

RECENT MANI SETTLEMENTS IN SATUN PROVINCE, SOUTHERN THAILAND

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Abstract

The Mani people are hunter-gatherers living in the western part of peninsular Thailand, north of the Malaysian border. During field campaigns in 1995 and 1996 the occupation of ten rock shelters and nine forest camps were recorded. All these belong to the present-day system of up to one hundred different living sites, inhabited by Mani groups during one year in the forested region of Trang, Satun and Phatthalung Provinces. Most of the camps studied could be assigned to a specific Mani group, and it was even possible to tell individual housing habits apart. Beside documentation of the camps, the authors were able to construct kinship structures for 179 persons, belonging to six generations for the Mani. In addition, four prehistoric sites, related to the Hoabinhian and/or the Neolithic, were discovered.

Research on the Mani¹

The Mani are the northernmost group of the Semang, or Orang Asli, of the forest areas of the Thai-Malaysian Peninsula. The dense, and previously well preserved, forests of Trang, Satun and Phatthalung provinces were, and indeed still are, the home for hunter-gatherer groups of the Mani (*mani*, meaning 'we people', is the term they use to name themselves, as opposed to *hami*, meaning 'the others' used for Thai and other communities). Until the start of intensive logging which began only twelve years ago Mani life was relatively unaffected by outside communities.

The first written record of the Mani is found in the writings of King Rama V, who visited them in 1907. In the 1920s, the renowned Austrian ethnologist, Paul Schebesta, whose main scientific work was on the Semang of Malaya (Schebesta 1952, 1954 & 1957), met a small band of Mani in Phatthalung Province (Schebesta 1925). The Mani of Satun Province were also visited by the ethnologist Hugo

Bernatzik (1962). Significant information on Mani life has recently published by Suwat Thonghom (1995) with the help of the Trang provincial authorities. These publications are the main source of data on the Mani groups of southern Thailand.

Today, the Mani number just over 140 individuals, nearly the same number as 60 years ago, as recorded by Bernatzik. They live in a virtually inaccessible area of large limestone karst outcrops, comprising steep cliffs, narrow valleys, and small basins. These unapproachable land formations are one of the reasons that the Mani have been able to sustain their traditional forest lifestyle, despite the presence of large farming communities in the vicinity.

Numerous caves and rock shelters in the karst towers serve as habitation sites for the Mani groups. As sedimentary traps, the caves

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have accumulated substantial soil deposits, containing the remains of sub-recent settlements and prehistoric occupation. The first excavations at Sakai Cave, Trang Province in 1991 (Figure 1, site 21) exposed hunter-gatherer occupation as far back as 10,000 BP, as well as neolithic burials (Pookajorn 1991; Albrecht et al. 1994).

The Mani today

Mani society is undergoing radical change from ever-increasing contact with the Thai population over the last ten years. Since the disappearance of the guerrilla groups of the 1970s–80s, the traditional settlement area of the Mani has been heavily disturbed by the intensification of logging and rubber plantations making greater contact with outside groups inevitable. Development in the upper Langu River region ran relatively smoothly up to the early 1990s. In 1993, the Bueng group of Mani were relatively undisturbed, living a typical forest lifestyle. Traditional camps and indigenous tools were still in use; contacts with farmers were restricted to work as labourers on the winter rice harvest.

Although proclaimed as a Thai National Park, there appears to be no halting the progressive destruction of the rain forest in this region because of powerful economical interests. Nutrition has recently become a major problem; with the forest and its wildlife which had sustained them disappearing, the Mani are forced to spend more time working in the fields, or living from public welfare such as at Nam Tok Mae Taeng near the Phatthalung dam. Although there is still wild honey to be found, the Mani, excepting the Ló group in the southeast of Satun Province, are obliged to sell it cheaply to farmers rather than using it as a nutritional supplement.

From February 1995, and even more in 1996, significant changes were observed. The former large band had split into several smaller units, whose leadership had been taken over by men, the presence of a male leader being more acceptable to Thai society. In a few years, there will be no space left for these forest dwellers. The Mani are being forced to change their traditional way of life, and are beginning to work as labourers on the local farms and

plantations. Those who have money are beginning to learn about consumer society and becoming dependant upon wages and the goods they provide.

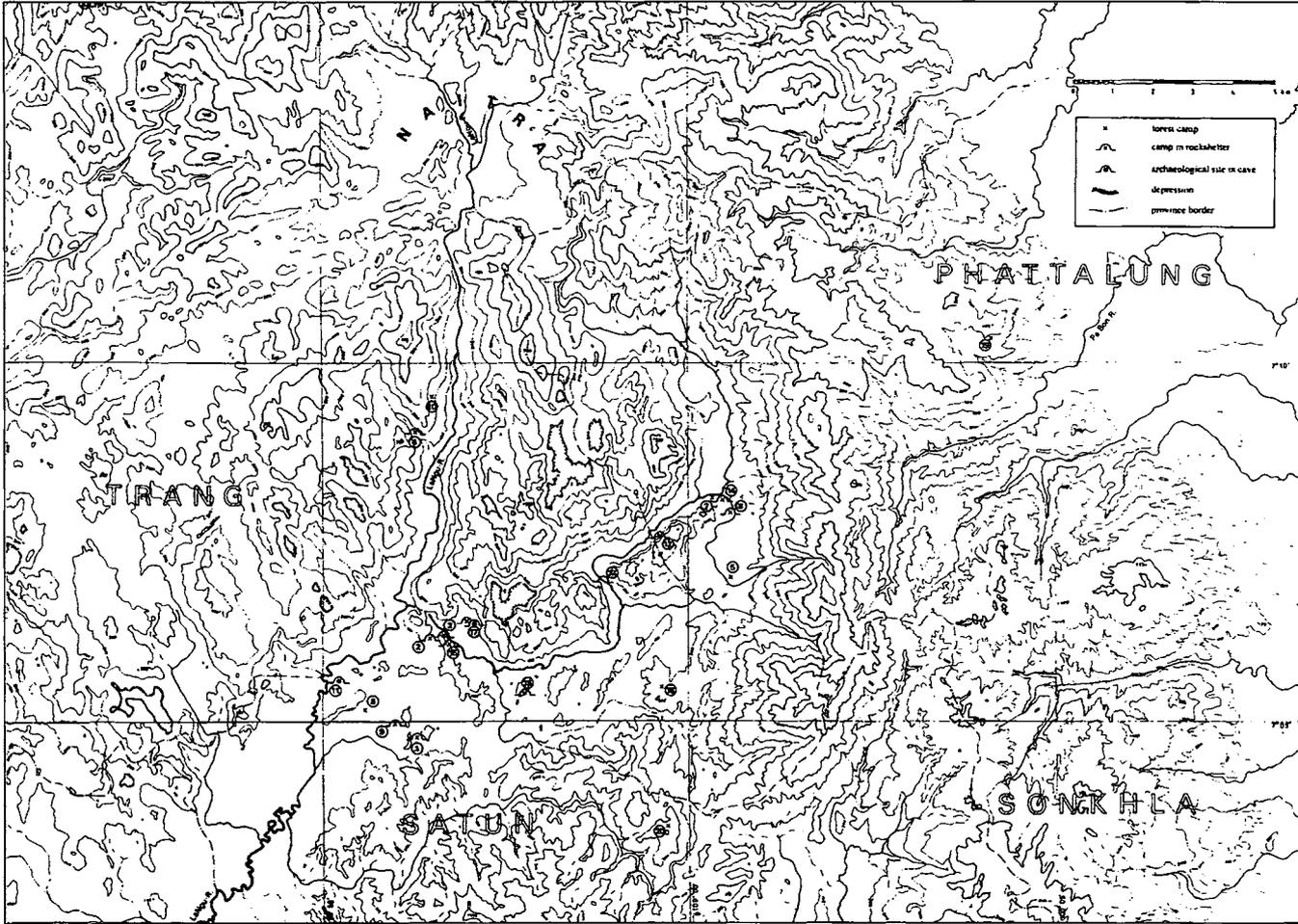
For ethnographic research, there is but limited time to record data on Mani society before it loses all recognizable connection with its ancient lifestyle. It is recognition of this time constraint, that the Tübingen/Bangkok joint venture was initiated immediately following the establishment of co-operation between the universities of Tübingen and Silpakorn. In 1993 initial research was conducted in Trang province and then in Satun province. This field work determined that the most promising area, that least disturbed, was located at the convergence of three provinces: Trang, Satun and Phatthalung. Research indicated that further investigations would be most profitably concentrated in this area.

The fieldwork²

Following earlier ethno-archaeological fieldwork in the mountain area of Trang province (Pookajorn 1991; Albrecht et al. 1994) and in the upper Langu River Area in Satun Province (Albrecht 1994), field campaigns were carried out in the forest of northeastern Satun province, from 23rd February to 22nd March 1995, and from the 27th January to 8th February 1996. These latest investigations centred on the occupied and recently abandoned camps of the Mani (Sakai) in this region.

Seven occupied rock shelters and six forest camps were carefully recorded and mapped. Several other living areas in rock shelters and in the forest were also noted and sketched. All these occupations are part of a system of up to one hundred different living sites currently inhabited by Mani groups during a single year spread through the forested region of Trang, Satun and Phatthalung provinces (Figure 1). Most of the camps studied could be assigned to a specific Mani group.

Since detailed topographical maps were not available orientation and mapping in this rugged wilderness was made possible by the use of the global positioning system³. The co-ordinates noted after the site names are given regardless of their divergence from existing maps.



Key to numbered sites

- 1 La Yuang Pueng
- 2 Tam Jet Kot I
- 3 Tam Jet Kot II
- 4 Tam Na Daeng
- 5 'Kwaan' forest camp
- 6 Tam 'Sap'
- 7 Kai Ki Ma
- 8 Tong Nong Nien
- 9 Tam Nong Nien
- 10 Kao Nam Ta
- 11 Tam Hoi
- 12 Tam Yao
- 13 Tam Koop (sediment trap)
- 14 Qu'ham Mo Biyae
- 15 La Dschaem
- 16 La Sawaang
- 17 Tam Kleo I
- 18 Pa Pon
- 19 Nam Tok Mae Taeng
- 20 Kuan Din Dam
- 21 Sakai Cave

Recent Mani settlements in Satun Province, Southern Thailand

Figure 1 Map of research area

LEGEND			
(A)	BAMBOO TWEEZERS	(V)	DART CONTAINER AND/OR BLOWPIPE
(B)	ENAMEL BOWL	(W)	BAMBOO WATER CONTAINER
(C)	TIED UP BUNDLE	(X)	OTHER REMAINS
(D)	REMAINS OF BLOWPIPE AND/OR DART FABRICATION		
(E)	CLOTH RAG		
(F)	ANIMAL BONE REMAINS		FIRE PLACE FOR COOKING / WARMING
(G)	WOVEN BASKET	5	UNIT No.
(H)	HUMAN HAIR		COOKING STANDS FOR BAMBOO TUBES
(K)	KNIFE OR PART OF IT		BAMBOO SLEEPING PLATFORM
(L)	METALLIC SPOON		PROJECTION OF PALM LEAVES SHELTER
(M)	BAMBOO MUG		LAYERS OF DRY LEAVES
(N)	HONEYCOMB		ROCK OVERHANGING
(O)	COCONUT BOWL		SHELTER OF PALM LEAVES
(P)	AWL		ROCK PAINTINGS / WOOD ENGRAVINGS
(S)	SHELLS AND/OR SNAILS		ENTRANCE OF SHELTER, MAX. HEIGHT
(T)	BAMBOO COOKING TUBE		TREE
(U)	BAMBOO CONTAINER		LIMESTONE ROCK / STALACTITE

Figure 2 Key for following plans of rock shelter and forest camp sites

In the following text, only camps of known Mani groups are described. When possible, the names of the inhabitants of each camp are given, together with the number allotted to them in the Mani genealogy in Tables 1 and 2.

The sites

La Yuan Pueng—07° 04' 50" N; 99° 56' 11" E, (Figure 1, Site 1)

This rock shelter was first examined in 1994, has been published (Albrecht 1994) and is listed here to complete the information. The most recent occupation of this site was from late 1993 to the beginning of February 1994, with 25 people of the Bueng group living here. The most impressive features are the rock paintings along the walls of the rock shelter. In the same period the Bueng group also utilised the nearby cave, Tam Nong Nien, one km away, in the same limestone outcrop.

Tam Nong Nien Rock shelter—07° 05' 05" N; 99° 55' 50" E, (Figure 1, Site 9 and Figure 3)

This site was recorded on 6th March 1995. Information about the former inhabitants was

given by Kleo Boonrung, a local farmer, who employed this Mani group during the rice harvest. The site was occupied from late 1993 to early 1994. Nine groups of sleeping platforms were identified at the entrance of the cave. These groups only approximate to family units.

Unit 3 could be recognized as the place of the old woman Bueng (3)⁴. Until 1994, she was the *kepala*, the head of this entire group (Schebesta 1925: 24). After 1994 the group split into smaller units. Bueng's platform is the only full length one. All other sleeping platforms served only for the upper parts of the body, with a layer of leaves lower down, as preserved in units 2 and 8. This is in contrast to the sleeping structures in La Yuan Pueng, where most of the platforms consist of two parts, forming an obtuse angle adequate for the whole body (Albrecht 1994:201). Units 1, 2, 4 and 6 consist of pairs of platforms at right angles to each other, with two persons sharing the same leaf layer for their legs.

One fireplace located between the angle of the sleeping platforms, in the rectangular patterned structures, appears typical. To hold the platform off the ground at one end, the fork of a branch was generally utilized. In units 4 and 8 stone slabs instead of branches served as



Figure 3 Tam Nong Nien rock shelter 1995

a base. The platforms of units 1 and 2, near the drip line of the cave, were protected from rain and sun by sloping roofs of palm leaves, as in La Yuan Pueng. Unit 9, being in a poor state of preservation could be remains from an earlier phase of occupation.

In unit 7, the remains of dart manufacture were found, including the handle of a knife utilized in that process. In unit 3, a bamboo mug was found. It belonged to the old woman Bueng, and was used for serving liquid drugs (personal communication from Kleo Boonrung).

Of interest is the apparent 'hidden' deposit of two containers, or ladles, found in a cavity of the limestone wall, at the south end of the site. The handles are made from branches, with the 'cup' being formed by large leaves.

A splinter of plain glass was found, under a layer of leaves, at the extreme rear of the cave. A tuft of hair was found in another niche, a few meters away. Questions remain of whether they are intentional depositions, and/or if the deposits are somehow linked.

The best parallel to La Yuan Pueng, except for the painted frieze at La 'Dschaem' rock shelter (Figure 11), comes from the charcoal drawings on the northern wall of the cave. However, unlike at La Yuan Pueng, there are no human figures. The drawings display different signs, among them the *igan*, a fresh water fish (personal communication Tao Sang (36), head of a Mani group, in Trang Province).

The site was revisited on 31st January 1996, having been briefly occupied for three or four nights in December 1995, according to Kleo Boonrung, by part of the Sen group, including Yao (58) and his wife Prang (57) and between eleven to fifteen persons in seven units. Some changes in the pattern of occupation were noted.

With the exception of the back part of the cave, the same area at the mouth of the cave was used, as in the winter 1993/1994. Even some of the platforms looked just like the old ones. And as two years previously, stone slabs were used to support the platforms. The utilised area was extended to the north, along the wall of the rock shelter and on a sloping surface, but inside the drip line. The change in level was better compensated for than during the last occupation, by a careful step-like construction

of wooden bars. Bueng's bamboo mug was still in the rock shelter.

Tam Jet Kot I Rock shelter—07° 06' 12" N; 99° 56' 18" E, (Figure 1 site 2 and Figure 4)

This was recorded on 26 February 1995. Information about the former inhabitants was given by local farmers who told us that it had been occupied in December 1994.

This site is situated at the foot of a steep cliff; outside the rock shelter there is an earthen mound, the surface of which slopes down to the back wall of the rock shelter. The sleeping platforms are located on this slope, being well hidden and hardly recognizable from the outside.

Eleven groups of sleeping platforms were identified. In units 9 and 10, the platforms consist of two parts, comparable to the structures found in La Yuan Pueng. No angled platforms were found with fireplaces between the angles, as in Tam Nong Nien. Most of the platforms serve only the upper part of the body, a person's legs being placed on leaf layers, as in Tam Nong Nien. As the site had only been recently been abandoned, the leaf layers and the other structures were all well preserved. As at La Yuan Pueng and Tam Nong Nien, the platforms in the area of the drip line are sheltered by sloping palm leaf roofs.

In unit 1, the sleeping area contains only a layer of leaves, and is situated slightly apart, at the southern end of the inhabited area. By comparing this arrangement with the sites of Tong Nong Nien, Kao Nam Ta and Tam Na Daeng this should denote the sleeping place of the old man Sing (25).

Unique to a forest occupation is a small table-like construction in unit 3, attached to the wall, giving the impression of a bedside table. Features like this are known from Mani occupation in the rubber plantations, as in the one near Tschong Nap, a village in the Thung Wa district, where they serve to store kitchen goods.

Apart from some cloth rags, this occupation is not rich in the remains of special activities. Two enamel plates were found at the foot of the limestone wall, at the north end of the site. In a niche behind unit 5, a bunch of bananas were found. It appears as though the site was abandoned suddenly, as a large number of

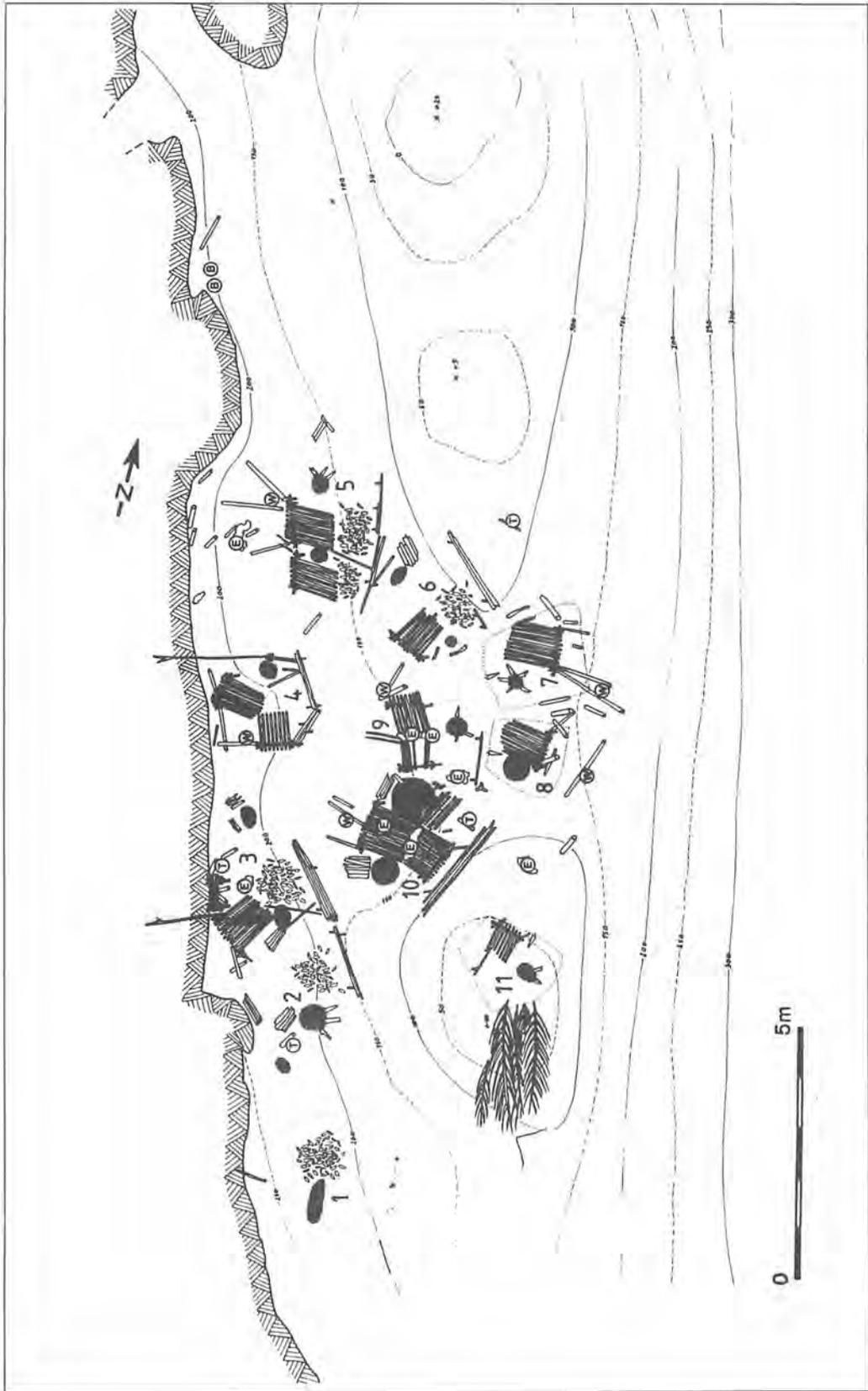


Figure 4 Tam Jet Kot I rock shelter

unused bamboo containers and collected firewood, were found. This, together with the partially burnt wood in the fireplaces of units 2, 5, 7, 9 and 11, support this speculation. A large number of red cloths were also found, red being the favourite clothing colour of the Mani.

No rock paintings were found, which might indicate that the site was occupied for only a short time. Leaving Tam Jet Kot I, this Mani group moved to Tong Nong Nien, three km away. Although no sleeping platform in Tam Jet Kot I could be identified as belonging to the old woman Bueng and, from this time onwards she seems not to have been with this Mani group, although the local farmers named the Mani here at this site as the 'Bueng' group. As of the beginning of 1996, this rock shelter had not been reoccupied.

Tong Nong Nien Forest Camp—07° 05' 19" N; 99° 55' 25" E. (Figure 1, Site 8 and Figures 5 and 6)

This site was recorded on 7 March 1995 and, according to information given by the local farmer, Kleo Boonrung, it was occupied in January 1995.

Of all the sites observed during the 1995 field campaign, Tong Nong Nien is outstanding. First, it is a large camp, with 15 groups of sleeping platforms. Second, these platforms are connected to each other with gangways, and floors of split bamboo. The investment of time, materials, and energy gives the impression of a more permanent occupation.

A special type of combined platform can be noted in units 5 and 15. It consists of a two-part platform for an adult and another at right angles to these, which are perhaps sleeping places for children. Kleo Boonrung related that unit 15 was utilised by Jaa (76) and her two children Puk (141), of two years, and the new-born Baen (142).

This type of structure, with two short platforms at right angles to each other, and a fireplace in between, is common in Tam Nong Nien and can be seen in units 4 and 6. In one case, unit 9, this structure has been modified, using a base of sticks to serve the legs of the sleeping individual, instead of a layer of leaves.

Unit 1 was the sleeping place of Sing (25). It consisted simply of a roof of palm leaves, tied

to a tree and two poles, and a small fire place. Unit 3 was the single platform of Re (24). Both men are the husbands of Dschai (79). Unit 2, located between Sing and Re, was occupied by Dschai and her four children, Thong (143), Lom (144), Lap (145) and Don (146). This 'family' was spatially separated from the other inhabitants, and from the bamboo floor.

Unit 14 was occupied by Kai (75), the husband of Jaa (76), who occupied unit 15. Unit 9 is the largest of the shelters, connected with the central bamboo floor by a long gangway, leading directly under the roof. The Sen family lived here, perhaps with Sen's (6) daughter Sap (23), who, after the departure of Bueng, seemed to have been the strongest member of this Mani group.

Unit 10 was occupied by the Kwaan (27) family. Also a large shelter, it is located 'next door' to the Sen family. There is only vague information about the inhabitants of the other units. Unit 5 could belong to the Gam (82) family, and unit 11 to Tsem (?), whose wife and children lived in unit 12. The Loo family stayed in unit 4 or 6 and Dek (or Daed), together with a child in unit 13.

As is typical in forest camps, all the structures were covered by sloping palm leaf roofs. The entrances of shelters 4 through 13 inclusive, are oriented toward the central split bamboo floor.

This site was rich in kitchen equipment with many bamboo cooking tubes, bamboo tweezers and a bamboo mug, found in unit 5; a bone awl, used to open special seeds in unit 6, and a woven basket, was found in front of unit 12. In unit 7, there were the remains of blowpipe dart fabrication. Behind unit 5, human hair had been placed near a large tree trunk, and cloth rags were found in units 5, 10 and 11. In the small unit 13 a bamboo container concealed in the roof contained poison for darts.

In unit 14, the sleeping place of Kai, and concealed in the roof in the same way, another bamboo container was found. This one contained grease of a *mu din* (hog badger). The burrow of such an animal was still to be seen in a small mound at the centre of the occupation. According to the information of Kleo Boonrung, the Mani rub this grease onto their bodies before dancing, and going into a trance.

The Tong Nong Nien forest camp was most probably used for an annual meeting of members

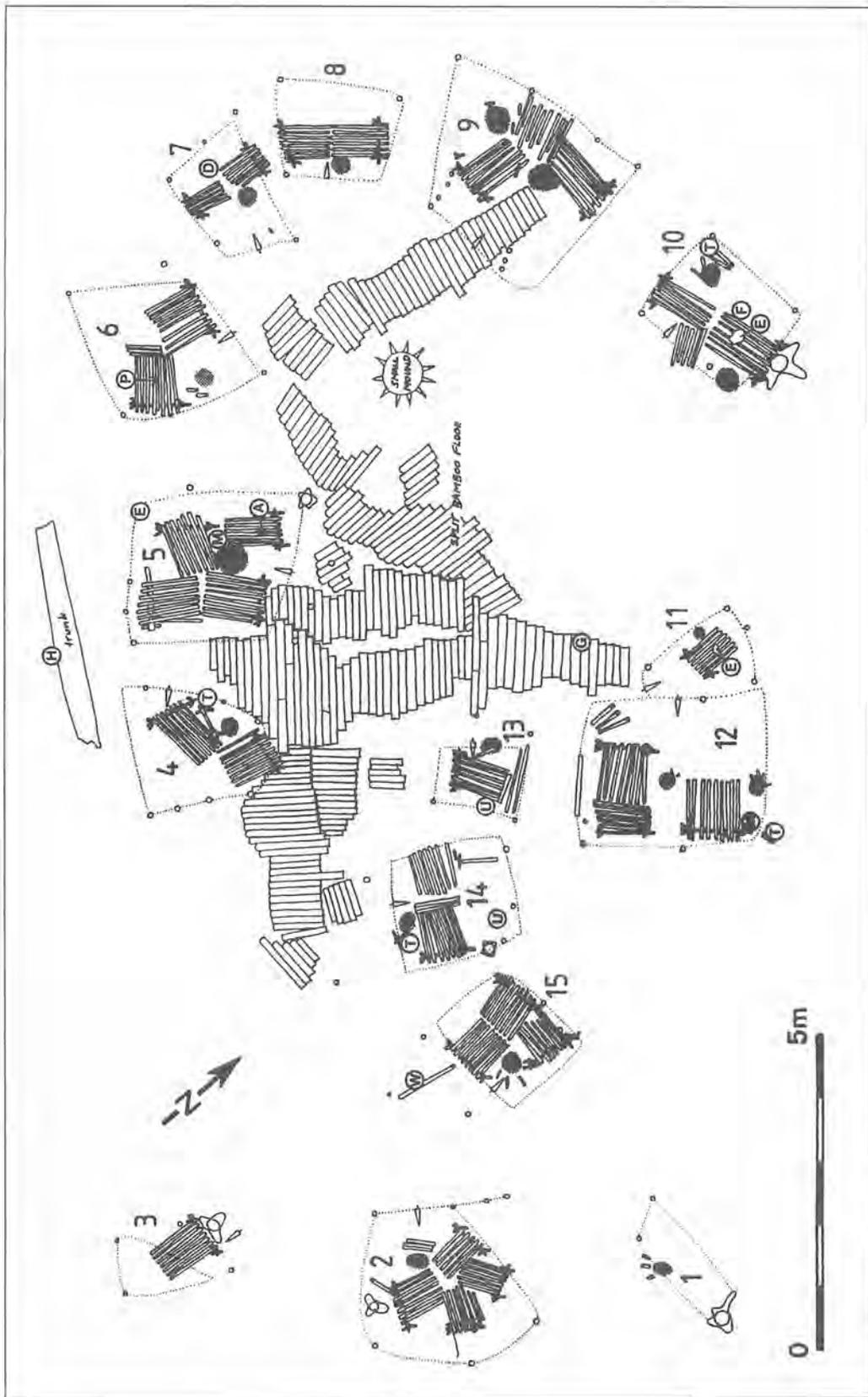


Figure 5 Tong Nong Nien forest camp 1995

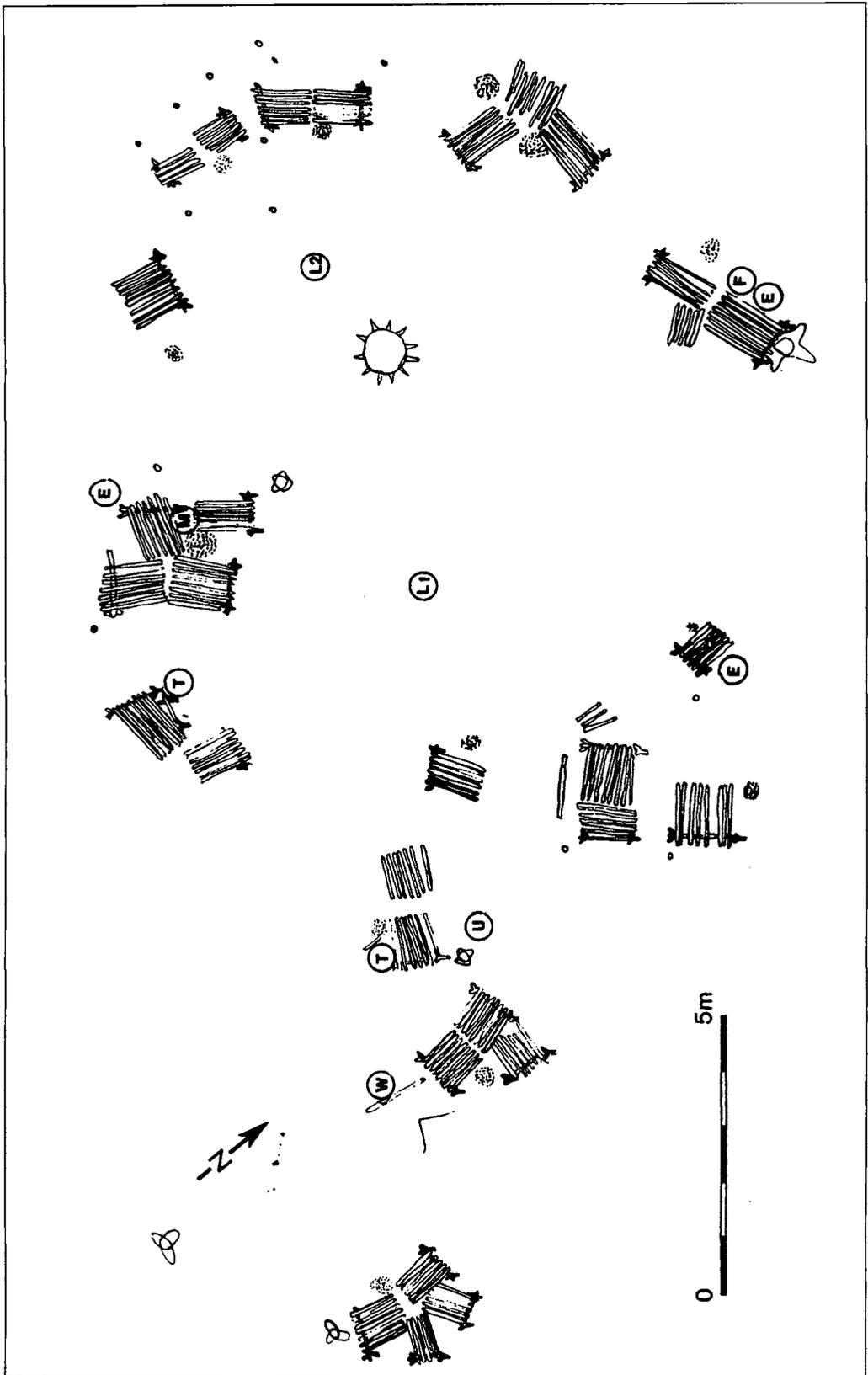


Figure 6 Tong Nong Nien forest camp 1996

of the former Bueng group. Perhaps this site also functioned as a ceremonial location as more than 30 people, including children, gathered here. After a meeting in January, most of the Mani left this area in a north-easterly direction (via Tam Sap or Kai Ki Ma, see below). Only the families of Sing / Re / Dschai, Kai / Jaa and Som Priau (= Dschaem, 22) / Run (50) / Maen (51) / Na'e (52) remained in the region during our 1995 fieldwork.

The site was revisited on 28 January 1996 (Figure 6). One year having passed, the Tong Nong Nien camp appeared undisturbed, all the structures having rotted. Previously hidden, two pits were now visible below the central platform; one of which yielded a bamboo container. The specific function of these pits is unclear, other than that they served as hiding places.

Tam Na Daeng Rock shelter—07° 08' 57" N; 99° 56' 17" E, Figure 1, Site 4)

This site was first visited on 26th February 1995. No mapping was done the first day, but much information was received through interviews with the Mani who were at the site. When the camp was revisited on 28 February, it had been burnt to the ground. It is possible that the camp was destroyed by loggers for, according to rumour, our presence here and our contact with the Mani groups, was not appreciated.

In February 1995, the Sing / Re / Dschai family, with four children, and the Kai / Jaa family, with two children, moved to this rock shelter. This site is situated around seven km north of Tong Nong Nien, uphill, at an altitude of 200 m above sea level. All sites previous to this had been situated approximately at river level which is only a few meters above sea level.

On 27th February 1995, the two families had moved to the forest camp of Kao Nam Ta, about one km away, and situated at an elevation of 300 m above sea level. At this forest camp, they met up with the Som Priau / Run / Maen / Na'e family.

Kao Nam Taa Forest Camp—about one km NW of 07° 09' 21" N; 99° 56' 34" E, (Figure 1, Site 10 and Figure 7)

This site was visited on 4th March 1995, and recorded the following day. The mapping could

only be roughly accomplished, as it was presently being occupied by the Mani. This site was found with the assistance of the Mani themselves, and was unknown to the local farmers. The Mani arrived on 27th February 1995 and left before 20 March 1995

Under big trees, and adjacent to huge limestone boulders, five units stretch north-south, situated on a small plateau, on a hillside. Unit 1 is a large shelter with a palm leaf roof. Three short platforms, with an extended layer of leaves in the back, serve for the three women Run (50), Maen (51) and Na'e (52), along with their twelve children. The platform of their husband Som Priau (= Dschaem, 22) was unidentifiable, and he was not seen. Stone slabs are used as the platform base for units 4 and 8, as in Tam Nong Nien.

Unit 2 belonged to Jaa and her two children, who used the larger of the platforms, with her husband Kai occupying the smaller. In this unit, the palm leaf roof is quite steep, not protecting the whole sleeping area.

Units 3, 4 and 5, are arranged in the same pattern as in Tong Nong Niem. Dschai (79), with her four children were in unit 3, the children in the middle, on a two-part platform. The older husband Sing (25) was in the rough shelter of unit 4, under a single palm leaf roof, sleeping on the bare floor. Unit 5 has Re (24) on a sheltered leaf layer.

As this was not an abandoned camp, like the other sites, all items recorded remained undisturbed for the Mani's further utilisation.

In the rear of unit 1, a dart container, a woven basket and red cloth were placed in the sloping roof. At the north end of the shelter, a bamboo water container, clothes and a basket were hanging from the roof. In the rear of unit 2 were placed a blow pipe, dart container and a woven basket.

Unit 3 contained some clothes and a bamboo water container. Only a dart container was observed in the rough shelter of unit 4; while walking around the site, Sing kept his blow pipe with him. In unit 5, a single bamboo cooking tube was observed. Re, like Som Priau, was absent from the camp.

Between units 2 and 3, there was a fresh engraving one meter up the trunk of a tree. No explanation could be elicited for this complicated

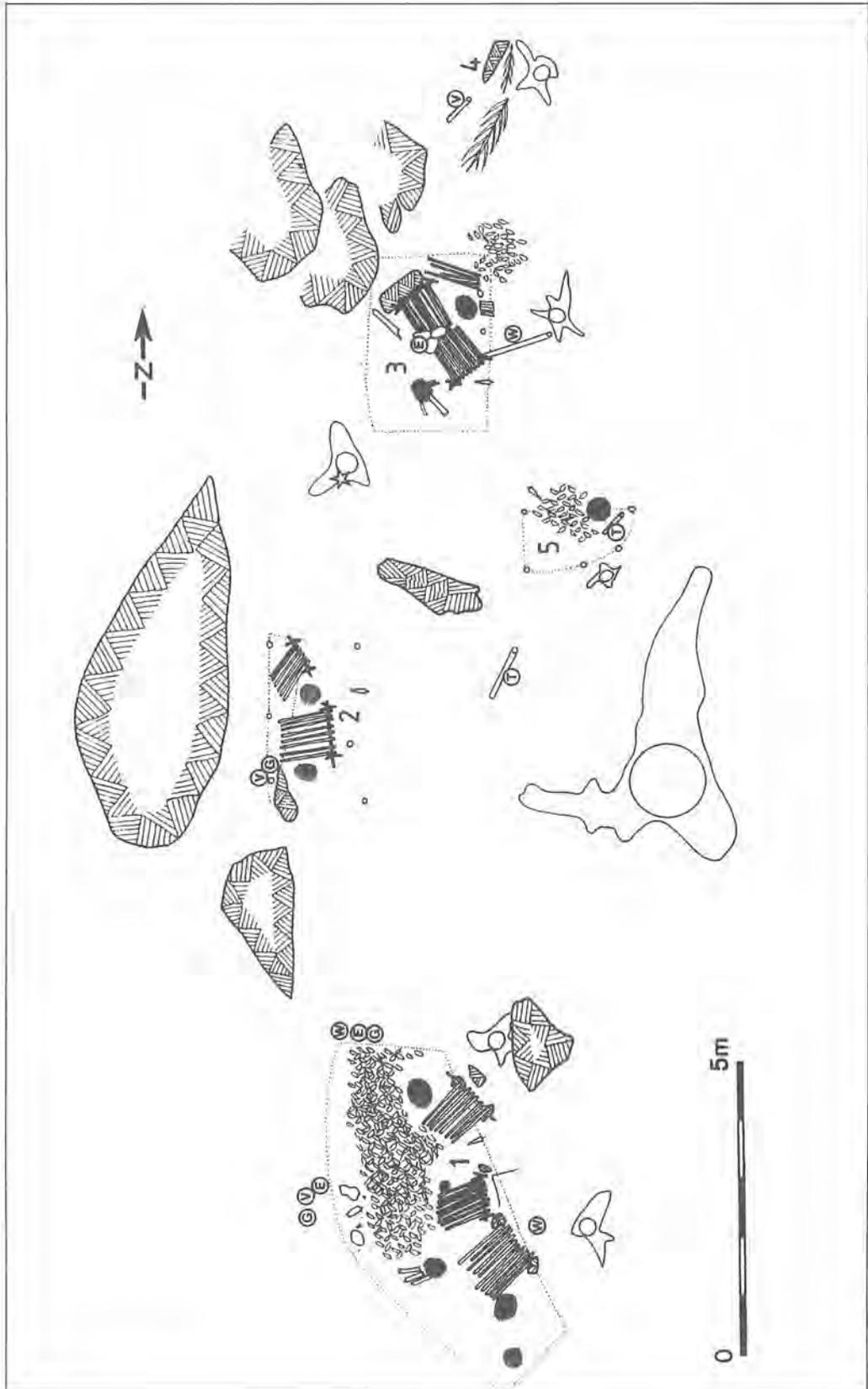


Figure 7 Kao Nam Taa forest camp

sign. Although the sign had no parallels from other camps observed on this fieldwork there are similar signs made by the Mani at their camp near the Sakai Cave, Trang Province.

The Mani had contacted us personally, and invited us to visit this site. They were willing to give us a great deal of information, and, after some time, communication was possible even with the women. This site was exceedingly difficult to find in the forest and without the guidance of the Mani themselves it is questionable whether it could be found by the local Thai farmers.

Kwaan Forest Camp—07° 06' 59" N; 100° 00' 27" E, (Figure 1, Site 5 and Figure 8)

This site, occupied in 1993 or 1994 according to local farmers, was recorded on 2nd March 1995. Unfortunately, because of restricted time, only a rough sketch could be made.

Containing sixteen sheltered units, this was quite a large camp, comparable in size to Tong Nong Nien, and perhaps used by the same people. Some of the structures had been burnt, but why or by whom was unknown.

Units 3, 4 and 13, have the typical two-part platforms, with unit 2 laid out in a rectangular pattern. Most of the units consist of short platforms, possibly with a leaf layer, as in unit 7.

All the shelters were arranged to form a large oval, with the openings to the centre. Units 10 and 11, were located slightly apart from the other units, unit 10 being the only one without traces of a platform. In unit 11, a base of sticks was utilised to serve the legs, instead of a leaf layer, also as observed in Tong Nong Nien, unit 9. In unit 6, an enamel bowl was found, and in unit 16, two bamboo water tubes. There was unfortunately little time for more detailed observation.

Due to the year or two which had lapsed since the Mani last used this camp, the structures were in a poor state of preservation, really quite rotten. After six months, the platforms in a forest camp cannot be reused: one year for a rock shelter.

Tam Sap Rock shelter—300 m NE of 07° 07' 57" N; 100° 00' 33" E, (Figure 1, Site 6)

This site was visited for a short time on 1st March 1995. Though attempts were made on

4th March, to relocate this site, they proved unsuccessful. A sketch, but not a detailed map was made. It had been occupied in the Winter of 1994–95.

The Tam Sap rock shelter extends approximately 10 m in a north-south direction, with the opening facing to the east. Six platforms were constructed on a small terrace overlooking a steep slope. Five single sleeping platforms were observed, with the typical leaf layer to serve the legs. Two palm leaf shelters had been erected over the southernmost and the northernmost platforms. Close to the sleeping platforms, four fireplaces were noted along with two bamboo tubes. A tortoise shell was found in the rear of the rock shelter.

The Tam Sap rock shelter is located in the environs of Kai Ki Ma and Kwaan forest camps. According to information from our guide, the site had been inhabited by eight individuals, possibly a single family (Sap, 23, and Kiat, 5, ?). There is no more information about this relatively small site.

Qu'ham Mo Biyae Rock shelter—07° 08' 07" N; 100° 00' 25" E, (Figure 1, Site 14, and Figure 9)

This site, close to a small ravine also has a Thai name La Klok Kloi ('rock with trunk of liana') and was visited on 30th January 1996. A great deal of useful information was received from Yao (58), the son of Qu'an (21), along with his second wife Maen (51), who accompanied the team. It had been occupied for two nights at the end of December 1995 to the beginning of January 1996.

The wall of the rock shelter faces west. The structures cover a distance of more than 20m in a north-south direction. All nine units of the last occupation can be found along the wall inside the drip-line of the shelter. In one area, the drip line extends out giving a dry space for unit 3 on a small mound some meters away from the wall.

The shelter was inhabited by 22 members of the Yao, a subgroup of the Sen group. Typical for this site are simple platforms with leaf layers serving the lower part of the body. In two units, 2 and 9, the sleeping place for a man consisted only of a leaf layer. Units 1 and 5 were protected

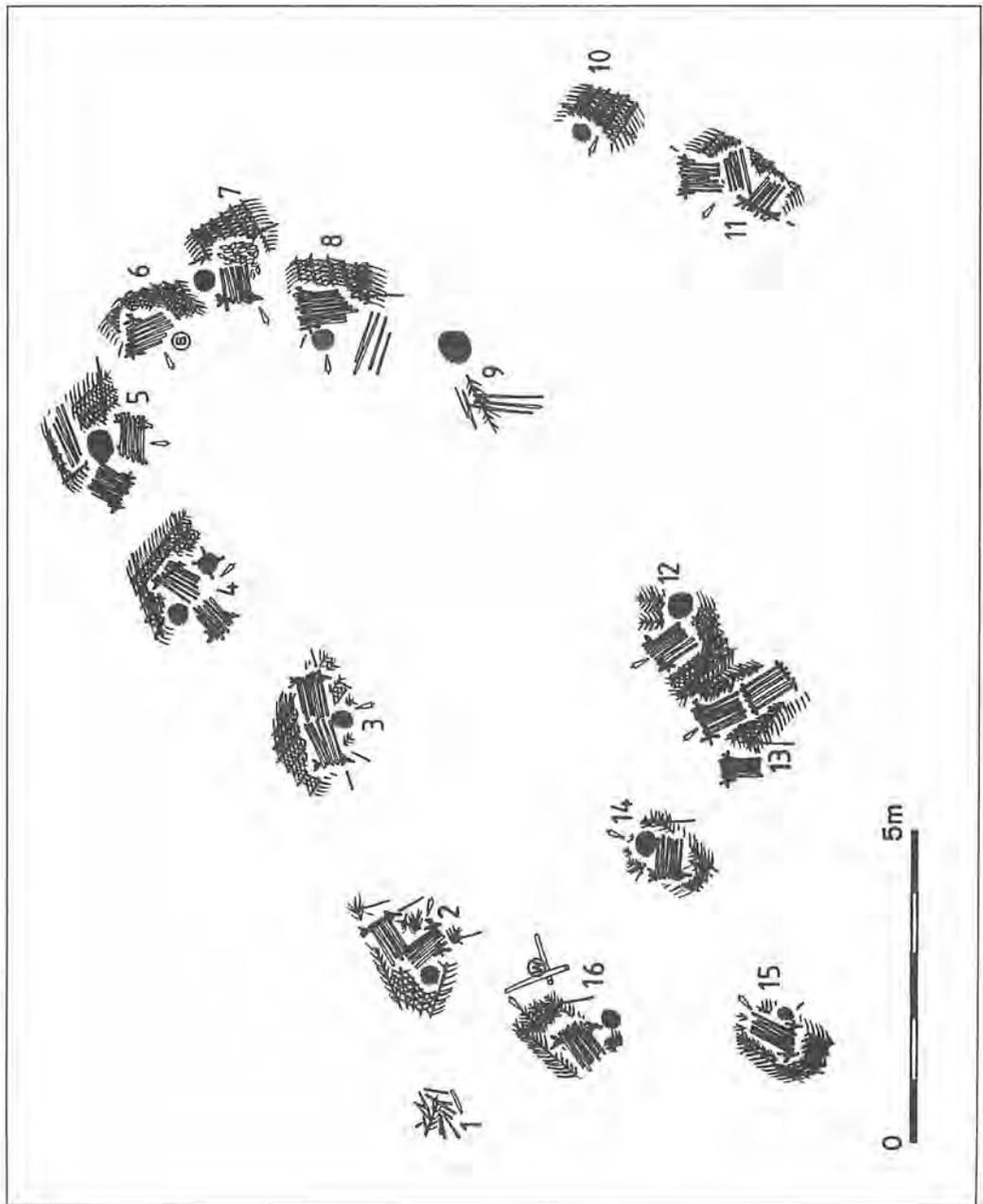


Figure 8 Kwaan forest camp

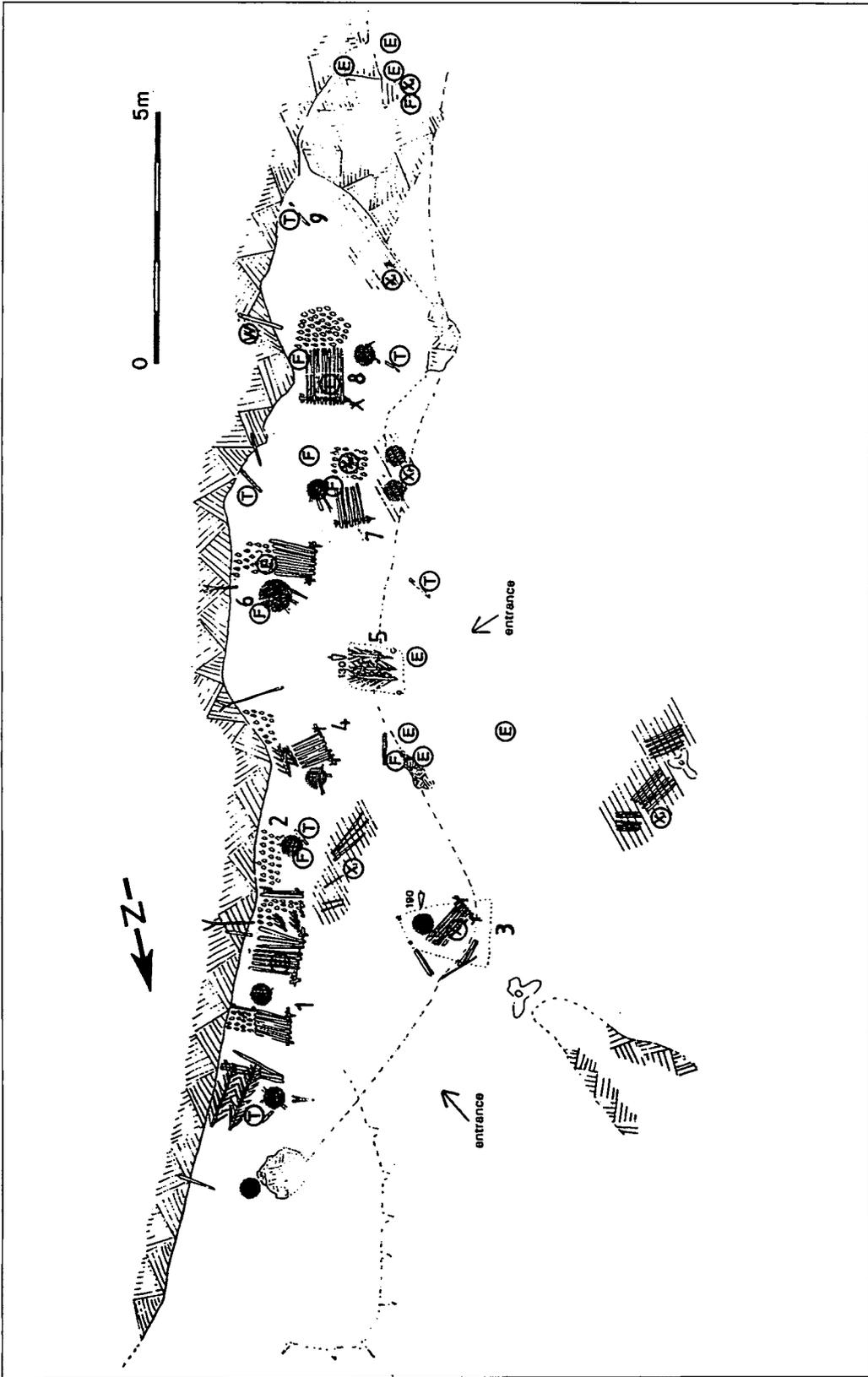


Figure 9 Qu'am Mo Biyae rock shelter

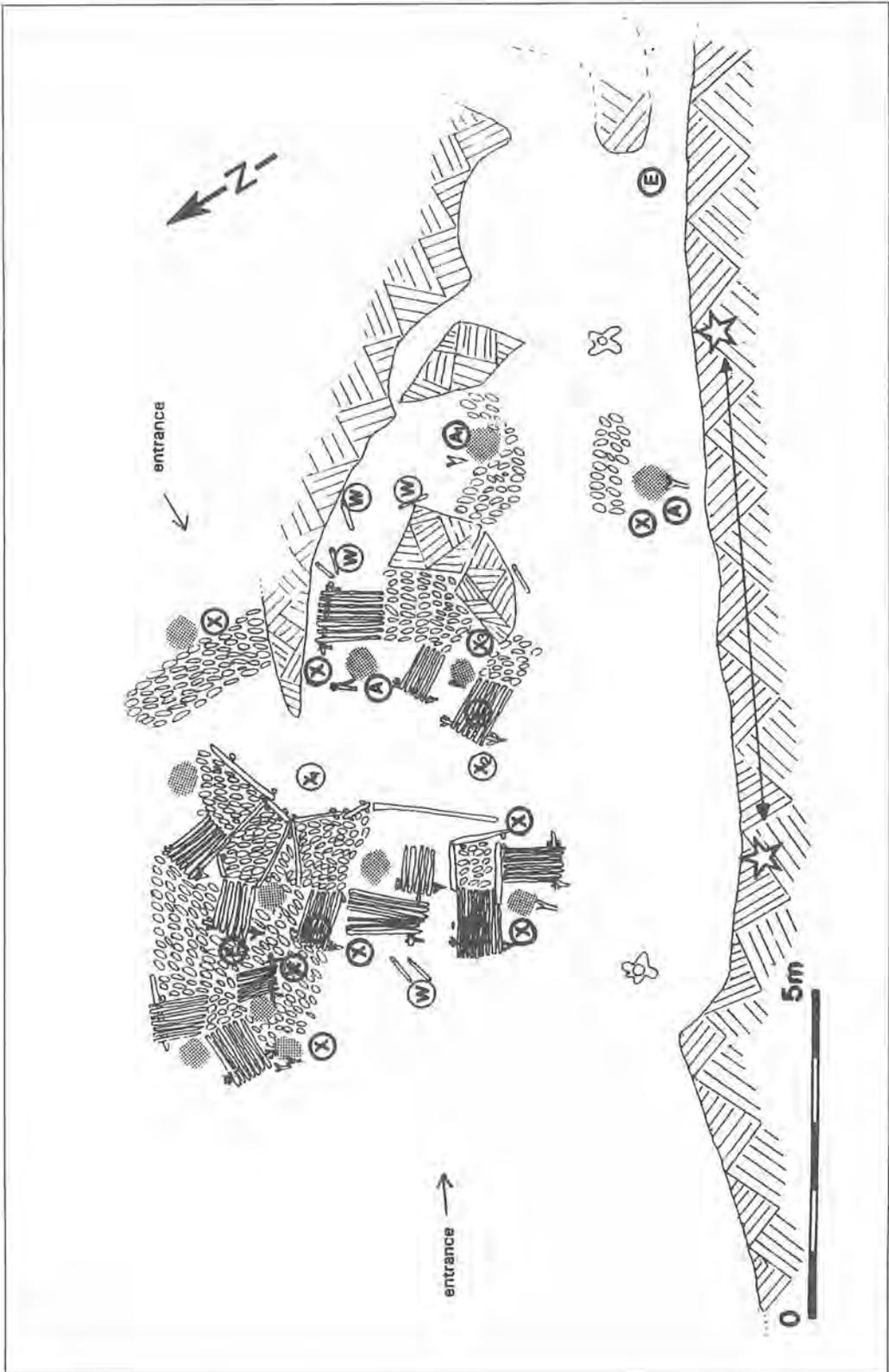


Figure 10 La Dschaem rock shelter

by a palm leaf shelter. The occupants were as follows:

Unit 1: Dschaem (= Som Priau, 22) with his wife Maen (51) and children, Tui (59) and Piaen (60)

Unit 2: Já (male, 56)

Unit 3: Dschid (male, 65, at this place not yet together with Jap, 61)

Unit 4: wife Kung (29) and children, Tom (83) and Loh (84)

Unit 5: Pon (male, 67)

Unit 6: Yao (58) with his wife Prang (57)

Unit 7: Dsched (69) with his wife Daeng (68) and children, Dschàed (136), Pan (137) and Dschom (138)

Unit 8: Dam (72) with his wife Dschim (71) and children, Dob (139) and Bonn (140)

Unit 9: Daeng (male, 62)

Traces of an older occupation could be found inside and outside the shelter, eight meters from the back wall and undisturbed by the more recent occupation.

Three monkey skulls were found in units 5 and 8 and in the refuse area to the south of the shelter. The remains of a varanid lizard, together with a rattan trap in unit 7, indicate some of the activities of the Mani during their short stay here. An empty fish can and broken chinaware

testify to the increasing contact between the Mani and Thai farmers, the closest small shop being about three hours distant.

Qu'ham Mo Biyae was used as a stop-over in the north-south route. The night before the Yao group slept here, they had occupied a forest camp called Huai Sai. Upon leaving this rock shelter, they walked one day south to the Manang forest camp to meet the Re group.

La Dschaem Rock shelter—07° 06' 08" N; 99° 56' 35" E, (Figure 1, Site 15 and Figure 10) This site had been occupied in middle of January 1996, for a few days and was visited on 31st January 1996. The area was shown by the local farmer Sawaang, who gave us all the information at his disposal.

Located on the same cliff as Tam Jet Kot II, this huge rock shelter faces the north, not far from a river. Sixteen sleeping places are concentrated in a small area to the eastern side. Thirteen of these consist of simple platforms with leaf layers, the other three beds showed only leaves. One of these leaf beds was situated close to the wall, beside which there is a free space, about 3m wide in front of the wall. This might be due to the fact that the wall is full of paintings.



Figure 11 Drawings in La Dschaem, photo

Exceptionally at this site, the three fireplaces have wooden 'carving' forks fixed into the ground (Figure 10, A), one still holding the scapula of a small animal.

This camp was occupied for a few days by a group of sixteen to eighteen Mani; this included Dschaem (= Som Priau, 22), who probably stayed with his wife(s) and children in the large sleeping area in the north. The names of other members of the group are unknown, but are believed to include some of the Sen group from Tam Jet Kot II.

The outstanding importance of this site is the extensive wall painting covering about seven meters of the vertical limestone at the back of the shelter (Figure 11). Here is not the place to describe the numerous pictures and signs, but Sawaang regarded the production of these paintings as 'a work of children'. When queried that some of the pictures were two meters above the ground, he replied that young men had shouldered children to reach the height. This impressive frieze needs careful analysis.

It appears that the site was abandoned in great haste. Close to each fireplace wood had been stockpiled (Figure 10, X). A complete bush knife (X1), a smaller knife (X2) and a significant amount of cloth (E) appears left behind. Even a packet of tobacco was observed, including the cigarette papers. Concerning the flight, Sawaang related the following story.

At the beginning of January, the Sen group occupied Tam Jet Kot II. Some Thai boys visited the camp and asked for some arrow poison. When the Mani refused to give the poison, the boys threatened to return with pistols. The Mani then left Tam Jet Kot II and split into different groups, the largest group staying for some days nearby in La Dschaem and the apparent sudden abandonment of La Dschaem could be related to this incident.

Tam Jet Kot II Rock shelter—07° 06' 29" N; 99° 56' 43" E, (Figure 1, Site 3 and Figures 12 and 13)

This site, occupied in 1992 and/or 1993, was first recorded on 25 February 1995. The site was described by Sawaang, although no information was available about the inhabitants.

This large rock shelter measures 60m along the cliff and the remains could belong to different

periods of occupation. Up to ten years ago, this rock shelter was utilised by guerrilla groups to mill rice. Today, this is evidenced by thick layers of rice hulls, built up in the northern side of the site. Additionally, patches of elongated leaves were noticed, scattered about the rock shelter.

The platforms are concentrated on the southern and northern edges of the rock shelter. On the southern side, there were two units (Figure 12). Unit 1 exhibits only one rotted platform, but contains three fireplaces, indicating a more intensive utilisation. Unit 2 has two fireplaces, with the remains of cooking stands and bamboo cooking tubes. Many bones, snails, and a piece of honeycomb were also found. A black painting in the rock overhang nearby could be a rough Thai inscription.

In the centre of the rock shelter, there are ten fireplaces, patterned into four distinct occupation areas. Between these areas, enamel bowls and metal spoons were found, two coconut bowls, one between two fireplaces in a layer of leaves, as well as bamboo cooking tubes. There was also a concentration of seeds, deposited near to where the rice-hull layer intruded into the centre area.

On the northern side of the rock shelter, the features are better preserved, perhaps belonging to more recent occupation. Unit 3 consists of a short platform and a fireplace with water containers and a cooking tube found nearby. Some dark shadows, possibly drawings of human figures were observed on the limestone wall near the platform. Unit 4 is similar in construction to unit 3, with cooking tubes found nearby. Fragments of honeycomb were also found on this side of the rock shelter.

Due to the poor condition of the structures in this rock shelter, the settlement patterns remain unclear. Which features had been made by the Mani, by the guerrilla groups, or by local farmers visiting the site, is difficult to differentiate. The layers of elongated leaves could well be a natural phenomena. It was related that the Mani ceased using this site two years ago, following the construction of a farmhouse on the other side of a nearby river.

The Tam Jet Kot II site was revisited on 31 January 1996, and recorded that day (Figure 13). A new occupation had occurred in the beginning of January, just three weeks earlier.



Figure 12 Tam Jet Kot II rock shelter 1995



Figure 13 Tam Jet Kot II rock shelter 1996

Sawaang again gave us information about the site, this time including remarks about the inhabitants who belonged to the Sen group

Only the middle of the rock shelter was utilised, with thirteen units housing up to 25 persons. Three units, 4, 12 and 13, as observed in La Dschaem, consisted of only leaf layers and may have been used by the same persons who had occupied that location (?). Simple platforms had been constructed with layers of leaves serving the lower part of the body. One exception was in unit 5, with a sleeping place of two platforms lying at a slight angle to each other.

In units 4 and 11 stone slabs were used as a base for the sleeping platforms, as in Tam Nong Nien one year earlier, and in Kao Nam Taa. The sleeping places in units 3, 5–11 were protected by a palm leaf shelters.

The occupants of the camp units were as follows:

Unit 1: Long (30) with his wife Kung (29) and children Tom (83) and Loh (84)

Unit 2: Run (female, 50) and three children

Unit 3: Dschaem (= Som Priau, 22) with his wife Maen (51)

Unit 4: children of Maen and Run

Unit 5: Yao (male, 55)

Unit 6: Yao (58) with his wife Prang (57)

Unit 7: children

Unit 8: children

Unit 9: Dsched (male, 69 ?)

Unit 10: Sen (6) with his wife Aet (= Baen, 7 ??)

Unit 11: Waang (64) with his wife S6 (63)

Unit 12: Daeng (male, 62)

Unit 13: ?

There were rock paintings on the ceiling of the rock overhang, some 90–130cm above the ground. They showed only signs. Interestingly, a small image of an erect penis was found carved in wood (X1). The contents of a nearby 'hidden' bundle of leaves (X2) remain unknown, as it was left untouched. In unit 6 there was a bamboo mug.

For the background to this site, see remarks for La Dschaem above.

Sawaang related another short story. During this stay in Tam Jet Kot II, Waang (64) asked Daeng (62) for his wife S6 (63); Daeng apparently agreeing. However, another source,

Yao, stated that Daeng was already single at the end of December 1995, during his stay in the Qu'ham Mo Biyae.

La Sawaang Rock shelter—07° 05' 35" N; 99° 57' 38" E, (Figure 1, Site 16)

This site which had been occupied for a few days at the end of December 1995 was visited on 4th February, and recorded on 6 February 1996. Information about the site was given by Sawaang, for whose assistance this site was named.

The La Sawaang rock shelter (Figure 14) extends about 25m in a north-west-southeast direction, the surface of the shelter descending sharply, south to north. A large cave-like niche intrudes approximately 10m into the rock face, located at the middle of the rock shelter. In the back of this niche, the remains of older occupations were preserved.

Of nine units with simple sleeping platforms and leave layers, units 1, 4, 5, 8 and 9 were constructed on small terraces, with wooden bars employed to compensate for the difference in level, as in Tam Nong Nien and in the Tam Jet Kot I. Only unit 9 was protected by a roof of palm leaves.

The site had been inhabited by fourteen to eighteen people belonging to the Yao subgroup, including Dschaem (= Som Priau, 22). Perhaps La Sawaang had been occupied by the Mani while on their way south from Qu'ham Mo Biyae. But a stay here before the Qu'ham Mo Biyae is also possible.

This is the only site where more than twenty wooden sticks (Figure 15) and one forked stick (Figure 16) were observed. They were up to 80cm long and around 3cm thick, covered with parallel markings (X2), decorations or scratches, and having an intense smell infused into them.

For clarification of their purpose two of these sticks were shown to L6, the head of a Mani group, located in the south-east of Satun province. He described the sticks as being part of a grill, utilised in the roasting of *mu din* (hog badger), the smell deriving from this. There is an accumulation of grease on the sticks, which is later removed by scraping with a scale as used for grinding the wild yams.

Known from Tong Nong Nien, grease from the *mu din* plays an important role in Mani life,

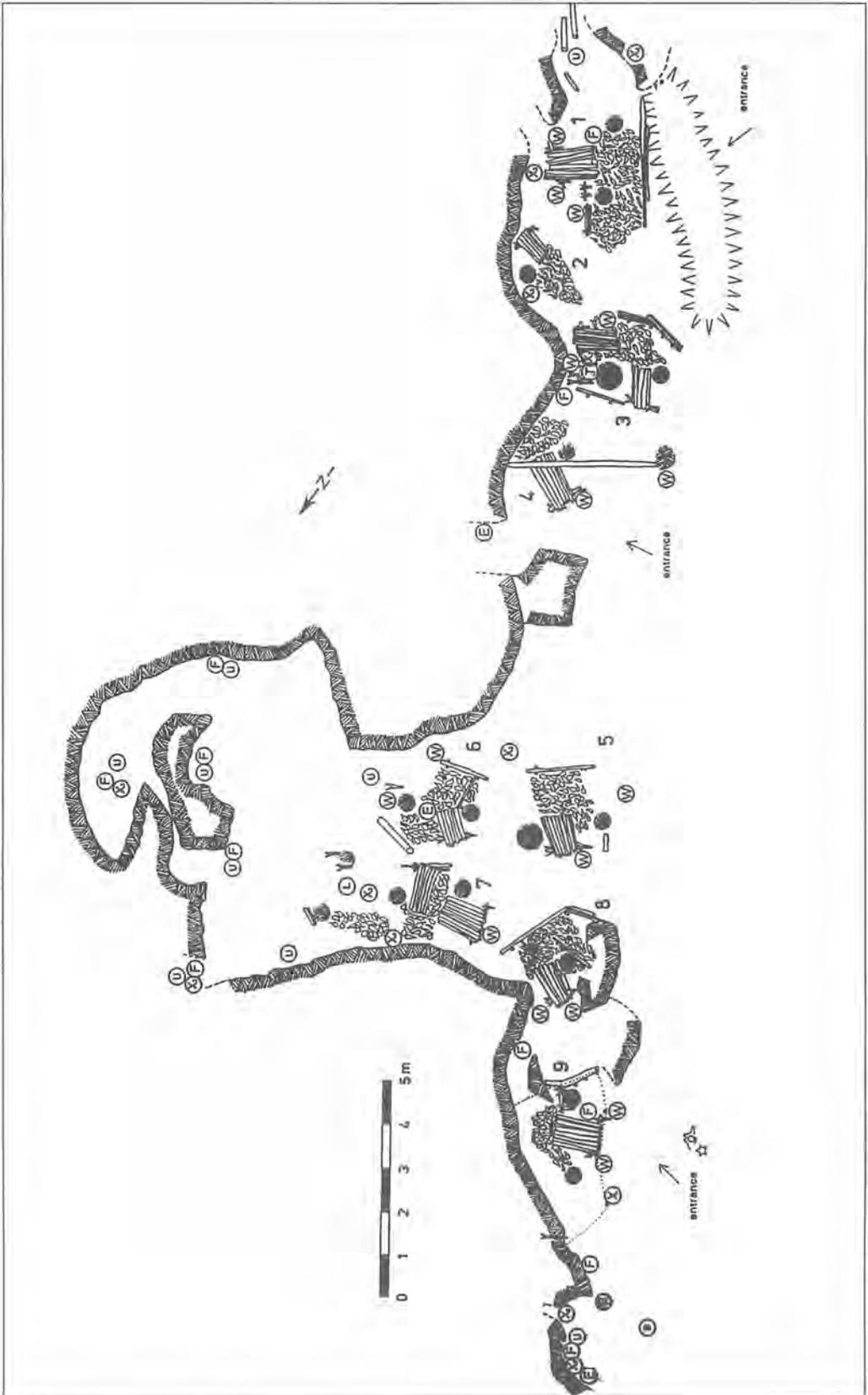


Figure 14 L3 Sawaang rock shelter



Figure 15 Decorated wooden stick, La Sawaang

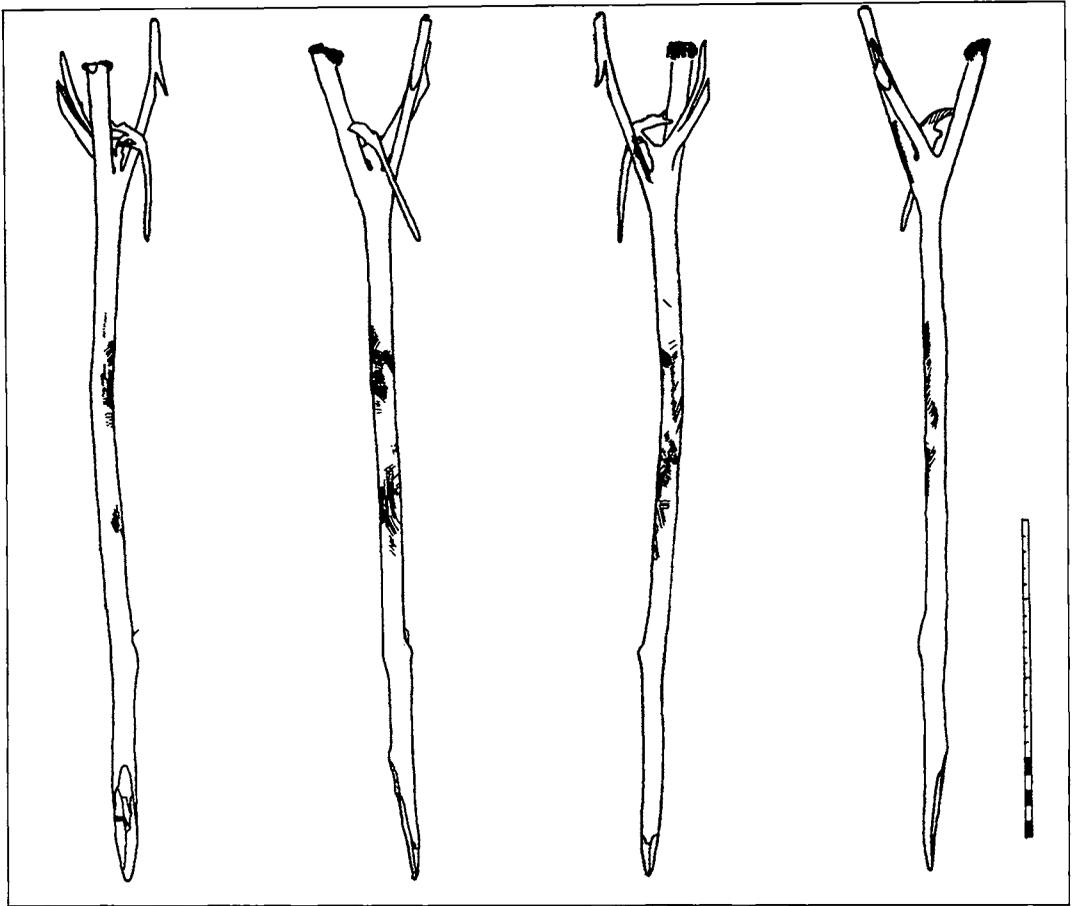


Figure 16 Decorated wooden fork, La Sawaang

being rubbed into the body before dancing, and a medicine. Bones of the *mu din* (Figure 14, F) were found scattered about, with a concentration in the north of the site, where an isolated fireplace might have been used for roasting. After more than a month, the smell of the grease remained intense. The great importance of the *mu din* to the Mani warrants further investigation. Many questions remain regarding ceremonial and symbolic practises, the removal of the grease and the resulting 'decorated' sticks.

At the entrance to the camp, a young tree was carved with lines and signs, from the bottom to a height of 180cm.

Pa Pon Forest Camp—07° 05' 36" N; 99° 59' 44" E, (Figure 1 site 18 and Figure 17

This site, which had been occupied for a few days in the middle of January 1996, was visited on 28 January 1996, and recorded in detail the next day. An additional visit, accompanied by

Yao, was undertaken on 30 January. Information was related by Yao and a local farmer, Porn.

Stretching over 30m up a slight south to north slope, fourteen units are arranged in two rows, accommodating 44 people. Many kinds of sleeping places were observed, from only leaf layers, in units 4, 8, 12 and 13, simple platforms with leaf layers, to two aligned partial platforms (unit 6) or angled (unit 5). Unit 8, interestingly, had the leaf layers surrounded by wooden bars. As is usual in forest camps, all of the shelters were protected by roofs of palm leaves.

This site could be divided into a northern and southern part, the entirety utilised by an enlarged Sen grouping. At the northern edge of the settlement traces of older structures could be observed (X3).

The following list was compiled from Yao's information:

Unit 1: Dschid (65) with his wife Jap (61) and her daughter Pa (128)

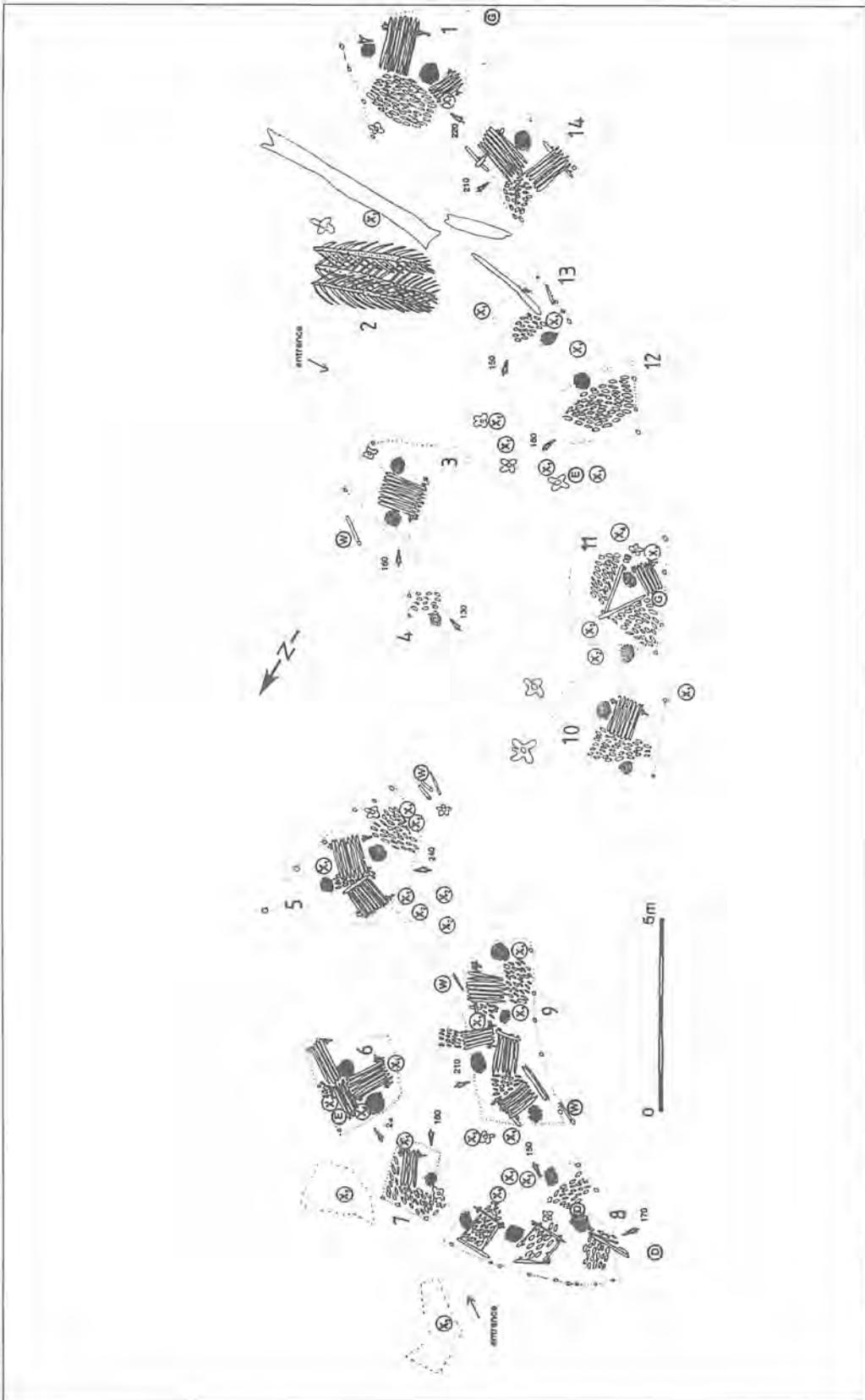


Figure 17 Pa Pon forest camp



Figure 18 Toy, Pa Pon

Unit 2: Daeng (male, 62)

Unit 3: Dam (72) with his wife Dschim (71) and children Dob (139) and Bonn (140)

Unit 4: Pon (male, 67)

Unit 5: Dschaem (= Som Priau, 22) with his wife Maen (51) and children Tui (59) and Piaen (60)

Unit 6: Kai (75) with his wife Jaa (76) and children Puk (141) and Baen (142)

Unit 7: Kai (male, 66)

Unit 8: Já (male, 56), Daen (male, 135), Daeng (male, 62, temporarily: see unit 2) and Dsched (male, 69, temporarily?: see unit 11)

Unit 9: Si (129) with her husbands Hoe (131) and Dschaa (130), together with Kung (29) and her children Tom (83) and Loh (84)

Unit 10: Yao (58) with his wife Prang (57)

Unit 11: Dsched (69) with his wife Daeng (68) and children Dscháed (136) and Dschom (138)

Unit 12: Kam (male, 70)

Unit 13: Dik (male, 127)

Unit 14: Sen (6) with his wife Aet (= Baen, 7?)

The most remarkable find at this site are the toys (X2), found in units 5 and 11. They were rough copies of pickup trucks, made from banana trunks and palm panicles, to a scale of

approximately 1:10 (Figure 18). Remains of blowpipe fabrication were observed on unit 8 (D).

Scattered about the site were many consumer goods (X1), such as empty cans and instant noodle soup packages. Between units 3 and 12, there was a concentration of refuse, such as Nescafe bags, and a milk carton. This marks the camping area of the teacher Suwat Thonghom (1995), who visited here for one night. He had donated a sack of rice to the Mani, which was found empty behind unit 10. Yao related that during Suwat Thonghom's short visit none of the Mani slept, being afraid of the *hami* ('other people').

Nam Tok Mae Taeng Forest Camp (Nam Tok = waterfall)—07° 10' 17" N; 100° 04' 05" E, (Figure 1, Site 19)

This site (Figure 19), had been occupied from the middle of January to the beginning of February 1996, was visited on 29th and 30th January 1996. Only the positions of the platforms were recorded in a rough sketch.

The Mani were present during this visit, so a detailed record of the Nam Tok Mae Taeng site was not possible. This forest camp is located in Phatthalung Province, uphill, not far from the site of a new dam project, on the river Pa Bon.

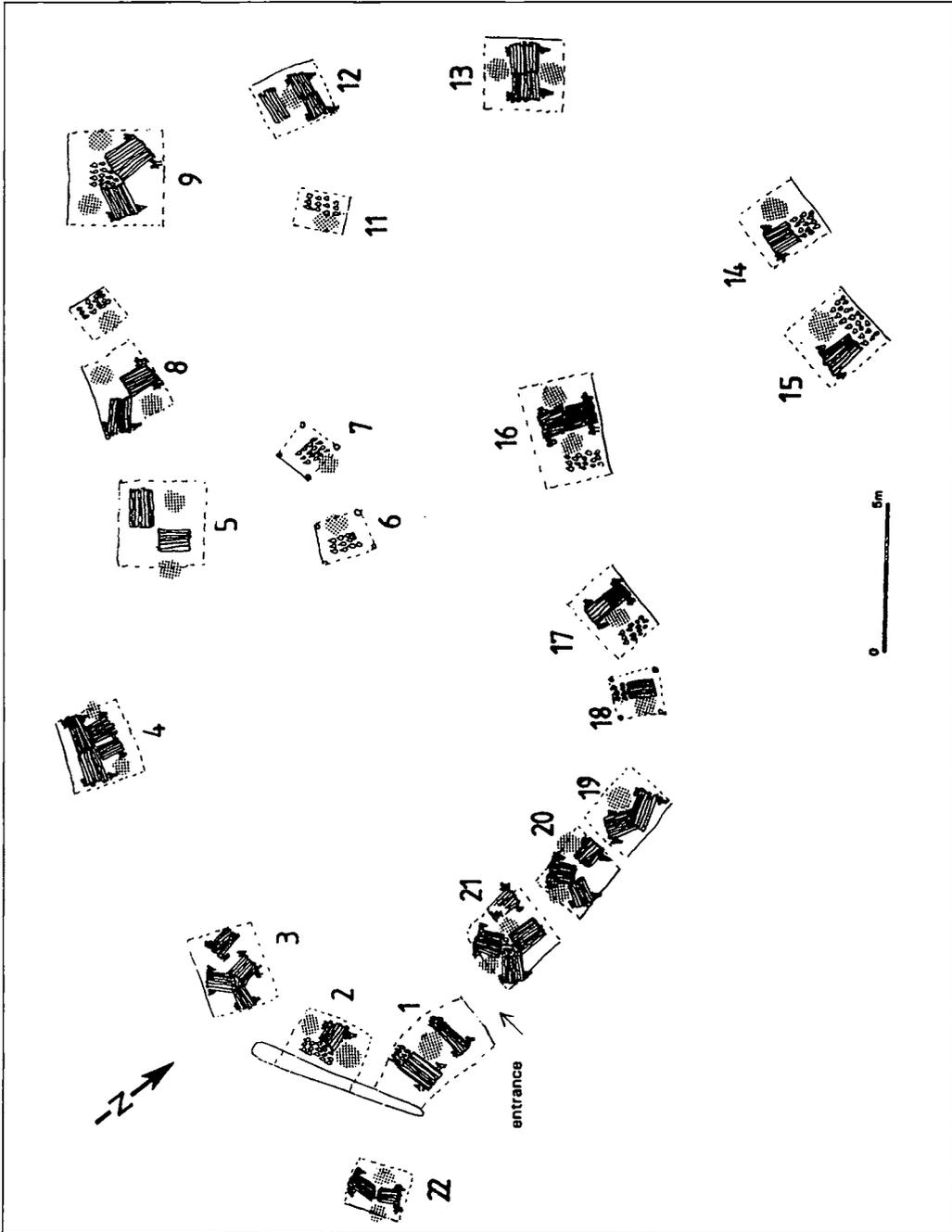


Figure 19 Nam Tok Mae Taeng forest camp

When the construction is complete, the resulting reservoir will flood a certain forest valley which the Mani traverse from north and south, thus forming a barrier to their movement.

With 22 units this was the largest Mani camp yet visited. Two semi-circle like groups of shelters were attached to each other, slightly displaced. In the open space between the groups three small sleeping platforms, units 6, 7 and 11 served three young men.

In this huge camp many different types of platforms were utilised, simple ones with leaf layers and two-part platforms, arranged in line or at an angle to each other. Although a detailed inspection of the site was not possible, the names of all the inhabitants, as well as pronunciation, were identified.

Unit 1: Sen (6) with his wife Aet (= Baen, 7 ?)

Unit 2: Dik (127) with his wife Sa' (126). At Pa Pon, just a few days earlier, Dik stayed alone

Unit 3: Dschid (65) with his wife Jap (61) and her daughter Pa (128)

Unit 4: Dam (72) with his wife Dschim (71) and children Dob (139) and Bonn (140)

Unit 5: Dsched (69) with his wife Daeng (68) and children Dscháed (136), Dschom (138) and Pan (137). There is a high probability that Pan stayed with his family in Pa Pon, unit 11, although he had not been named by Yao.

Unit 6: Kai (male, 66)

Unit 7: Kam (male, 70)

Unit 8: Yao (58) with his wife Prang (57)

Unit 9: Pon (male, 67)

Unit 10: Qu'an (21) with his third wife Na'e (52) and son Loh (125)

Unit 11: Já (male, 56)

Unit 12: Jat (20) and her son Pat (124)

Unit 13: Yao (55) with his wife Thum (54)

Unit 14: old lady Bueng (3)

Unit 15: Kwaan (27) with his wife Bau (26)

Unit 16: Dschaem (= Som Priau, 22) with his wife Maen (51) and children Tui (59) and Piaen (60)

Unit 17: Daeng (male, 62) and Dsched (69, temporarily ? see unit 5)

Unit 18: Daen (male, 135)

Unit 19: Kung (29) and her children Tom (83) and Loh (84)

Unit 20: Si (129) with her husbands Dschaa (130) and Hoe (131)

Unit 21: Kai (75) with his wife Jaa (76) and children Puk (141) and Baen (142)

Unit 22: Daeng (male, 62)

The site was visited not more than ten days after the group settled there, yet already the Mani had collected all the food this forest had to offer. The camp was too big and the Mani stayed too long. It appears that the Phatthalung Dam authorities were supporting the Mani group daily with rice and other food stuffs. The state of the health in Nam Tok Mae Taeng was poor, with most of the children suffering from colds.

Ló Forest Camp—06° 46' 25" N; 100° 09' 13" E (Thale Ban, Figure 20)

The site was visited on 7th February 1996. It is situated in the Thale Ban National Park near the Malay border, east of the city of Satun and is not located on Figure 1. The camp was inhabited from November 1995 up to our visit and mapping could only be roughly accomplished. The group was planning to leave shortly after our visit. This site had been inhabited for a long time. It was therefore not surprising to find the shelters constructed in a more solid and complex fashion.

The camp housed only one family. Unit 4 was the shelter of Waa and her second husband Nam Ron and contained two platforms, one simple and the other of two parts. Arranged in a semi-circle in front of unit 4 were the sleeping areas of Waa's unmarried children. Of these, units 1, 3 and 5, were protected by sloping palm leaf roofs, supported by posts in all four corners. This is quite different to the usual windscreen supported on only one side, resulting in these shelters being open on all four sides. In unit 3, a woven fibre mat, possibly palm leaf, had been constructed to close in and protect one side of the shelter.

Units 2, 3 and 5 had simple platforms, unit 6 had a platform and a leaf layer, and unit 1 was a large, two-part platform. Each unit served only one person. On account of the length of occupation the fireplaces were large, 60–80 cm in diameter and showed intensive burning. From an ethno-archaeological perspective, the size of fireplaces can help in estimating the duration of occupation at a prehistoric site.

The units at the Ló Camp were occupied as follows:

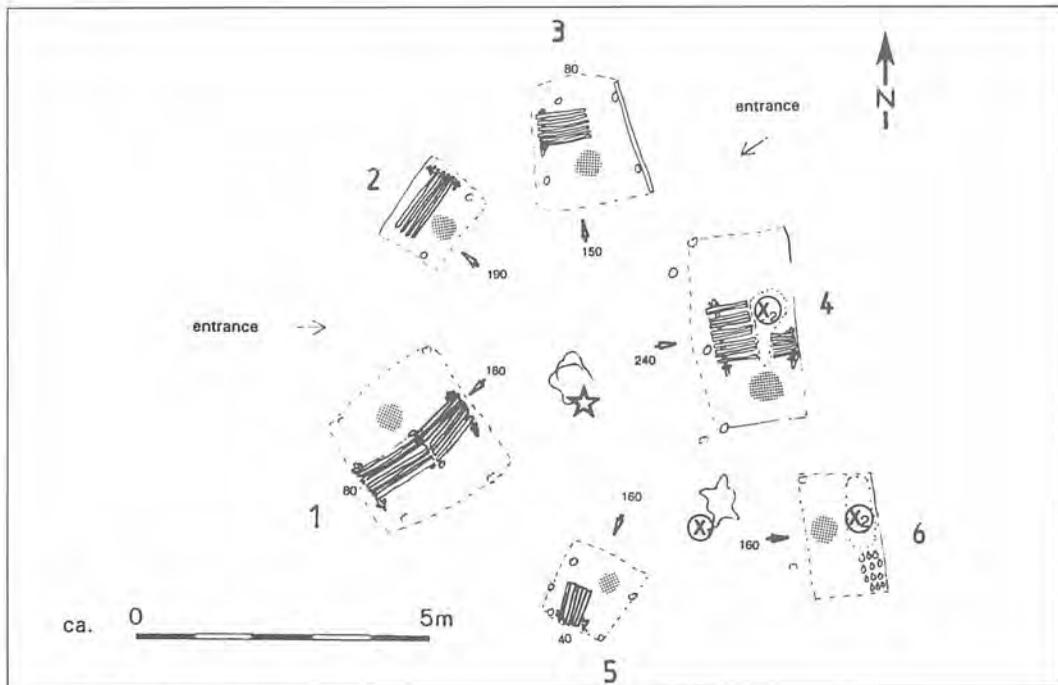


Figure 20 Ló forest camp

Unit 1: Dschena, a daughter of Waa and her first husband, the late Héjo

Unit 2: Prang, a son of Waa and her second husband, Nam Ron

Unit 3: Enui, a son of Waa and Nam Ron

Unit 4: Waa with her husband Nam Ron; occasionally shared with their daughter Ejó and her child Tscharia, visiting from a Thai village not far away

Unit 5: Nam Ron, a son of Waa and Nam Ron

Unit 6: Ló, a son of Waa and Héjo, who called himself the leader of the group

In comparison to the Mani camps in the Banthad mountains, this site contained vastly more commercial goods, obtained from Thai shops in the area: e.g. canned food, cooking pots, knives, hoes, cloth (X2) and wristwatches. Ló explained this abundance of goods by the Mani selling wild honey and wild beans to Thai villagers. Ló receives credit from the Thai shop owners, of which he is quite proud. Ló regularly travels to Hat Yai by bus twice per month to spend an evening with prostitutes.

Of note was a tree in the middle of the camp, that had been covered with engravings (Figure 21). A second tree, in front of Ló's

shelter, was fitted with fixed steps (X1), and, according to Ló used to teach climbing techniques.



Figure 21 Engraved tree, Ló camp

Four blow guns were observed, but only the one belonging to Ló was constructed of two bamboo sections, as seen with the Mani to the north. The other three blow guns had the two long sections plus a third shorter section attached, 10cm to 30cm in length, which served as the mouth piece. The knives in the camp were the same as utilised by the Mani to the north, having a bent handle.

Ló related the recent history of this Mani group. Previous to Ló, Loi was the head of the group (see Mani Genealogy). Ten years ago, this group had been living in the mountains 20km to the north. Because of the shortage of wild yams, Loi decided to move the group to the south. The shortage had been caused from an increase in the number of *mu din*, which fed on the wild yams, and which, according to Ló, this Mani group did not hunt because of the *mu din*'s intense unpleasant smell.

The area surrounding the Ló group had been settled by Muslim farmers. To the Muslims of southern Thailand, the wild 'ground pig', *mu din*, is, along with pork, prohibited. For more than two generations, the Loi/Ló group has been in intimate contact with the Muslim farmers; three of Ló's sisters have married into Muslim farming families and themselves converted to Islam. It is interesting that, in Ló's opinion, the aversion to *mu din* is a Mani tradition.

Camps of unknown groups

No further details, although recorded, are given here. The visited sites are just listed.

Kai Ki Ma Forest Camp, inhabited January 1995—07° 08' 18" N; 100° 00' 12" E, (Figure 1, Site 7).

Kuan Din Dam Forest Camp, inhabited December 1995 or January 1996—07° 03' 35" N; 99° 59' 41" E, (Figure 1, Site 20).

Naitra (Camps in the area of Naitra, Figure 1, area at upper left)

There are many Mani stories about Naitra which is not so much a site, rather, a large basin, 4km across, at an altitude of 250m. Within the basin are large limestone outcrops, many rivers and streams, and the soil is fertile. The Mani stories portray this basin as lush, a rich source for food such as fish, honey, durian, and a preferred region in which to live. Yet locating the legendary basin was problematic; clues

towards finding Naitra were contradictory. The area was first visited on 6th and 7th February 1996⁵.

Plantations, predominantly rubber, were established over thirty years ago but this region has seen little further development. With no roads to this remote basin, products and supplies are carried in and out by packs. Primary forest has been preserved only around the limestone outcrops and steep slopes of the surrounding ridge, all other land is in some state of cultivation. Regardless, traces of recent Mani sites were easy to find. The farmers were helpful in offering what they knew about the Mani. In our opinion, Naitra could serve as an excellent retreat area for the Mani. Especially, were the marginal farming presence reduced, a remote sanctuary would easily and naturally emerge, protecting and preserving the traditional Mani way of live.

Kao Noi Cave and Rock shelter (small mountain)—07° 14' 32" N; 99° 55' 38" E. This was inhabited between August and November 1995 by a small Mani group

Nai Ban Forest Camp—07° 13' 47" N; 99° 55' 46" E, inhabited in August 1995, possibly, by Re (24) and his family

Kao Lam Lien Cave—07° 13' 00" N; 99° 55' 16" E. The entrance facing the river was inhabited in August 1995, probably, by Sing (25) and his family, numbering seventeen persons

Summary of ethnographic surveys

Our field research of 1995 and 1996 in the provinces of Trang, Satun and Phatthalung, is but a beginning. It is necessary to continue and expand this work, compiling more data for the ethnography of Mani groups and ethno-archaeology of hunters and gatherers in Southeast Asia in general.

In addition to the basic information and occupational patterns presented in this paper, one other important discovery ought to be emphasised. When the fieldwork first began in Satun Province, the background information was on the Sang group, from data collected by Surin Pookajorn and Suwat Thonghom. One particular focus was on the mobility of the Mani, the initial model portraying each Mani group as utilising

twenty to thirty different camps per year. After the research of these two seasons, and many hours of interviews with the Mani, particularly with Yao (58), Re (24), Sing (25), the original model appears in need of modification.

When one chronicles the sojourn of Yao and his wife, Prang (57), for thirty days, from the end of December 1995 to January 20, 1996, and their arrival in Nam Tok Mae Taeng (Figure 1, Site 9), a total of nine camps were utilised, with a stay at each camp of one to four nights. From the forest camp of Huai Sai, they travelled south to Qu'Ham Mo Biyae, then southwest via La Sawaang' and Manang to Tam Jet Kot II (Site 3). After a few days, they moved on to the east, via La Dschaem (Site 15) to Pa Pon (Site 18). Then, in the middle of January, they continued east via three forest camps, Tam Lod (near Kuan Din Dam), Bo Ri Sat, and a third near the village of San Daeng, before returning to Nam Tok Mae Taeng (Site 9). The individuals occupying each camp changed nearly every time!

Over one year, more than 100 camps appear to be utilised by any one individual Mani. Whether this is traditional behaviour or the result of changing conditions, specifically the reduction of forest areas, remains to be determined.

Mani Genealogy

Working from the extensive data base collected by Suwat Thonghom from Trang, and from intensive fieldwork in 1995 and 1996, the authors were able to construct complex kinship systems for the Mani in the provinces Trang and Satun⁶.

The membership of six Mani groups is more or less completely identified: the Bueng, Si and Ló groups in Satun Province and the Ba, Kai and So groups in Trang Province. A seventh group, Yam, has been partially documented: only four names have been recorded, and their dwelling place is unknown.

The Ló group has not been linked through intermarriage to the others for two generations.

In total, 179 persons, belonging to six generations, are known by name (see Tables 1 and 2). There is some question whether twenty of these individuals are still alive, and according to Kleo Boonrung the old lady Bueng (3) died in the summer of 1997.

Most of these groups still live in the forest, although for some time the Si group has been staying on the rubber plantation of Mr Wui, near Tschong Nap village, in Thung Wa district. The Ba group is attempting to construct a permanent settlement, and has begun to plant crops. The Ló group still lives an independent life in the forest, but trades with local farmers. Furthermore, their young women are engaged to Thai farmers.

The genealogy diagrams require some comments. It was confusing for the researchers to find that the Mani often have both Mani and Thai names, which they sometimes alter. As an example, Som Priau (22) is now named Dschaem. Apparently his former name was Loi, from the time he was engaged with Na'e (52). Her name at that time may have been Ban. This information is based on having been given two different sets of parents for Dschid (65); one informant called them

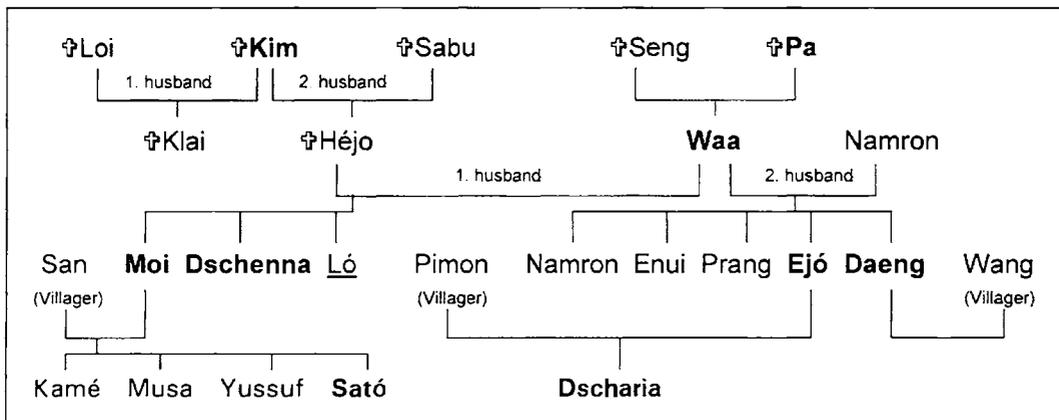
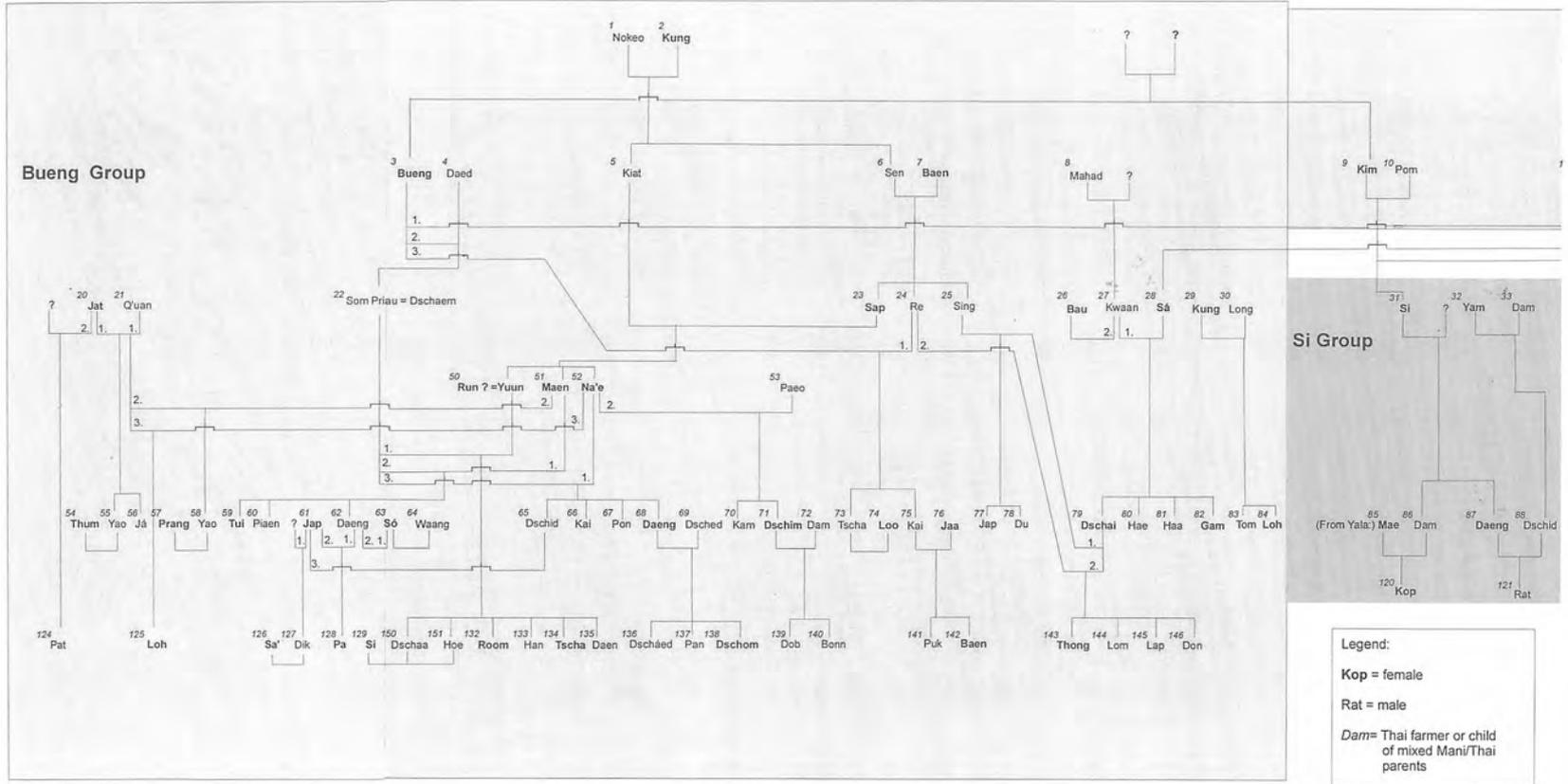


Table 1: Genealogy of the Ló Group



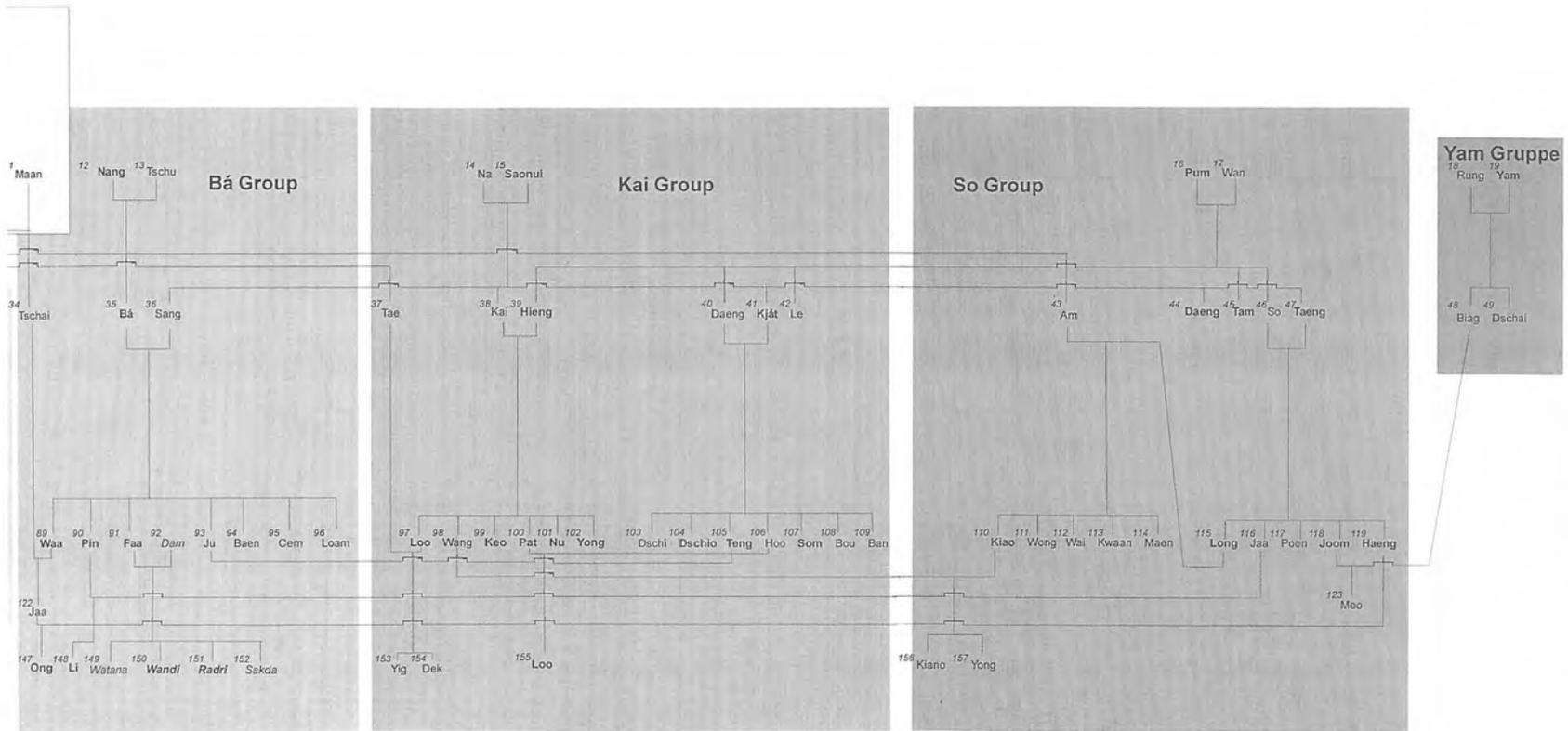


Table 2: Genealogy of the Northern Groups

Dschaem (22) and Na'e (52), another named them Loi and Ban.

The Mani, both men and women, are used to changing their partners several times during their lifetimes. The children they identify as their own are sometimes not their biological ones. For example, Yao (58) is called son of Maen (51) and Ban = Na'e (52)!

Mani women give birth to remarkably many children: Na'e (52) has seven children, all still living, while Dschai (79) and Yuun (50) each have six. Four children per woman are common. It is thought that this may be a development of recent decades, and a result of more intensive contact with farmers, with concomitant changes in nutrition.

The relationship between the families requires further investigation. The information in this study will, hopefully provide a base for urgently needed ethnographic studies of the Mani. This work, which should be done by highly trained specialists, is rendered urgent by the precarious situation in which the Mani find themselves.

The Mani need assistance to find their place in the Thai landscape, without losing their ethnic identity.

Archaeology

During our research, we received fortuitous information about two neolithic burial sites in caves of the region, Tam Yao (07° 07' 00" N; 99° 59' 50" E, Figure 1, Site 12) and Tam Hoi (07° 05' 39" N; 99° 55' 05" E, (Figure 1 Site 11).

Some very good cord-marked-vessels and bowls are kept in the nearby monastery of Baan Pathana. Remains of at least two burials can be seen, in a hidden small chamber, far back from the present-day cave entrance, close to the opening to another valley. The widely ramified cave system is not so far completely explored. No destructive intrusions, such as digging for fertiliser, could be observed. An archaeological excavation would be worth while. There is even a chance of finding settlement structures, in the deep, undisturbed, soils at the opening to the other valley.

Cord-marked potsherds, typical of the Neolithic period in Southeast Asia, are kept in

the monastery of Tam La Kang Tong. Many similar pieces can be found in an upper chamber of the Tam Hoi cave system, near an opening in a limestone cliff. The site is heavily disturbed by farmers, who have dug for fertiliser in that part of the cave. There are no undisturbed layers remaining to provide any stratigraphical control. Scientific analysis can therefore only be based on the typology of the findings. However, many archaeological objects are left in the cave and should be fully recorded and collected. Both these sites, as well as the material preserved in monasteries, are worthy of attention by Thai archaeologists.

The ceramics from Tam Hoi and Tam Yao caves are relatively coarse in texture and are typically decorated with cord markings, and can be related to known finds in southern Thailand, and northern Malaysia. Similar material is found in Lang Rongrien Cave (Anderson 1990) and Moh-Khiew Cave (Pookajorn 1991) near Krabi, as well as in the Sakai Cave (Pookajorn 1991), near Trang.

Malaysian sites, which are noteworthy in this regard, include Gua Musang Cave (Tweedie 1953), Gua Cha Cave (Adi 1985), both in Kelantan, as well as the site Tengku Lembu in Perlis (Tweedie 1953), Ulu Jepai, Lenggong in Perak and Gua Bama Cave in Pahang (Tweedie 1953). As these sites are but a few hundred kilometres from the Thai finds in Satun province, the ornamental and formal correspondence between the two is hardly surprising. To what extent there was actual personal contact between the prehistoric cultures of the two localities must remain unknown.

In addition to these two sites near monasteries, two other prehistoric sites were found by the authors, more or less by chance and without systematic research, while they were on their way to map Mani rock shelters in 1996. They are situated along a cliff, and yielded only lithic material, without pottery.

Tam Kleo I—07° 06' 43" N; 99° 56' 98" E , (Figure 1 and 22, Site 17)

This site was undisturbed. From two small pits dug by villagers for fertiliser, Hoabinhian tools like sumatraliths, could be observed (Figures 22 and 23). No pottery was visible. The site appears worthy of excavation.

Tam Kleo II—at the same cliff, around 50m to 100m east of the above.

All of this rock shelter is heavily disturbed, and most of the original stratification has been destroyed by farmers digging for fertiliser. In some places, ash layers and fireplaces could be seen in the profiles. In the rubble, some Hoabinhian tools and a neolithic (?) adze (Figure 24), along with bones from big animals, but no potsherds were found.

The artefacts of the Tam Kleo I and II are all manufactured from black schist. Sumatraliths, short axes, and chopper-like tools were found. This inventory can be compared with lithic material from nearby sites in southern Thailand (Moh-Khiew Cave) and in the province of Perlis in northern Malaysia (Bukit Tengku Lembu and Gua Bintong: Bellwood 1985). These sites are less than 100km away.

It is particularly to be noted that the sites Tam Kleo I and II yielded only stone tools while Tam Hoi and Tam Yao yielded only ceramic findings and shell ornaments. Generally, though, an association (perhaps neither coexistent nor contemporary) is noticeable between lithic and earthenware materials in caves and middens. Neolithic components are typically obtained from burials (Moh-Khiew, Sakai Cave, Gua Cha).

A chronological framework with definite dates is so far not established for the Southeast Asian region.

Video documentation

As during our fieldwork in the Sakai Cave 1993, a camera team accompanied us in 1995 and 1996, and produced video documentation of the Mani groups, and of our work. Three Mani groups, Bueng, Ba and Si, were visited in different environments, and the Mani were interviewed on camera. This film is now complete. Copies are available from the authors.

Acknowledgements

We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Faculty of Archaeology at Silpakorn University, especially Dr Surin Pookajorn and colleagues, for their generous assistance, to the National

Research Council of Thailand, for all their help and to Archaeologica Venatoria for their financial support. Further, we wish to thank Kleo Boonrung, a local farmer, Suwat Thonghom, a teacher in Trang, and Detlef Dirksen from Ko Samui. We would especially like to thank the Mani themselves, without whose patience during the interviews, especially Yao, the head of a small group, this report would be less complete. Without the help of these people our campaigns of 1995 and 1996 would not have been a success. We are also grateful to the local monasteries of Baan Pathana and Tam La Kang Tong for their guidance to nearby prehistoric caves. Jeffery Parker and David Wood have spent a long time with the translation: Their contribution is very much appreciated.

Notes

¹ The research described in this article is part of a co-operative project between the University of Tübingen, Germany and Silpakorn University, Bangkok and was financed by the Scientific Society Archaeologia Venatoria e. V. Tübingen.

² The Expedition team in 1995 and 1996 comprised Gerd Albrecht (archaeologist and Leader), Prasit Auetrakulvit (student), Harald Beutel (social anthropologist and cameraman), Kurt Langguth (student), Johannes Moser (archaeologist). In 1995 only, participants also included Katrin Fudicar (student), Bjoern Seif (student); and in 1996 only, Martin Porr (student) took part in the work.

³ To determine the camp locations a Magellan GPS NAV5000 was used in 1993 and in 1996 a Garmin 45 GPS was added as a control.

⁴ The numbers in brackets after personal names refer to the genealogies in Tables 1 and 2.

⁵ A Thai Forestry Office was located at the northern entrance of the basin (07° 14' 32" N; 99° 55' 38" E). There are eighty houses for the fifty Thai farming families settled here.

⁶ The use of the real names in the genealogy is given with the consent of the Mani.

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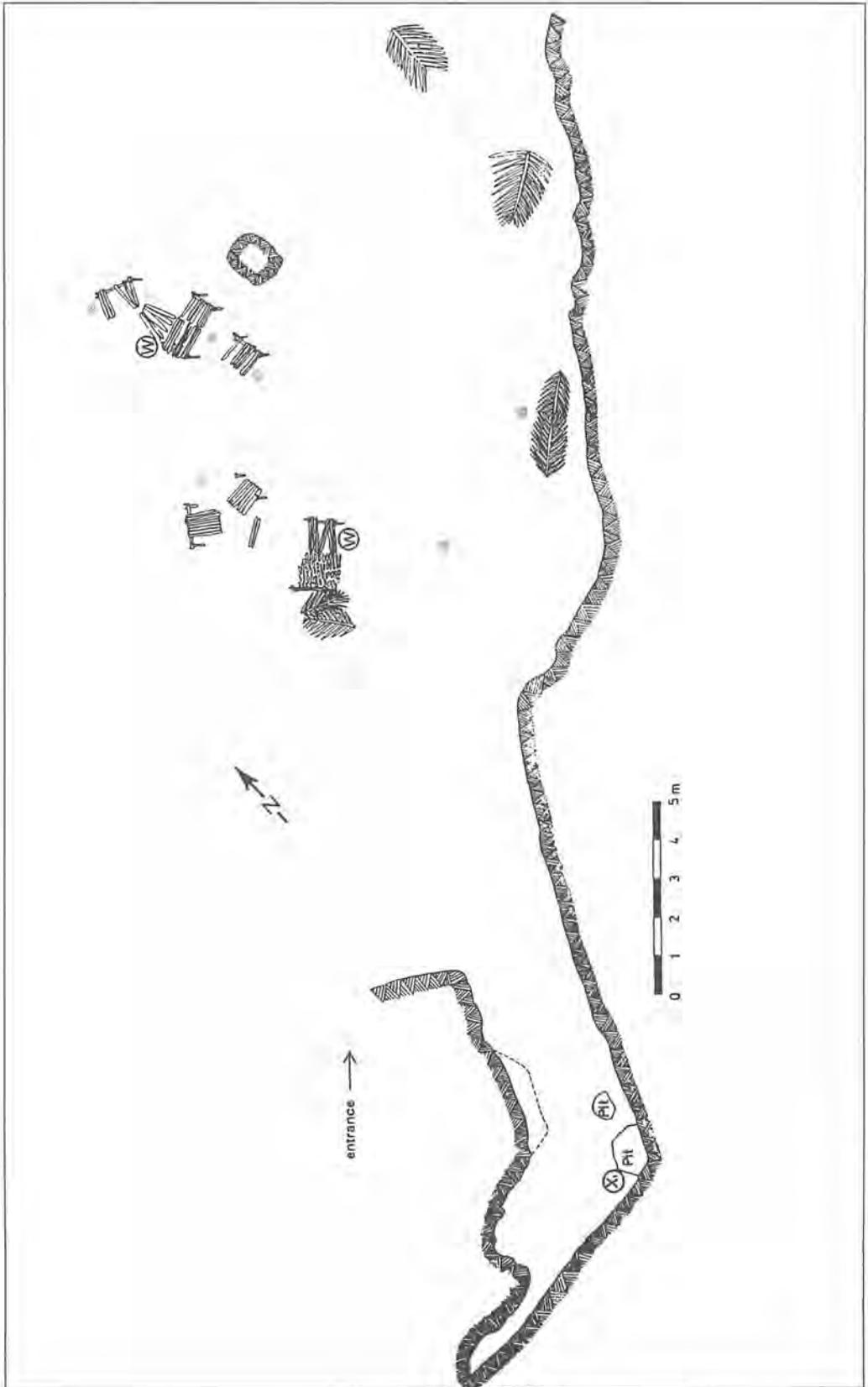


Figure 22 Tam Kleo I rock shelter

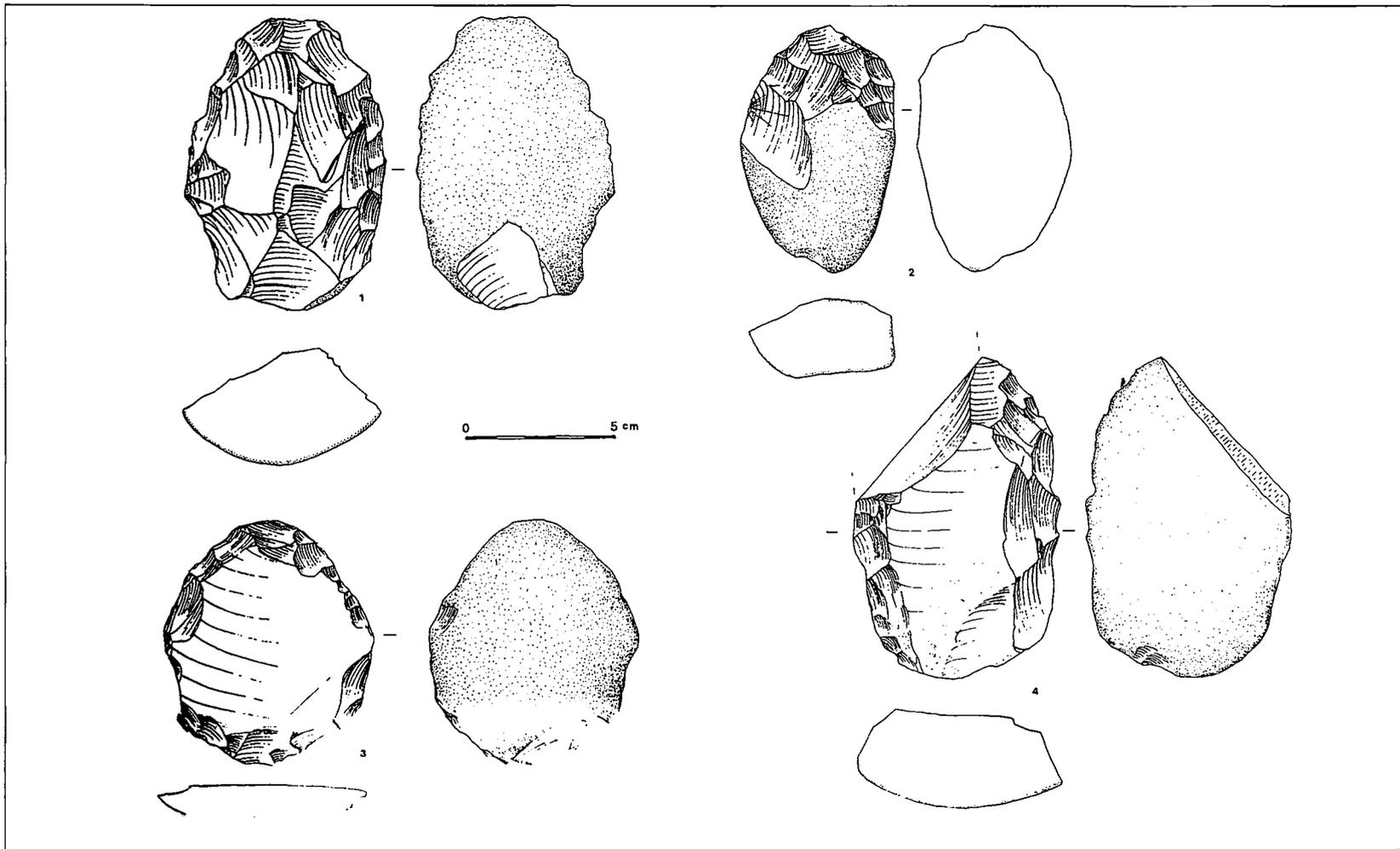


Figure 23 Stone tools from Tam Kleo I : 1, sumatralith, unifacially completely retouched pebble; 2, chopper; 3, oval flake with pebble cortex, ventral circulating retouched; 4, short axe (?), fragmentary, ventral lateral retouched.

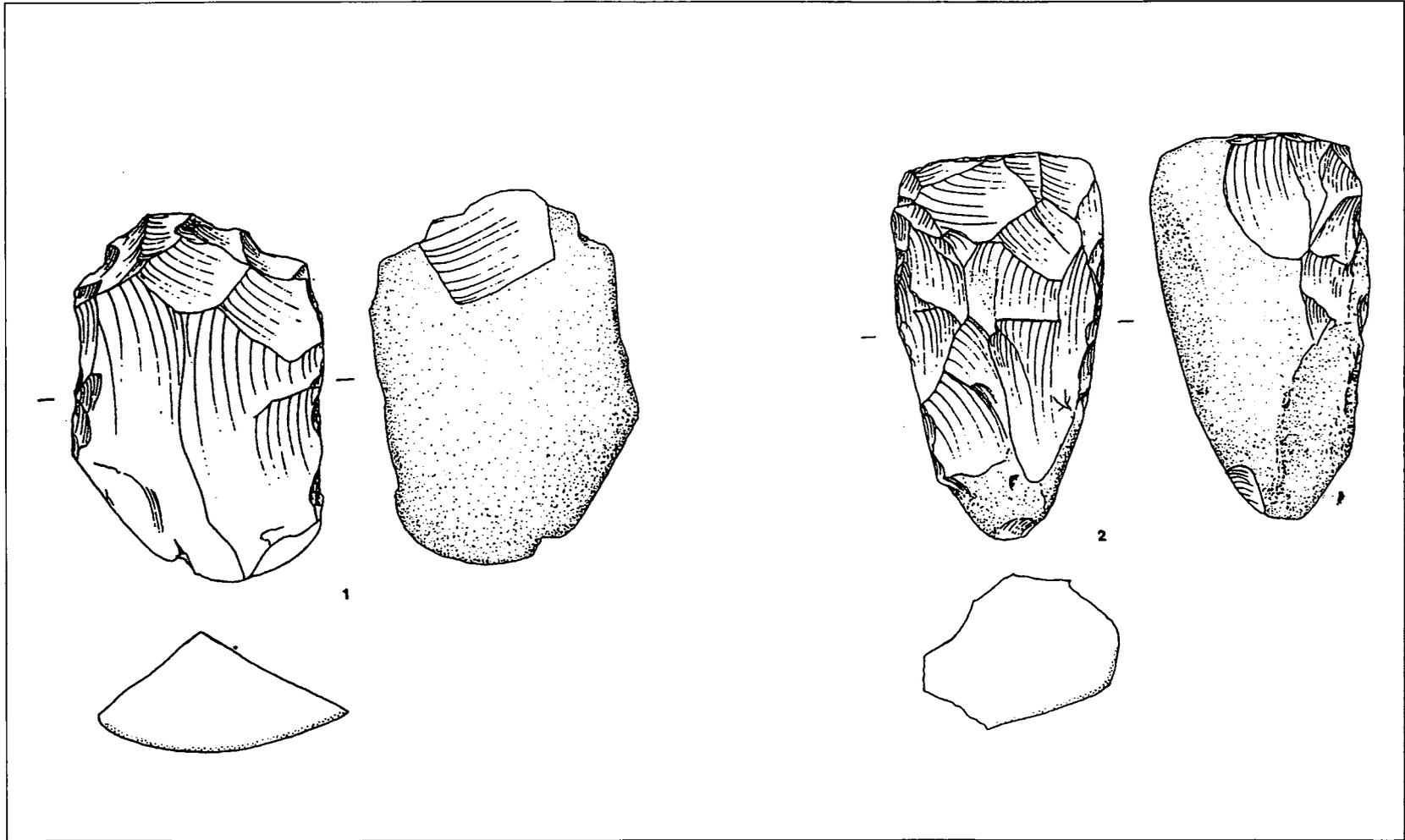


Figure 24 Stone tools from Tam Kleo II: 1, sumatralith, unifacially completely retouched pebble; 2, adze, one face completely, the other partially retouched pebble with terminal edge, probably Neolithic.

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KEY WORDS—THAILAND, FOREST HUNTERS, ETHNO-ARCHAEOLOGY, HUNTERS AND GATHERERS, PREHISTORY

