

THE RIVER AT THE FALLS OF THE GREAT CANYON

THE LAWÀ IN NORTHERN SIAM<sup>(1)</sup>

by

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In November 1922 Major Seidenfaden came up to Chiengmai on a few weeks holiday, and we decided to devote the major part of it to visiting the Lawa iron mines some hundred miles southwest of Chiengmai.

Our object was to collect as much information as was possible in a short time concerning the Lawa, in the hope that our investigations would provide a basis for a closer and more extensive study of these people later on for those with more time at their disposal.

We decided to devote our main attention to compiling a list of Lawa words on the lines of the Siam Society's questionnaire. At the same time we hoped to learn something of Lawa religion, habits and industries. Lastly we carried calipers with which to take cranial measurements, if practicable.

The first stage of the journey is 35 miles along the fine metalled road to Chôm Tông. This we covered in less than two hours. Then came an hour's tramp across padi-fields to the Me Ping river below Fai Huey Ling—a weir which interferes with boat traffic above Chôm Tông.

We found our party waiting for us in the boat: we embarked without delay and arrived at Muang Hôt next morning. Here we

(1) Transliteration of Siamese words in the text: *Consonants*:—The aspirate is shown by apostrophe after the consonants *t* and *p*, e. g. *t'ai* instead of *thai*, *p'ai* instead of *phai*. The English value of consonants is preserved. *Vowels*:—The Italian value is given to simple vowels. A circumflex accent over *o* represents the  $\text{ö}$  sound.

(2) Amplified with two appendices on the geographical distribution of the Lawa and their ancient history by E. Seidenfaden.

spent the rest of that day arranging for carriers. The Nai Amp'ce had been notified by the Governor of Chiengmai concerning our trip. One of his assistants, the Palat Sai, Nai Sri Mun, was deputed to look after us while at the same time he attended to official business in the Lawa country.

The next day we set out for Bô Luang, following the track over which in former days lay the direct route from Chiengmai to Moulmein, via Me Sarieng and Papun. During the XVIIIth century, when Chiengmai was subject to the Kings of Burma, traffic was probably considerable, and Muang Hôt a place of importance.

At Muang Hôt we explored the ruins of a large temple on the northern side of the village. The Chedi known as Prachedi Sung—is still extant, to bear witness, together with nearly one hundred other ruins in this neighbourhood, to the vanished glories of Muang Hôt as an outpost of Chiengmai on the Burma road.

Two miles below Muang Hôt the track leaves the river-bank at Ban Wang Luang and follows the course of a stream—the Me Pa P'ai—in a westerly direction to the foot of the hills. It then climbs steeply up to a plateau of rolling country about 3500 ft above sea level, which is reached at K. M. post 21 above Muang Hôt.

Between K. M. posts 21 and 34 the track is broad and easy. The forest growth becomes thinner, and pine trees appear in increasing numbers towards the highest point on the road from which there are fine views of the hills in the Me Ping valley and of the western slopes of Doi Angka. After passing K. M. post 34 the track descends slightly and opens out into the fields of Bô Luang.

In the Lawa language Bô (pronounced like the Lao word for a well or mine) means village. Bô Luang is the largest of five villages connected by narrow padi fields lying in the shallow valleys on the plateau.

The other four villages are Bô Sa'ngae, Bo Pāk Wen, Bô Wang Kông and Bô Nā Fon, the latter between 3 or 4 miles distant from Bô Luang, and itself subdivided into two villages.

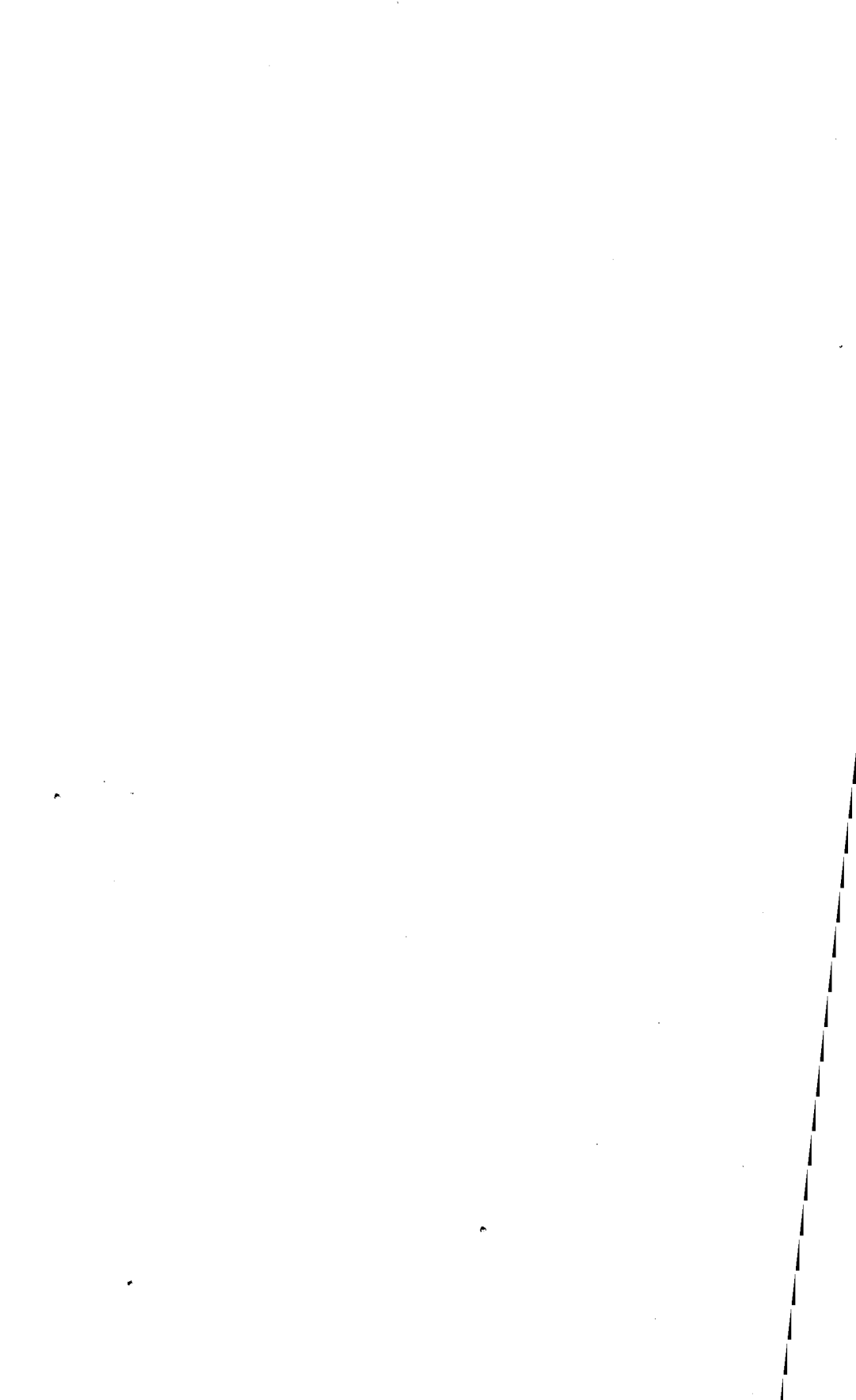
The population is almost entirely Lawa, and numbers about 350 souls. Ten to twelve miles further west on the way to Me Sa'rieng there is a second group of villages, Bô Sali and Bô Kông Loi comprising about 100 houses, but the population is mixed Lao and Lawa.

There are no habitations anywhere near the iron-mines, which are distant two days journey over rough country in a north-westerly direction. Beyond them, and in the same direction, but situated on a tributary of the Me Yuam is the Lawa strong-hold of Um Pai,



Lawa women of Um Pai.

Photo by Dr. H. McC. Smith.







Lawa Nen at Wat Bô Luang.

where the inhabitants are said to be ignorant of Buddhism and the Lao language and to preserve their customs such as eating dogs and drinking the water in which they wash their clothes. The men wear short sleeved white homespun coats and short white trousers, the women leggings.<sup>(1)</sup>

Bô Luang appeared the easiest centre in which to conduct preliminary investigations, since our time was limited. We therefore took up our quarters in the *Wihān* of a Buddhist temple.

Nai Sri Mun, the Amp'ce's assistant, camped in the Monk's house nearby, and we had his assistance, whenever we needed it, throughout our stay at Bô Luang. The novice of the temple, (a *uen* of about thirteen years of age) a Lao, Nān La, husband of a Lawa women, and the village headmen all rendered assistance to us on the prompting of the Amp'ce's assistant. In the company of one or other of these people we spent half of each day in compiling a vocabulary for the questionnaire.

The remaining hours were devoted to exploring the village and neighbourhood, making enquiries concerning the beliefs and habits of the people, taking photographs and measurements of 51 men and 6 women, and writing up our notes.

The following notes were made during our walks through the village.

Bô Luang consists of several lines of houses in ascending order across the south face of a hummock on the western crest of which is a small Buddhist temple: on the lower Eastern crest is a grove of heavy trees with a spirit-shrine.

#### DWELLING HOUSES.

Houses in the topmost line just under the crest face southwards, but those in all the lower lines face north. The houses are 4 ft or more above ground-level and cattle are stalled underneath. Before building on the site selected, the Lawa bury in the ground for one night a box containing sand and some grains of rice which must be more numerous than the future inmates, allowing an extra grain for the *genius loci*. Four sticks garlanded with flowers are set up around the box to represent the future house-posts.

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(1) From a photograph by Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith.



Each house has an open front veranda, but no separate kitchen. The hearth is in the main room, and is used for cooking as well as to warm the occupants, who sleep with their feet to it. The result is that the interior of every house is begrimed with smoke and soot.

Many houses consist of a single room, but where married sons inhabit the house with their parents there are sometimes cubicles screened off for them at the back of the main room.

The majority of the houses have walls and floor of sawn timber; plaited bamboo takes the place of wood in the remaining cases, which are the smaller and poorer dwellings. The houses are roofed with thatch-grass: the gable ends are ornamented with the cross-set horns called by the Lao *klæ*.

The roof slope is very steep, and its sides are extended to within a few feet of the ground, providing storage room for firewood.

Grain is not stored in the house but is generally kept in a separate building.

Padi is pounded into rice by hand in a moveable mortar made by hollowing out a segment of a tree stem. The pestle resembles two Indian clubs joined at their thin end, and is wielded by the women of the village.

Small untidy gardens planted with tobacco, Indian corn and fruit trees surround most of the houses, but the general impression of drabness is relieved by banks of sunflowers which grow in great profusion, particularly near the temple. They are a recent importation which have seeded themselves from a few plants brought up from the Me Ping valley some years ago.

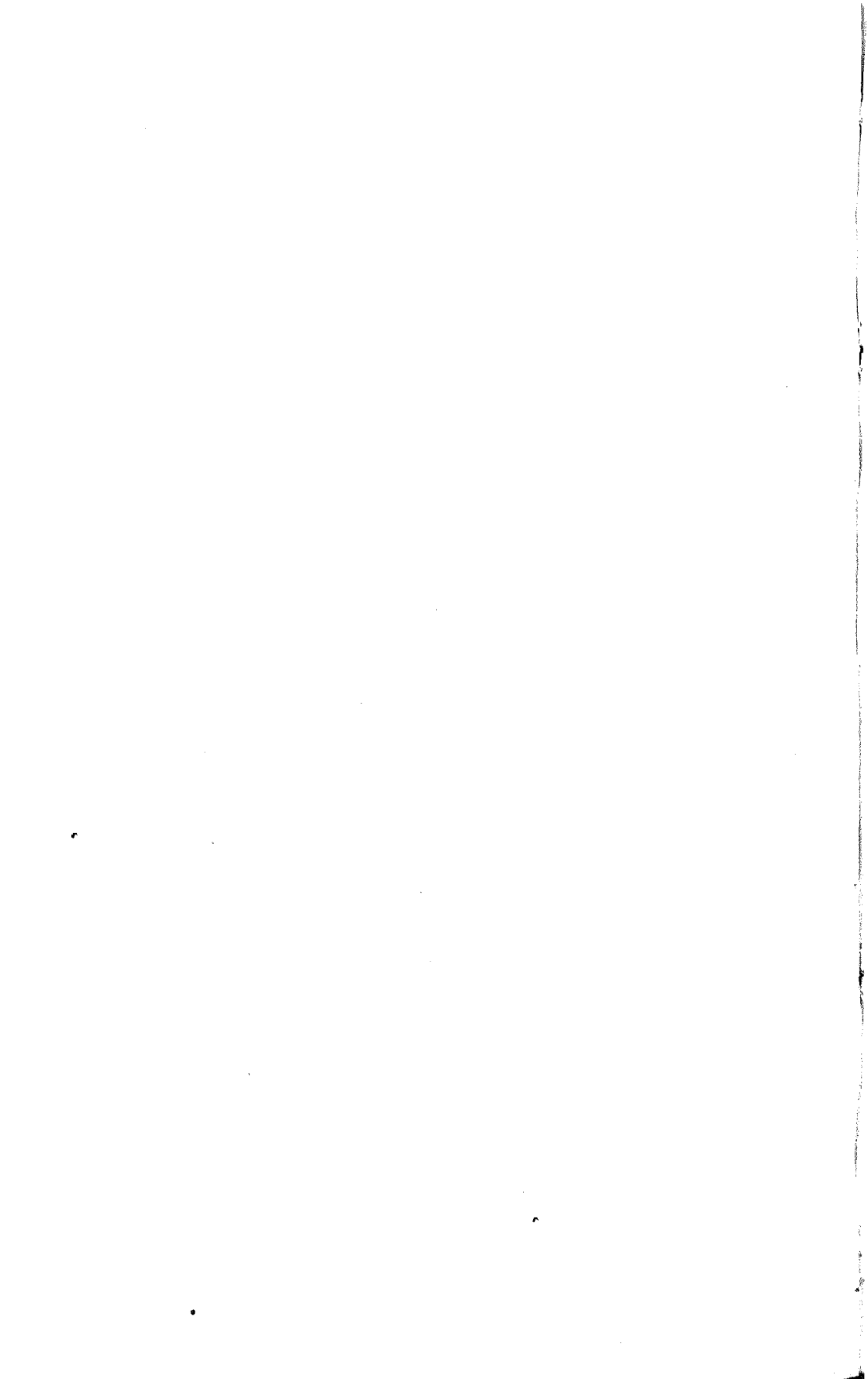
Household utensils are few in number. We noticed clay cooking-pots and vessels for storing water (made at Sa-ngæ), also wooden spoons and tobacco pipes. Hollow bamboos for carrying water are being replaced more and more by zinc buckets, and flints by matches bought in Muang Hôt.

Small shouldered celts (axes) of soft stone have been found by Lawa who are ignorant of their origin.

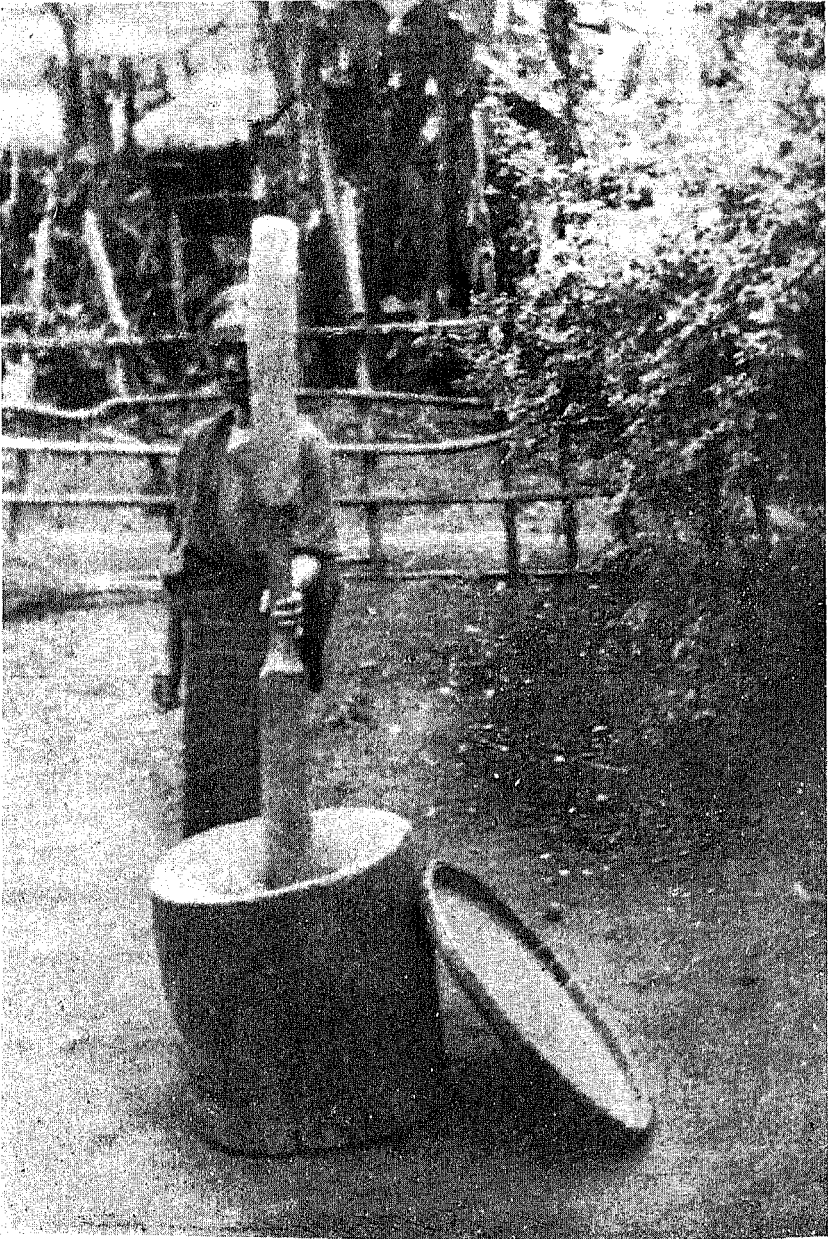
The most striking defect in these villages is the absence of wells and running water. The situation is near the source of watercourses draining into the right bank of Me Chem; but, being on a plateau with no high ground above it to give a graded descent for water, it is deprived of the advantage of running water. Rain water collects in pools in the shallow depressions which would normally be watercourses, but which are here utilised for Paddy fields. There are only



Lawa house of the poorer kind.







Pestle, Mortar, and Sieve for hulling Paddy.

two springs, one on the south-east side of the settlement at the edge of the fields, and the other considerably lower down at the north side. There are no privately owned wells, as in a Lao village, and water has to be carried to each house by its owners. The result is that young children go unwashed until they are old enough to go down to the Springs in person—a condition which no Tai community would tolerate.

The Buddhist temple on the other hand is of the conventional pattern in Bô Luang, with both *Bôt* and *Wihān* of plastered brick, and ornamental gable faces. At Bô Sa'ngæ the *Wihān* is of wood, resting on piles—more suggestive of a spirit shrine with its boxed up appearance than of a Buddhist edifice. It is however off the main track. Bô Luang Temple is the one seen by most passers by, many of whom spend the night in a tumble-down Rest House outside the Temple fence. Its appearance, (apart from the absence of temple staff, which here consists of one *P'ra* and one *Nen*—likewise absence of the usual village school for small boys), suggests nothing which would lead a visitor to suspect any difference between the religious beliefs of Lawa and Lao. Being camped in the *Wihān*, with Nai Sri Mun beside us in the Monk's House, we had the constant presence of these young Monks to answer our questions, but we checked and supplemented all their information with Noi La, the Lao who has a Lawa wife, and with the *P'u Yai Bān*, Khun Khao Mūn.

#### RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND DAILY LIFE OF THE LAWA.

Our enquiries led us to the conclusion that in north Siam Buddhism exercises a deeper influence upon the life and thought of the Lao than of the Lawa, although it has never displaced the Lao's belief in spirits—*P'i*, which include both ghosts, and embodiments of the powers in Nature.

Near the entrance of many Lao houses is a small shelf or table for the reception of offerings to *P'i*. The Lawa tie flowers to the top of the house-stairs or to the houseposts and mumble prayers to the *P'i*, who is the disembodied spirit of some ancestor.

We learnt that there are three principal *P'i*<sup>(1)</sup> invoked by the Lawa:

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(1) The word *p'i* is transcribed with the low consonant, to represent the actual pronunciation in Lawa, which does not use the rising tone.

- the House Spirit - *P'i Huan* ;  
 the Field or Local Spirit - *P'i Ti* ;  
 the Mines Spirit - *P'i Ræ* (pronounced *hæ*)

All three are regarded as the disembodied spirits of ancient Lawa Heroes. The presiding *P'i* at the spirit-grove is the spirit of a Lawa. P'ya In, who died in Burma long ago, and returned to haunt this grove.

We learnt that the *P'i* especially venerated at the Mines are those of five heroes', named :—

- Khun Tu'  
 Khun Tōng  
 Khun Luang Wi Lang Ka  
 Khun Kio Na Lōng  
 Lām Chōng Wong Pāk Wen

A *P'i* to whom offerings are brought at New Year is *P'i Rā Mung* —another disembodied ancestor.

*P'i P'et* and *P'i Lōk* were also mentioned as disembodied spirits. The only non-ancestral spirits of whom we heard were *P'i Kien* and

The use of Siamese names for the Spirits venerated by the Lawa calls for comment. The names given in the text are the only ones supplied to us by our Lao-speaking Lawa informants, and there is good reason to believe that they really are the actual names now used by the Lawa for their Spirits, and not given to us to conceal the Lawa names.

We obtained a transcription in Lao characters and again in Siamese of the actual Lawa text of the Invocations, of which English translations are given. The Lawa text begins with the Lawa invocation *A-ha, A-ha*, followed by the words *chao t'i p'i raksa* and then the Lawa word for fields, and the rest in Lawa, with the exception of the numerals *seen, lan* for which no Lawa equivalents exist.

It may be that the T'ai language in the ears of the Lawa has the same effect as Pali in the ears of a Siamese, and is deliberately used for the nomenclature of superior beings. In the section concerning the language of the Lawa, the fact has been noted that the Lawa both of Bô Luang and of Pang Chô use certain T'ai words, where Lawa words are either non-existent or obsolete, through not simultaneously. In the case of these small Lawa communities living among T'ai speaking people, it is natural if not inevitable that they should tend to absorb T'ai words into their language, both from laziness and for reasons of utility.

The name of their chief village Bô Luang is a blend of Lawa and T'ai. Bô is the Lawa equivalent for *ban*; *luang* may well have been applied by their Lao neighbours to designate the chief one among a group of Bô, or villages. In fact, where the name of a Lawa village is not completely Lawa, but partially or wholly T'ai, the presumption is that the Lawa have adopted the name given to it by their neighbours.

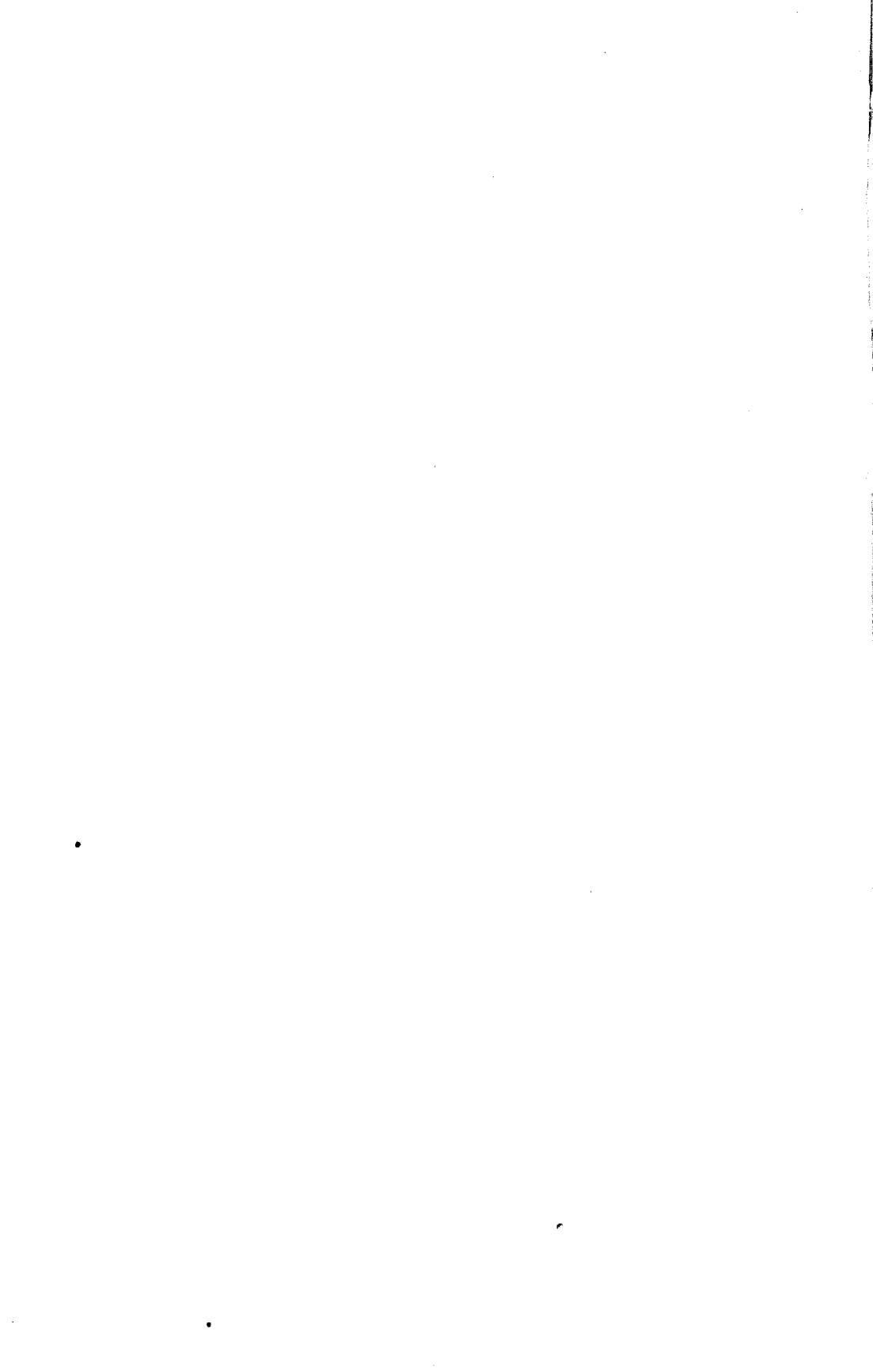


Jawa headmen at Bô Luang.

P'ü Yai Bân.

Kannan.





*P'i Koi*, forest powers inimical to wayfarers. Thus our general impression was that reverence for the distinguished dead would appear to be the root of the religious belief of the Lawa, who at the same time reverences the force of natural phenomenon or "genius loci". The great spirit grove on the North-East crest of Bô Luang ridge is the joint property of the inhabitants of Bân Nā Fon and Ban Sa'ngæ. In a clearing among heavy Banyan trees are three ramshackle sheds on piles, with connecting galleries, unroofed. Access is through an opening in a dilapidated surrounding fence facing a rough stairway. At the head of the steps to the left is a rough shed with penthouse roof, reserved for villagers assisting at the ceremony: facing it, a gable-roofed shed, the home of the male spirit: beyond it, and facing the steps, a second gable-roofed shed for the spirit of his daughter, all three sheds opening onto a common rough platform.

Once every three or four years a red bull is sacrificed, and the following year a black male pig, also a red cock and hen. We were assured that to the eyes of the assistants a tiger is visible, waiting to devour the remains of the sacrifice: the beast is only a source of danger to the uninitiated: the assistants regard it as a watchdog, and do not fear it.

At the iron mines a creamed-coloured bull is sacrificed in the 5th month once every three years. The bull must be entire and of cream colour, even to the hairs of the tail, in order to be acceptable to the spirit.

#### SUPERSTITIONS AND MAGIC.

Side by side with this reverence for the Supernatural, flourish superstitions similar to those still surviving among Europeans, but with the difference that among the latter they are little more than conventions, while with the Lawa their observance is a matter of urgency.

A few of these magic beliefs came to our notice even during the few days of our visit.

The wrists of most Lawa, as of the Khamü, are bound with string and magic poles are common in the Fields.

For augury they count the number of rice-grains from a handful thrown on the ground in preference to consulting chicken-bones—An even number of grains represents an affirmative answer to the question demanded of the oracle.

There is no lack of wizards at Bô Luang. The elder people are all conversant with the appropriate incantations, but no chief sorcerer was discovered.

#### TOTEMISM.

Hunting the Rhinoceros is strictly forbidden by the elders. This is the only fact we observed which could be construed as evidence of totemism. We were told that two of these animals visited the district in 1931, but that any attempt to molest them would have resulted in general disaster.

#### MARRIAGE.

It is the House Spirit which is invoked at marriages. The marriage of cousins is forbidden on account of the House Spirit. Nai Sri Mun asserts that the preliminary to betrothal is a consummation of the union in the girl's house with the tacit consent of her parents. The latter are informed of the fact on the following morning, and betrothal is effected by the youth's parents paying Rs. 9 or Rs. 5 or Rs. 3 according to their means, for purchase of sacrificial pigs or chickens.

Three or four days later the marriage ceremonies are enacted. They begin in the bride's house, at the gate of which a red dog (supplied by the bridegroom) is felled by a blow. The body of the dog is split open, and a small portion of each of the vital organs is extracted: portions of the dog's tail, tongue and paws are also cut off, and are offered to the house spirit together with snippets of the vitals, while an elder asks for a blessing.

The party then proceeds to the bridegroom's house, and offers candles, incense and flowers outside it to the House Spirit. These offerings are repeated at the foot of the stairway, and again before the door of the cubicle reserved for the bridal pair.

At this moment, boys, related to the couple bring round liquor which all the assembly drinks. A tray bearing an old silver piece—a bullet coin—"Khāku" is placed in the midst. Liquor is sprinkled both on the tray, the head of the stairs, the door, and fireplace; after which, all those present take a sip: if anyone fails to drink, he must pour out the liquor for the House Spirit. We were told that this Spirit is present on the tray, and that it is believed to drink be-

fore the congregation. The ceremony is followed by a feast.

The bridegroom occupies a cubicle with his wife in his parent's house until such time as his younger brother is ready to take a wife. He then builds his own house. He selects the site, but before building he tests its suitability by burying in the ground a grain of rice for each of the intending occupants, together with one extra grain. If all grains germinate, the house is built on that spot. An ox may also be loosed in the jungle. This was formerly part of the marriage ceremony, but is now optional, and no significance is attached to failure by the animal to return home.

Monogamy is the invariable rule. The bride must be sought outside the family circle, even marriage of cousins is forbidden, as stated above.

#### DIVORCE.

The marriage bond is regarded as equally binding upon husband and wife. Should either party violate the bond, the offender is required by the village headman to indemnify the other with Rs. 72, even if it means selling up the offender's property to procure the money. The same fine is inflicted on a young man who refuses to marry a girl he has seduced. Young people appear to be allowed considerable pre-marital intimacy but no actual intercourse. The number of young unmarried women is striking.

#### INHERITANCE.

If the father of a family dies, half the property goes to the widow, and the other half is divided among her sons, while she takes up residence with her youngest son. If there are no sons, the share which would have been theirs goes to the dead man's relatives. If the wife predeceases the husband, on his death all the property goes to the sons. Daughters only inherit if there are no sons.

#### DEATH.

Death ceremonies are reported to resemble those of the Lao. The corpse is kept for three nights: if death has been due to natural causes, it is then burnt. A silk shroud is used, if there is money to procure it, otherwise a cotton one. A coin is put into the mouth, but Noi La was ignorant of the reason. The corpse is never carried down the

stairway, but lifted over the veranda, following a precedent set by the Hero, Luang Rang Ka. Buddhist priests attend the funeral. Burial in the ground is reserved for those dying a violent death or from epidemic disease.

#### DAILY LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE LAWA.

We had no opportunity to observe the customs connected with child-birth.

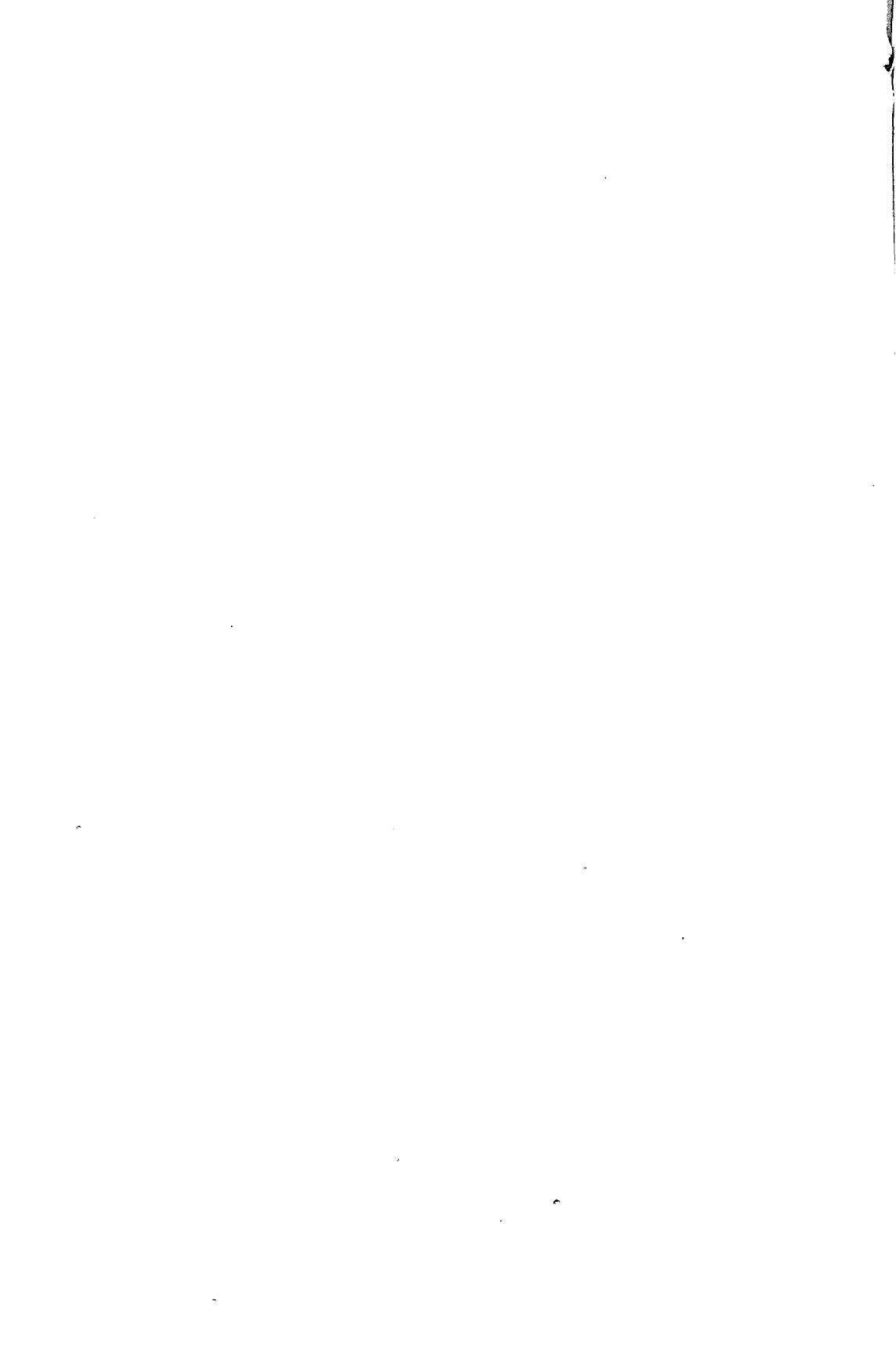
Very young children appear to lead much the same life as in Lao villages; they are seen in their mother's arms, or crawling about the veranda of the house, always filthily dirty. When they are able to walk and carry, they are seen drawing water at the spring, and herding buffaloes.

There was little evidence of idleness in the village, and even less of games and distractions. We were told that, apart from hunting the deer and wild cattle which abounds near Bô Luang, the sole amusement of the Lawa is to play on a pipe made from the horn of a buffalo, and to consume Liquor. Nai Sri Mun assured us that in his official dealings with the Lawa he found them singularly free from crime. Civil disputes are almost always settled by the village headman, whose authority over his people is remarkable. The only fault he had to complain of was a tendency to evade taxation. We found that the Amp'œ's authority was more respected than that of his assistant. Our visit co-incided with the harvest, when every able-bodied person was engaged in work on the fields. On receiving Nai Sri Mun's orders to assist us in every way, the Lawa sent down to Muang Hôt to enquire whether these orders had the Amp'œ's approval; and on obtaining it the Lawa gave us in every satisfaction.

From June to December the village is occupied in agricultural pursuits. Tobacco, fruit and vegetables are raised in the gardens of the Houses, but on a very small scale and under the most primitive conditions. The absence of water during the dry season restricts the diet of the Bô Luang people considerably, depriving them of the vegetables and cereals which would flourish at an altitude of 3000 ft with plentiful water. Fish is a luxury which can only be purchased at the price of a journey to Muang Hôt. The staple diet is non-glutinous rice. The glutinous variety preferred by the Lao is held by them to be less fortifying. They are mainly vegetarians, but



Reaping Paddy.









Threshing freshly reaped Paddy.

occasionally indulge in the flesh of both wild and domestic animals. They possess no oxen but a large number of buffaloes for plowing. Their dogs are small and resemble foxes. There are but few pigs and cats. The 60 elephants they owned forty years ago have all been sold now.

#### HILL RICE.

Before clearing the forest, the Lawa consults the augury of a handful of rice, counting the grains odd and even, so Noi La says.

There are numerous forest clearings—Rai—on the hillocks surrounding Bô Luang, where rice and chillies are cultivated on a small scale. From the Rai beyond the northwest end of Bô Luang, a magnificent panorama is obtained of the Me Yuam hills on the west, Chiengmai hills on the north and of the west face of Doi Angka on the eastern horizon.

Noi La told us that before clearing a Rai the Lawa utters the following invocation:—

“May the Lord of the Land grant that I clear this land for the benefit of religion and Government. May the answer be revealed to me in a dream.”

#### FIELD RICE.

The narrow depressions between low ridges on the plateau provide a natural field for Padi cultivation. The altitude of Bô Luang assures its farmers of ample humidity during the S. W. monsoon when clouds usually surround the highlands, and we gathered that a fair crop seldom fails to be reaped. People at Bô Luang are thus assured of their principle item of diet, non-glutinous rice.

We watched the harvest being collected. The rice stems are shorter than on the plain, and the straw and stubble are burnt instead of being preserved for fodder. The Reaping instrument is a small sickle, less semi-circular than that used by the Lao. Reaping is the work of women.

The sheaves of reaped Padi are collected into piles at various spots on the fields, and are stacked around an improvised threshing-floor of hard earth strewn with mats, in much the same way as by the Lao.

Threshing was generally done by a man. The thresher stands upon the mat with a sheaf of Padi held between his shins. In either hand he wields a stick fashioned from the curved root and stem of

"Mai Buang" to a form resembling a short and light hockey-stick. Having beaten the sheaf, he turns it lightly with his two sticks and beats it again until he has removed every grain.

A woman then winnows the grain, using two circular fans, similar to those in use by the Lao.

Our visit ended before the harvest was gathered in. We thus had no opportunity to observe the carousal if any, with which we might expect it to be celebrated, as with the Lao.

#### MINING.

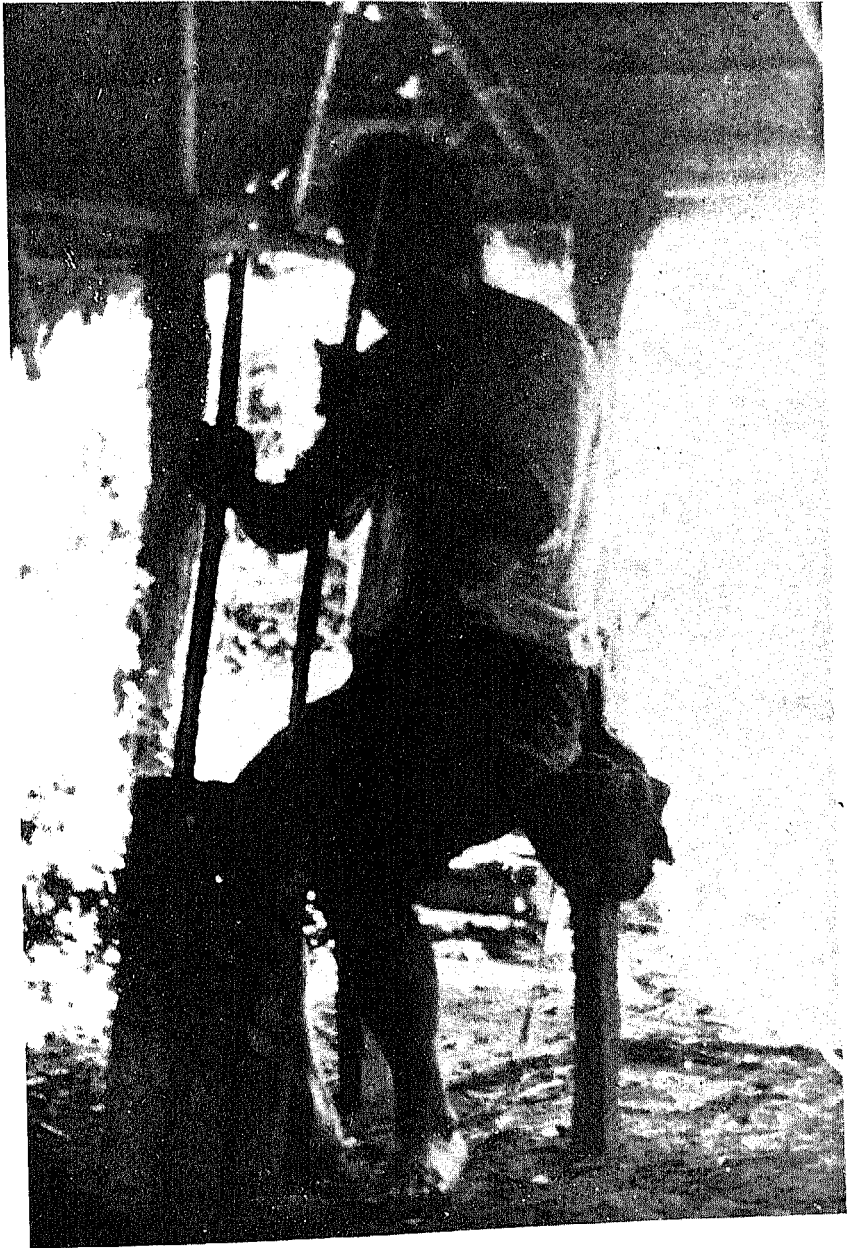
Our informants stated that the dry months following the harvest are devoted by the whole population to extracting the iron ore from the once famous deposit, a long days journey 35 K. M. to the North-West of Bô Luang, beyond Me T'ô.

Families migrate to the Iron Mines which are the exclusive property of the Bô Luang Lawa, who own them in common. If any outsider were to mine there, he would be devoured by a tiger. Both men and women collect the ore which is found on the surface. The men carry it home on their shoulders in baskets attached to either end of a yoke, while the women carry it on their backs in cone-shaped baskets, supported by a frontal band—as is common among Khamū, Karen, etc.

The ore is smelted in Bô Luang. Three village elders showed us the process. The smithy was not in use at the time, but it was opened up for our special benefit.

For the furnace, a square oven of clay  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft x  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft x  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft is used, the sides being supported by rough boards. The upper surface is pierced in the centre by a round hole, 6 ins in diameter, which serves as a flue. The furnace has a second outlet at the base of one of the sides: this aperture is closed by a trapdoor in the form of a shell. In a line with it, on the opposite side of the furnace, a clay pipe serves as an inlet into the furnace for air pumped in by the bellows.

The bellows consists of two large sections of a Bamboo stem (Mai Hok) fixed side by side in an upright position near the furnace, and connected with the Clay Pipe by two small Bamboo tubes. A piston rod projects beyond the top of each tube. These rods are operated by the smith who works one with each hand, as he sits behind them, pumping vigorously first with one hand then with the other.



Blacksmith working his bellows.







Blacksmith hammering a red hot lump of iron which he holds on the anvil with his tongs.

The furnace is heaped up with charcoal, upon which the ore is laid and heated. The iron droppings from the ore are collected four times and returned to the furnace. The operation takes six hours, at the end of which a lump of rough iron is produced, resembling a small orange in shape.

This iron lump is again made red hot. The smith then lifts it from the furnace with rough tongs and beats it out on an iron anvil into sundry crude implements, such as knives, bells, tongs, etc.

Behind the furnace a small basket hangs on the wall of the smithy for the reception of offerings of flowers and rice presented to the Forge-Spirit after harvest-time each year to feed him at the inception of the mining season.

#### INVOCATION OF SPIRITS.

Noi La, who through his Lawa wife is intimately acquainted with Lawa habits, dictated to Nai Sri Mun some of the customary invocation used by the Lawa. The latter took them down for us in the original, using the Lao script employed by the Lawa when they write: he also gave us a Siamese translation. To these invocations is attached the following caution:—

“When making offerings to the Spirits of the House and of the Mines, no one is to speak.

“Speech is contrary to custom and will cause the Spirits of the House and of the Mines to refuse the offering.”

#### ๑. คำเดียงผยงนา

คำสาธุหมุทานเจ้าทเจ้าตบผู้รักษายงทุ่งยงนาจะเดียงดูให้อิมยังไถ่ผู้แดง  
คาวหนึ่ง ไก่อรงเหมือนสุนัขเห่า ขันเหมือนพานโรก ตั้งเหมือน  
กระทง เดียงดูให้อิม จะไปกินของง่ายของข้า ให้ได้เข้าได้ของเนื้อ  
ได้เข้าแดนเข้าตานแท้เนื้อ เออกินอนนเออนน คำดู

#### 1. FORMULAR FOR AN OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS OF THE FIELDS.

Hail, Ye Lords of the place, Guardians of the Rice fields. Taste and take your fill even of a single red Cockerel: his voice is as that of a dog, the sound of his crowing is as the barking of a deer, his



height is that of a bison. Eat at your ease of my offering, and bestow upon me possession of rice tenfold and one hundredfold. Take and eat of this I pray you.

๒ คำให้พรเวลาแต่งงาน

เฝ้าพระวาทพระวษาธุฤถุมุตทงหลายทงหมดเป้นตนเป้นประหารธุธา ๓  
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2. FORMULA TO OBTAIN A BLESSING AT MARRIAGE.

O Spirits of our noble ancestors, each and all of you—the offering is a dram of alcohol and a portion of rice.

May the<sup>(1)</sup> bridegroom increase as a chicken, may he grow big as a peacock, may he be tall as a Banana-tree or a Sugar-cane. Do you, each and all of you, male and female alike, our kinsmen, take and eat of this; first the spirits, then the human kinsmen.

๓. คำเตียงผู้ประคบ้าน

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3. FORMULA FOR OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS OF THE GATE.

All hail. Remove all cause of destruction from perishable beings, from<sup>(2)</sup> his pigs, his dogs, his poultry, his birds, and the stroke of the lightning from his children. May he be white as cotton, and bright as fire, on this day. May the clouds of dust and darkness disperse today. From this day onwards, may all in my family enjoy good health and long life. Hail.

(1) *Lit. he.*

(2) *i.e. the house-holders.*

๔. เถียงผีคนป่วยว่า

ถ้าผู้ทุกตั้ง ผีที่อยู่ทิศเหนือทิศใต้ ตลอดจนอยู่บนหนออากาศ อยู่  
ทิศใดก็ตามไปบนและไปมา ถ้าพูดหยาบพูดร้าย ซึ่งมาทรมารยังคน  
ผู้นี้ ให้ถอดถอนพิศม์เสีย ข้าจกถวายขันเช้า ๑ ขันให้หาย ถ้าไม่หาย  
ไม่ให้ ถ้าไข่มัจจะจริงจะให้ ข้าไม่ใช่จะไม่ให้ กำหนด ๓ วัน ๗ วันให้  
หายภายหลังหัดเขียนภายหลังนอนแท่นขอ ถ้าผู้ถ้าผู้

4. FORMULA OF OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS FOR THE SICK.

Hail, Spirits of all things, dwelling in the north and the south, Spirits in the Heavens, and Spirits which wander across them. Wipe out the poison of any harsh or bitter word which is tormenting this being. For his recovery I will offer a tray of food, but will not give it unless he recovers. If you keep faith, I give it; if not, I withhold it. May he recover within a few days, and then lie down to sleep in peace. Hail. All Hail.

๕. เถียงผีประตูเรือนทงกระโตเตาไฟว่า

ถ้าผู้ถ้าผู้ ผีเตาไฟ ผีห่ากระโต ผีประตูเข้าออก ข้าเฒียงด้วย  
อิมเต็มใจท่าน ด้วยสุรา ๓ บัน ไช้ไก่หรือไก่ ๓ ตัว ๑ ตูก บูย่า เตาไฟ  
กระโตประตูเข้า กระโตคำประตูเงิน หม้อเข้า หม้อแกง เข้า เข้าสาร  
หม้อหอง ไหเข้า บูย่า สุรา ๓ บัน อย่ากินเปล่าๆ อย่ากินของง่าย  
ชะยะและเลื่อมพญาตพระยาให้ตกไปในอนัน ปกบองรักษาไฟอย่าให้ไหม้  
หอเรือน เดือนดาว หมัดไฟอย่าให้ชนที่อยู่ทันอน ขอให้อยุดมั่งสุขให้  
ได้เงินตั้งตั้งตำปาง ให้ได้เงินข้างเชียงแสน ให้ได้เงินเมืองอังวะ ให้  
เรียกมาสู่ชนหาคนไป ให้เป็นทพงคนมา ให้เป็นที่อยู่ไปทางหลัง ขอให้  
เก็บของเขาซ่อนไปทางหลังให้เก็บของดีมเมืองอันให้ เอาหัวแม่มือกกา  
พยาด เมื่อคืนให้หอบอุมด้วยชา สัตว์ร้ายคนร้ายให้ตามไปกับตมกบไฟ  
ให้ไหลไปด้วยน้ำแม่แท่นขอ ถ้าผู้ถ้าผู้

คาเดียงฝานและฝอบเหล็ก ห้ามไม่ให้พูดอะไรดีก็อย่าง ผิดประเพณี  
 ถาชนพูด ฝานหรือฝอบเหล็กไมรับของเดิน  
 เวลาเดินทางไปนอกดงบา เดินฝานหรือไฉนางธรณี ใช้ภาษาไทย  
 ภาษาตะไม.

5. FORMULA FOR OFFERING TO SPIRITS OF THE HOUSE,  
GATE, STAIRS, AND HEARTH.

Hail Spirit of the Hearth, Spirit of death, watcher over the stairs, Spirit of the gate of entrance and exit. I offer you to feed your fill upon a dram of alcohol and an egg or chicken. Enter, my paternal ancestors about the Hearth, the Stairs, the Gate. May the stairs be gold and the gate silver, and may there be rice in the cooking pots. May all sickness vanish this day. Guard the fire and prevent it from burning the house. May no rays from the Moon or stars, nor sparks approach the place where I lie. May I have health and happiness, and for wealth the pence of Lampang, the Crowns of Chiengsen and the Rings of Ava.

Call me to return when I go, be my defence when I come. Be the guardian who stands behind me; be he who discovers what is hidden behind me, and who picks up what I have forgotten in the daytime. Cross the thumbs against sickness, and by night surround me and enfold me with your leg. Pursue wild beasts and evil men with wind and fire, that they be carried away on the current of the stream. Hail. All Hail.<sup>(1)</sup>

These words are uttered in conjunction with offerings to Spirits of the House and of the Iron Mines. Let there be no sort of talking whatsoever. If there is talking, the spirits of the House and of the Iron mines refuse the offering.

When travelling by road and when sleeping in the forest; when making offering to spirits or praying to the Lady T'orani, make use of T'ai speech. Lawa speech is not (used).

The Lawa always referred in our hearing to the T'ai as "the people of the land". Whatever may have been their state in ancient times, they now have no pretensions to be other than foreigners in Siam among the Siamese.

(1) The following instructions are appended to the invocation.



Lawa boy and girl eating chocolates for the first time.



## HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Although the Lawa in Siam are now almost negligible, there is evidence that in past days they enjoyed a recognised status in the country. The village Headman told us of the existence of a ritual Silver Plate inscribed in Lao characters with the names of former Lawa headmen and a record of their connection with the Lao Chiefs of Chiengmai by whom the plate is said to have been presented. A gold plate is also spoken of as lost years ago. The silver plate is said to have been buried in the ground at Bô Luang for the past twenty years. It is only brought to the light on great occasions, when ten bottles of liquor and a pig must be offered to the Spirits of the place. We were told that deaths in the village occurred after the previous exhumation, which fact may account for the unwillingness of the Lawa to show us the plate.

When we returned to Chiengmai, we made enquiries about this reputed connection between Lawa and the princely family in Chiengmai. The Abbot P'ra Maha Meun, of the temple adjoining Chedi Luang on the north side, confirmed the connection. He says that when he was young, in Chao Inf'awong's time, the Lawa came to Chiengmai every year in the fourth month to present offerings of the crops, particularly ginger, to the Chief. The latter, on accepting the offering, took it into his mouth, and then spat it out again. This was a magic symbol for the fertilisation by the Chief's agency of the Lawas' crops. Major Seidenfaden was received by H.R.H. the Chao Dara Rasmi, who remembered this old custom, as well as the customary presentation of a white orchid by the Lawa to the Chief. She said her people, the Lao, respected the Lawa as being their predecessors in Siam, and often invited them to their homes on the occasion of weddings, regarding such a visit as of good augury. She had heard of the gold and silver plates, and understood that they were inscribed in a manner corresponding with the sup'annabatr bestowed by the King when conferring a higher rank on a Prince.

In the Siamese records of historical times the Lawa are sometimes mentioned.

In the Lao annals, relating to the origins of Chiengmai, frequent references are made to the Lawa. The translator of these annals,<sup>(1)</sup> in his Introduction, admits that "Chronicles in the vernacular must

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(1) C. Notton, *Annales de Siam*, Première partie, pp. VII-IX.

“have been composed by gradual steps contemporaneous with the events related:— . . . . . while it is certain that no texts can be accurate which have been preserved through the centuries by the expedient of re-copying, . . . . . they probably contain the nearest reproduction of the author’s meaning achievable in the circumstances, especially when the importance attached in this country to tradition is born in mind. Men’s memories have always furnished the soil on which Legends have grown up. It may well be that in a long period of misfortune, such as is recounted on p. 26, men’s interest becomes focussed upon old habits and ceremonies, the strict observance of which in days gone by coincided with a period when the evils of war, etc., were unknown. It is thus that the memory of ancient usages may be kept alive.”

These Lao annals, though fantastic and legendary, are on this account worthy of consideration, and the numerous references in them to the Lawa deserve notice.

According to the chronicle of Mahāthera Fa Bôt, the Lawa had a settlement on Doi Sut’ep, from which they founded a city at Chieng-mai before the coming of the T’ai.<sup>(1)</sup>

When the T’ai founded Chiengmai under Meng Rai they found relics of the earlier Lawa occupation. Meng Rai established contact with the Lawa who had then retreated to Doi Sut’ep and learnt from them the story of the Lawa occupation.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the chronicle of Suvanña Khamdēng, that T’ai ruler is reputed to have converted the Lawa of Chiengmai to Buddhism, and to have received two wives from their headman.

Again, at a time when Lawa and T’ai were living side by side, a Lawa chief, Vivo, proposed that in order to deceive the evil spirits, Lawa and T’ai should exchange clothes and head-dress. This chieftain by a further ruse defended the T’ai from attacks by the Cloud Spirits, Phi Khök Fa Ta Yün—giving them rice from the T’ais’ cookpot.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Sinhānavati refers to the place K’ôm Khăm on the Me Khong where there were only wild men, Milakkha, of Lawa race, whose chief was called Pû Chăo Lao Chök—lord of 500 spades—with which his

(1) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

(2) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(3) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

men cultivated the Hill gardens on Doi Săm Săo on the southern borders of Chieng Tung State.<sup>(1)</sup> The son of this chief paid an annual tribute of 4 baskets of small golden Māk P'in to a T'ai overlord.<sup>(2)</sup>

Ptolemy's Geography mentions an oriental land named Mālava-deça. Gerini, in his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*,<sup>(3)</sup> warns the reader against the facile conclusion that this was Lawa Land. He identifies Davāka with the Shan States of Burma, and the Dabasça range with the hills which separate the Salween (Nam Kōng) from the Me Kōng (Me Nam Khōng)—He points out that the letters D and B are interchangeable with L and V.<sup>(4)</sup> Dabasai might thus represent Lavasai, and may possibly have been associated with either the Lawa or the Lao in Ptolemy's time.

Gerini refers the origin of these Sanscrit Words to two tendencies on the part of the early Hindu travellers, to whose nomenclature Ptolemy was indebted for the place names in that region. These early travellers, he suggests, were inclined to give a Sanscrit turn to the local names of the inhabitants of Indo-China. In his view "Muang Lao" would naturally be classicised as Mālava. The second tendency was to adapt Indian place-names to features in Indo-China corresponding with those familiar to them at home.

Thus Mālava, being their rendering of "Muang Lao", suggested Malwa in India. The eastern portion of Malwa is Dasana. Ptolemy's *Dasiina* is therefore the eastern part of the Lao territory.

This explanation is interesting in connection with the terms *Damila* and *Milakkha* which are applied to the Lawa in Lao chronicles. *Damila*, meaning *savage* in Sanscrit, was the name given by the early immigrants into India to the earlier inhabitants whom they dispossessed and drove into the hills—i. e. the Dravidians or Tamils.

If the Lao States were named *Darçana* and *Mālava* in memory of Indian places, so, their earlier inhabitants (as Gerini imagines the Lawa to have been) would naturally be termed *Damila* or *Milakkha* corresponding to the dispossessed aborigines in India.

(1) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

(2) C. Notton, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

(3) Gerini, *Researches . . .*, pp. 118 & 99.

(4) *ibid.*, pp. 58-59.



Gerini doubts whether the name Lawa was used for these early inhabitants in ancient days. He favours the supposition that they were known as *Chieng*, or *Hill-people*—a name contracted into *Che*. He quotes the Luang Prabang chronicles to show that the Kha-Che race ruled there before the T'ai came down.

Gerini adds that *Chieng* also has the same meaning as the Sanskrit word *Yavana*—mixed. He suggests that *Yuen* (as the Laos call themselves) may be a corruption of *Yavana*, representing the T'ai who settled in the country of the *Chieng* and mixed with them.

According to his system of correction of Ptolemy's reckoning, Gerini is able to locate *Lasippa* near Ban Sa-iep, a village on the Me Yom river some 50 miles north of P're. He points out the existence of a second town of the same name in lower Burma, and another of kindred name, *Lasiep*, above Kamp'eng P'et. He concludes that this word belongs to the language of the early inhabitants.<sup>(1)</sup>

If any broad deduction may be drawn from these historical and geographical notes, it would be that the T'ai invaders of Siam in the early years of the second millenium established relations with another and less cultured people, for the most part hill-dwellers, whom they found established in Siam before their coming.

These people are suspected to be the ancestors of the modern Lawa.

#### LANGUAGE.

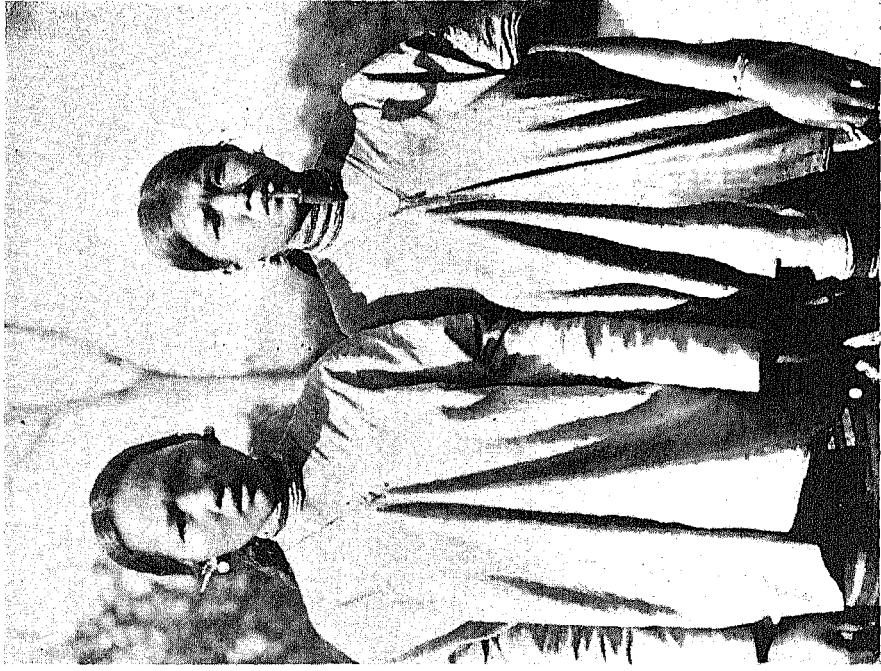
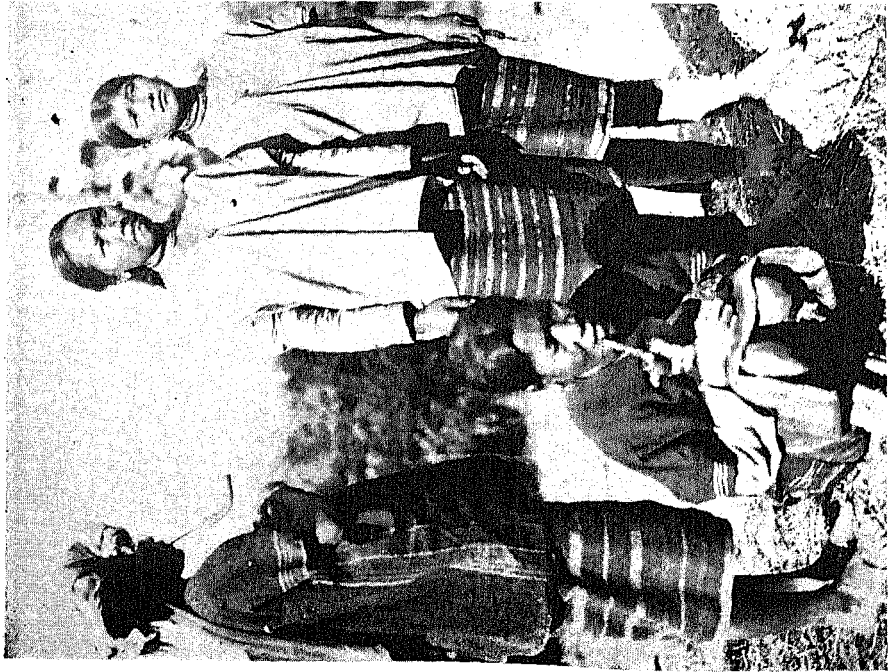
On our return to Chiengmai we were disappointed to find that in the Siam Society's Questionnaire, which we had filled in at Bô Luang, there are only 125 words which are common to it and to the vocabularies of the Indo-Chinese languages given in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma with which we proposed to compare our Lawa vocabularies.

At the same time we learnt that the Lawa in Vieng Pa Pao district are unintelligible to those at Bô Luang. Holt Hallett had remarked this fact fifty years ago in regard to the small vocabularies he collected first at Bô Luang, then in the Pa Pao district.<sup>(2)</sup>

A vocabulary was subsequently compiled of words in use by Lawa

(1) Cf. place names: *Sa-iep*, *Sa-nam*, *Sa-keun*, *Sa-rieng*, etc., with Lawa word *Sa-ngae*=Sun.

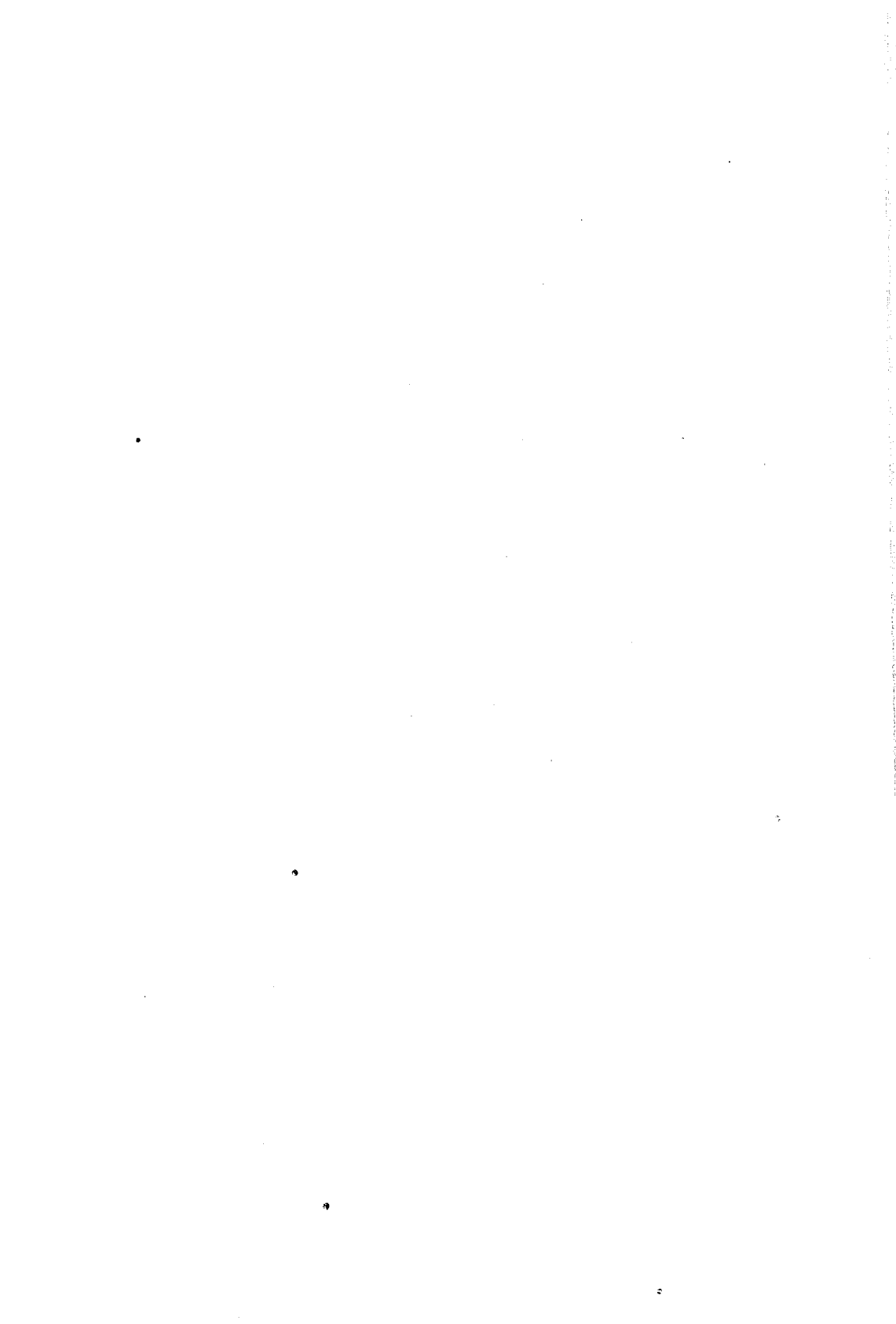
(2) Holt Hallett, *A thousand miles on an Elephant*.



Lawa of Um Pai.

Photographed at Me<sub>7</sub>Sa<sub>7</sub>rieng by Dr. H. McC. Smith.







Elderly woman standing in the garden at the home, she has only one eye.

at Pang Chô, near Vieng Pa Pao, thanks to the Christian Elder at that place, who sent down two Lawa to Chiengmai for the purpose. It revealed considerable divergence from a vocabulary collected by Monsieur Notton in that same district from Lawa of Ban Ta Ko some years ago.

It appears that only 19 out of 425 words in the Questionnaire are common to Bô Luang and Pang Chô Lawa, and 26 more words are closely related.

The structure of both Bô Luang and Pang Chô Lawa differs from T'ai in many ways, notably in the use of the Welsh double L, in the prefix 'M or 'N before another consonant, and in the sounding of final S and L, also in the short explosive sound with which many words terminate.

The tone system of Bô Luang is more developed than that of Pang Chô, the Rising tone being the only T'ai tone not recorded at the former place.

Pang Chô follows the T'ai order of words, Bô Luang inverts it. Both languages borrow a considerable number of T'ai words, but not on the same occasions—e. g. Pang Chô uses T'ai numerals and the T'ai word for fire, while Bô Luang has its own native word for both, but Bô Luang uses the T'ai word for iron, while Pang Chô has its own word.

A comparison of 125 words from our Bô Luang vocabulary with the lists of Mon-Khmer language vocabularies given in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma reveals the following results.

63 Bô Luang Lawa words identical with Wa, i.e. 50%					
6	"	"	"	"	Palaung.
9	"	"	"	"	Khamu.
12	"	"	"	"	Riang.
7	"	"	"	"	Rumai.
5	"	"	"	"	Nya Kuol.
2	"	"	"	"	Môn.

In a number of other cases there are obvious affinities. The evidence of language thus points to the Mon-Khmer family as the source of the Lawa tongue, also to the kinship of Lawa and Wa. The fact that the Bô Luang people have T'ai names and use T'ai words in a number of cases need not indicate anything more than the influence of more powerful and more cultured neighbors.

That the Lawa are of different origin from the T'ai is suggested by their physical features, absence of the fold of the eye-lid.

That the Lawa wear the dress of the Lao or the Karen smock is explicable in the same way as their use of Lao nomenclature. The similarity in spirit worship between Lawa and Lao with emphasis on the House-spirit would be natural, if the early home<sup>(1)</sup> of T'ai and Mon-Khmer was—as has been claimed—the land where Ancestor-worship is observed until the present day.

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<sup>(1)</sup> Different areas in the southern watershed of the Yangtse river.

APPENDIX I

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MEASUREMENTS OF FIFTY-ONE  
LAWA MEN AND SIX WOMEN

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON





TABLE I

## ANTHROPOLOGICAL MEASUREMENTS OF FIFTY-ONE LAWA MEN AND SIX WOMEN

## AT BÔ LUANG

*Head and Face Measurements to the nearest .25 millimetre**Men*

Nos.	NAME	AGE Years	HEIGHT		HEAD		FACE
			Standing cm.	Sitting cm.	Length cm.	Breath cm.	Bizigomatic Breadth cm.
1.	Nen Bia	19	162	84	19	16	12
2.	Kiu Kam Mun	43	161	84	19.50	16.25	12
3.	Kam Ban	65	162	83	18	14.50	11
4.	Suk	34	162	86	19	15.50	12
5.	Chi Chu Wen	36	166	92	19	14.50	12
6.	Suk Do Tong	35	164	87	18	14	12
7.	Dooi Kam Mun	34	160	84	18	16	10
9.	Kam	26	155	83	19	14	11
10.	Cha Nguan Keo	53	160	85	18	14.50	10
11.	Chan Pan Wet	38	153	79	17	15.50	10
12.	Ngœn	63	159	84	18	16.50	10.50
13.	Pom Ba Lek	64	159	77	17	14	10.50
14.	Sing	42	161	83	18	14.50	11
15.	Sen Soi Huou	33	164	87	18.50	15	10
21.	Ban Pa Ia	34	164	87	17	15	10.50
22.	Chan Da	35	165	86	18	15.50	11
23.	Tong Kam	37	159	83	17.50	15	11
24.	Nam Si Ti	66	170	89	18.50	15.50	10.50
25.	Som Tong Sa	38	163	87	18	14	9.50
26.	Suk Nan Da	41	153	85	19	15	10.50
27.	Ba Kiu Sa	63	168	84	18.50	15	9.50
28.	Lun (Headman)	44	155	84	18	15	10
29.	Mun	22	162	76	18.50	15.25	10
30.	Chan Da	60	166	82	18	15.50	10
31.	In Da	30	155	81	19	15	11
32.	Keo Ya Da	51	157	79	19	15.50	10.50
33.	Tip	52	157	77	17.50	15	10
34.	La	25	163	76	18	14.50	10
35.	Keo	28	155	78	18.50	15	11
36.	Chai	25	155	75	18	15	10



Nos.	NAME	AGE Years	HEIGHT		HEAD		FACE
			Standing cm.	Sitting cm.	Length cm.	Breadth cm.	Bizygomatic Breadth cm.
37.	Bok	22	158	78	17	15	11
38.	Chan Weo	57	165	84	18.50	16	11
39.	Chan Keo	68	165	82	18	16	11
40.	Kam	37	153	77	17.50	15	11
41.	Noi Kam	28	162	82	18	15	10
42.	Kam Ai	37	164	87	18	15	10.50
43.	Kam Dit	56	160	84	18	15	9
44.	Kam Nan Da (Headman)	56	156.50	81	18	15	10.50
45.	Lu Keo Mung Ma (Kamnan)	53	160	86	19	15	10
46.	Noi Wan	36	163	86	18	15	10
47.	But	24	158	80	18.50	15	10
48.	Ui	19	158	83	18	15.50	9
49.	Bia	27	158	84	16.50	14.50	9.50
50.	La	57	150	76	18	15	11
51.	Bun Ma	62	166	85	19	16	10
52.	La	39	168	85	17.50	14	11
55.	Keei	43	164	83	18	15	12
56.	Dai	38	160	84	18	15	11
57.	Bu Som	65	160	90	17	15	10
58.	Noi Deja	64	149	77	18	14	10
59.	Noi Tu	60	160	85	18	15.50	11

Averages  
for  
TOTAL 51 men:      43      160      83      18      15      10

Cephalic index.....83

*Note.* The measurements for sitting height had to be taken with the person seated on the ground, for lack of suitable chair or table. They are offered with all reserve, since they represent a first essay, and some were even taken out in the fields, where the population was camping for the harvest.

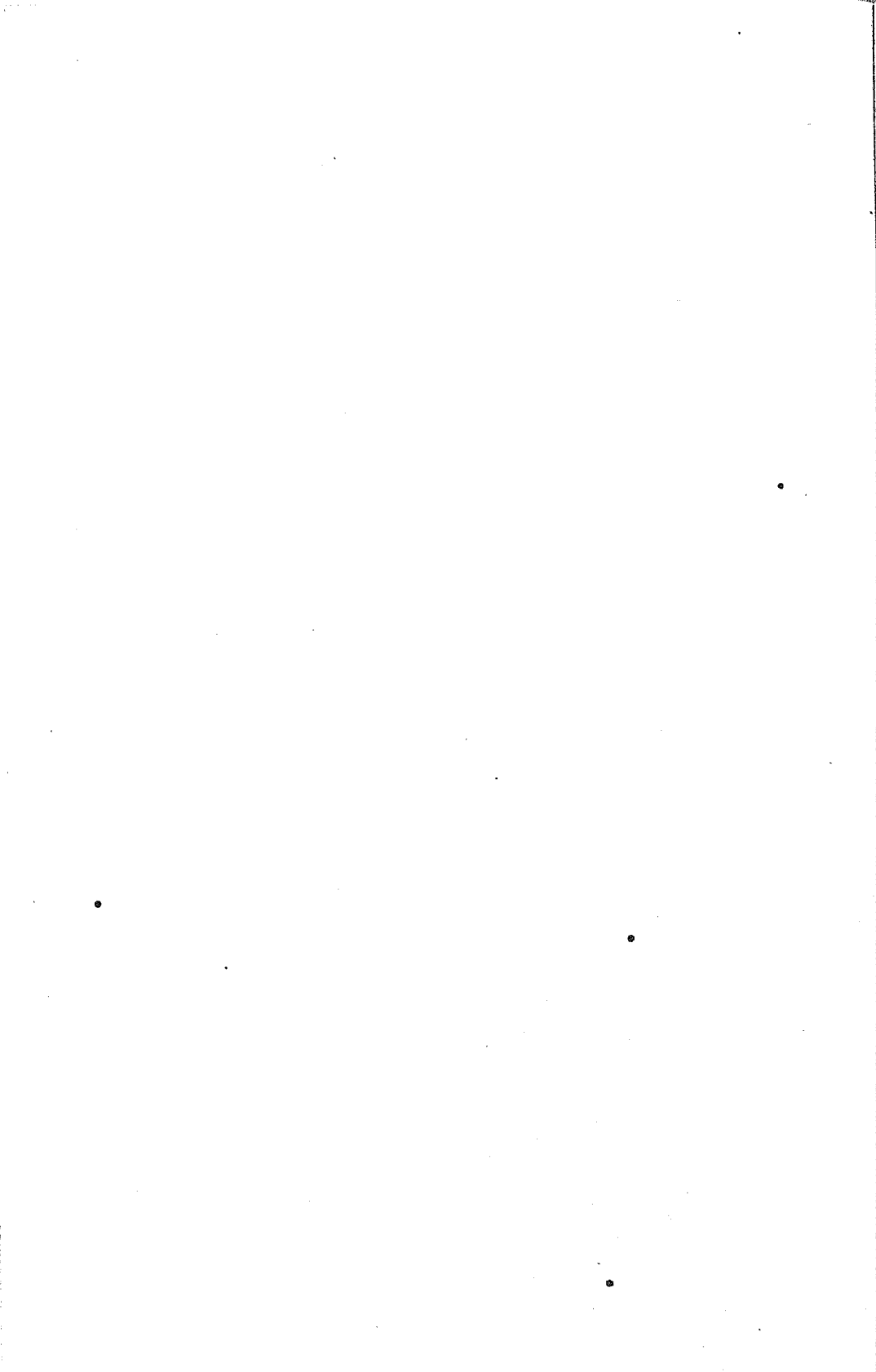


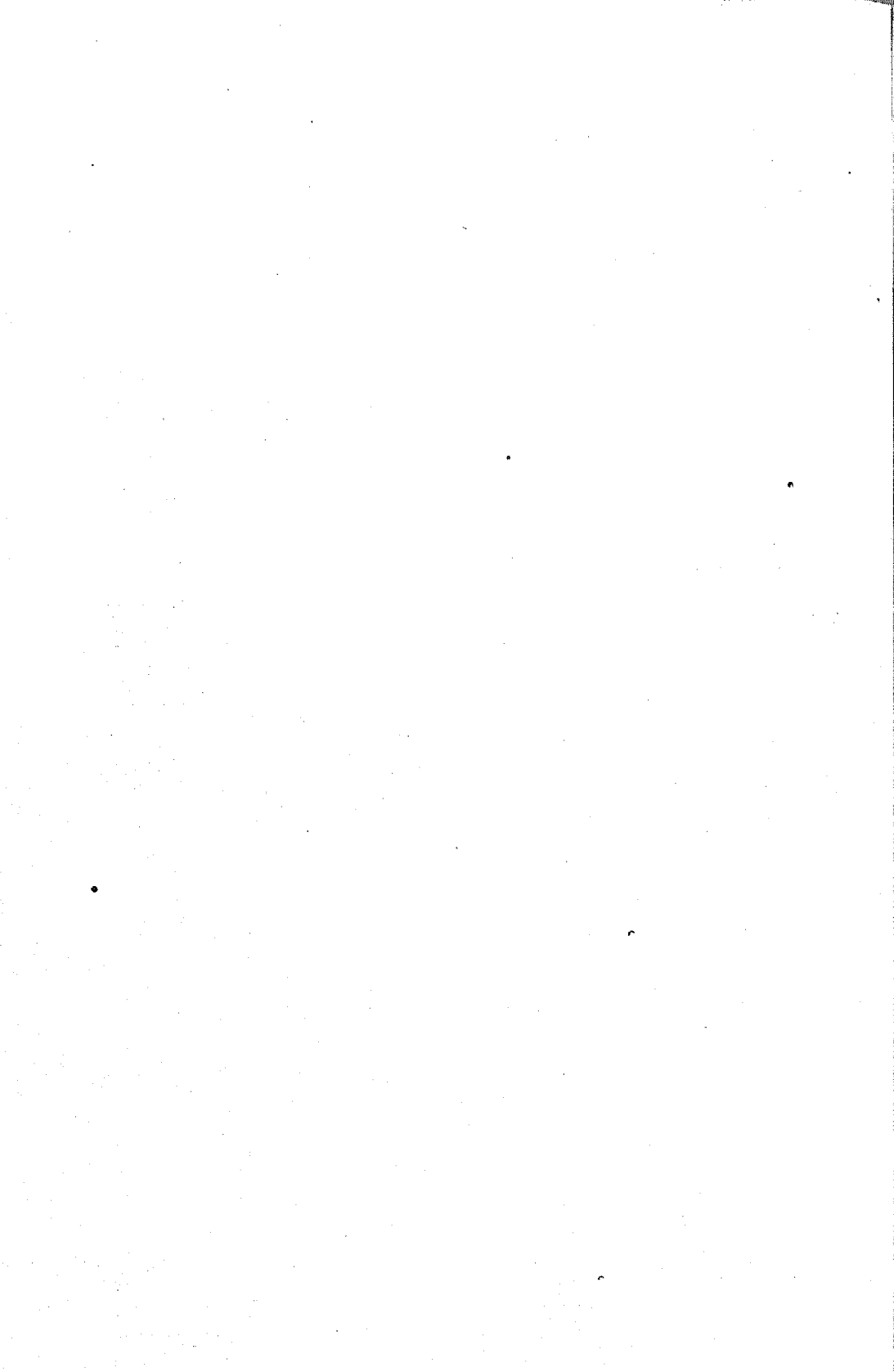
TABLE II

*Head and Face Measurements to the nearest .25 millimetre**Women*

No.	NAME	AGE	HEIGHT		HEAD		FACE
			Standing	Sitting	Length	Breadth	Breadth
			cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.	cm.
8.	Nang So Kammun	40	153	85	17.50	15	10
16.	Nang Sao Ban	24	156	82	16.50	14	9
17.	„ „ Usa	26	147	79	17.50	14	80.50
18.	„ „ Boa	27	145	77	18	14.50	8.50
19.	„ „ Nam	22	147	78	18	13.50	8.50
20.	„ „ Kam	27	157	86	18	14	11
Average for							
TOTAL 6 women:		27	151	81	17.50	14	10
			cephalic Index .....82				

Women wear their hair long, parted in the middle and rolled into a knot at the back of the head. Their teeth appear strong and white, as they do not chew betel.

Hands and feet of both sexes appear small and fine.

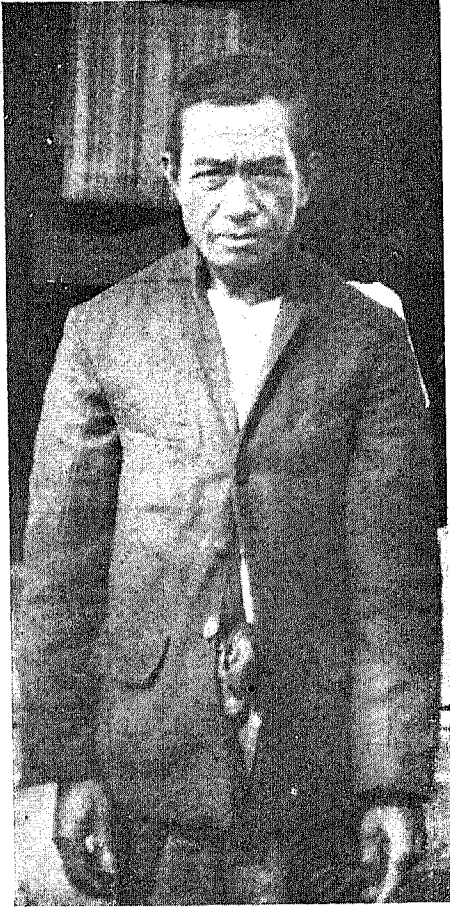




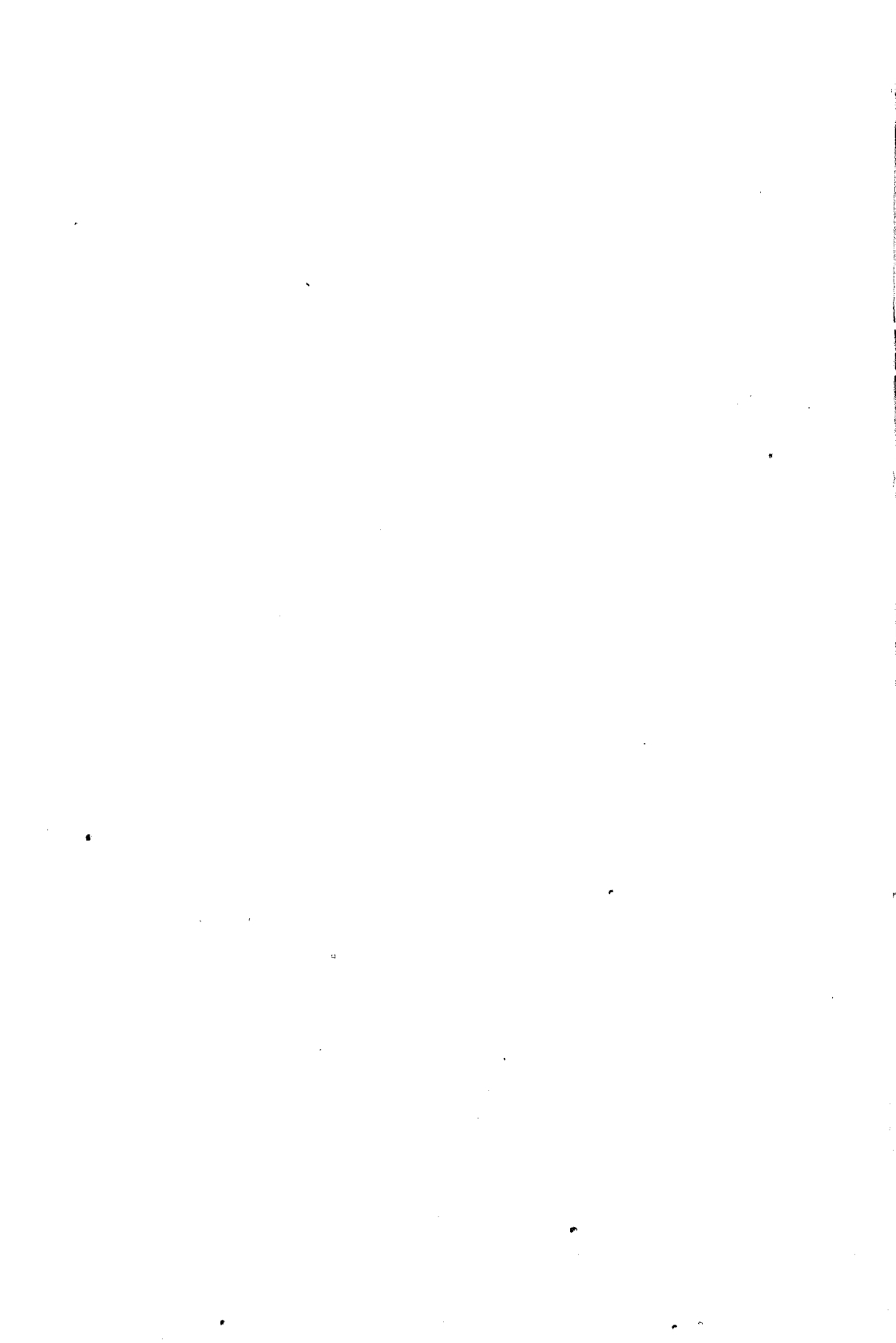
Lawa man.





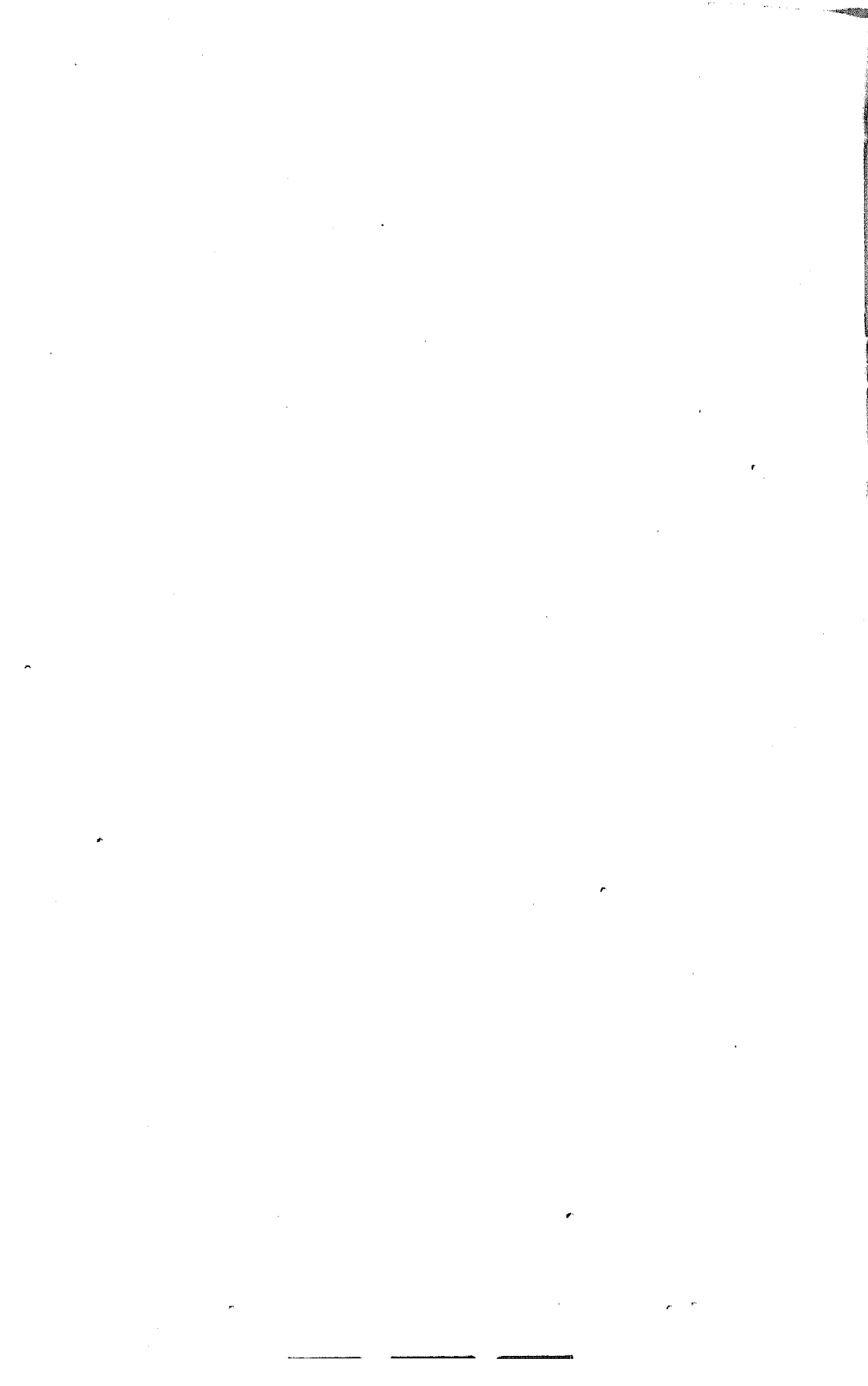


Kamman.





Lawa woman.



## NOTES TO TABLES.

*Skin.* A Chocolate brown.

*Hair.* Black with a brown tinge: wavy compared with the lank hair of T'ai.

*Eyes.* Brown: straighter than those of the T'ai, and without the skin-fold in the corner.

*Fashions Hair.* The men wear their hair short, in some cases very short; the women part their hair down the middle—in contrast with the T'ai.

The following notes were made upon the men.

All the older men were tattooed from the waist to below the knee, and many were tattooed on the back, chest and fore-arms. As in the case with their T'ai neighbors, the younger men are not tattooed lower than half way down the thigh, and sometimes only on one leg. Most of them are tattooed on the arms, or back or chest, but not to quite the same extent as the senior men. They wear their hair short like the T'ai.

- No. 3. has a pleasant, intelligent face.
- No. 5. has a good nose.
- No. 7. a slight moustache.
- No. 10. good eye-brows, small elongated ears, no lobes.
- No. 11. bushy hair.
- No. 12. has a wide face.
- No. 15. fairly straight hair and a big nose.
- No. 24. heavy eyebrows.
- No. 26. short, curly and very wavy hair.
- No. 27. hazle-brown eyes.
- No. 28. a big-boned man.
- No. 29. a prominent nose, with heavy eye-brows.
- No. 33. a broad nose, fairly straight.
- No. 34. and 35, heavy eye-brows.
- No. 37. small ears.
- No. 41. short nose, small ears, good teeth.
- No. 42. thin eye-brows, small ears.
- No. 44. big ears.
- No. 45. a big-boned man.
- No. 46. small prominent ears, good eye-brows.

- No. 47. small ears, good teeth.  
 No. 49. small ears.  
 No. 56. good eye-brows, hairy legs.  
 No. 59. heavy eye-brows.

Six women were measured five of whom were under 30 years of age, and three had remarkably fine breasts (Nos. 16. 17. 18.) while Nos. 19 and 20 had slight tatoo marks on their fore-arms. No. 8. was the wife of No. 2, and No. 16 the daughter of No. 39.

## APPENDIX II

### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAWA

by

E. Seidenfaden.

#### (1) *Changvat Chiengmai*:

*Amp'æ Ban Mae*, S. S. W. of Chiengmai:

Ban Biang, the inhabitants are Lawa but now all speak T'ai.

*Amp'æ Muang Hôt* on both banks of Me Ping S. S. W. of Chiengmai: Bô Luang, Bô Sa-ngae, Bô Päkwaen, Bô Nā Fon and Bô Wang Gông all with a pure Lawa population.

Bô Sali (2 villages) Lawa mixed with T'ai and a few Khamu also Bo Gong Loi.

At Doi Khun Dan (Tambon Khun Dan), a former Lawa village, débris of pottery found.

Umgoi is a sub-district of Hôt S. S. W. of Muang Hôt, a former Lawa stronghold.

*Amp'æ Mae Rim* North of Chiengmai:

Following villages said to be Lawa:

Ban Tha Kilek Noi, Ban Tha Kilek Luang, Ban Ba-ngae and Ban Muang Ga.

*Amp'æ San Mahaphon* due north of Chiengmai at the upper reaches of Me Ping. On Mae Taeng are found ruins of an old village, explored by Mr. Miles, of The Borneo Co., Ltd., who found an image of the Buddha and was told that many images had been taken from here down to Bangkok. This place is said to have been an important Lawa settlement.

*Amp'æ San Sai*:

Following villages are said to be Lawa:—

Ban Lau, Ban Sali Ngam and Ban Bong.

*Amphœ Chieng Dao:*

Ban Bak Tham.

*Amphœ Mae Sarieng* or Muang Yuan in the Salwin valley. In this district lies Umphai (North of the Amphœ village) which is inhabited by healthier Lawa. Their strong-hold may also be reached from Bo Luang by marching 40—50 Kilometers towards N. W. The Umphai Lawa, about 300 in number, are weavers and supply the Amphœ Hôt Lawa with part of their clothing. The Bô Luang Lawa are said to come from Umphai. The clan living there speaks however a dialect slightly different from that of Bô Luang and Bô Sali. They are held in disclaim by the Amphœ Hôt Lawa because they do not profess Buddhism, eat dogs and are uncleanly in their habits. To judge from Photographs they look a better set up people than the Bô Luang people having more clean and features. Their women wear gaiters of cloth. Umphai is situated in very difficult inaccessible hills. To reach it from Bô Luang at least 4 days march is necessary. Elephants are to be preferred for transport, since water is very scarce along the route.

(2) *Changvat Mae Hongson.*

On the hills forming the divide are found a great number of Lawa tombs, now mostly rifled for their contents.

(3) *Changvat Nakon Lampang.*

In the town of Lampang there was formerly a renowned Lawa spirit shrine. The Lawa from Ban Tha Chang, Na Vierng, Sala, and Amphœ Go Kha used to go every year to worship at this shrine. All the above villages are now completely T'ai.

*Amphœ Chaehom* N. N. E. of Lampang.

Tambon Chaeson—Ban Muang To, the inhabitants still speak Lawa

*Amphœ Hangchatr* on the railway line W. N. W. of Lampang.

Tambon Mae San—Lawa of origin but now speaking T'ai with a Lawa accent.

(4) *Changvat Chiengrai.*

Around Old Chiengsaen are said to live some Lawa.

(This according to the Saravat in Bô Luang.

(5) *Changvat Phrae.*

According to legend a Lawa prince ruled here in ancient days.

Ban Yang Oi is said to be a Lawa village.



## APPENDIX III

## APPENDIX TO HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

by

E. Seidenfaden.

The Lawa,<sup>(1)</sup> who called themselves Lavu'a, constituted a large part of the early population of Northern Siam, according to the Pali work entitled *Cāmadevivamsa*. This chronicle relates how the daughter of an independent Môn ruler, whose capital was at Lopburi, then called Lavo or Lavapurī, was sent on a kind of civilizing mission to the North where she founded Hariphunchai, the present Lamphun, about the year 660 A. D. The valley of the Upper Me Ping was at that time populated by the rude Milakkha or Lova, *i. e.*, Lawa, and to them the Môn princess, later crowned a queen of Haripuñjaya, brought civilization and the Buddhist religion.<sup>(2)</sup>

It seems reasonably certain that the Môn from Central Siam, where we find them organized in the kingdom of *Dvāravatī* already in the 6th century A. D., expanded their dominion, at the latest during the 8th century, to North Siam where they built the towns of Haripuñjaya (Lamphun) and *Khelāṅga* (Lampang). The Lawa were considered by the Môn as a kind of savage cousins, both belonging to the Môn-Khmer group, a branch of the ancient Austro-Asiatic race.

To begin with, the Lawa did not receive the Môn invaders in a friendly way, and it was only after having been beaten in war that they accepted the Môn hegemony. According to the *Cāmadevivamsa*, the Lawa of the present Changvat Chiengmai were ruled by a powerful king, a Milakkharāja, named Milaṅkhaa, who had his capital at Doi Suthep to the west of present day Chiengmai. This king considered himself sufficiently great to demand Queen Cāmadevī in marriage after the death of her husband the Môn prince of Ramaññanagara; and when he met with refusal he attacked Haripuñjaya at the head of an army of 80,000 warriors. However, Queen

(1) By the Northern Tai they are called *Lua*, the word *Lawa* being a Siamese term. They call themselves *La-wa a*.

(2) For the important part played by the Môn in the history of North Siam, *vide* BEFEO, vol. XXV, *Documents sur l'Histoire politique et religieuse du Laos Occidental*, by G. Cœdès which gives the text and translation of both *Cāmadevivamsa* and *Jimakālamālinī*.

Cāmadevi's eldest son, Mahantaysa, seated on a splendid white elephant, sent as a gift by the gods, issued from the western gate of Haripuñjaya with his army and beat the enemy who fled in terror and confusion.

Not long after this victory on the part of the Môn colonists, the twin sons of Cāmadevi are married to daughters of the Lawa king, and thereafter there is a complete union of the two peoples Môn and Lawa—probably due to more intermarrying.

In another Pali chronicle *Jinakālamālinī*, it is record that about 880 A. D. a Lawa prince, Lakkhundriya, or Milakkhamahārāja by name seized Haripuñjaya and ruled it for three years, and then withdrew. This Lawa prince seems, however, to have come from the present Shan States.

At the time of the Tai conquest of Siam the Lawa played a political role. In 1281 the Tai prince Meng-rai expelled the last Môn king from Haripuñjaya (Lamphun) and proceeded to seize Lampang, where he appointed a Lawa chief as ruler.

At present no Lawa population is found near the city of Chieng-mai, but certain traditions point to their former presence there. Thus, for instance, it is said that the place actually occupied by the Royal Pages School was the former Lawa king's pleasure garden, and that a palace stood there. The capital of the Lawa king, who fought Queen Cāmadevi, lay, according to tradition, on a small level clearing on the mountain behind the Doi Suthep temple at a height of about 3,000 feet.

Here, it is also said, are situated the Royal Lawa tombs.

As the Lawa are a dwindling race—in Bô Luang they marry late and have only few children—it is of the utmost importance to carry out as soon as possible a complete survey of the remaining communities and through them collect evidence of their former settlements in order to arrive at a correct idea of original extension of the habitat of this interesting and by no means unsympathetic people.

We know of their former and present presence in the Changvat of Chiengmai, Chiengrai and Lampang; and, according to the traditional history of Tāt Chô Hae, which begins characteristically with *Ai Phraya Lawa kab mia man*, there are traces of them in Prae. In the Changvat of Machongsorn there are still a few Lawa communities left, and here are also found a considerable number of ancient Lawa tombs. But unhappily most of these have been rifled for their interesting contents.

Besides the population of the former Circles or monthons of Phayab and Maharāstra, we know of a former Lawa population on the middle course of the Me Ping, which still existed there in the beginning of the 16th century A. D. According to an inscription dated 1510 A. D. the pious but shadowy "king" of Sukhothai, Ḫrī Dharmā-çokarāja, admonished his subjects not to sell their cattle to the impious Lawa cow eaters (Coedès, RIS, XIII, 2). Colonel Gerini in his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 143, says that these Lawa had a capital at Mu'ang Sōi, somewhere about Raheng, of which traces are still to be seen in the jungle near Keng Soi.

Furthermore in spite of the more than 900 years of Môn rule and that of the succeeding T'ai it seems that the Lawa blood still persisted so much at the end of the 16th century that the Burmese invaders considered the T'ai Yuan to belong to that race. This is proved by the advice of the Burmese king to Prince Nawrataza, who had been appointed viceroy of Chiengmai in 1579, that when speaking to the Chiengmai nobles the prince must not hurt their feelings by treating them as Lawa.<sup>(1)</sup>

To conclude this historical sketch of the Lawa I may as well take this opportunity to plead guilty to a serious error committed by me when translating and commenting on a paper written in 1921 by the then Governor of Petchaboon on the Chaobun who officially were called Lawa.<sup>(2)</sup> Not having had any occasion to meet the true Lawa or to read about them up till that time I adopted the official term and treated the Chaobun as Lawa. Dr. A. Kerr, formerly for many years a member of the Council of the Siam Society, after a visit to the Bô Luang Lawa found out this error of mine and pointed it out in a paper published in 1927 in the JSS.<sup>(3)</sup>

I now have no doubt as to the correctness of Dr. Kerr's contention that the Lawa and Chaobun are different peoples and that their languages differ very much indeed. On the other hand it is not doubtful that both of them belong to the Môn-Khmer group of peoples and languages.

(1) *Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi*, translated by Phra Phraisorn Sahraks in JSS, vol. XII, 1918.

(2) Phra Phetchabunburi, *The Lawa or Chaobun in Changvat Petchaboon*, JSS, vol. XIV, 1921.

(3) Dr. A. Kerr, *Two Lawa vocabularies*, JSS, vol. XXI, 1927, pp. 53 s99.

Rough sketch-map  
 indicating in red  
 the Lawa settlements & sites  
 in  
 Northern Siam (P'ayab)

REFERENCES

- |         |       |  |
|---------|-------|--|
| SALVIN  | 1     | Miang Yuon or Me Sarieng: home of a Lawa Elephant dealer at the present time             |
| CHIESON | 2     | Umpoi: Lawa settlement mixed with Tai  |
|         | 3     | Hô Sôn: mixed Tai and Lawa.  |
|         | 4     | Hô Luang: Lawa, men speak Tai.   |
|         | 5     | Me Hong Sôn: Lawa remains.   |
| CHIESON | 6     | Me Tong: Lawa remains.   |
|         | 6a    | Me Hin: reported Lawa villages.  |
|         | 7     | Tha Satup: traditional site of Lawa settlement in pre-Tai days.                          |
|         | 7a    | Han Na: reported Lawa villages.  |
|         | 7b    | Anger Da: Me Lawa thinly distributed.  |
|         | 8     | Yukha: Traces of large Lawa village now abandoned.                                       |
| LAWSON  | 10    | Hong Chat: Lawa speaking Tai with Lawa accent.   |
|         | 11    | Anger Kôkha: formerly Lawa inhabitants made annual pilgrimage to shrine in Lamput.       |
|         | 12    | Anger Chabon: Han Me Tô people still speak Lawa.   |
| CHIESON | 13    | Pang Chô, Han Ta Ko: Lawa speaking dialects different from each other and from Hô Luang. |
|         | 15-16 | Lawa settlements reported north and south of Chiengmai, at Me Lao and Chiengmai.         |
| PAR     | 17    | Han Yang Di: said to be Lawa.  |
|         | 18    | Chô Hae: Lawa connection in legend. Now a Tai shrine.                                    |
|         | 19    | Sa-iep Tô village. The name has Lawa associations, v. Gerini.                            |

