up for male *samang* as only his mother was of *samang* descent, not his father, and she had no *samang phī*. He was only Lúa (Thai: *phrai*/ไพร่), an ordinary man.

The *gorid* killed a chicken in front of the ritual house and smeared its blood on the *mbueang*.⁶ At the side were lying two pairs of bamboo sticks joined crosswise (fig. 54), each bamboo having a length of 80-100 cm; they are called *galae* as are the big house horns, and are later stuck into the earth at both ends of the grave hut to carry the bamboo ridge piece. The two relevant layers of thatch for the roof also were lying there. The very same ridge piece was used to carry the newly made coffin up the hill, and later would be used to carry it to the grave.⁷

Fear of dead spirits. When we approached the ritual house a couple of little boys, terrified to see us foreigners, rushed out and, stumbling over the steps, fell down. Seeing this their fathers were frightened that the spirit of the dead boy would take them away. Each of them gave the *gorid* Ling an egg and asked that he should save his son by magically making his *khwān*⁸ enter the egg. Using a split piece of bamboo while murmuring incantations, the *gorid* shoved the eggs into a basket, and gave them back to the families who could eat them or not.

On 10 February, when we were leaving B. Omphāi Luang, I tried to take a snapshot of some men and women working on the construction of a wall of a new house where a big but already much disarranged *talāeo* was fixed. Suddenly the house owner *Nāi Thū* of the foremost and wealthiest *samang* family burst out with a fit of rage, shouting wildly and raising his fists menacingly against me. He wanted to prevent my taking him, his family, and his house into my little box where the *phī* of the dead boy, buried this very morning, was residing. He had seen my taking pictures during the wake and was afraid of the spirit's wrath which might bring disaster upon them all and his new house.

These short incidents show the extreme fear of the Lawā about deceased peoples' spirits, which are believed to be able to cause illness (Kunstadter 1968: 17). After an interment nobody would ever go to the burial site, thinking it to be haunted by these spirits, and it is not astonishing that the Lawā never want to indicate the whereabouts of their graveyards.⁹

A sacrifice by the gorid. Continuing his activities in the funeral rites the *gorid* went up into the ritual house where a number of men, already more or less drunk, were noisily arguing. Some of them again beat gong and drums. The *gorid* squatted in the corner where he had made the sacrifice earlier when hanging up the thread-squares. Before him he again put a flat winnowing basket with many small leaf parcels tied with bamboo strings. With lightning speed he tore open these parcels filled with food and at each one he called the name of another ancestor spirit (*phī la'māng*). All was accomplished in not even two minutes.

6. One unconfirmed version from Umphāi, given by the headman Ping Chumphut, said that on the burial day a reddish bitch is killed at the side of the thick *ngiu*-post (cf. I: 286) near the ritual house, and its blood is smeared on the new *mbueang*. Later, who wants to eat of the meat may do so; the rest is thrown downhill into the jungle.

7. Kraisri Nimmanahaeminda (1966: 148) describes a nearly identical custom of the Northern Thai: "Bamboo poles which were used to carry their remains from the house to the burial ground were cut up and sunk into the ground above the heap of earth over the grave in the form of two upright crossed sticks (Pl. II-c). They appeared like the front and the rear bargeboards of an old-style house."

8. The meaning of *khwān* (ขวัญ - Thai) has been defined as "something in the nature of a principle of life, vital to the welfare of man and animals" (Rajadon 1962: 119).

9. The somewhat enlightened headman Mueang Pung of B. Pae' remarked: "Even if not afraid one ought to leave the dead people in peace and not go around there."

Burial. On 10 February the burial was to be performed at about 8.00 hrs. But when we arose, before 7.00, all had taken place while it was still dark. It was apparent that the *gorid* and maybe the other Lawā also did not like us to assist. They cleverly had fooled us and tried to persist in this manner when they told us that the grave was far away at Chāngmō or so. On the day before we had looked for it and not found it. Certainly it was an error to ask the *gorid* to accompany us to the burial ground; two years earlier our guide Nāi Kritsadā Premānon had been more astute by not telling anyone and going with me secretly.

The grave. When we abruptly had left B. Omphāi Luang at 9.30 hrs, resenting the tricks played on us, *Khun* Suchāt and I sneaked up to the burial ground, finding nothing. But *Khun* Suchāt had good instincts,—he went further on to the west on the small jungle ridge and we came to a glade: there it was, the new grave (fig. 55), and 2 m to its left, negligently thrown away, were the thread-squares. According to the picture of Steinmann and Rangsit (1939 : 172, Abb. 6) we put them up in front of the grave for photographing.

As with everything else at this interment, the grave was made very superficially. The big bamboo ridge-piece had already fallen in front and was only supported by the so-called *galae* behind (fig. 56). The two roof layers were hastily thrown over it, a pitiable sight. The inside of the hut was filled with a longish carrying basket full of clothes. At the side was lying a nice gourd bottle plaited around with bamboo and a small basket for the chicken which was set free at the grave.

There is a film taken in 1938 by M.C. Sanidh Rangsit showing a funeral procession at B. Omphāi Luang. Only men take part. In front a man is carrying the stick with the thread-squares hanging down, then come the bearers with the corpse in the open coffin and those with grave offerings.

This day-by-day narration of a case of death in B. Omphāi Luang has come to its end. But as the observation of the actual burial was spoiled for us in the following paragraphs I quote excerpts from Kunstadter's rather complete description of a burial in B. Pā Pā (1968 : 42-3). On the third day of the wake, when "it is about 16.30... and time for the spirit to leave", two of the older men unwrap the corpse and untie the bindings around arms and legs. "The untying is said to symbolize the cutting of the bonds between the living and the dead^[10]... The spirit is again told that it is no longer a relative and no longer lives here. The corpse is wrapped up again and receives 24 cowries from the child's father... These cowries represent 1,200 Baht, and are given to the spirit to use as the price of buffaloes, dogs, an irrigated field, or whatever else is owned by the survivors of the household... The spirit is told that this is a property settlement—the spirit should take the money, and not bother the real possessions

10. In B. Sām and B. Khōng they bind the corpse in four places: big toes, ankles, knees and chest. These strings are cut in B. Sām before, in B. Khōng after laying the dead into the coffin "or the dead people could not walk overthere".

of the living."¹¹ This property settlement is the same "as in the case of a household fission" (p. 10). The dead boy is put on a mat and a cloth into the coffin in the house. Without its lid the coffin is attached to a bamboo pole and, feet first, carried to the open porch where the father and relatives put burning candles on the edge of the coffin and on the carrying pole (p. 47). They already had lighted candles every night and placed them on house beams over the head of the dead boy. "The offering of these candles earns merit for their donor" (p. 43).

It is the duty of older men including all *lām* to participate at the burial. Coffin-makers and *samang* must not go. The procession to the grave consists of the following:

1. Two men carrying possessions of the dead person in shoulder bags.
2. One *lām* carrying a chicken, another a burning stick from the fire of the death-house.
3. The lid of the coffin with a water jar.
4. Chicken and rice in the pot in which it was cooked that morning at the ritual house.
5. A spear, made the day before as a grave offering.¹²
6. The coffin itself with the corpse, feet first.
7. Men carrying baskets with grave offerings.

When they reach the other side of the rivulet Māe Amlang, the *lām* carrying the chicken kills it and throws it away, then the men approaching the cemetery cough loudly to warn the spirits of their arrival (p. 47). "Another chicken, given by the grandmother of the dead child, is released unharmed, at the cemetery for the spirit to raise" (p. 48; cf. *Ōmphāi Luang*, above).

The spot for the grave is selected and cleaned,¹³ whereupon the men dig the grave about 80 cm deep. The oldest *lām* calls the *phī la'māng* while dumping out the basket with small rice packages.¹⁴ The men stop for a drink. Two sticks are laid across the grave, and the coffin bottom with lighted candles on its edge is put on them. The carrying pole is untied, and one of the *lām* opens the shrouds exposing the head of the corpse. One of the elders shouts at the dead man:

11. Although we have no data for B. Dong and B. Pā Pāe, we may securely assume that everywhere the Lawā put coins into the mouths of their dead people before laying them in the coffin, how much depending on personal wealth: one *thāeb* (= 1 rupee) or more for the rich, one *win* (= 12 satang) or two *win* for the poor. Special customs are observed in B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang and B. Pae': satangs are not only put into the mouth but also into the ears, on the eyes, on the heart, and, in the two last-named villages, into the hands. In the *Ōmphāi* group, moreover, a woven cotton belt with an inbuilt little pouch filled with satangs is wound around the corpse; formerly it was also used by living people. In B. Pā Pāe they use a moneybelt containing a silver rupee and an old ball-like Thai silver coin in the same way (Kunstadter 1968: 20).

The gift of 24 cowries (one cowrie has a fictitious value of 50 baht) as spirit money for the other world is reminiscent of the burning of fake paper money for the dead by the Chinese.

12. On the second day of the wake, men in B. Pā Pāe make grave offerings in about one quarter their normal size: a covered basket for clothing, an eating tray, a fish net, a miniature knife with its sheath, a hoe, a weeding tool, a sickle, a spear, a sword "each with its crudely made iron blade... not well made... but they will do for the spirit... to make the upland field, and to carry on life there in the normal Lua's way" (Kunstadter 1968: 35).

13. For choosing a grave-site some people around the Lawā have a custom not known to the Lawā. I have learnt from the Kachin in Upper Burma that they choose the grave-site by throwing an egg—if it breaks, the grave is made there; if not, a new try is made. Le May (1925: 167-68) relates a similar custom with an egg in a bag of the Lue in northeastern Thailand. Archaimbault (1963: 14-15) describes the same custom from northeastern Thailand and the Lao. Mandorff (1971: 151) describes a variation of the Lisu in northeastern Thailand.

14. The old women of B. Pā Pāe also prepare grave offerings: little packages of rice, corn, pumpkin, beans, cotton, flower seeds, bitse, of taro, limepeppers, tobacco, matches, "and everything else that is used in the village" (Kunstadter 1968: 36).

Take your last look at the earth!
 Look up at the distant sky!
 We are burying you in the earth!

The shroud is refolded; grave offerings, each painted with a white lime stripe, are put into the coffin,¹⁵ the top is put on and the coffin lowered into the ground. At each end of the coffin a pole is set up and the earth filled in (p. 48). A pole is tied between the two uprights, grass roof shingles are leant against it, and baskets with grave offerings are laid down at the foot end of the grave.

When going home, the burial party washes hands and faces at the rivulet where also cups with *sompōi*¹⁶ are put for purifying by washing their hair and cleanse knives and hoes. Meanwhile the floorboard is replaced and an altar *mbah nyaa* is built at the housepost next to where the body's head had been lying. A black and a white chicken are killed at this altar. The oldest *lām* offers them and prays that the spirit should go away; he pours water on them and throws all away with the altar (p. 49). Finally there is a large offering, called *lūt*, of all kinds of food. One old man tells at dusk that the sun is coming up, as nighttime for the living is daytime in the land of the spirits (cf. II, 182). The prayer over the *lūt* should persuade the *phī la'māng* that this is the final offering and that it should take it and nevermore return to the land of the living (p. 51-2).

Burial customs of the northern Lawā. In the northern Lawā villages of B. Gōg Nōi, B. Hō', B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang, and B. Pae', two young men carry the empty coffin in the early morning to the grave site. In the afternoon groups of old men bring the corpse to the grave for burying. In B. Dong and B. La'ub, any men may carry the coffin to the grave; and in the afternoon at B. Dong a burial group of 18, at B. La'ub one of 21 old men, both groups called *tā guad liag nueng nōng*, bring the corpse wrapped in a shroud, a fine mat (made only in B. Dong) and a coarse bamboo mat tied to a stout bamboo to the grave. There they put the dead man wrapped in the cloth and the fine mat into the coffin (cf. table 7).

Another custom of the northern villages is that people are not allowed to start grave digging. For this purpose they hire a poor Karēn who receives for his work a chicken, a bottle of alcohol, a minimum of 10 baht, and lustral water for washing his face and hands as a purifying rite. All the men participating must wash in the same way and dry their hands over a fire, not with a cloth. After the Karēn has begun digging, the Lawā themselves finish the grave. We have taken notes on this procedure from B. Mūēd Lōng, B. Hō', B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang, B. Pae', B. Dong, and B. La'ub. In B. Dong grave digging is started by *Nai Khampég* whose father is Karēn and mother Lawā; if he dies without a son, a Karēn must be found to begin digging. If needs be B. La'ub calls *Nai Khampég* from neighbouring B. Dong (cf. table 7).

15. Quite certainly everywhere personal belongings as clothes or cups are put into the coffin and so buried. Generally also on or close to the grave are put tools or weapons for a man and spinning wheel or cotton-gin (Rangsit 1942-45: 698, in Umphāi : *pāng khīt thā*) for a woman (cf. table 7).

16. Lustral water is made by roasting pods of *sompōi* (Lawā: *sam pug*; *acacia concinna* DC.), crushing them into small pieces, and soaking them in water which will take the colour of tea (cf. II: 200).

In B. Pae' the burial is on the *lamói lue'* (great burial ground), but there is also a minor one at a certain spot in the forest, the *lamói tia'* (small burial ground) where mats, clothes and all what had been used by the deceased person is thrown away. The cups out of which the burying people have drunk must be left at the grave. It was said that this is the custom in all villages—most probably, but this could not be verified. In B. Bō Luang and other villages of the plateau (B. Giu Lom, B. Khun, B. Wang Gōng, B. Nā Fōn, B. Māe Sa'nām) china cups used by the dead person are broken and strewn on the path to the burial ground.

Spirit in the grave hut. It is a peculiarity of the Lawā to erect a little hut over the grave which is not practised by any other people of the region. It is made of two layers of thatch leaning against a bamboo ridge-pole supported by two *galae* at the front and the rear (fig. 55). In two villages we learnt that instead of thatch the roof is made of bamboo halves laid alternately up and down into each other: in B. Sam if a buffalo is sacrificed, and in B. Pae' for *samang* (cf. table 7).

In B. Pae' they told us that in the grave hut the spirit of the buried person is residing. The same idea Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 172) have observed for Umphāi when they called it a "soul-hut". In fact, in B. Pā Pā, 1964, an informant said the hut was to serve as a protection of the corpse against sun and rain, and as the house of the soul as well (Lawā: *albmāi dsomyog*; Thai: *winyān*). Actually, else a difference between soul and *phī la'māng* is recognized. How this differing view could be reconciled we have no means to decide. At any rate, the idea of the spirit's dwelling in its hut accounts for the fear to go to the graveyard.

The spirit is never fed at this hut but, in the south, on the *mbueang* post, and, in the north, on the path to the graveyard; so the spirit must be imagined to have quite a degree of mobility from the grave hut to the place where food is offered. Another question arises: how is this staying of the spirit in its grave hut compatible with the idea that dead people go to the realm of the other world? Certainly, logic in the eschatology of the Lawā is too much to ask for.

(b) *Another case of death*

When I visited B. Chāngmō Manōd, belonging to the Umphāi group of six villages, on 26 December 1968 with *Khun* Suchāt, near the door of one house was lying the little corpse of a two-month-old baby wrapped securely in a white cloth. There was no low-arched frame of bamboo lattice over it as in B. Omphāi Luang. On the corpse was laid a candle, before it was put a flat winnowing basket with some pork and rice liquor, and in the midst of this basket was standing a burning candle. On the porch a dozen men were sitting, drinking rice-alcohol and already very drunk. Though we had offered some money they would not allow us to take pictures and shouted at us in rather rough and nasty tones. After our bad experience with the houseowner in B. Omphāi Luang in 1964 this was the second case to show that the Lawā in certain situations must be treated cautiously.

We were surprised to find in front of the *nyoe' nyū* of B. Chāngmō Manōd the little coffin, painted with black circles and lines, together with thread-squares, a *mbueang* and the two *galae* showing that even this little baby was to receive a grave hut. This struck us because we had

thought that little children are buried without circumstance. When the *gorid* Ling of B. Omphāi Luang accompanied us in 1964 to the burial ground he said that the graves were in a line for B. Yāēg, B. Den, to the left for B. Omphāi Luang and somewhat farther to the right behind for all children.¹⁷

The *gorid* also pretended that, for making place, bones are thrown out; in fact, a skull (brachycephalic) was lying around. But there were about a half dozen graves in an irregular row to be recognized only by shallow cavities. All the little huts were decayed without a trace; only on the grave of *Lung Gaeo* (cf. I: 262, II: 199, fig. 20), who had died a year ago (1963), there still was the bamboo ridge-pole on its *galae*.

In 1962 when I first visited the burial ground of Umphāi I found three graves still with grave huts, even if in a desolate state. Bundles of 25 thread-squares were hanging on the ridge-poles of two graves. At one gravesite was stuck a buffalo skull. Looking a bit around I found a nice china cup of modern production.

(c) *Rituals after death*

The tarē. At the side of this last grave was lying a winnowing fan on which a strange design had been made with lime (fig. 57), the same as had been drawn inside a gong in B. Omphāi Luang (fig. 38). At each of the four ends of a cross were three prongs (or else a circle; fig. 58). Later I saw a photograph of *M.C. Sanidh Rangsit* showing men sitting around such a design, and I thought it might be a game. I asked Professor Obayashi to inquire when he set out for Umphāi. When he did in the Sgō Karēn village of B. Māē Thō Luang, the people refused to speak and abruptly left him. He concluded (1964a: 209, 214 note 34) that it must be something like the Thai game "Tiger eats cattle" (Thai: *suea gin wua*/เสือกินวัว); or the Burmese game *shwe la min kya*, "golden moon - king tiger" (Dennis 1952: 107/08). Indeed, in B. Pā Pāē they play a game called *saeng* during all the nights of a wake: four tigers must eat 11 birds or be enclosed by them (*saeng paon*; *paon*, four) at a "small custom" funeral when a pig is sacrificed; or *saeng sate* (*sate*, eight), with more tigers and birds at a "big custom" funeral when a buffalo is sacrificed. This is a winning game used as a ritual, and if it "is played or discussed in detail at times other than funerals, the dead people spirits will be offended, and the living fear that someone else may die". This game *saeng* is also played by northern Thais at funerals (Kunstadter 1968: 25). Still, when we visited B. Pā Pāē in February 1964 the *phū chuai* Bun Lā said that they also execute the *tarē* on all nights during the wake, but only if a buffalo has been sacrificed.

Ironically, I later got the first clue just in the very Sgō Karēn village of B. Māē Thō Luang where they had refused to give an answer to Obayashi. Through these Karēn it became clear that during the nights of a wake they execute a death rite which we before erroneously had supposed

17. Probably children in all northern villages are buried without ceremony on a separate place of the burial ground. So we noted from B. Hō', B. Gōg Luang, and B. Dong (here for children below one year of age; older children are buried like adults). Heavy branches are put on the grave to keep off animals. In B. Bō Luang children up to about five years are buried without ceremony in the same way on a children's graveyard situated in a separate part of the forest. But if the dead child has a younger brother or sister it is buried in the graveyard for adults, and the ceremony for adults is performed. This demonstrates the importance of the relation of older brother or sister to younger siblings. In B. Pā Pāē Kunstadter (1968: 12) reports that dead children become *phī la'māng* of their surviving parents.

to be a game, and that the Lawā had the same rite in most of their villages, calling it *tarē* (or *siang*). In Umphāi, as we were informed by headman Ping Chumphut, as well as in B. La'ub it was expressly stated that it is against custom to speak about the *tarē* or to inquire about it. In B. La'ub he who commits such an offence must pay with a bottle of rice alcohol, two rupees and a *suai dōg* (Thai: สวยตอก, a leaf cone with flowers, etc.).

In B. Omphāi Luang they proceed as follows: men of the family line of the dead person (except *samang* who might only be onlookers) sit around a winnowing basket containing the white *tarē* design which represents four trees (possibly trees of life). After each round they change with other men of the family (fig. 59). Little pieces of charcoal or small stones are put on the prongs, and one man after the other pushes them from his prongs down to the centre; while doing this he calls the dead person by name and says: "this fruit is for you on your way to the land of the dead, please take it". This is repeated monotonously through the whole night and again during the following nights of the wake.

In B. Pā Pāe men only perform the rite in the house of the dead person during the whole night. They use nine pieces of charcoal called *ma'gōg* (Thai: มะกอก, or olive) on a design with three three-pronged trees while the fourth twig ends in a ring (fig. 58a). One man is chosen as speaker. Pointing with a finger to a chip he says: "please take this fruit with you to the other world". Everyone who wants to participate acts in the same way. The winnowing fan is emptied after each round. If a new one begins the chips are put back on the prongs. Before the corpse is carried to the burial ground a very close relative of the dead person says again: "please take this fruit with you to the other world", and this is repeated by the four *lām*. The winnowing fan is finally emptied, and the nine chips are brought in a basket together with the dead man to the grave, where all are thrown away.

With this it is apparent that the *tarē* is no 'game' for winning or losing at all, but a sacred rite generally executed for male dead persons only, or only for *samang* (Umphāi, B. Pae'), or for both sexes if a buffalo has been sacrificed (B. Pā Pāe, B. La'āng Nuea). To the questions why it is executed and why it is kept secret, we did not get an answer, but as there are constantly fruits offered for the way to 'death land' it can be supposed that it is one more urgent invitation to the dead person to leave the living people and go to the ancestors. And the reason why nobody speaks about the *tarē* is fear of offending the dead man's spirit, as Kunstadter has explained for B. Pā Pāe. As to the provenance in B. Khōng they spoke of their *len saeng* (Thai: เล่นแสง, play saeng) as of Karēn origin but did not like to speak more about it (cf. table 7).

Karēn origins. The *tarē* presumably is of Karēn origin, as is attested by the following reports. The Sgō Karēn of B. Mā Thō Luang where the old headman Būe gave us the first information on what they called the *sūekhē* (or *saeng*) had nearly the same rules as what we learned later of the Lawā *tarē*. The men call out to the dead person: "climb up this tree and take all its fruits as last provisions for the journey on the path of the dead". Then they throw the little charcoal pieces on the dead man saying: "please, take this as food".

The Pwo Karēn (informant: Nāi Wang Phādē of B. Mā Hūed / บ้านแม่หิ๊ด) gave explanations on their *saeng-sae* executed for dead men and women alike. It is performed in

front of a death platform (about 2 × 0.5 m, 1 m high) outside the house under a special open roof, as long as the dead person may lay on this platform, from three to five days. Two to four men or women who must be relatives of the dead person are sitting around a winnowing fan containing a design exactly like the *tarē* of the Lawā. If there are more relatives they execute another round until all are through, but everyone might perform it as often as he likes. With a little stick one after another shoves a small piece of charcoal down 'his' tree to the centre calling the name of the dead man and saying: "here I give you this fruit, on your way you will not find anything". When the 12 'fruits' are in the centre one round is finished. The next group must move clockwise a bit further around, only the host, pouring out rice alcohol to the guests, must move counter-clockwise. When the corpse is brought to the grave in some villages they burn the winnowing fan, little sticks and charcoal pieces; in others they put the winnowing fan on the grave about where the stomach of the dead man is supposed to be. Marshall (1922: 201-2, fig. p. 203) has given an excellent description of the *htaw the tha* ("climbing the fruit tree") of the Karēn in Burma, which corresponds to the Lawā *tarē* in some aspects.

Neighbouring peoples also play games during a wake, but these games are never a death rite anxiously kept secret as with the Lawā and Karēn. In Bangkok I have seen people playing a game like draughts during the whole of a wake. Ruth Benedict (1952: 25) writes that while a dead Thai woman was lying in state, "during seven nights neighbours held wake with the family playing chess and cards". According to Archaimbault (1963: 3) in southern Laos relatives and friends play during the wake '*mak thot*' (who gets the shorter straw must drink alcohol) or '*mak suea gin mu*' (four tigers eat pigs or are closed in by them); this game at funerals is also mentioned by Phya Anuman Rajadon and R. Kickert.

The chua la'māng. A second rite, executed in day-time as long as the wake lasts, is the *chua la'māng* (Thai: *ram gra'thob mai* /รำกระตมไม้, the strike-against-wood dance), known also as the bamboo-clapping dance. Five couples of men (in B. Khōng eventually seven; it must be an odd number) are sitting with two bamboo poles (or rice pestles) each, which they clap rhythmically three times on a wooden frame laid on the ground and then once against each other (fig. 60). Generally this is done in common time. One or two men dance or jump between the poles when they are open, and must take care to evade the clapping together or their ankles might be badly bruised. We were told that it is just the fear of such a mishap which chases the spirit of the dead man when he hears the loud clapping of the poles. In B. Pā Pāē (cf. figure in Srisawasdi 1963 b: p. 170) they said that with this dance, starting daily at 14 or 15^h, a gong is beaten but neither drumming nor singing. In some villages (Umphāi group, B. Pā Pāē, B. La'āng Nuea, B. Dong, B. La'ub) it can only take place if at the funeral a buffalo (or a bull, in B. La'ub) has been sacrificed; in B. Pae' it is even only permitted for a dead *samang* (cf. table 7). This would explain why M.C. Sanidh Rangsit alone had the chance of taking pictures, while other ethnographers were handicapped by having observed 'small custom' funerals only. This bamboo clapping dance is also known from the Karēn in Burma who call it *ta se kle* (Marshall 1922: 200, with figure).

At the death ritual *tai glai chūē* of the Pwo-Karēn five couples sit in a row with two long bamboos each, which they clap together in a rhythm of three times to the ground and then two

times together. Only men partake, and only one man at a time is dancing over all five clapping bamboo pairs. Every time he changes from one pair to the next he must make a half turn, so that at one time he enters with his left side first and then with his right side. After him another man dances. This dance is only executed at full or new moon, towards sunset of that day, because then the spirit of the deceased person is supposed to be especially strong and to come to fetch its relatives. When it hears the bamboos clapped it is much afraid of getting its feet squeezed, and so stays away.

To the bamboo-clapping dance of the Sg̃-Kārēn, Young (ed. 1961: 99; ed. 1974: 78) adds some detail, calling it "a stunt which becomes progressively more difficult as the speed of the rhythm increases". It is executed exclusively at funerals as is the *rakhatla* dance of the Lakher and Haka-Chin, but only profanely by the Lushai (Mizo) and Thado-Kuki (Parry 1932: 405/06). Further examples might be mentioned: the Li of Hainan (Seidenfaden 1952: 90), the Atayal of Taiwan (where I have seen the criss-cross fashion); in the Philippines, the Dayak of Borneo, the east Indonesian islands of eastern Flores, Solor (only women dancing), Adonare and Alor, in the latter only at the great feasts for the dead (Niggemeyer 1963: 6) and the Indonesian-Papuan mixed population in the McCluer Gulf of Irian. In B. B5 Luang it is a school sport, in Bangkok an elegant dance of the Fine Arts School as of the Philippine Bayanihan and other troupes (in the Philippines the 'tinikling' or heron dance is very popular). At the Elephant Round-up at Surin I have seen a man jumping and rolling between the clapping poles doing a stunning acrobatic act. So by now the bamboo-clapping dance has degenerated in many places from a death ritual to an amusement of young people, or to a spectacle performed by professional dancers.

Feeding the dead person. Everywhere it is the custom to feed the dead person during the wake. *Khun* Suchāt said three times a day they put a plate with some food at its side, in a similar way as do Thai, Karēn, Maeo, etc. This food usually consists of a bit of cooked rice, chicken, sometimes even pig. Although the killing of one or more buffaloes is mentioned often, I believe it rather to be a kind of 'bragging'. The Lawā are much poorer now than in past years, and they will consider carefully whether the sacrifice of an expensive buffalo is really a necessity. Consequently, what the informants in the various villages have told about buffalo sacrifices must be doubted.

Before burial the dead person is still fed once in the house (in B. Mūēd Lōng by an old woman), then every year after harvest (at the New Year in October-November) on the path to the burial ground in B. Hō', B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang, B. Pae', B. La'āng Tāi, B. Dong and B. La'ub, so in most of the northern Lawā villages, but always they made the restriction: 'if money available' (for pig or buffalo).

In B. Pae' they sacrifice on the path in a small plate like a *sa'tuang* (cf. II: 195): newly cooked rice and chicken or pig (even a buffalo might be sacrificed) by every family line for their dead, and not all together on the same day. In B. La'āng Nuea a pig or buffalo is sacrificed and a buffalo killed for the guests. In B. La'āng Tāi they come nearer the truth, probably valid for the rest of the villages: yearly after harvest every family gives a small and cheap feeding on the path to all of their *phī la'māng*. They call out: "come on all of our family and eat"!

The southern villages put food into the plate nailed on the *mbueang* when this post is put up immediately after burial and for the following three years at New Year, whereupon the deceased people's spirits must look for themselves. In the plate of a *nām* post food is never offered, in the southern villages, namely in the Umphāi group and B. Sām; it may be assumed in B. Pā Pāe also, though nowhere is anything mentioned for that village (cf. table 7).

Kunstadter (1968: 1-7) has studied in B. Pā Pāe the sociological setting of a funeral which depends mainly on kin connexions. The constant feeding of the dead person's spirit during the wake is alternately carried out by parents, patrilineal relatives, in-laws and related groups (p. 8-9c). In this there is a specific order, and everybody knows when it is his turn and what kind of offering he is supposed to contribute. At every sacrifice the spirit is urgently requested to leave its former home for the other world "because the spirits of the dead should no longer live with and bother the living people" (p. 17). So "one of the major functions of the funeral is to be sure that the spirit leaves the village and does not return to harass the living" (p. 17). It is interesting that the Buddhist expression 'merit' appears no less than five times in these feeding rites.

Obayashi (1966: 252-3) is of the opinion that "death of a man is only completed after going through some stages". He is asking: "have the Lawā the conception that a man as long as the wake is lasting is not yet really dead"? And Kunstadter (1968: 10) points to the obstinacy with which the spirit clings to life: "just as the living show their reluctance in giving up the ghost, so the spirit of the dead person apparently is reluctant to give up his association with the living. The ghost takes its time in leaving for the land of the dead, and collects enough supplies before it goes to start a new existence in its new home."

(d) *Devices to keep the spirit at the grave*

From the foregoing descriptions it is obvious that the spirit of the dead person who has been buried for good must at any price be kept securely in its grave hut. The Lawā have developed three devices to ensure this, which are not used by any other tribe as far as we know.

The dyóksedyá. This object is made of two bamboos, about 50 cm long, slit open at two of their sides and interlocked, then put up on a stick at the grave (fig. 61). It can be erected only for males (children as well as adults) when a buffalo has been sacrificed. Its purpose is to provoke the dead person to, as it might be stated: "check whether you are living or dead. Hang these bamboos asunder, and you can go back home. But if you cannot, you know you are dead, then go to the realm of the dead." Only very few living persons are able to make a *dyóksedyá*, and of course a *phī* of a dead person could not. We did not witness the technique of inextricably interlocking the two bamboos. I found one on the burial ground of Umphāi but, as we were told, it is also known in B. Pā Pāe (not mentioned in literature) and B. Sām; it is only used in southern villages.

The designation *dyóksedyá* is derived from the Thai *chog* (ฉก, to snatch or grab) and *sad* (ศัตย์, truth, from the Sanskrit: *satya*), so it might mean 'get out the truth'.

The lējog. In the northern villages they have a device called *lējog* (possibly from Thai: *lē*/เล่ห์, trick, and *chog* perhaps meaning 'trick to be solved'). It consists of a flat piece of bamboo from which a string is hanging and on it are threaded three cowries in B. Ho' (for old men and women only, not for children), B. Khōng and B. Pae' (fig. 62), but only two cowries in B. La'āng Nuea, B. Dong and B. La'ub (in the latter not called *lējog* but *mai la'māng*/ไม้ละม้าง, ancestor wood). It is hung from a stick planted at the head end of the grave. Then they proceed as the southern villages with the *dyókseydya*: they ask the spirit to draw the cowries off the string without damaging it. Should the spirit be able to do it, it can go home, if not, it has got the proof that it is really dead.

In B. Khōng, at the side of the *lējog* a post is put up without a plate on top, called a *sagang* (not *mbueang*) which is to serve to tether buffaloes or cattle in the other world. At the foot end of the grave a little white *tung* flag is placed on which the dead may climb out of hell.

Kunstadter (1965: 25) only once mentions the word *lachock*, connected with the Lawā expression *lachock hngw'*, soul of rice, approximately corresponding to the Thai *khwān khao*/ขวัญข้าว; but it is difficult to find any relation to the meaning of the *lējog* as described.

The la'ga' la'māng. We have only heard about this special kind of offering in four northern villages: B. Gōg Luang, B. Pae', B. La'āng Nuea and B. Dong. Probably the expression *la'ga' la'māng* is also of Thai origin: *la'*/ละ, to abandon, desert or leave, and *ga'*/กะ = กัน, with or for, and *la'māng*, ancestor; perhaps meaning 'leave-taking from an ancestor'.

Villagers in B. Gōg Luang gave the following description. On the eve of a burial every family kills a small chicken and drops its blood on a long leaf with very sharp edges. In the process they say to the corpse: "you are no longer our relative [Thai: *rao mai pen phīnōng gan*/เราไม่เป็นพี่น้องกัน], please do not come back to our house. But be warned, if ever you try to do so, this leaf will cut your throat."

On the burial day, before the dead person is carried to the graveyard, all the households in the bereaved family line kill a small chicken and divide it uncooked into halves, and they divide a cowrie into halves. On the way to the graveyard they throw half the chicken and half the cowrie away, together with the 'cutting leaves' previously prepared with chicken blood. The other halves they deposit on the grave, saying: "now you are a *phī*, do not go back, stay here in your house. If you still intend to come back, so make this half-chicken and half-cowrie complete again. If you are able to do so, you might come back." The dividing of chickens and cowries could have the symbolic significance of the dividing of property between the living and the dead as mentioned by Kunstadter for B. Pā Pāe (1968).

The same procedure is followed in B. Pae', but in B. La'āng Nuea and B. Dong the 'throat-cutting leaf' was not mentioned, and in B. Dong they leave a half chicken on the path and another half on the grave, and they place a whole cowrie on the grave.

(e) *The posts for the dead*

Often enough we have mentioned the two kinds of ancestor posts erected by the Lawā: the *nām* and the *mbueang*. Walking 15 minutes from B. Yāeg about half-way toward B. Den

(Umphāi group), we found a group of one dozen low posts, *mbueang* (fig. 63), at the left side of the path, and 20 metres farther along on the right a group of about 10 high posts, *nām*, (fig. 64). Some posts of both groups had already tumbled down.

The *nām* posts are 2.0 to 2.3 m high, and have a diameter of 12 to 20 cm. Generally there are three double rings at their upper end, at a distance of 20 to 25 cm from each other. These rings are created by carving three deep grooves (cf. I: 271, fig. 2). At one post more than three double rings had been cut; the Lawā accompanying us laughed and said: "the woodcarver was drunk!" At another post the rings were formed by small carved squares; as this pattern is to be found at *mbueang* and *sangang* (high sacrificial posts on the village plaza) it is difficult to explain if they are lacking here because of carelessness or through weathering. Below the top, one or two bands of sheet metal or iron had been hammered around the post to trick the spirit into believing it to be of gold; still, at an assembly of *nām* near the graveyard at Umphāi Luang I have seen a ring with a golden glitter, and this would contradict the theory of reversal in the spirit world. An explanation, as in so many other cases, was not to be had.

Two cowries had been inserted or hung by a thread at most of the *nām*; when there were none, they must have been lost. I have extensively written on the meaning of the model spears squeezed into clefts of sticks stuck into opposite sides of the *nām* (I: 270-273, fig. 2). These spears serve the spirits of the *samang* in fighting the spirits of the marauding Red Karēn in times gone by. So it is understandable that, at least in the Umphāi group, the *nām* were exclusively set up for male *samang* (never for women), and only under the condition that a buffalo be sacrificed at their death; also that the hardest wood, *kho' gré* (Thai: *mai hag*/ไม้ฮัก, lacquer tree) is used. A deep notch cut out at one side of the *nām* of the *samang* Lung Gaeo (mentioned several times) had the meaning that he was born here and died here as an old man; he had always lived here and had been headman for some time.

A *nām* can only be made by young men able to fight, never by old men. Two men must carry it, accompanied by a group of young men, on the burial day after sunset to the place where the *nām* are standing.¹⁸

The *mbueang* instead is put up for every dead Lawā, man or woman, and the *samangs* also get it, even if a *nām* is denied them because they omitted a buffalo sacrifice. The *mbueang* must be placed separately from the *nām*.

The *mbueang* are 1.0 to 1.2 m high with a diameter of 10 to 12 cm. As a rule they are ringed at their upper part, at a distance of about 25 cm, by two rows each of squares 1 × 1 or 1.5 × 1.5 cm. Of course, there might be deviations; some of them are totally smooth. A cowrie was bound at one of these posts, too.

Nām and *mbueang* alike have ordinary enamel plates nailed on their tops. Generally an empty earthen bottle is put in the plate of the *nām*. The plate must be old and a piece must

18. We first thought the word *nām* could be the Thai word (นาม, name) and the post would be erected for the sake of the name or male lineage. Later we found in Rangsit's (1942/45: 692-3) and Wenk's (1965: 114) vocabularies 'blood' for *nām*, meaning perhaps 'blood of the lineage'. But informants said that *nām* is a Lawā word meaning 'property' (of the *samang* man). This explanation also remains doubtful.

be broken out of the neck of a brand-new bottle to give the spirit a notion in reverse. Sometimes a roughly carved wooden bird or boat is fixed in the plate of a *nām*; the bird will carry the spirit over mountains, the boat over the ocean to the other world. Never will anything be sacrificed in the plate of a *nām*.

The *mbueang* is an offering post. Food is deposited in its plate after the burial, and subsequently for three more years at the New Year after harvest in November. Later the spirit must care for itself. In a *mbueang* plate near B. Den we noted tobacco, cigarettes, sugar (bought in the bazaar), chillies, cooked rice, taro, *miang* (chewing tea), salt and two small bottles, one with water, the other with rice alcohol. *Nāi Lā Lueam* of B. B5 Luang said a *mbueang* is no sacred post, but is used for tethering a buffalo in the next world. The *mbueang* is put up by a special group of men immediately after the dead person is brought to the coffin in front of the *nyoe' nyū* and thence to the burial ground.

Before posts can be erected the *gortd* must sacrifice a red dog for a *nām* in front of the ritual house and two chickens for a *mbueang*. The blood is smeared on the post.

The owner of the house of a deceased person has to pay 25 baht for a *nām* and 15 baht for a *mbueang*. All the foregoing applies to the Umphāi group.

About 500 m behind the eastern village quarter of B. Pā Pāe we turned from the path to Mae Sariang over the rivulet Huai Amlān into a wildly thriving forest. There we found at least three dozen *nām*, not in a row but set up confusedly. Most of them were much decayed and partly fallen, all overgrown by jungle.

Informants said that (as in B. La'ub) in B. Pā Pāe everybody gets a *mbueang*, and a *nām* if a buffalo is sacrificed. So there should have been many more *mbueang*, but we only found one, 1.2 m high with a diameter of 6.0 cm; perhaps others were standing somewhere else and we just missed them.

The *nām* were 2.5 to 3.2 m high (for women somewhat lower). At the top their width must be three 'double fists'; our guide put three times his fist side by side on a folded blade of grass, then unfolding it he laid it around the post: it exactly fitted. On most of the *nām*, at a distance of about 20 cm, three rings of three rows each of small squares were carved. Only at one *nām* were there V-shaped carvings and small indentations (fig. 65a).

Two *nām* were standing in front of the others, distant from each other about 20 cm. The lower one, a woman's post, showed another carving: rows of small knobs (fig. 65b). Both these *nām* were joined in their middle by a piece of wood, "that they might not fall but support each other". On each post was fixed a pair of buffalo horns (fig. 66). In the plate on top was nailed a lying 'chicken', roughly carved from a 2 cm-thick piece of wood (fig. 67). The male *nām* had only one hole at its side for inserting a short stick signifying a spear (cf. Omphāi Luang, I: 271, fig. 2). Food is never given in any plates, but cowrie money for the other world is put into the plates of a *nām*, never of a *mbueang*.

It seems that only in the Umphāi group a *nām* is erected to male *samang* (if a buffalo is sacrificed). In B. Pā Pāe, B. Sām, B. Mūēd L5ng and B. La'ub it is given to all those for whom

a buffalo is slaughtered; the same also in B. B5 Luang. But for many years no buffalo was sacrificed, so that only a *mbueang* could be given. A *mbueang* is erected off-hand for everybody in most villages; only in the southwestern villages of the northern Lawā (the two La'āng villages and B. Dong) a buffalo sacrifice is necessary to get a *mbueang* (cf. table 7).

Ritual treatment of 'evil' death. Until now we have spoken of 'natural' deaths in the house, the preferred circumstances of death and a strong wish of all Lawā. After death they become *phī la'māng* with all the honours and offerings due to them by their kin. But people killed in any kind of accident or at childbirth, as well as people who have died far from home, become *phī sa'aop*, according to Kunstader (1968: 12). The inhabitants of B. Pā Pāe bury them where they have died, not in a normal cemetery. Their spirits dwell where they are buried, not in the spirit land. They are not fed when food is offered to other ancestral spirits, with two exceptions: (i) when they have died in a cultivated area, and (ii) if divination has indicated that they are the cause of an illness (p. 16). Similarly in the Umphāi group and in B. La'āng Nuea people who have died by accident are buried on the spot without any ceremonies. Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 172) write on Umphāi that for women who die in childbirth no *mbueang* is erected; they are thought to become very evil and fearsome spirits. In B. Mūēd Lōng they believe evil death to be caused by the *phī yum sa'ōēb* ('spirit-die-accident'; Thai: *phī tǎi hōng*/ผีตายโหง). In B. B5 Luang we learned that people killed by accident or by 'sorcery' are buried at once, while the others are cremated with Buddhist rites (cf. Obayashi 1966: 264-5).¹⁹

In B. Gog Luang and B. La'āng Nuea we were told that if a person has died in another village the family, not wanting to have the dead back in their village, must pay 12 rupees to the village headman to buy a grave. To this sum is added 8 rupees for the death ceremonies, as every family has its own customs and will go to the other village to perform them.

Child murder. In B. B5 Luang, if a mother dies in childbirth the surviving baby will be put into a basket, covered with a cloth, and buried alive with her. People believe the child to be an evil spirit which has killed the mother. The government has strictly forbidden such acts, but they still are practised secretly. One of my porters, *Nāi Sī*, was the father in such a situation, and would have indifferently followed the custom if *Khun* Suchāt had not taken away the baby, a girl, and adopted it. In B. Pae' the baby of a mother who died in childbirth was buried alive below a rice barn in the village, while the mother was buried in the graveyard.

When the mother dies in childbirth the Karēn are said to kill the newborn infant by pinching its nose and suffocating it.

(f) Summary

Looking at the death rites of the Lawā as a whole, a great similarity among them can be perceived, if somewhat imprecisely in some parts of this narrative (e.g. for B. Tūn and B. Mūēd Lōng). Some rites are spread over the whole Lawā area, some are typical for the southern

19. Archaimbault (1963: 32, 35) writes that in southern Laos people who die by accident, or a woman who dies in pregnancy, must not be cremated but buried on the spot without Buddhist rites. It is not allowed to tie hands and feet of such corpses. And of the Lūē he says (1963: 40, notes 49, 52) that they have the same prohibition of tying hands and feet for somebody killed by a tiger or who has committed suicide by hanging.

group, and others for the northern group. We note here in brief the elements more or less common to all (cf. table 7).

1. The wake generally lasts three days (according to age, wealth or prestige, in some villages it could last until nine days).
2. It seems that everywhere the head of the corpse should lie to the west, in the house or in the grave (in *Omphāi Luang* it was rather to the north).
3. In the northern villages the *gorid* must announce a case of death to the *phī sabaig* of the *nyoe'nyū*.
4. Death is announced at once to relatives in other villages.
5. Probably in all villages the corpse is wrapped in cloth and bound by threads in four places (or three places and the big toes tied together). These strings are cut before or after putting it into the coffin. A frame of bamboo lattice over the dead person was only noted from B. *Omphāi Luang* and B. *Pā Pāc*, but possibly is used in other villages also.
6. Probably everywhere women are wailing and girls singing.
7. Everywhere the dead person is fed daily in the house before burial (in B. *Mūed Lōng* it must be done by an old widow).
8. Generally coins are put into the mouth of the dead, or additional coins into the hands, on the eyes and ears.
9. During the days of the wake in most villages the *chua la'māng* is executed.
10. During the nights of the wake in most villages the *tarē* is 'played'.
11. The coffin is made by hollowing out a tree trunk. The kind of wood differs according to the use for *samang* or ordinary *Lawā*.
12. On the coffin lid are inserted coins and cowries; for *samang* it is painted.
13. In northern villages the digging of the grave is begun by *Karēn* who get a remuneration in cash and kind.
14. All villages have a group of men to help at burials. In the south the corpse is laid into the coffin in front of the *nyoe'nyū* and carried from there to the graveyard. In the north the coffin is brought empty to the grave in the morning. The corpse follows later and is put into it at the graveside.
15. Personal belongings are put into the coffin and buried with the dead person.
16. Over the grave is erected a small hut with thatched roof (a roof of halved bamboo stalks only in B. *Sām*, after a buffalo sacrifice, and in B. *Pae'* for a *samang*).
17. Tools or weapons for a man and spinning or weaving implements for a woman are deposited at the grave.

18. Thread-squares, varying in number according to the village, are hung at the grave hut (in B. La'ub for women they are put inside the coffin).
19. Every day during the wake the spirit is admonished to leave and go to his final rest.
20. Devices to keep the spirit at the grave (*dyóksedyá* in the south, *lējog* in the north and *la'ga' la'māng* with the 'throat cutting' leaf also in the north) are put up at the grave or laid down on the path to the graveyard.
21. For everybody in the south and in the southern villages of the north a low post, *mbueang*, is put up. In villages of the south (including B. Sām) a high post, *nām*, is erected after a buffalo sacrifice (in B. Omphāi Luang only for male *samang*).
22. After burial, food for the spirit is given for three years in the plate of the *mbueang* in B. Omphāi Luang and B. Sām; but in the north, from B. Hō' to B. La'ub, it is given yearly on the path to the burial ground.
23. Everywhere people come after burial to the house of mourning, bringing with them rice, salt, *miang* or money. Young people can sleep there, and through flirting they may make the choice of a marriage partner.
24. As a rule small children are buried without ceremony (an exception observed in B. Chāngmō Manōd), in a separate part of the burial ground.
25. All Lawā are in terrible awe of the *phī* of dead people in the graveyard, and never like to indicate where the graveyard is located.

E. THE LAWĀ ART OF WOODCARVING

The Lawā excel at woodcarving, an art which apparently no other hill people has tried. As regards weaving, the costumes of the Lawā are rather modest. They know how to make *ikat* weavings, mostly for women's skirts (Obayashi 1964: 201; Kunstadter *et al.* 1978: under 'Weaving'). The Lawā may be far surpassed by other hill tribes in north Thailand in wealth of colourful apparel and adornment (cf. Campbell *et al.* 1978), but they are the only ones known as artistic woodcarvers.

Entering a southern Lawā village, especially one in the Umphāi group, one is struck by the presence of many kinds of highly artistic carvings: at the *sagang* on the plaza, the house horns, the carved beams and posts in the ritual houses, the small figures on the gable fronts, and then, in the northern villages by the splendidly carved wooden lintels over many doors.

The carvings of the Lawā are composed of two elements: one that is to be reckoned to the megalithic complex inherent in the Lawā culture (Steinmann and Rangsit 1940: 165; Kauffmann 1971), and the other deriving from an early, brief contact with Buddhist people in the plains, be they Mōn or Thai.

1. *Megalithic influences*

(a) *The posts*

The most competent scholar of the megalithic complex in southeast Asia, Robert Heine-Geldern, has stated (1959: 165) that associated with it is a style of monumental and symbolic art (cf. Kauffmann 1962a: 91; and 1971: 137). This becomes apparent with the Lawā in different ways, as follow.

Let us look at the memorial posts for the dead, the *nām* and *mbueang*, and at the lower parts of the sacrificial posts, the *sagang*, of the southern Lawā. Not only do we find many of them ringed by little squares or saw-like teeth, in Lawā called *sai* (fig. 68), typical for megalithic art (Kauffmann 1962a: 96, C.1), but also the division of the posts in three sections, each between 25 and 35 cm high, reminiscent of the so-called torus posts (Wulstpfähle, Kauffmann 1962a: 90) which, according to my studies, are also an element of megalithic art.²⁰ The first authors speaking of three rings cut in regular distances into the lower part of the *sagang* were Steinmann and Rangsit (1939 : 170).

The flat upper parts of the *sagang* show megalithic symbols, alternately rosettes and spear-heads (Kauffmann 1962a: 96 B. 3, 97 D. 5) but the designs are diversified. They go from a very sober, even abstract style in B. Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 69) over a more natural style in B. Chāngmō Manōd (fig. 70, left post) to a curved form of a kind of vases in B. Chāngmō Luang (fig. 71, left post) and finally to a fanciful play of forms in B. Ōmphāi Luang (fig. 72). In figure 71 only the pointed top could be interpreted as a spearhead, while the other *sagang* mostly have a triple point. "Remarkable also are the prongs, jags or teeth alongside the upper parts of the *sagang*" which are to be found on sacrificial posts of other peoples, from southeastern Asia to the Pacific islands (Steinmann and Rangsit 1939: 170). This is reminiscent of what I call notched posts (Kerbpfeilen, Kauffmann 1962a: 91), presumably belonging to the megalithic complex as well. These prongs are to be seen on all pictures of the southern *sagang* (fig. 69-73, best on 70 and 73). And in the carved middle of the left post at B. Ōmphāi Luang (fig. 72) is a V-spiral, the *hē* symbol (see "Death rites" section).

Finally, an important comparison can be made with figures 70 and 73. The shape of the only *sagang* of B. Pā Pāe brought down from a Chāngmō village is much like that of the right post in B. Chāngmō Manōd. At least in both *sagang* what elsewhere may be called spearheads are here very clumsily produced pieces of wood, not dissimilar to a sausage. While in B. Chāngmō Manōd they still are separated by rosettes, there are none in B. Pā Pāe. One could assume that decoration from the western village part of B. Pā Pāe, the Chāngmō quarter, was derived from B. Chāngmō Manōd rather than from B. Chāngmō Nōi as has been suggested. Apart from the four megalithic symbols mentioned above, i.e. the rings of squares or teeth, spearheads, rosettes

20. Schuster (1968: 88, 97) had the idea that multibodied images are nothing else but representations of a genealogy in the form of 'family trees'. The so-called *kima* or memorial posts for the dead under houses of the Garo in Assam (Meghalaya) "appear as a succession of ridges, and the limbs are apparently neglected". Schuster gives the example of the Garo among many other tribes on his figure 43 after Playfair (1909: pl. facing 113). It shows that the *kima* are a kind of short 'torus post' with three rings reminiscent of the three rings on Lawā posts.

and the prongs at the edges of the upper parts, in most of the *sagang* carvings no megalithic motif can be traced. The artistic forms in the upper part of the *sagang* belong to another style of art.

The *sagang* of the southern Lawā must always stand in pairs. The single *sagang* of B. Tūn, photographed by M.C. Sanidh Rangsit (1945: 493), and of B. Ōmphāi Luang shown by Funke (1960: 143), have meanwhile both got their partner, proven by photographs I took in 1969. There are double-carved posts in B. Ōmphāi Luang, B. Den, in all three Chāngmō villages and in B. Tūn. In B. Dong there are even three *sagang* (I: fig. 13), only in B. Pā Pāe there is but a single one (Obayashi 1964a: fig. 10) but from figure 5b in Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 170) it can be seen that in B. Mapae (B. Pā Pāe) there were formerly two *sagang* also (cf. I: 302). In B. La'ub there is a special contrivance: on the plaza there stand three high, single posts appertaining to the three ritual houses; these *sagang* have no carving as in the southern villages, but a pointed top and below some rows of thick knobs (Obayashi 1964a: fig. 11; I: 301).

The *sagang* of the northern villages are quite different; they are shorter and stouter, and their top is always cut flat. While there is nothing of the beautiful carvings on the upper part as in the southern villages, some kind of pattern is cut into them (Kauffmann 1972a: fig. 9; 1972b: 231, fig. 3). On the *sagang yong mombē*, belonging to the ritual house of the same name in B. Pae' (fig. 74; cf. I: 295-6) there are, apart from the thick knobs as in B. La'ub, rows of a semicircular form as they are found on a *nām*-post in B. Pā Pāe (fig. 65a). It is not known if this peculiar form has any special meaning.

Leaving aside the esthetic point of view, the opportunity should be taken here to recall the religious significance of the *sagang*. Rangsit (1945: 494) states that "the sacrificial posts . . . are the dwelling place of the highest village spirit. Buffaloes and cattle to be slaughtered are tethered to them and killed with a spear." These brief remarks reveal that: (i) the *sagang* are meant to be the seat and property of the highest village spirit, and (ii) at the *sagang* only buffaloes and cattle may be sacrificed. So all the reports of offerings of pigs (Funke 1960: 143) or chickens (Kunstadter 1965: 41) at the *sagang* are, according to all my informants, definitely wrong. And at big sacrifices the *sagang* are adorned with green leaves of a special kind (fig. 68; cf. II: 195, B. Pā Pāe; 205, B. Tūn for use of leaves in rites; and cf. Riesenfeld 1950, Melanesia).

Buffaloes for marriages or death rites must be killed at any place outside the village. At a marriage at Chāngmō Luang in 1962 one was killed on a steep slope in the forest near the village. At funeral rites a bit of the ears, muzzle, tail and legs is cut off and laid on a winnowing basket at the grave. At the big buffalo sacrifices a pig is never killed; they serve as offerings at weddings and ordinary sacrifices to spirits.

Obayashi (1964: 205) writes that the big buffalo sacrifices for the village spirit take place "at a certain interval from 5 to 50 years"; and Kunstadter (1965: 41) relates that people from the Chāngmō group travel to B. Pā Pāe about the middle of July to "make a sacrifice to . . . *phī sapajc*, using a buffalo every fifth year, and chickens the other four years. The Chang Maw ceremony starts when all families bring cooked chickens to the Chang Maw ceremonial house . . . After the spirits have been fed, each family takes its chicken home to eat." I do not believe

that at present the great buffalo sacrifice can still be held at intervals of five years. I have already made related remarks (I: 261, 293, 298, 302), as well as on the *sagang* in general (I: 283-4).²¹

There is yet another viewpoint concerning the *sagang*: *Khun* Suchāt, our guide, said (according to the informants *Nāi* Kham Sug, *phūchuaī* of B. Yāeg, and *Nāi* Sútha of B. Tūn) that every Lawā village at its foundation puts up a *sagang* for the village spirit. On such an occasion, or when a new post is put up to replace an old one, a big buffalo sacrifice is held, and thereafter only at long intervals.

(b) *The rice-husking troughs*

The hard daily work of husking rice with a pestle in a large wooden mortar by two or three women, as it is still mostly done by the Lawā, has become rather rare in the northern Thai hills. It has been superseded increasingly by the originally Chinese 'stepping mortar' (so called by Obayashi [1964: 22]) or 'foot mill' (Kunstadter 1965: 14); in Thai: *khrog gra'dueang*/ครกกระเดื่อง, and Northern Thai: *khrog māng tam khāo*/ครกมอ้งตำข้าว. It is a hulling instrument of a very simple description: a lever is treaded by a woman or a child and, as the heavy hammer attached in front falls back, it pounds the rice in a trough placed below.

Though the Lawā in some places work with the ubiquitous ordinary mortar of an artless cylindrical shape, they often use a heavy basin-like form, nicely sculptured with a 'torus' or pad (fig. 75). As they are never seen anywhere in the northern Thai hills, with the single exception of the Karēn village of B. Gōng Pāe, they can be regarded as typically Lawā. The best forms are to be found in the Umphāi group, but even there differences exist: compare the good form of the old mortar in B. Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 75) with another one of the same village (fig. 76) which is angular and not smoothly rounded. In some places the plain mortars of the Karēn or other tribes have come into use and are slowly replacing the more artistic ones. In one village I even saw an ordinary mortar used while a sculptured one stood forlorn nearby.

The measurements of a sculptured mortar are about 42 cm in height, 45 cm in diameter of the base, and 20 cm in diameter of the centre cavity.

As far as we saw during our short stay, without a meticulous search of the villages, in B. Sām only two or three sculptured mortars were sighted and they were not so carefully done as those in the Umphāi group; the other mortars were of a simple type. In B. Gōg Luang a sculptured mortar stood at the headman's house. Nothing of that kind was in B. La'āng Nuea, and in B. La'āng Tāi we saw only one rather badly made; the rest were plain. But a bit more to the south, in B. Dong, all mortars were sculptured; also in B. La'ub there were some sculptured ones.

21. According to Hallett (1890:57) the two Lawā *yak* (ยักษ์, ogre or giant) Pu-Sa and his wife Ya-Sa, living on Doi Suthep, were said to be the spirits of an ancient Lawā king and queen. At their deaths they became guardian spirits of the hills, procuring water for the fields, and they would insist upon having human sacrifices made to them. Under the influence of the Lord Buddha they gave up this evil practice, and contented themselves with buffaloes. The buffalo sacrifice, after all of Lawā origin, has continued until recent times.

These sculptured mortars with their torus ought as well to be considered as exemplifying megalithic art. While many ethnic groups are known to take great pains in decorating their household utensils by carving or painting, it is remarkable that the Lawā do so much work for just their rice-husking mortars—all the tribes around them have chosen the easier way of manufacturing plain cylindrical troughs. The question arises why the Lawā are so different from their neighbours in this respect. I think they must have inherited this way of doing things from their ancestors. Waves of megalithic ideas might have been passed to them many hundreds of years ago, and thus the mortar with the torus became one of their traditions, the same as other megalithic peculiarities such as the menhirs, *sagang*, buffalo sacrifices, and their various special artistic motifs.

(c) *Carvings in the ritual houses*

On the posts and girders in most of the ritual houses of the southern Lawā there are carved, among others, some typically megalithic motifs. Funke (1960:142) has remarked of B. Ōmphāi Luang: "the beams, posts, and girders in the men's community house are richly carved with ornaments and magic symbols". Of the latter only two might be identified here: the V-spiral which we find twice, once in a multiple (fig. 78) and once in the *hē* form (fig. 79), spoken of earlier (see "Death rites") and as a detail of a *sagang* post in B. Ōmphāi Luang (see preceding section 'a'). Another magic symbol could be the spectacular appearance of lizards (Kauffmann 1962a: 97, E.2) in the *nyoe' nyū* of B. Ōmphāi Luang (fig. 81), B. Yāeg (fig. 82 and 82a, highly stylized), B. Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 83, stylized, and fig. 84, high relief), B. Chāngmō Luang and B. Tūn (both high relief). The lizard design mentioned also in Obayashi (1964: 205) has already specially been spoken of by Steinmann and Rangsit (1939: 168), that it is found, among other places in the community house, on "the carved upper parts of the high *sagang* posts", but just there we have never seen any.

The lizard is a "truly universal megalithic symbol" (Kauffmann 1962a: 103-4) as it is also found with the Naga, Rhadé, on Nias and Mentawai, with the Toradja in Sulawesi (Celebes), in the Manggarai on Flores, with the Belu on eastern Timor end especially with the Batak in northern Sumatra; for these latter the lizard is valued as protector of the rice barns. Its widely diffused appearance is impressive proof of the migratory theory of cultural traits.

From an esthetic point of view, the wooden lizards testify to the skill of the old Lawā carvers. The lizards, cut in relief, are done in a realistic way in B. Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 84) and in B. Tūn where the only two carvers still known by name in the whole of the Lawā hills have been working (cf. I: 289); nowhere else is any living artist remembered. On the other hand, just as artistic are the highly stylized lizards in B. Yāeg (figs. 82, 82a) and Chāngmō Nōi (fig. 83). The big rosette in B. Den (fig. 85) demands a great deal of skill in carving, while in B. Chāngmō Luang most carvings are to be found of all *nyoe' nyū* (fig. 86); here fantasy has prevailed, resulting in lots of waves or scrolls (cf. I: 288).

2. The free artistic style

(a) Gable ornaments

There is a great variety of small, carved pieces of wood used to keep the triangular plaited gable wall from falling down (I: 262, 263 fig. 1).

(b) House horns

Lawā informants told us that the first Lawā couple descended from a big snake which were, they thought, represented on Lawā houses by sculptured 'house horns' called *galae* (*golae*, *kholaē*). These are worked out at the upper ends of long boards, forming both gables in front and rear of the house and stretching out over the ridge pole. The myth of a snake being at the origin of the Lawā could nowhere be verified, but that it has become part of the corpus of mythology might be understandable, as many Lawā have seen Buddhist temples on the eaves of which are snakes ending in the head of the *nāga*. Their gables are also topped by a *chōfā* (ช่อฟ้า) which are "pointed heads of the Naga... with a piece like a gracefully curved finger pointing upwards" (McFarland 1944: 283).

The house horns of the northern Thai can still be seen on some houses in Chiang Mai (fig. 87). Nimmanahaeminda (1966: 133) writes that they are "called Ga Le (glancing crows) by the Tai Yuan of North Thailand, and Ge Le (glancing pigeons) by the Tai Yuan of Rajpuri". He then hints at the occurrence of house horns in a few Lawā and Akha villages, and similar constructions, he says, are to be found in the Shan States, in the Wa State, Assam, Sumatra and even Japan. "Tai Lü houses in Sipsong Panna in southern China and in Laos also possess the traditional horns."²²

"Their real meaning has not yet been firmly established, though it is thought to represent a pair of buffalo horns. In truth, the house itself may represent the strong body of this Asian beast of burden" (Bceles and Sternstein 1966: 19). This of course is another mythical theory, substantiated by the idea that the wooden lintels over the doors, of which are referred to later, represent the testicles of said buffalo. It seems that all elements of the house together make up a strong buffalo. But why then are the house horns called *galae*? And how about the many small and rather weak houses in northern Thailand? It might be a theory contrived by rich people who established huge houses, as for example the Kamthieng House in the compound of the Siam Society.

House horns of the Lawā are simply decorations: anyone who wants to have them can set them up. Totally foreign to them is the idea of the Angami Nagas that house horns are an honorific mark for a man having given a big, expensive 'feast of merit' within the frame of the megalithic complex.

22. I must admit that, with the exception of the Angami Nagas in Nagaland (formerly belonging to Assam), I have only visited an Akhā and a Karo Batak village where I did not see house horns. But in Campbell *et al.* (1978: 43) house horns of the Akhā are pictured: below there are two spirals turning outward (together forming a V-spiral) and above them two spirals turn inward. As a whole it is a modest sight without any resemblance to the house horns of the Lawā or northern Thai.

A house horn normally should have three curves: from the base outward-inward-outward, finishing with a pointed end. When the house horns are formed in this way, both horns come together at the base in a bow. But this is not always the case. In Nimmanahaeminda (1966: pl. Ia) the horns on the house to the right are correct (as they are on plate II), providing a good example; but on the house to the left (pl. Ia) the horns seem to go the other way round: inside - outside - inside.²³

It is astonishing that of all house horns in the Lawā villages, in precisely the foremost place, B. Omphāi Luang, one house has both horns wrongly positioned (fig. 97); from them are dangling rattan chains of six and eight rings, a device not remarked anywhere else, and on the top point seems to be sitting a kind of bird. In general, the execution of house horns mainly depends on the artist and may vary widely—one can even speak of local styles (e.g. in B. Dong).

Below I give a list of the house horns from village to village, as we passed through the area (cf. I: 238); the drawings start with the inferior ones and end with the best two examples.

1. *Umphāi group*. There are many *galae*. The horns of B. Yaēg (fig. 96) shown here have a similar style to that of B. Omphāi Luang (fig. 97). The horns of B. Chāngmō Luang (fig. 88) with the most and best carvings in the *nyoe'nyū* surprisingly are the most primitive ones: they have only lines outside-inside, and are not decorated with carving of any description.

2. *B. Tūn*. In the old village only one house has *galae*, but there are some in the new one.

3. *B. Sām*. Here, as in B. Dong, the *galae* are called *dub*. Everybody is allowed to set them up; each pair costs 10 baht, as in the Umphāi group. In B. Dong and B. Bō Luang the price is 20 baht. Unfortunately in B. Sām there is no one to perform the work.

4. *B. Mūēd Lōng*. Only two houses still have *galae* (*kolae*), but one pair is a very beautiful piece of handicraft (fig. 98).

5. *B. Gōg Nōi*. Only one house has *galae* (fig. 91); the other houses have just crossed bamboos protruding about 30 cm. There is a lack of *galae* because the old ones have rotten away, and at present there are no more skilled carvers. The one remaining *galae* is broad and bulky, and has only two directions of movement: outside - inside.

6. *B. Hō'*. Of 26 Lawā houses (20 houses on the upper west side are Karēn) only five or six have *galae*, but no more than two pairs are good. On figure 95 the curved ends are drawn in an open circle and so form hooks on their reverse sides.

7. *B. Khōng*. There are no *galae*, because no carvers live in the village.

8. *B. Gōg Luang*. There are no *galae* nor wooden lintels, only crossed bamboos sticking out over the gable 20 to 30 cm. Wood working of any kind is here forbidden, everything

23. In Boeles and Sternstein (1966), on the first folding leaf, left side, detail C (1:10), is a good drawing of *galae* from the Khamthieng House. Figure 31 shows a finial (*ka leh*) of a northern Thai house made of two beams 158 cm long and 33 cm wide. It is an excellent piece of carving and shows clearly that the movement must go, from the base, outside - inside - outside.

must be made of bamboo with the exception of the wooden house posts. Only Chinese Hō have used wooden planks for their two houses, but not the Lawā.

9. *B. Pae'*. There are *galae*. The horns on figure 92 recall those on figure 91 from B. Gōg Nōi in their shortness, but they have three movements: the two outside curves nearly abut and do not leave much space for the inside curve which boasts some kind of leaves.

10. *B. La'āng Nuea*. Three or four houses have *galae*, and especially on one house they swing elegantly upwards (fig. 99). These horns are perhaps even more attractive than those of B. Mūēd Lōng. They could have been carved by the same artist.

11. *B. La'āng Tāi*. In this smallest of all villages only one pair of *galae* exists.

12. *B. Dong*. There are many *galae*, here called *dub*, of a special style. Both sides of the horns of the *galae* on the west side of the village (fig. 93) have absolutely flat and stylized curves; from the inside of the curves little pegs protrude (from the lower outside curve there are two, from the two following ones three), and the last curve ends in a straight line more than 20 cm high. The *galae* on the north side of the village have a similar pattern, but the curves are more fluid. In this village probably two carvers have been at work.

There is no rule for setting up house horns, they serve simply ornamental purposes. One asks a relative to make the horns, as there is no carver. Two pairs cost 20 baht, but the wood must be procured or paid for separately.

13. *B. La'ub*. There are no *galae*, as in B. Khōng and B. Gōg Luang. The gable boards are crossed, protruding about 20 cm.

14. *B. Pā Pāē*. There are only a few *galae* and not specially good ones, with the exception of those on the headman's house (fig. 90). One *galae* (fig. 89) has no open work; the three curves are indicated by spirals separated by lines, an original, simplified idea. If that were not so both boards, left and right, would erroneously be alike, not yielding a mirror-image as it should be; the horn at the right should at least have its spirals inverted.

(c) *Wooden lintels*

In some Lawā villages there are beautifully carved lintels over the door to the inner room. More than anywhere else they are to be found in B. Bō Luang and in the northern villages, made from *kho' lōg*. The Thai call such work *mai gae'salag* (ไม้แกะสลัก, carvings), but the northern Thai have a special name: *ham yon*. The Siam Society has acquired a collection of about seven dozen of such works.

Nimmanahaeminda (1966: 147) writes that "the wooden lintels over the doorway to the room were carved in designs which must have tried to express the significance of the room. *Ham* means testicles and *Yon* (in Sanskrit *yantra*) means 'magic design' such as a charm or talisman to ward off evil... the *Yon* represents power over evil in humans as well as in spirits." He adds that the *ham yon* are testicles with magical strength, and, as the house becomes older, the testicles become more powerful. A new owner would beat them hard to

destroy the magical power incorporated in them under the old owner, as it might not be good for the new one. "This beating of the lintel or testicles of the house is a symbolic castration rite." Supernatural magic or spirits in *ham yon* are entirely different from ancestor spirits within the house, which are never worshipped or made regular offerings.

"The lintels were carved of teak by local artists", continues Nimmanahaeminda (p. 148). But before setting to work the houseowner has to offer food, flowers and candles to the supernatural power and invite it to come to the house. Then the size of the board is fixed: a narrow door is three times the foot-length of the proprietor, a big door four times. Who decided on the design, and how was the tradition of passing it on, remains uncertain. Probably the *ham yon* have not been produced for more than 60 years.

Boeles and Sternstein express a similar view (1966: 19): "the twin teak carved oblong panels... have a sacred function in that they serve as protector for those passing the night inside... The sculptors were devout men who understood Theravada Buddhism... and were conversant with the Ramakien themes" (p. 21). "About the date and the style and the exact provenance of these pieces little can be said with certainty at present" (p. 21).

Coming back to the Lawā lintels, that from B. Gog Nōi (fig. 100), said to be not older than two generations, shows a lotus bud with a scroll of stylized leaf-work on each side. On the lintel from B. Pae' (fig. 101) a half-opened lotus is depicted with a full-blown lotus flower at each side. On this lintel is to be seen a very frequent peculiarity: the upper quarter part of it, filled with scrolls, is separated from the main motif by a broad fillet of bare wood. Lotus and scrolls are very common motifs on lintels, showing the Buddhist origin of this art.²⁴

In Thai art there are arabesques of interlaced leaves and branches called *kanok* (กนก) or *gra'nog* (กระหนก), *lāi gra'nog* (ลายกระหนก), as explained by Phrombhichitr (1952: 2), and there are also the *lāi hoh* (patterns of the Hoh tribe), scrolls from which leaves are split off (Thewaphinimit 1974: 65, no. 2). This might recall the theme of house horns. In Thai art we thus can find some similarities or even identities in the pattern of the scrolls.

But as the art of the lintels is clearly Buddhist we should look to an older art, that of the Mōn who had been in contact with the Lawā long before the Thais came and had brought to many of them the Buddhist faith (Nimmanahaeminda 1971). Dupont (1959: texte, p. 52) writing on the Mōn of Dvāravatī remarks: "*de nombreux boutons de lotus ont été retrouvés le long du parement extérieur du monument*" du Wat Phra' Men, hauteur moyenne 20 cm. "*Ils représentent une fleur soit fermée, avec pétales et sépales serrés, soit entrouverte avec le bouton apparent*" (fig. 64-69). Concerning the scrolls or interlaced ornaments, he notes (p. 85): "*Les volutes isolées (fig. 234-237)... (les plus grosses atteignent 30 à 35 cm)... montrent une feuille avec bords découpés et frisés dessinant un enroulement principal, accompagné parfois des enroulements secondaires de petits segments.*" Good examples of scrolls are nos. 234-237 of Wat P'ra Pat'on, and those of no. 237 (right) and no. 274 (left) of Wat Yai.

24. Nimmanahaeminda (1966) has quite a number of relevant photographs. The best lotus buds, apart from another dozen good ones, are on plate VIIc and on plates VIIIi and VIIIj; two volutes are on VIIu, IXe and IXg (no buds, leaves in high relief), Xb (no bud), and with even four contrarotating volutes on XIIb.

It could well be that an esthetic tradition exists, reaching far back into the past. Presumably the lintels are mostly monks' work. The same as with the house horns, and other objects we have mentioned in this paper, the influence of northern Thai culture and of Buddhism on the Lawā is notable. How the Lawā came to their lintels, whether they produced such beautiful art themselves or if they brought it with them from the plains, we do not know. In any case, in spite of all north Thai and Buddhist influences, the peoples in the hills are proud in maintaining their own traditional art forms.

GLOSSARY

chua la'māng (Lawā), *ram gra'thob mai* (Thai) : jumping dance between bamboo bars clapped together, for the dead.

chōfā (Thai): *nāga* heads pointing high up on the gables of temples.

dyōksedyā: two slit bamboos interlocked firmly, for a test to the dead; sometimes erroneously used for *pīn*.

galae: (a) carved horns on house gable; (b) crossed bamboos for propping up the ridge piece on the grave hut.

gorīd, *gaurīd* (B. La'ub: *puirīd*): see *tonhīd*.

ham yon (N. Thai): testicle (Skt. *yantra*), carved boards over the doors to protect the inmates.

hē (Lawā): V-spiral of not clearly defined significance.

jāu ngāu: head of ancestor rule, northern Lawā for *tonhīd*.

kanok, *gra'nog*, *lai gra'nog* (Thai): arabesques of interlaced leaves.

kho' phī yum (Lawā): coffin ("wood-spirit-dead").

kho' khro (Lawā): see footnote 3; Thai: *mai ngiū*.

kho' reni: see footnote 3; Thai: *ma' faen*.

khruang gōēd: hanging cloths above the corpse's head.

khwǎn (Thai): essential life element in man and animals.

krīmo (Umphāi Lawā): digging stick.

lacong thia (Lawā of B. Pā Pāē): device made of bamboo sticks with appendages, for the dead.

lāē (Lawā): wailing of women at the side of a corpse.

la'ga' la' māng (Lawā): half a chicken and half a cowrie on the path to graveyard, other half on grave; some villages add a "cutting leaf" on the path.

lām (Lawā): assistant headman; in B. Pā Pāē the leader of a constituent village, in B. La'ub and B. Bō Luang announcer or herald of the *samang*.

la' māng, phī la' māng (Lawā): ancestor spirits.

lamói lue' (Lawā): great burial ground, *lamói tia*: small burial ground in B. Pae'.

lējog (Lawā): three (or only two) cowries linked firmly by a string for a test to the dead; in B. Mūēd Lōng also for thread-square.

lūt (Lawā of B. Pā Pāē): large, final offering after burial.

mai la' māng (Lawā of B. La'ub): see *lējog*.

mbah nyaa (Lawā of B. Pā Pāē): offering altar in the house for the spirit after burial.

mbong byang (Lawā), *pīn* (Thai): thread-squares for the dead.

mbueang (Lawā): memorial and feeding post for the dead; low post.

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

nām (Lawā): ancestor post for a dead male *samang*; high post.

ngīu (Lawā): low sacrificial post in front of the *nyoe' nyū*.

nyoe' nyū (Lawā): ritual house. In B. Sām, B. La'āng Tai and B. Pā Pāē often called *lād*.

Also guest house in the southern group where big enough and in good repair.

pa gaung to (*pū gang to*, Lawā), *săbpārōē* (Thai): gravedigger.

phākhāumā (Thai): checkered cloth for varied uses (head, loins, etc.).

phī (Thai): spirit, ghost.

phī sa'aop (Lawā): spirits of people who have died an evil death, or far from home.

phī yum sa'ēb (Lawā), *phī tāt hōng* (Thai): spirit causing evil death.

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

piā' poeng tā guad liang nueng nōng (Lawā of B. La'ub): burying group of six old women.

pīn (Thai): see *mbong byang*.

ram gra'thob mai (Thai): see *chua la' māng*.

rāmōēs (Lawā): tearing out the part of the house floor on which a corpse had been lying.

rangōng (Umpāi Lawā), *phrāto* (Thai): billhook, chopping knife.

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

saeng (B. Pā Pāē, N. Thai): board game for winning or losing, ritually played at a wake.

sagang (Lawā): high post; carved and double in the south, uncarved and single in the north, for tethering buffalo or cattle bulls as sacrifice to the village spirit; in B. Pae' also in front of the *nyoe' nyū* for the *phī sabaig*.

sagang la': the big post which is carved (see *sagang*).

sai (Lawā): little squares or saw-like teeth surrounding ritual posts.

samang (Lawā): higher social layer of feudal descent, spiritual leader.

sa'tuang (N. Thai): small tray for offerings to spirits (cf. II: 195).

siang (Lawā): see *tarē*.

sompōi (Thai): toasted acacia pods used for making lustral water (cf. II: 200).

suai dōg (Thai): leaf cone with offerings.

tā guad liag nueng nōng (Lawā): burial group of 18 old men in B. Dong, and 21 old men in B. La'ub.

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

ta'nóg (northern Lawā): sacrificer who prays and offers to the spirits (cf. I:280-1; in B. Mūed Lōng it was *Nāi Chuen Mōsī*, whose father was a Khamu').

tarē or *siang* (Lawā), *sūekhē* or *saeng* (Sgō-Karēn): ritual 'game' in a winnowing basket, for the dead.

thāeb: one *thāeb* = one silver rupee = 10 to 13 baht.

tonhid (Thai): preserver of ancient customs (s. *gorid*, *jāu ngāu*). In villages without *samang* the *tonhid* takes over his duties, announcing date and time of sacrifices. The rank goes from father to son; age is of no importance. So in B. Mūed Lōng the *samang* Amī, 30 years old in 1969, is at the same time the *tonhid*.

tung (N. Thai): white Buddhist flag on graves.

win (N. Thai): copper coin worth 12 satang, from the Shan States.

yūeam (*lāe lāe*) (Lawā): singing (and wailing) at a wake.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archaimbault, Charles

1963 "Contribution à l'étude du rituel funéraire lao", *JSS*, vol. 51 pt. 1, pp. 1-57.

1966 "La fête du T'at à Luong P'rābang", *Artibus Asiae*. Essays offered to G.H. Luce, vol. I, pp. 5-47, Ascona.

Benedict, Ruth

1952 *Thai Culture and Behavior*. Cornell University, New York.

Boeles, J.J. and Sternstein, Larry

1966 *The Kamthieng House*. Siam Society, Bangkok.

Campbell, Margaret, Nakorn Pongnoi, Chusak Voraphitak

1978 *From the Hands of the Hills*. Media Transasia, Hong Kong.

Červíček, Pavel

1976 "Rock engravings from the Hamasén region, Eritrea", *Paideuma*, vol. 22, pp. 237-256.

Chindarsi, Nusit

1976 *The Religion of the Hmong Njua*. The Siam Society, Bangkok.

Dennis, R.B.

- 1952 "Games and children's play", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 35, pp. 1-113.

Dupont, Pierre

- 1959 *L'archéologie mène de Dvāravātī*, publication de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, vol. 41 (vol. texte et vol. planches). Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris.

Funke, Friedrich Wilhelm

- 1960 "Die Stellung der Lawā in der Kulturgeschichte Hinterindiens", *Tribus* (Stuttgart) vol. 9, pp. 138-146. (Translation of title: "the position of the Lawā in the cultural history of Further India")

Grambo, Ronald

- 1971 "Ritual crying in folk tradition", *Anthropos*, vol. 66, pp. 938-945.

Hallet, Holt S.

- 1890 *A 1,000 miles on an elephant in the Shan States*. Edinburgh and London. William Blackwood and Sons.

Halliday, R.

- 1922 "The funeral customs of the Mons", *JSS*, vol. 16, pp. 28-35.

Heine-Geldern, Robert

- 1959 "Das Megalith-Problem". In: *Beiträge Österreichs zur Erforschung der Vergangenheit und Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, pp.162-182. Horn (Lower Austria).

Kauffmann, Hans E.

- 1962a "Formen und Motive in der Kunst des älteren Megalithentums Südasiens", *Tribus* (Stuttgart) 11, pp. 89-107.
(Translation of title: "forms and motifs in the art of the older megalithic complex in Southeast Asia")
- 1962b "Observations on the agriculture of the Chittagong hilltribes", *Sociology in East Pakistan, Occasional Studies of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol. 1, pp. 111-133, Dacca.
- 1964 "Thread-square and *talao* in Indo-China", *Memoirs of the VIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Moscow, vol. 9, pp. 420-424.
- 1968 "Das Fadenkreuz, sein Zweck und seine Bedeutung (II)", *Ethnologica* (Cologne) N.F. 4, pp. 264-313.
(Translation of title: "the thread-square, its purpose and its significance")
- 1971 "Stone memorials of the Lawā (Northwest Thailand)", *JSS*, vol. 59 pt. 1, pp. 129-151.
- 1972a "Some social and religious institutions of the Lawā (N.W. Thailand), Part I", *JSS*, vol. 60 pt. 1, pp. 237-306.

- 1972b "Die Samang der Lawā und ihre Menhire (Nordwest-Thailand)" *Ethnologische Zeitschrift Zürich*, vol. 1, pp. 223-231.

(Translation of title: "the *samang* of the Lawā and their menhirs")

- 1977 "Some social and religious institutions of the Lawā (northwestern Thailand), Part II", *JSS*, vol. 65 pt. 1, pp. 181-226.

Kunstadter, Peter

- 1965 *The Lua' (Lawā) of Northern Thailand: Aspects of Social Structure, Agriculture, and Religion*, Research Monograph No. 21, Center of International Studies, Princeton University, New Jersey, U.S.A.

- 1966a "Residential and social organization of the Lawā of northern Thailand", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, no. 22, pp. 61-84.

- 1966b "Living with Thailand's gentle Lua", *National Geographic Magazine*, 130 (1), 122-152 (July).

- 1967 "Hill and valley populations", Proceedings of the First Symposium, Chiang Mai.

- 1968 "A Lua' funeral", University of Washington, draft for private use only.

- 1969 "Socio-cultural change among upland peoples of Thailand: Lua' and Karen—two modes of adaptation", *Proceedings of the VIIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 1968*, Tokyo and Kyoto, vol. II, 232-235. Science Council of Japan, Tokyo.

- 1970 "Subsistence agricultural economics of Lua' and Karen hill farmers of Mae Sariang District, northwestern Thailand", Chiang Mai.

Kunstadter, Peter and Sally, and Harmon, Roger

- 1978 *Lua' of North Thailand: the Material Culture of the Upland Village of Pa Pae*. Catalogue of an exhibition at the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle.

Le May, R.S.

- 1925 "The Lü", *JSS*, vol. 19, pp. 159-169.
(Translation of an unknown author)

Lemoine, Jacques

- 1972 "L'initiation du mort chez les Hmong", *L'homme*, vol. 12 pt. 1, pp. 105-134.

McFarland, George Bradley

- 1944 *Thai-English Dictionary*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

Manndorff, Hans

- 1971 "Beobachtungen über die Lisu Nordthailands, über die Verehrung der Nat und die Zeremonien zur Neujahrszeit", *Studia Ethnographica et Folkloristica in honorem Béla Gunda*, pp.141-155. Debrecen.

(Translation of title: "observations on the Lisu in northern Thailand, on their nat-worship and their New Year ceremonies")

Marshall, Harry I.

1922 *The Karen people of Burma*. Columbus (Ohio).

Niggemeyer, Hermann

1963 *Ata Kiwan*. Film D 828/1961, Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen.

Nimmanahaeminda, Kraisi

1966 "Ham Yon, the magic testicles", *Artibus Asiae* Essays offered to G.H. Luce, vol. 2, pp. 133-148, Ascona.

1971 "The romance of Khun Luang Viranga", *Sawaddi - 15 years*, pp. 116-120, Bangkok.

Obayashi, Taryo

1964a "The Lawa and Sgau Karen in northwestern Thailand", *JSS*, vol. 52 pt. 2, pp. 199-216.

1964b "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Lawa in Nordwest-Thailand", *Memoirs of the VII. International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Moscow*, vol. 9, pp. 416-419.

(Translation of title: "notes on the religious life of the Lawa in northwestern Thailand")

1966 "Death customs of the Lawa in northwestern Thailand" *Memoirs of the Institute for Oriental Culture*, vol. 41, pp. 247-268.

(In Japanese, with an English summary)

Parry, N. E.

1932 *The Lakheres*. Macmillan, London.

Phrombhichitr, P.

1952 *Buddhist art: Architecture*. Pt. I, Prachandra Printing Press, Bangkok.

Playfair, A.

1909 *The Garos*. London.

Rajadhon, Phya Anuman

1962 "The khwan and its ceremonies", *JSS*, vol. 50 pt. 2, pp. 119-164.

1967 "Notes on the thread-square in Thailand", *JSS*, vol. 55 pt. 2, pp. 161-184.

Rangsit, M.C. Sanidh

1942/45 "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Lawasprachen von Nord-Siam", *Anthropos* 37/40, pp. 689-710.

(Translation of title: "contribution to the knowledge of the Lawa languages in northern Siam")

1945 "Die Lawa, ein hinterindisches Bergvolk", *Atlantis* (Zürich), 17, pp. 493-496.

(Translation of title: "the Lawa, hill people of Further India")



Figure 38. Death drums and gong are beaten in the ritual house of B. Omphāi Luang; inside the gong is a drawing for the death 'game' *tarē*. (7.2.1964)



Figure 39. Beating of death drums in the ritual house of B. Chāngmō Manōd. (31.12.1968)

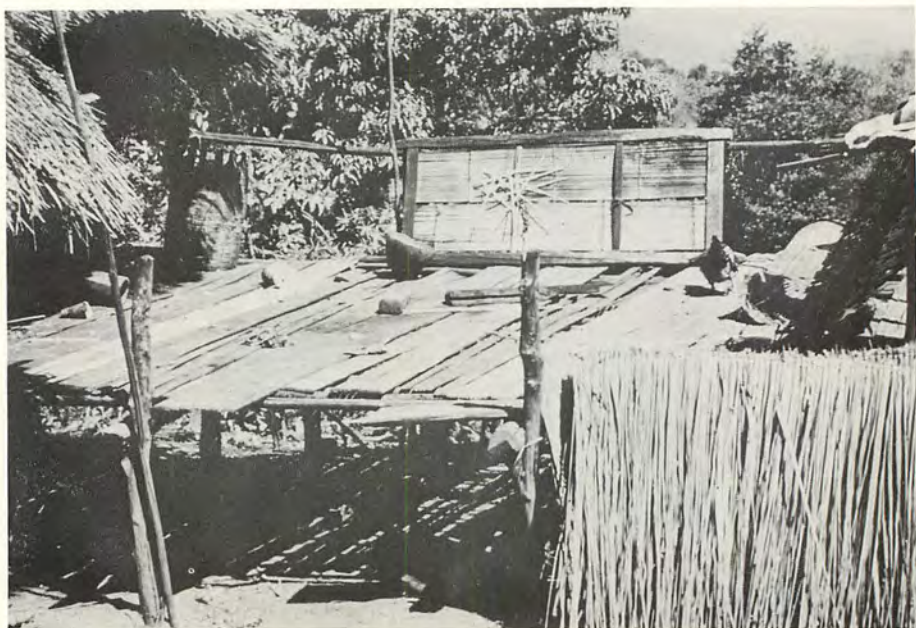


Figure 40. The door of the dead boy's house taken out and put up on the terrace; a *talāeo* for the door spirit is fixed on it.



Figure 41. The *hē* offering and the big gong on the terrace.

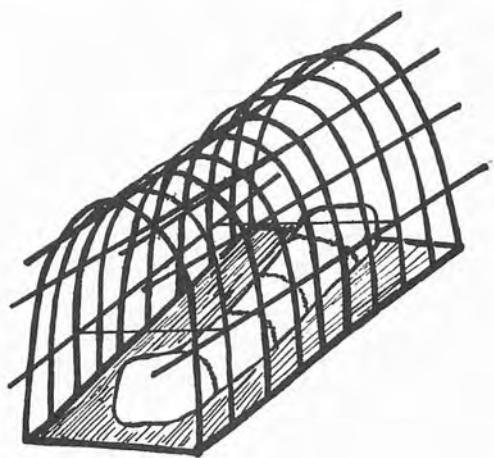


Figure 42a. Mourners crowding around the corpse under its canopy; above the head of the corpse are the cloths lent by the family line.



Figure 42b. Abstract of the corpse wrapped in cloths and bound in four places; two bamboo strings keep the canopy in form.



Figure 43. Making a coffin in B. Omphāi Luang: a trunk is split into halves by driving wedges.



Figure 44. The gorīd Nāi Pūd (foreground left) is measuring length and breadth of the coffin.



Figure 45. One half of the coffin is about ready.



Figure 46. Half the coffin is nearly finished and being trimmed on the outside; *Nāi Pūd* is holding it.



Figure 47. A black thread is drawn through a hole in the protruding end of the coffin.



Figure 48. The bundle of 25 thread-squares hung up in the ritual house of B. Ǿmphāi Luang; carvings on the underside of the beams. (9.2.1964)

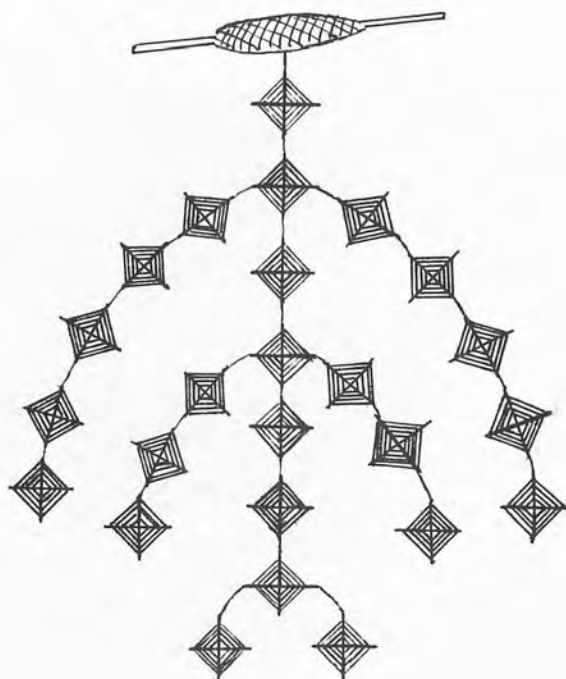


Figure 49. The system of distribution of the 25 thread-squares.

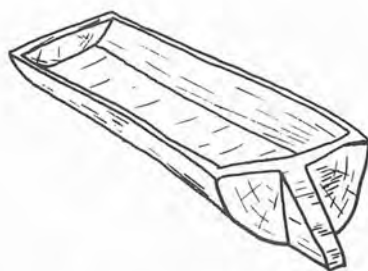


Figure 50. Lower part of coffin with protruding end, B. Ǿmphāi Luang. (1964)



Figure 51. One of the ends of the coffin with holes for coins and a cowrie, B. Ǿmphāi Luang. (1964)



Figure 52. Coffin with painted lid and money, B. Ǿmphāi Luang. (1938)



Figure 53. The pair of *galae* leaning against the *mbueang*, both for a baby's funeral, in front of the ritual house at B. Chāngmō Manōd. (1968)



Figure 54. A *galae* ('house horn'). A pair of them keeps the bamboo ridge piece of the grave hut in place.



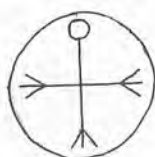
Figure 55. The new grave. Erected before it is the thread-square bundle. Left: winnowing fan with cross design; behind it a basket. Right: the basket for the chicken set free at burial. The ridge-pole has already fallen down in front of the grave-hut. (10.2.1964)



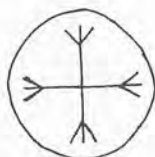
Figure 56. Backside of the new grave. The ridge pole is kept up by the scissor-like *galae*. To the right part of a big basket full of clothes of the dead boy is still visible. (10.2.1964)



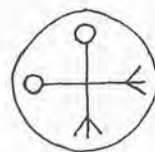
Figure 57. One of three decayed grave huts on the burial ground of B. Ǿmphāi Luang, with the skull of a sacrificed buffalo. Left: three baskets for the belongings of the dead man: a round, a quadrangular one and, more in front, a plaited satchel. Just at the left of it is a winnowing tray with the design of *tarē*. (7.2.1962)



a.



b.



c.

Figure 58. Three patterns of *tarē* designs.



Figure 59. Four men at the tare in B. Omphāi Luang.



Figure 60. The chua la'nāng: two men jumping between rice pestles clapped together by five couples of men in B. Omphāi Luang.

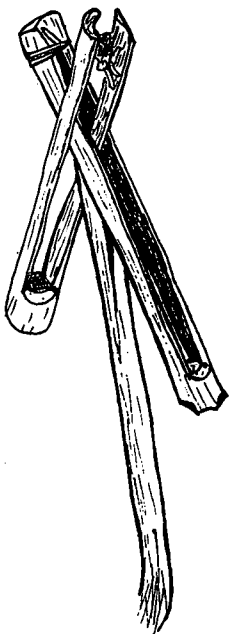


Figure 61. *Dyöksedyá* found on the burial ground near Omphāi Luang. (1964)

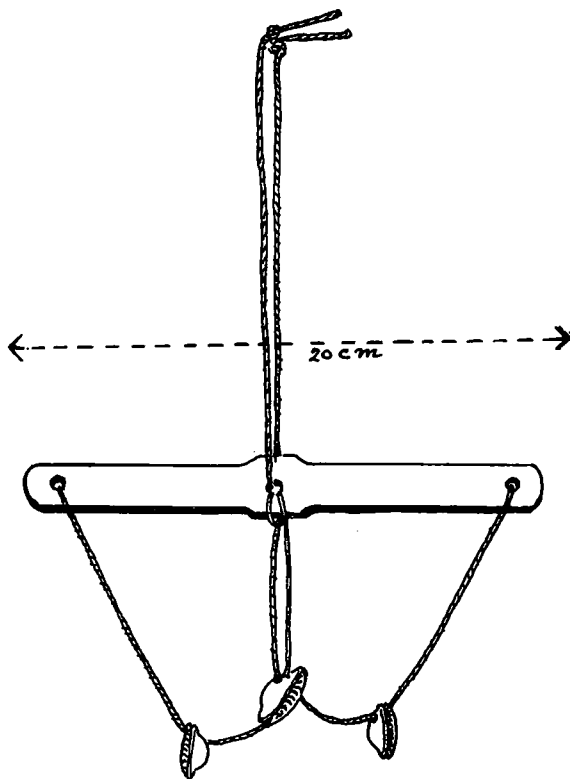


Figure 62. *Lējog* of northern villages.



Figure 63. Group of *mbueang* half-way between B. Yāeg and B. Den.



Figure 64. Group of *nām* at about 20 m distance from the group of *mbueang*.

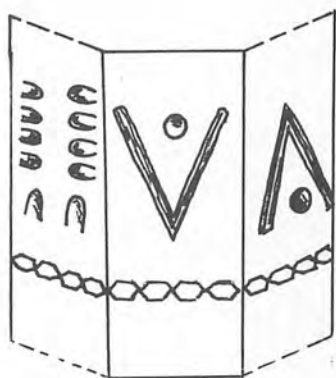


Figure 65a. Carving on a *nām* for a man, B. Pā Pāē.

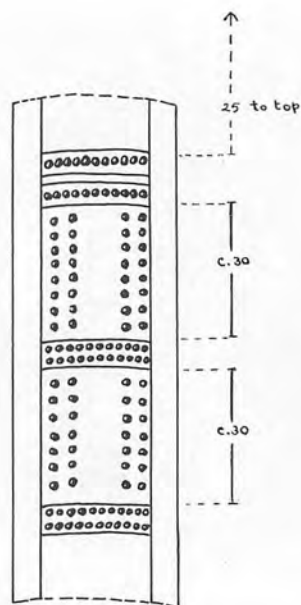


Figure 65b. Carving on a *nām* for a woman, B. Pā Pāē.



Figure 66. Two joined *nām* with two pairs of buffalo horns, B. Pā Pāē.



Figure 67. Carved 'chicken' in a *nām* plate, B. Pā Pāē.



Figure 68. Division of lower part of double *sagang* in Omphāi Luang into three parts by rings of squares (left) or teeth (right). Withered leaves recall a former sacrifice.

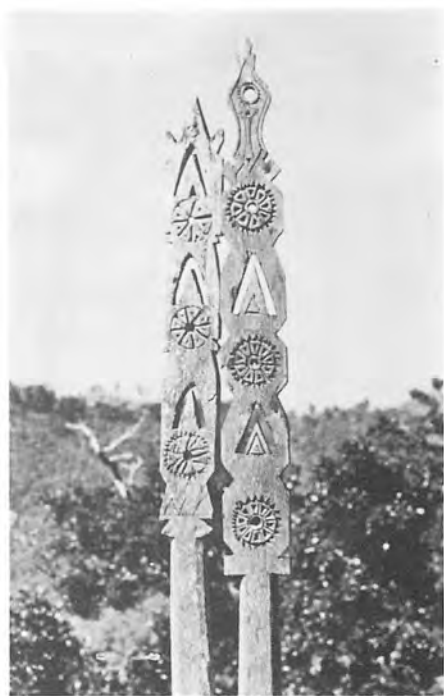


Figure 69. *Sagang la'* in B. Chāngmō Nōi



Figure 70. *Sagang la'* in B. Chāngmō Manōd.



Figure 71. *Sagang la'* in B. Chāngmō Luang.



Figure 72. *Sagang la'* in B. Ōmphāi Luang. In the middle of the carvings of the left post: a V-spiral.



Figure 73. The *sagang* in the western quarter of B. Pā Pāē, inhabited presumably by immigrants from B. Chāngmō Manōd.



Figure 74. *Sagang yong mombē* in B. Pae'. The knobs recall those of the three *sagang* in B. La'ub. The half rounded motifs above and below are related to similar ones on a *nām* post near B. Pā Pāē (fig. 65a).



Figure 75. Old sculptured trough for rice-husking in B. Chāngm̃ Ñi.



Figure 76. A girl husking rice, in a carved trough, by foot power; B. Chāngm̃ Ñi.

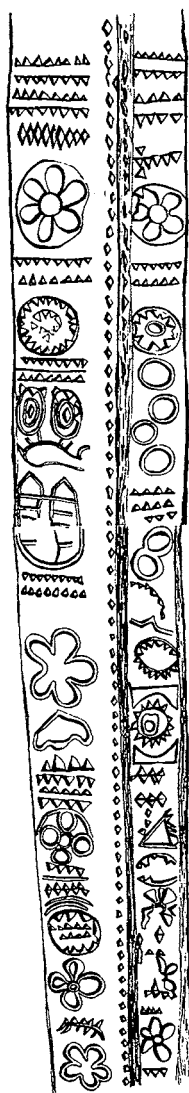
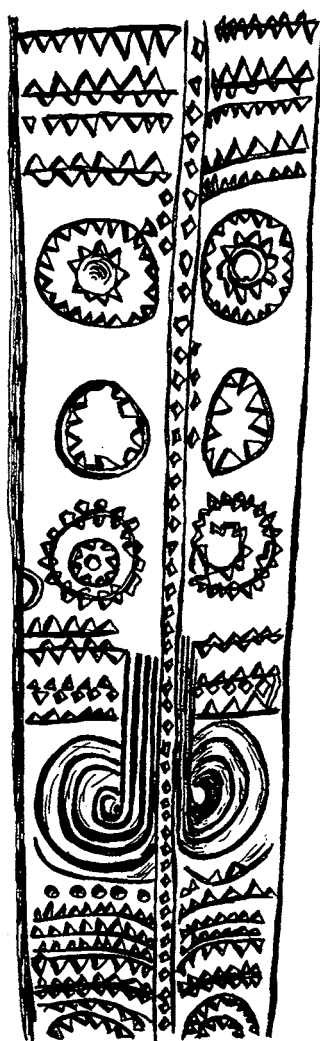


Figure 77. B. Ɔmphāi Luang: a girder's lower side on the west side of the *nyoe' nyū*. The heavy beam is partitioned lengthwise by a high crest.

Figure 78. B. Ɔmphāi Luang: lower side of a girder on the east side of the *nyoe' nyū*, with a multiple V-spiral.



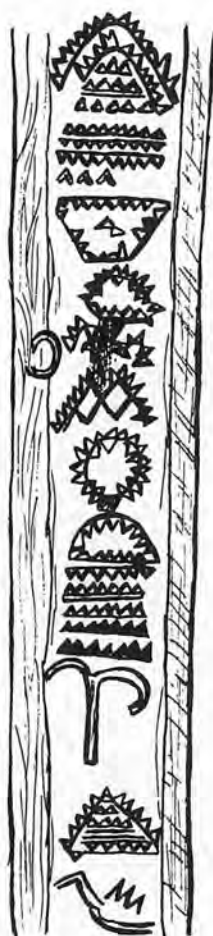


Figure 79. B. Omphāi Luang: inner panel of a post on the west side of the *nyoe' nyū*, with typical *hē* figure. (V-spiral).

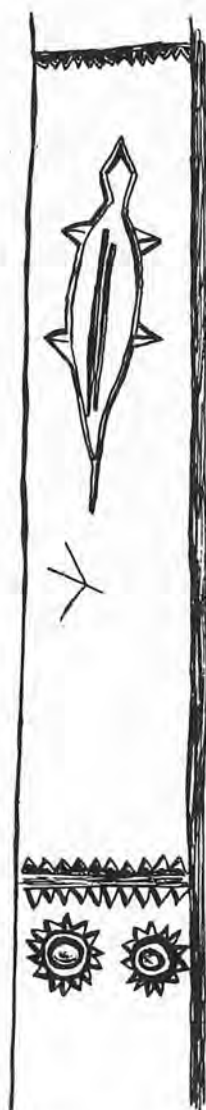


Figure 81. B. Omphāi Luang: lizard and rows of small triangles on a post in the *nyoe' nyū*.



Figure 80. B. Omphāi Luang: inner panel of another post on the west side.

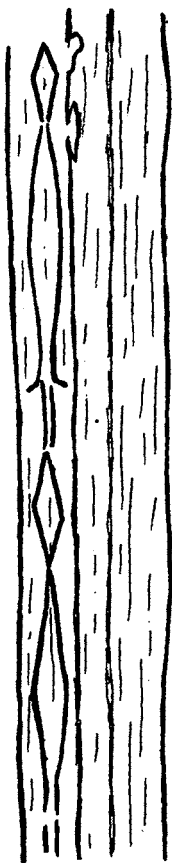


Figure 82. B. Yāēg: two lizards engraved
on a post of the *nyoe' nyū*.

Figure 82a. B. Yāēg: the same enlarged.

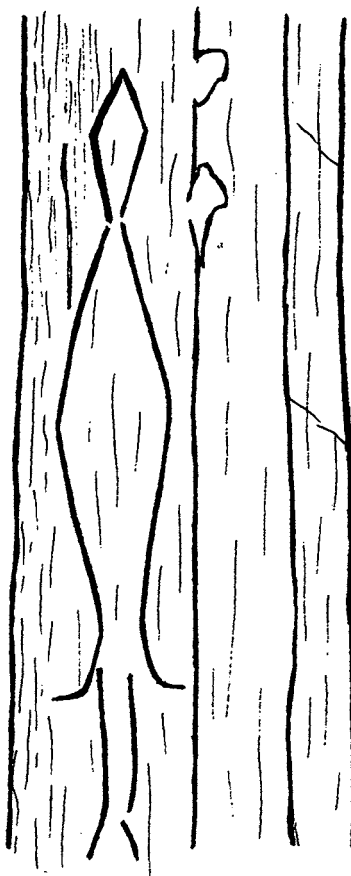




Figure 83. B. Chāngm̄ N̄i: engraving of two lizards and rosettes on northern post in the *nyoe' nyū*.

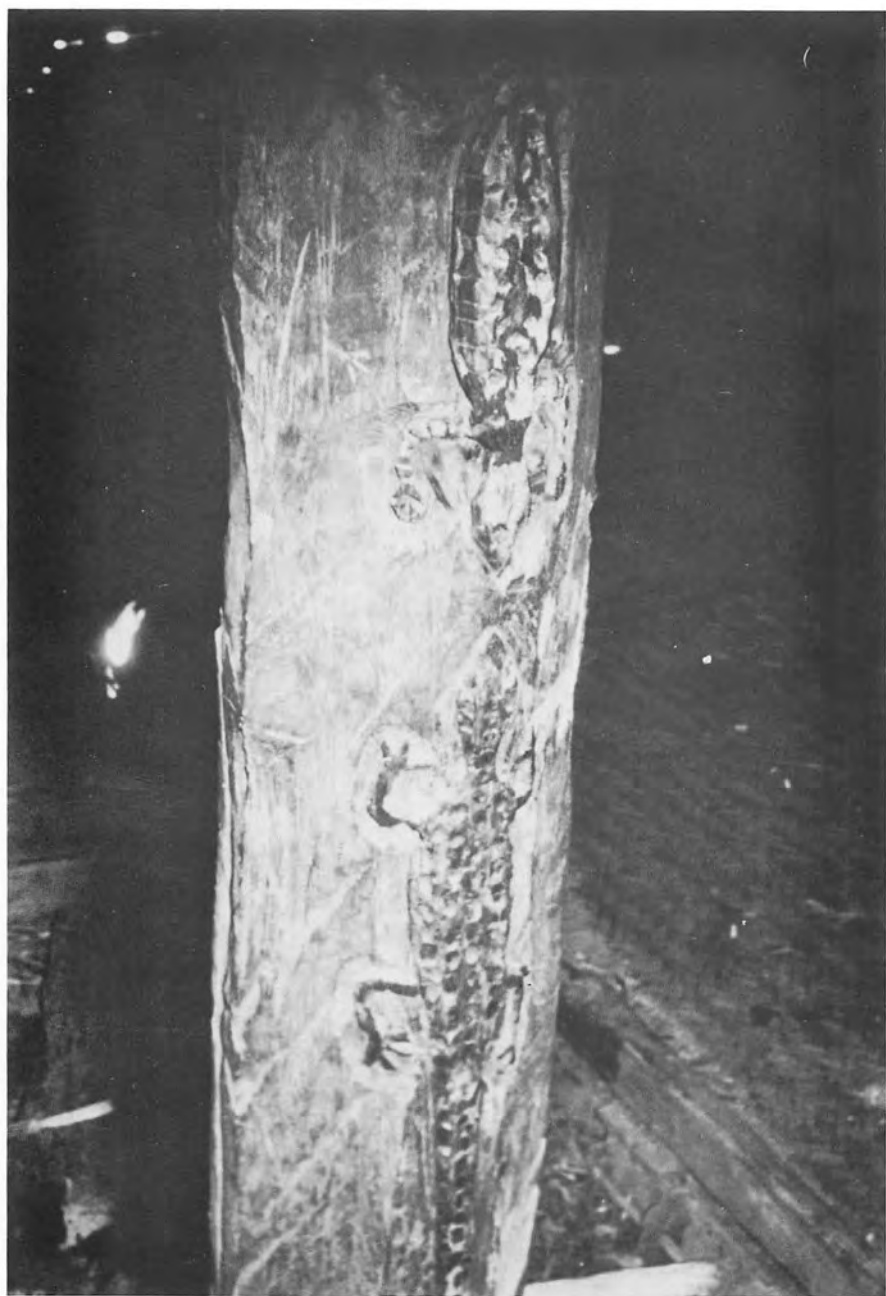


Figure 84. B. Chāngmō Nōi: high relief of two big lizards on a post in the *nyoe' nyū*.

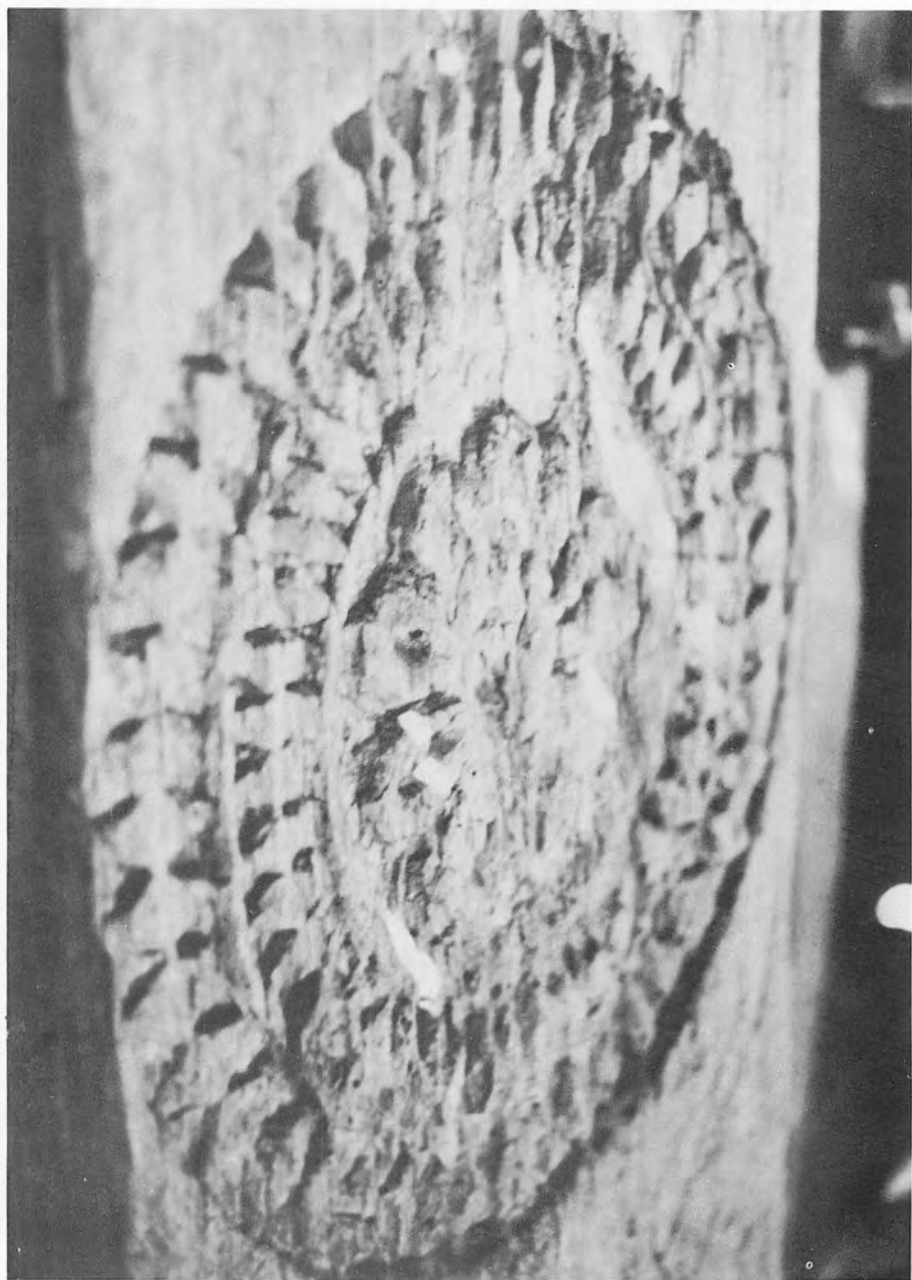


Figure 85. B. Den: big rosette on a post in the *nyoe' nyū*.



Figure 86. B. Chāngmō Luang: The northern girder in the eastern part of the *nyoe' nyū* seen from below, showing scrolls partly broken through.

Figure 87. House horns photographed at the north side of Thanon Tha Phae (ถนนท่าแพ = 'Raft Landing Street') in Chiang Mai.



Figure 88. B. Chāngmō Luang: Both horns of a *galae* are of the same length. An apparent difference is caused by the foreshortening of the photographs.

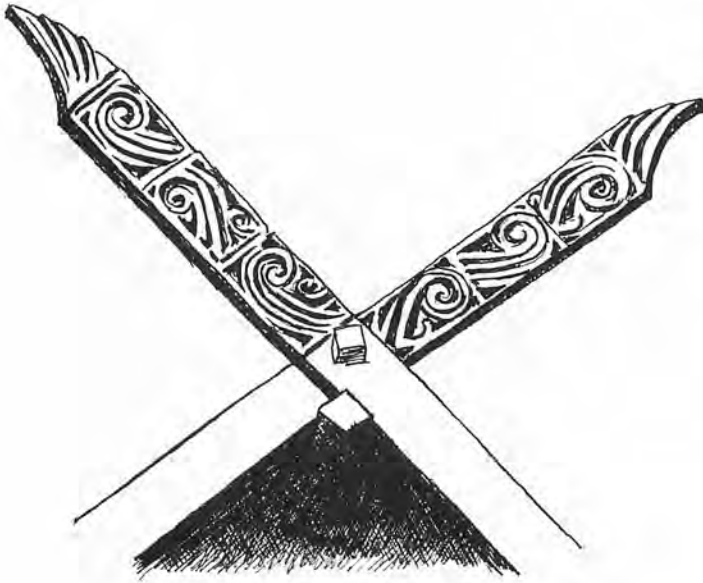


Figure 89. B. Pā Pāe.

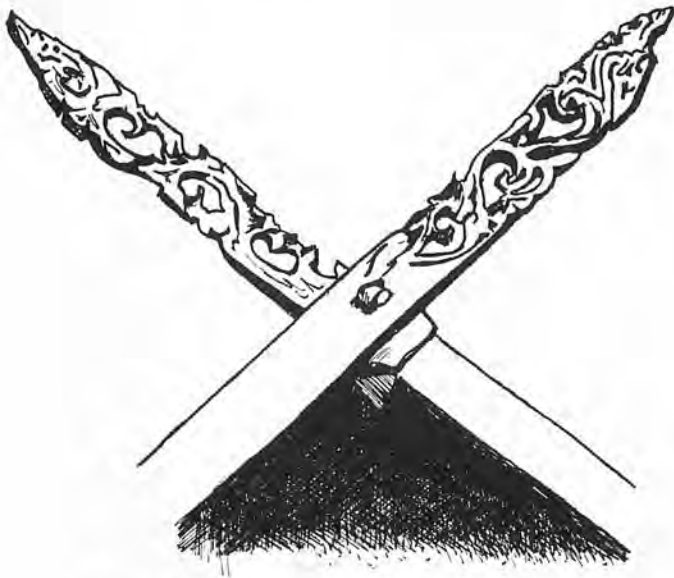


Figure 90. B. Pā Pāe, horns on headman's house.

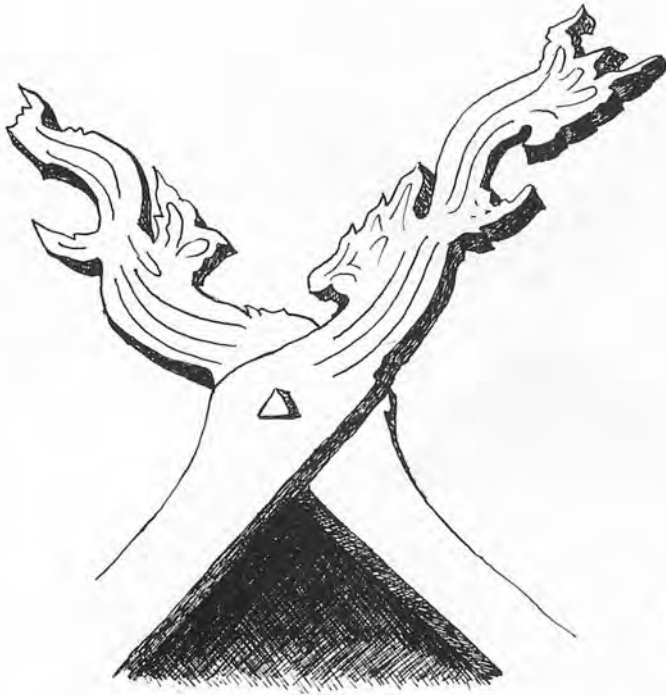


Figure 91. B. Gag N5i.



Figure 92. B. Pac'.

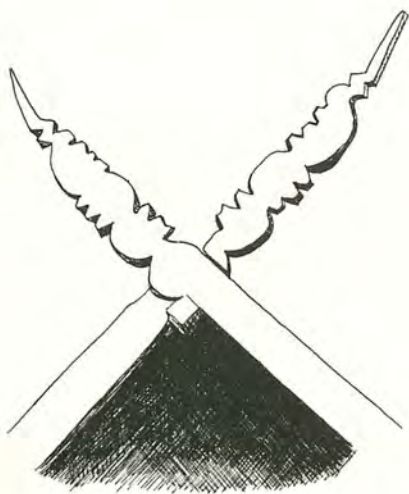


Figure 93. B. Dong, in western part of village.

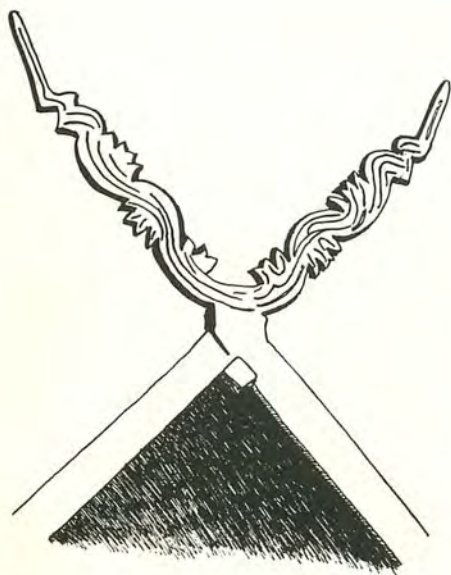


Figure 94. B. Dong, in northern part of village.

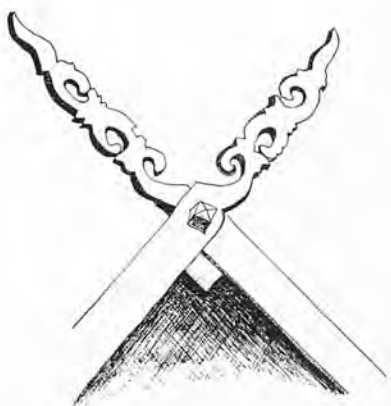


Figure 95. B. Hō'.



Figure 96. B. Yāēg.

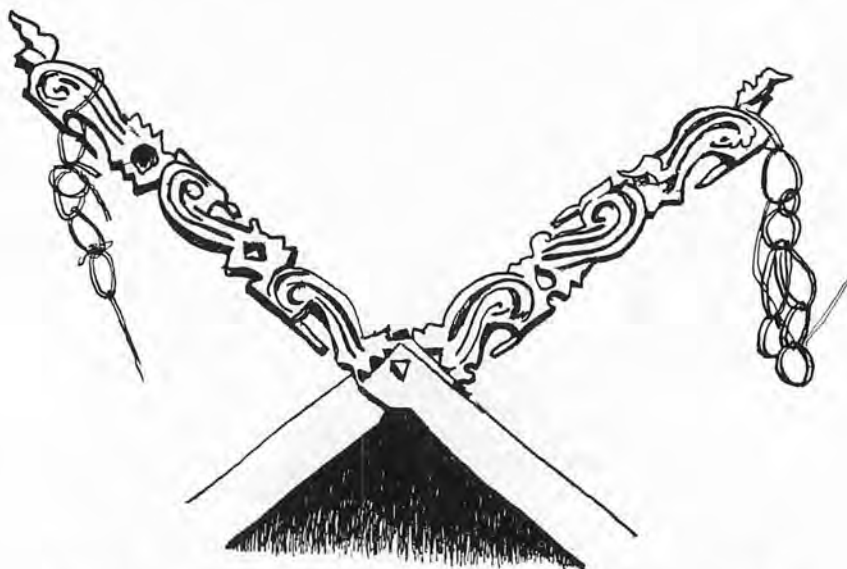


Figure 97. B. Ōmphāi Luang: curves on the horns are going the wrong way.



Figure 98. B. Mūēd Lōng.



Figure 99. B. La'āng Nuca.



Figure 100. B. Gog Nōi, wooden lintel.



Figure 101. B. Pac', wooden lintel.

Table 7. The stages of the Lawa death ritual

Village	Corpse in house, days	Wailing (lāc)	Singing (yueam)	Stick-dance (chua la'māng)	Death 'game' (tarē)	Coffin wood	On coffin: coins cowries paint			Coins into mouth, etc.	Karēn begins grave digging	Coffin and corpse carrying	Grave hut of thatch
Southern Lawa Umphai group	3-7	X	X	X	X only for samang	kho'khro	X	X	X	generally 25 Stg., house owner 1Rs.	0	coffin before nyoe'nyū. 2 young men carry it to grave with corpse	X
B. Pā Pāc	3-9	X	X	X 5 couples if BS	X if BS (or: saeng = tiger and birds)	kho'khro for small, red wood for big custom funeral	X	X	X	given to corpse: 24 cowries as spirit money	0	coffin alongside house of dead person	X
thern Lawa B. Sām	7: old people 5: adults 3: children			X 5 couples, only for men, always one villager and one guest dancing			X	X	X	poor: 1 win, rich: 1 Rs. at least		coffin before nyoe'nyū	X of bamboo halves if B
B. Muēd Lōng	5 if 1-2 BS, 9 if 4 BS									poor: 1 win, rich: 15 Rs.	X		
B. Gōg Nōi	3	X	X	0	X	any wood	0	0	0	1 Rs. at least		morning: coffin to grave by 2 young men; afternoon: corpse by group of old men	X
B. Hō	3-5, rich: 9			X only for adults	X	kho'khro	0	0	0	1 Rs. at least	X	same as Gōg Nōi	X
B. Khōng	1-5 according to money available	X	X	X 5 or 7 couples	X	poor: kho'khro, rich: kho'reni or kho'retum	X	0	X	1 Stg. each in mouth, ears, on eyes, heart	X	same as Gōg Nōi	X
B. Gōg Luang	3-5	0	0	0	0	same as B. Khōng	X	0	X	many Stg. in mouth, ears, hands, on eyes, heart	X	same as Gōg Nōi	X
B. Pae'	max.5	X	X	X only for samang	X only for samang	kho'khro, kho'reni, samang: kho'retum	X	X samang only	X samang: black, white, yellow lines	same as Gōg Luang	X	same as Gōg Nōi	X of bamboo halves for samang
B. La'āng Nuea	3-5	X if BS	X if BS	X for both sexes if BS	X for both sexes if BS	kho'retum if BS	0	X if BS	0	coins in mouth only			X
B. La'āng Tāi	3-5 5 only rich			0	X	kho'reō if pig, kho'retum if BS	X	0	0	same as La'āng Nuea	old men begin digging		
B. Dong	3-5	X	X	X if BS	X	kho'khro; kho'retum if BS	X	X	X		X	morning: coffin to grave by old man, afternoon: corpse by 18 old men	X
B. La'ub	3-9 according to age, not to wealth	X	X	X 5 couples if BS (or ox)	X	kho'khro if nothing, kho'la'oi if pig, kho'retum if BS	X	X	X	coins in mouth according to wealth	X	coffin from nyoe'nyū to grave by men's group, corpse by burial group of 21 old men	X

Note : BS = buffalo(s) sacrificed.

Personal things into coffin	Male/female objects on grave	Thread-squares	Dyóksedyá	Lējog	La'ga' la'māng	Feeding of dead after burial	Nām	Mbueang
X	X	X 25 for men only	X if BS	0	0	3 years at New Year on <i>mbueang</i>	X for male <i>samang</i> if BS	X everybody
X	X	X 15 if pig, 30 if BS	X if BS	0	0		X if BS	X everybody
		X 9 + 7 = 16, also for women if BS	X for men only if BS	0		3 years on <i>mbueang</i>	X if BS	X everybody
		X 9, called <i>lējog</i>	0	0	0		X men and women if BS	X everybody
		0	0			before burial, after burial nevermore	0	0
X (into grave)		0	0	X old men and women		on path to burial ground	0	0
X	X	0 a <i>tung</i> flag	0	X		same as B. Hó'	post called <i>sagang</i> , small, uncarved, at grave head	0
X	X	0	0	0	X	same as B. Hó'	post called <i>nām</i> , else as B. Khōng	0
X	X	0	0	X	X	same as B. Hó': yearly		
		0 (formerly they had)		X	X	same as B. Hó'	0 (formerly, now no more <i>sa-mang</i>)	X if BS
		0	0			same as B. Hó': yearly	0	X if BS
X	X		0	X (2 cowries)	X	same as B. Hó': yearly	0	X men and women if BS
X	X	X 16 for women inside coffin	0	X called <i>mai la' māng</i> (2 cowries), for all		same as B. Hó': yearly	X if BS	X everybody

Riesenfeld, Alphonse

1950 *The Megalithic Culture of Melanesia*. Mouton, Leiden.

Schuster, Carl

1952 "V-shaped chest-markings", *Anthropos*, vol.47, pp. 99-118.

1968 "The Ainu Inao (some comparative considerations)", *Proceedings of the VIIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Tokyo and Kyoto, vol. III, pp. 86-98.

Seidenfaden, Erik

1952 Review of Kunio Okada, *Economic Organization of the Li Tribes of Hainan Island*, Yale University Press (translated from Japanese), in *JSS*, vol. 40 pt. 1, pp. 84-92.

Srisawasdi, Bunchuai

1963a *Hill people in Thailand*. Bangkok. Chapter on "Lawa", pp. 135-190, translated by H. E. Kauffmann.

Original title: *chao khao nai thai*.

1963b *The Hill Tribes of Siam*. Publisher Nai Choob Phoopradit, Bangkok.

Steinmann, Alfred und Rangsit, M.C. Sanidh

1939 "Denkmalformen und Opferstätten der Lawa", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Berlin), vol. 71, pp. 163-174.

(Translation of title: "forms of monuments and places of sacrifice of the Lawā")

Swearer, Donald K.

1974 "Myth, legend and history in the northern Thai chronicles", *JSS*, vol. 62 pt. 1, pp. 66-88.

Thēwāphinimmit

1974 *Samud tamrā lāi Thai* ("teaching Thai design") Nai Phimwatanaphanid, Bangkok.

Thiele, Peter

1975 "Chinesische Totenbräuche in Nordtaiwan", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Braunschweig), vol. 100, pp. 99-114.

(Translation of title: "Chinese death customs in north Taiwan")

Turner, Violet B.

1971 "Life cycle ceremonies: the end of the cycle", *Sawaddi - 15 years*, pp. 48-53, Bangkok.

Wenk, Klaus

1965 "Drei 'Lāwā'-Vokabularien aus Nordthailand", *Oriens Extremus*, vol. 12, 1, pp. 107-127. Kommissionsverlag Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Young, Oliver Gordon

1974 *The Hill Tribes of Northern Thailand*. The Siam Society, Monograph No. 1 (1st ed. 1961).