

Add

1 February 1964

Mahasarakham: Juss to see Mrs. Cheunphit.

2. Feb.

MK

3 Feb

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31/1/64

obviously out ~~one~~ for a good time & a chance to meet other young people. The procession circled the ~~the~~ phra<sup>u</sup>est pavillion & then dispersed. The group listened to the sermon-making in the pavillion for a while & then gathered together outside the pavillion. Here, they sat down in front of the head monk of B. Dō:n Mē:ik jā:, and led by Phō: sī:hā:, they presented him with the kan bō:n. He responded by giving ~~him~~ a special sermon.

A rather unusual thing occurred. The head monk of the village was served and recites one of the Thai coconut & sugar desserts, Ma. Nj. - others said that this was quite against the rules.

4 February, 1964

BUN KHĀ:W CĪ:

This evening and especially tomorrow morning will be the ceremony of khā:w cī: which is pronounced khā:w kī: (ᵿᵿᵿ ᵿᵿ) in the local dialect. Yesterday, people made or prepared one of the special khā:w cī: for this ceremony - the khā:w kīap (in L. ᵿᵿᵿ ᵿᵿᵿᵿ) or in Thai ᵿᵿᵿ ᵿᵿᵿᵿᵿ (khā:w khīap). They also made today (or yesterday) the two ubiquitous rice dishes made at nearly all ceremonies - khā:w phēm and khā:w tōm. Finally, tomorrow morning, they will make, just before going to the waít, the particular khā:w cī: for this ceremony - the ᵿᵿᵿ ᵿᵿ (khā:w cī:). Khā:w kīap are only made for this ceremony and for the ceremony of bun phra<sup>u</sup>est.

TRAVELLING MEDICINE SALESMAN:

When we arrived in the village this noon, a travelling salesman - a rather

4/2/64

salesman - was here. The main salesman was giving his pitch by showing magic tricks. The only one which we observed was the placing of a empty handkerchief on a empty board, and yet apparently something was underneath the handkerchief because it moved & he hit it with something & it sounded hard. This magical slight-of-hand is termed kō:n (which one person spelled for me as ᵿᵿᵿᵿ). The main salesman was accompanied during his patter by others accompanying him in dress & cymbals. They were selling laxatives & a medicine "to protect the teeth". Laxatives were quite popular and Mr. Nj. says that most people take laxatives at least once a ~~day~~ month.

5 February, 1964

BUN KHĀ:W CĪ:

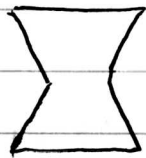
This morning observed the ceremony of khā:w cī: (khā:w kī:). Every household was preparing khā:w cī:, cooking the khā:w kīap, and making the khā:w cī:. Khā:w cī: is prepared by taking already prepared glutinous rice, forming an egg-shaped lump which is then stuck on the end of a bamboo stick. This lump is warmed over the fire, & then is painted with beaten egg, and toasted again on fire until the result is nicely browned. Then the lump is removed from the stick and some people will then place a lump of palm sugar in the end of the khā:w cī:. However, in a poor village like this, many people don't place the palm sugar. Such a situation as this, apparently, is what has given rise to the traditional saying that "If palm sugar is not placed in the khā:w cī:, the novices will cry." (For explanation of this saying see mōhorádok cha:w zī sōm). We have not yet got the

5/2/64

full method for preparation of khà:w kiáp. All trays (or other containers) with the food for the priests (and for other uses) would include the nice dishes of khà:w cí:, khà:w nǎw, khà:w kiáp, khà:w phǔ:n plus some dish of káp khà:w.

Also, say Mother Ho:m preparing a banana stalk container ~~is~~ exactly like those used in the thambun bǎ:n ceremony. Again, this is called thǒng nǎ: gǔa (correct spelling ๕๕๓ ๓๕๓ ๕๕) and is an offering for nǎng thǒlǎ:n. The offering includes the same items as in the thambun bǎ:n ceremony, except in this case pieces of khà:w cí: and khà:w kiáp are added. Mother Ho:m says that this offering is always and only prepared for the thambun bǎ:n ceremony, and for the khà:w cí: ceremony.

The ceremony centered on the khǔt at the uát. Representatives of every household (almost invariably a woman - very few men present) would bring their trays of food and their thǒng nǎ: gǔa to the khǔt, then a little bit of food of each kind would be taken by each participant and placed in top of a basket shaped khǎu "egg timer":



This offering ~~is~~ was called by one person hǎ:n khǎu phǎ (๕๕๓ ๓๕๓ ๕๕). The ~~head~~ head priest called the container khà:w nǎ: gǔa (๕๕๓ ๕๕๓). ~~Mr. Ng. says~~ Mr. Ng. says this latter spelling may not be correct, and he knew it ~~is~~ ~~the~~ in Thai phǎ kǎ jǎ:n (๕๕๓ ๕๕๓). All agree on the use of this offering. At the end of the ceremony, the

5/2/64

priest (s) will take it to the boat and present it to the phǎpúthǎ:rǎ:p. My first informant said that it ~~was~~ <sup>would</sup> first be presented before the Buddha statue on the "altar" in the khǔt of then taken to the boat.

The participants' food would be taken and divided up according to kind so that all the various nice dishes and káp khà:w would be collected together. People set their thǒng down in the khǔt also. Some women brought kettles or other containers of water which they would use during the trǎat nǎ:m part of the ceremony.

The priest and a novice from B. N. M. J. had come to participate in the ceremony. The head priest from B. D. M. J. acted as head priest.

Before the ceremony began, a ball of rice was placed on the "shrine" in the back of the khǔt.

The ceremony followed the pattern similar to that in all thambun ceremonies. Phǎ: sǎ: hǎ:, the fuayók acted as leader and began the chanting. In front of him had been placed the khǎi mongkhon which held khà:w tǒm, three piles of cotton, leaves, candles, and flowers, a fuayók mongkhon attached to the horseshoe shaped stick and passing from pile to pile, and 2 lighted candles. Phǎ: sǎ: hǎ: khǎ: sǎ:n, after which the two lighted candles were taken from the khǎi mongkhon & placed in a separate water sweep and placed in front of the priests. The head priest of B. D. M. J. gave the "precepts" while holding a leathin fan in front of his face.

When this was finished, Phǎ: sǎ: hǎ: chanted again and presented the khǎi mongkhon

5/1/64

The thread was passed from priest to priest to novice to novice. Then followed a chant while the thread was being held. During this chant, Mr. Ta:p took a small water scoop & went around collecting money. This money was later divided up and given to the 2 priests & the 2 novices. Towards the end of the chant, the string was re-collected and passed down to head priest who re-wound it around the horse-shoe shaped stick, and placed back on the kha:i mongkhan.

Then Phô: sî:hâ: chanted; all 4 priests & novices then chanted. During this time the food was brought forward. Then followed the presentation of the food lead by Phô: sî:hâ:. Fantastic amount of food, many trays of kha:w krap, kha:w cí:, a big pile of kha:w tôm, but only one ~~plate~~ tray each of krap kha:w which also included the kha:w phû:n.

Priests finished, people ate. Before people had quite finished, phô: sî:hâ: began chanting again, requesting thê:t. The head priest gave the thê:t concerning the ceremony of kha:w cí: which he read from a book. Many people did not remain to hear the sermon, and still others continued eating during this time. Sometime during the time when the people had been eating, the elements of the kha:i mongkhan were placed on the "altar":

Following the thê:t, the priests made ~~phô: sî:hâ:~~ ná:m phrâ phû thá mon (ห่มผ้าพระพุทธรูป).

Then followed the trâet ná:m, during which some people poured water through

5/1/64.

the floor, while others poured it into the offerings for phâ nâ:ng thô:lâ:nî:.

Then came the trâet ná:m (ห่มผ้า) during which the priests made a short chant. What was left of the holy water was taken home by the people.

After this formal part of the ceremony, the following things happened: (1) some people placed rice on the fence, on the trees, and perhaps on the thê:t in the crat grounds; (2) the offerings for phâ nâ:ng thô:lâ:nî: were mainly placed in <sup>front of the crat gate in</sup> phô:ng thâ:n (or nâ:ng thâ:mên) "because this is in the central part of the village" (according to head priest). This was a central place for placing the offerings, though some people placed them other places (Mr. Bunthiang says that if the offering is three-cornered it is placed at sâ:njê:k, but if it is 4 cornered - a rectangular box - it is placed at si:jê:k); (3) the priest took the offering for the Buddha image and presented it in the bo:t.

#### MEANING OF KHÀ:W CÍ: CEREMONY:

I tried from several people - the headman, Mr. Banthiang, the head priest of BVT, & Mr. Ngaw, to get at the meaning of the ceremony. The consensus was that the ceremony must be held in 3<sup>rd</sup> month after the rice has been brought in; the ceremony centers around the offerings to phâ nâ:ng thô:lâ:nî:, the Earth Goddess. This latter fact is ~~at~~ pointed up in that the ~~ceremo~~ bun made at the ceremony is given to the Goddess by means of pouring the water into her offerings during the trâet ná:m.

It would seem that the basic meaning of the ceremony is as a thanksgiving to the Earth Goddess for her bountifulness during the past rice cycle. Thus, the placing of a variety of rice (black, yellow, red, white) and rice preparations (kha:w tôm, kha:w phû:n,

5/2/64.

khəu kəp, khəu ci:) in the offering and the preparation of special rice dishes for this particular ceremony.

### HOUSEHOLD WEALTH POSSESSIONS:

Today Mother Ho:m showed us her prize treasures - kept wrapped in sq naq & placed in the granary. She had old money (a long oblonged, beaten copper from Laos, a little worked silver ball which used to be used as money in the rural area, and some old Siamese coins), a silk ponug (called in Lao phā: rjā:w) which her mother made made and her father once wore (her father wore a phū: ja: j bā:n), silver earrings of her mother's, her own gold earrings, a collection of stō:. It was really pitiful and touching ~~very~~ seeing her parade out her family's worldly possessions. She also owns a large coffin looking chest called stō: which apparently is not used for anything. This chest has a sliding board on top as an opening. It apparently is a traditional hand-made piece of furniture which is found in several houses incl. the current headman's. She also has a bayonet mounted on a stick.

In showing these things, ~~at~~ a couple of interesting things were said. She pointed out that the Northeast used to be included in Laos (thru the Lao copper). She also said that she used to own a lot of ba: j la:n manuscripts which she sold to a travelling mō: who came through.

### HISTORY OF FAMILIES IN VUNGE:

Mother Ho:m also had the remnants of book which had been prepared by Phra-Maha:

5/2/64

Seng on the occasion of a leathin sponsored in the memory of his father. The book had two pages concerning the history of his father (very scanty to say the least). At least one interesting point should be noted - Mr. Phun's father was also headman. Mother Ho:m said that Mr. Phun's father was headman, followed by her father, and then by Mr. Phun himself.

6 February, 1964

### ATTITUDES TOWARDS KAMNAN C̄IT:

Kamnan C̄it stopped in here last night when the bus he was on from the market stopped here. After he had given me a glass of liquor and had departed, Mr. Ng was prompted to talk about him. Kamnan C̄it has grown into a sort of legend as a "bad kamnan". Mr. Ng says that he never buys liquor, but that there are always officials & other people who make him presents "because they fear him". He will also demand of the various headmen of Nō:g Ky that they give him periodic presents such as liquor & sometimes money. If they don't, he will take any pretext to say to higher officials that such-and-such a headman is not doing a proper job & therefore ought to be removed from office. The headmen so fear his power that they would never cross him.

When he makes loans, he charges the usual 10% a month. However, if a person doesn't pay up by the 1<sup>st</sup> of the year, he will take their lands.

He has tremendous influence with the officials. And if <sup>in</sup> some incident a bribe is offered by an opposing party, he can always outbribe him. There isn't an official who is not susceptible to his influence or bribes.

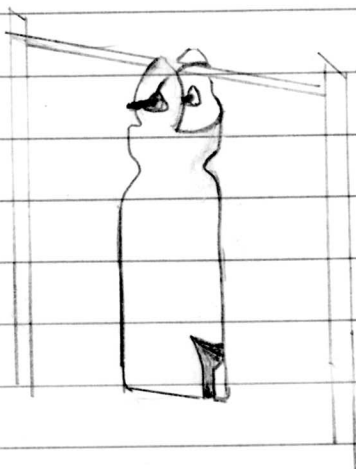


7/2/64

ນະວັງ (Lao kā:tāj): lit "rabbit"; a carved wooden rabbit, the head of which is a coconut gnat, and the body of which can be set upon to stabilize the instrument.

ໂປ່ງ (Lǎt khǎ:ŋ): a ~~wooden~~ bamboo tray, used as a base for brass.  
Mā: khūn in KV is a specialist in making them selves.

ໂປ່ງ (L, pɔ:ŋ): a traditional wooden drum which in BNT hangs underneath the khēt and is used (rather than the drum) for notifying people of the priest's morning meal (except on wan s'hrá when the drum is used) and in calling villagers together for meetings (see diagram).



7/2/64

A MAGIC CHARM:

A couple of months ago I heard (and read) about a child who had been born in Udorn province which it was claimed was a phā:wísēt (פָּאָוויסֵט) - "a supernatural being." The ~~the~~ foundation to this claim was that during pregnancy, the mother's stomach had swollen and contracted as though, as she believed, the child left and re-entered many times. Yesterday, a salesman came to the village selling pictures of this child mounted on a pendant for 3 baht. This charm, it is believed, will ward off evil ~~influences~~ influences towards children, and thus they are worn by children.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES IN VILLAGE

Women: girls:

tamarind preparation; some mackdang  
clothpress

men: boys

bamboo wall making,

Some kamap preparation; marketing (mainly finished).

9 February, 1964

CEREMONY OF LĀ:NPĀ:CHĀ: at B. Mō:

Today we witnessed the ceremony of Lā:npā:chá: (ລ້າໂປ່ງ) or "cleansing of a cemetery" at B. Mō. The cemetery had to be cleaned so that it could be used for building a new school.

The 1<sup>st</sup> thing that people did was to dig up the bones of the dead in the cemetery.

These were collected together and placed in a special coffin along with small banana

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand  
Original hand-written version

9/2/64

images of people which represented the dead person. In cases where no bones were found but people remembered a dead relative, a name was written on a slip of paper and placed in the coffin.

The coffin was decorated with black & yellow paper decorations & was made of wood. It was covered with white cloth. 4 yellow paper flags were placed at the 4 corners. In front was a pot filled with sand in which burning incense was stuck. Pots behind the coffin were to be used for ná:ns hóm which is used in washing the bones. The bones in the coffin will later be taken and a heqian a new cremation at the new cemetery.

Present was a traditional Thai orchestra - pi: phá:t (ปี่พาทย์) - made up of people from the two villages of B. M'á: & B. M'á:t who share the cemetery. The orchestra included a wooden xylophone (váná:t ié:k - ขิม), cymbals (chig - ฉิ่ง), "aircup gongs" (khó:ng wong yá:j - กลองวง), paired drums (ká:ng), and a flute (khú:í - ขลุ่ย). This orchestra played from time to time during wá:j phá:t in proceedings. This, incidentally, in the first case I have seen of this type of orchestra in a N.E. village.

A temporary sala had been constructed on the grounds of the cemetery. It was here that the main part of the ceremony took place. There were raised platforms for monks, mats for most people (villagers), & chairs for some higher status individuals who included the Amphoe educe. officer, teachers, Mr. Wichian, & ourselves. As the ceremony is for the purpose of cleansing the cemetery so that a new school can be built, it seemed that all the teachers were present & the headmaster was more or less in charge of

Written February, 1964  
Page 8 of 23

9/2/64

the ceremony

The ceremony began by the káyók leading the people in wá:j phá:t during which the people lit incense. This was followed by the ká:hí:sín and then the thá:wá:j zá:há:n háj phá:t (not the same as sá:y khathá:n which is used only on wá:n phá:t - a day which is also called wá:n zá:wá ná (วันจำเริญ). In presenting food to the monks, khá:w náw baskets were used instead of bá:t because it was zá:há:n phlé:n or the noon meal.

There were 10 priests present. Mr. Wichian says that for this ceremony there can be a group of monks consisting of 5, 7, 9, or 10 people. But for a funeral, it is only necessary to have 4 monks - a group which is known as khá:ná sóy (คณะสงฆ์).

During the time that the priests ate, the orchestra played.

After the priest had finished eating, they gave the háj phá:n. Then the people ate.

After the people had finished eating a returned to the so:la:, a boat which would be used for making ná:m phrá:phúthá:m (น้ำ, in which was placed a brasses & water and to which was attached two lighted candles) was placed & in front of the head priest. To this was attached a string - the dá:j sá:j sín (ด้ายสายสิน) which led to a small altar when it was attached to the picture of the king and then to a Buddha statue. The string was passed by the head priest to each other priest until the 10<sup>th</sup> priest was holding the ball. Then the 3<sup>rd</sup> priest - who was phá:amá:há:n from B. 7<sup>th</sup> iat - held a monk's fan in front of his face and began chanting. Then he laid the fan down and all the priests chanted the sú:t móm during which the head priest made the "holy water."



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10 Feb. 1964

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11 Feb 1964

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12 Feb 1964

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14 Feb ~~MK~~

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15 February, 1964

Last evening a young man by the name of Bunlō:t szi:n sāk (ပုဂံလုံဝဲ နီပုဂံလုံဝဲ) and his wife, Á:z: (ဝဲ = ဝဲဝဲ) paid us a visit. This is the 2<sup>nd</sup> occasion on which they have done so. The history of Bunlō:t's family is very interesting. His father as a young man, after he had been ordained here walked to Kavat and then took the train to Bangkok. He spent 18 yrs. there. I asked if he was a priest all this time, & he answered yes because that was the only way to receive education at the time. He returned here with a large number of old books written in khō:m & Burmese (Lashu) script. He then became head abbot ~~here~~ at wāt in Sawaleham for a while. But he didn't want to remain a priest & so he sigh and married the older sister of Mr. Prānō:t, the Changwat Educ. Supervisor. I asked what occupation he followed, & he answered that none because he didn't like the Changwat officials. Thus, he returned to farming. Nonetheless, he retained all of his old books, which are now in possession of his son - (one of which was given me).

Bunlō:t is a teacher at lōkemyay, the main primary school of Changwat & one which Mr. Cleland used to be headmaster of. It was most unusual that his wife accompanied him here, as Thai wives very rarely accompany their husbands.

\* \* \*

Yesterday, I was talking with Bun'iam, the Chinese proprietor of one of the shops in town. He was telling me about how he studied in the Teochiu part of Kwantung when he was younger - for a period, he says, of 1 1/2 yrs. He learned the writing system - and even studied the new simplified system for 1 month.

15/2/64

The thōngmāngiā receives its name because of its 3-cornered shape resembling the shape of the cow.

DEATH CUSTOMS:

When a person dies, his body is laid with the head facing ~~west~~<sup>west</sup>. Mr. W. does not know the reason for this custom. At any other time during one's life, such as in sleeping, the head must not be pointed in that direction. This explains the distress of our servant who when seeing how we had changed our bed ~~to~~<sup>to</sup> receive the benefit of the breeze, said that we should fear the phī.

The ceremony for the dead in which bones ~~are~~<sup>are</sup> placed in a thāit is called cāikthāis (ค้ำไถ่) - lit., 'to distribute rice'.

BIRTH CUSTOMS:

Mr. W. explained about the placing of a new born child on a winnowing tray after it is born. He said that the child is taken outside <sup>to</sup> the tray's shadow while the person says if the spirits do not claim the baby now, then it belongs to parents. This corresponds to the pattern which Phya Anuman described in the C.D. (See Phya Anuman in "Customs Connected with Births and the Rearing of Children" in Life and Ritual in Old Siam, pp. 133) in which the expression used is "three days a spirit child, four days a human child, whose child is this? Take it!".

Why a winnowing tray is used, Mr. W. was not certain, but thinks that it might have something to do with recessed shape.

5/2/64

Earlier, this week our house watcher in town - Saphan - had her first child. The question of jū: fai arose. It seems that there is no real set period for how long this must last but is a function of when the woman feels her insides are "dried". Also, there does seem to be some correlation between the number of children  $\rightarrow$  the length of time spent in jū: fai.

17/2/64

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN BAN KHUAW:

This morning attended cooperative seminar in the assembly hall of Ban Khuaw. This is an annual affair when the members of the cooperative (or cooperatives) come together to hear lectures by people from Bangkok & Sawakham.

T. Khuaw has had a Coop. ~~movement~~<sup>organization</sup> (sāmā:khom sāhā:kon สหกรณ์สหกรณ์) since 2486 (1945). A coop. must have fewer than 10 members, but if get large (no set size), then it may split into two groups. Thus, there are 2 such organizations in B. Khuaw proper, another in B. Dzin Du; B. Tū, B. thūn, B. Mi; B. Chiang thian, B. Song Phluaj, but none in B. Nōng Tyin. Mr. Horn is the only BNT person who is a member & he joined when he was living in B. Dzin Du. Mr. Ng. says that people in BNT don't want to borrow money from this source.

The coop movement is strongest only in 3 areas (including A. Myay) in Mahasarakham. Apparently, B. Khuaw & Amphue Myay are special projects of the Dept. of Coops.

17/2/64

The main purpose of the cooperative, insofar as was said by the people from Bangkok, is to provide loans ~~for~~ for ~~people~~ farmers - primarily to be used for capital improvements. Loans are made at interest rates of 0.83/฿100.00 per month or ฿10/฿100 per year. There are different types of loans, depending on how they are to be used, and the length of time in which the principal must be paid back varies accordingly - anything from 1-10 years, but the interest rate remains the same.

To found a new organization, at least 10 people from a village must apply to together at the Amphoe office. This petition will be considered by the Amphoe (Gov) officers who will then forward information to Bangkok. Apparently, the way ~~and~~ an individual becomes a member is to apply to the local organig.

TITRAW NAMASAKA:IN:

I asked Mr. Wichian what shrines people in the NE. made pilgrimages to. He said, it consisted almost exclusively of one shrine - That Phrom. A few would go to Phra Phuetthabait at Saraburi, and fewer still to That Luang in Laos.

TITLES IN VILLAGE:

The elder brother of the headman is called phō:sālāmī. (PHO S=2=2) because he is a sālāwat.

17/2/64

DEATH RITES IN VILLAGE:

Tomorrow Mr. Mi: will sponsor the ceremony of cē:k khāi:w for the purpose of placing the bones of his dead wife into a that. In the evening, he will sponsor mō:lām performance.

19 February, 1964

NO:J'S FORTHCOMING MARRIAGE:

NO:j was over this morning to invite me to accompany him when he goes to request the hand of his wife-to-be (khō:sāw) tomorrow evening at 6:00. He says that the tāw kē: of the girl is asking ฿400, but he thinks it should be ฿200. His own tāw kē: is Mr. Phom.

A MIGRATION:

Noticed this morning that the house of Mr. Sō:n Khamkō:g - the house that looks like it was once a coffee shop - had disappeared. Mr. Nj. says that he ~~too~~ and his family have moved to B. Khwāi:w.

THAM BUN FOR PUTTING BONES INTO THE THAT:

Today: tomorrow there is the ceremony of cē:k khāi:w for the dead wife of Mr. Mi:, the elder brother of the headman. This morning, preparations were being made. People were making the bō:bangsalan - a ~~straw~~ pyramidal structure which I have described before. This is a make-believe house for the dead and is called (I think) phā:sīt phā:g. Inside this device is placed 2 pieces of betel, 2 rolled cigarettes, silk = cotton thread, khō:w tōm,

17/2/64

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TITLES IN VILLAGE:

The elder brother of the headman is called ph<sup>h</sup>5: s<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>a m<sup>h</sup>i. (N<sup>h</sup> 8: 2 = 2<sup>h</sup>) because he is a s<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>aw<sup>h</sup>.

17/2/64

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Tomorrow Mr. Mi: will sponsor the ceremony of ca:kh<sup>h</sup>aw for the purpose of placing the bones of his dead wife into a that. In the evening, he will sponsor m<sup>h</sup>:lam performance.

18 February, 1964

NO:J'S FORWCOMING MARRIAGE:

NO:j was over this morning to invite me to accompany him when he goes to request the hand of his wife-to-be (le<sup>h</sup>5: s<sup>h</sup>aw) tomorrow evening at 6:00. He says that the t<sup>h</sup>aw k<sup>h</sup>i: of the girl is asking ฿400, but he thinks it should be ฿200. His own t<sup>h</sup>aw k<sup>h</sup>i: is Mr. Phom.

A MIGRATION:

Noticed this morning that the house of Mr. S<sup>h</sup>:n Khamb<sup>h</sup>:g - the house that looks like it was once a coffee shop - had disappeared. Mr. N<sup>h</sup>: says that he ~~too~~ and his family have moved to B. Khaw<sup>h</sup>.

THAMBUW FOR PUTTING BONES INTO THE THAT:

Today + tomorrow there is the ceremony of ca:kh<sup>h</sup>aw for the dead wife of Mr. Mi:, the elder brother of the headman. This morning, preparations were being made. People were making the h<sup>h</sup>: bang sak<sup>h</sup> - a ~~stone~~ pyramidal structure which I have described before. This is a make-believe house for the dead and is called (I think) phas<sup>h</sup>:t r<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>h</sup>. Inside this device is placed 3 pieces of betel, 3 rolled cigarettes, silk + cotton thread, th<sup>h</sup>:w<sup>h</sup> tum,

18/2/64

khānōm hō:, coin package including khāu sǎm, peppers, salt.

In the morning the only thing that seems to occur was the fasting on the khāu phūm ÷ special food which had been prepared. Also, other preparations, such as decorating the area in front of the house. In the afternoon, the priests and some people went to the forest to collect the bones. Apparently, they had not been collected before, ÷ phā māhā sēg says that the collecting of bones doesn't have to be night after the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the wake.

In the evening, the priests sānt mōm ÷ then there was the entertainment - a mō:lām performance with a troupe from another village near R.E.

19/2/64

### THAMBUN FOR THE DEAD:

There were two thambun ceremonies for the dead this morning. One was a continuation of the event at MR. Mī: Thapāi's house, ÷ the other was held at the house of Mr. Khun in KN. At Mr. Mī's, the ceremony followed the usual form of the thambun, with the chants through presentation of food ÷ ending with khāt nūm ÷ khāt nūm. Mr. Ngāw says that it is unusual for a ceremony of cēik khāu, which this was, to be held at the house rather than at the wād.

After the ceremony finished at the house, the scene did shift to the wād where the bones were ceremonially placed in a newly prepared thāt. Unfortunately, we did not witness this aspect of the ceremony as we were spirited off to the house of Mr. Khun in KN.

19/2/64

The affair at Mr. Khun's was quite a different thing, though for the same purpose - a "dedication" ~~or~~ a thambun zūthit bangsākun (พิธีถวายพระศพ) ceremony for a person who has died, been cremated, but whose bones have not been "honoured". In this case, the person who was being so honoured was the father of Mr. Lom Thipryagāj (พ่อ ปรี๊ด) who lives in KW (# 19.) ÷ the father of two men who have since migrated to Petchabun province (one of whom visited here last year) ÷ who had returned for the ceremony and of the wife of Mr. Khun Thāp thāni: (H# 68 KW). The ceremony was held at the latter's house because that was where the dead man had lived.

This event is to be a two day affair as well. The 1<sup>st</sup> day events consisted primarily of the following. Two well known priests - phā māhā sēg and phā māhā nūm, the abbot of Wat Ban 'iat, had been invited to "give sermons". The setting was behind the house of Mr. Khun where under two māhā:m trees, small platforms facing one another had been erected. On these platforms were placed mattress, pillows, ba:j s'i:, spittoon, water, and cups. In the middle between them was placed a bangsākun ~~or~~ including phakhaum, peut, and some other things. Next to it, ÷ also on the mat which had been laid there, was placed the bottle of bones wrapped in a rough white cloth.

First the priests were given food and then the people ate. Then the priests took their places facing each other. The ceremony began ~~but~~ by the usual chants - wāj phā', namo, "Itahu napegera...". Then PMS gave a short sermon followed by a very long discourse by Phā māhā nūm on the meaning of death ÷ death customs. Then

19/2/64

a common dialogue during which phrá máhā: sāj would ask in informal conversational tones about various death customs & beliefs of Phrá máhā: nūn who would then talk (and even joke) about them.

When they had finished, the monks were given presents. Then the bang sūkum by taking a string and stretching it between the two priests, touching the bang sūkum & bones on the way. When the priests had finished the short chant for this (a chant which I think is called ma: fika:), the string was collected & the monks chanted trī: ná: m. After this, the bang sūkum was divided & presented to the two priests (this is interesting as priests can neither smoke nor wear shoes or pants). The priests were then given lunch.

## MISC:

One of the brothers from Petchaburi - one who used to be an "injection doctor" for the Thai army - says that he is a nák z: w (นาค) a word which he says has the same meaning in Thai as one skilled in má: lam kha: n in the N.E. Actually, I think it refers to the Northern version of má: lam kha: n.

20/2/64

## THAMBUAN FOR DEAD (CONT.)

This morning, the thambuan ceremony for the father of Ma Lom, etc. was continued at the wát. 1<sup>st</sup> I saw a procession pass by in which the "house" phá: sāt phā: g, bang sūkum, & a tray of things was being carried. There were

20/2/64

followed by various relatives on their way to wát. As it was wan phrá some other people had also come to the wát to present food.

The phá: sāt phā: g ~~is~~ is "house" for the dead consists of a woven bamboo shaped like a house placed on two bamboo poles. The "house" is covered with banana leaves, raw cotton, and unmade candle wax. pronounced thāj in Lao,

In a basket ~~was~~ placed a thāj (w. flag) which was wrapped around a banana leaf container of popped rice, flowers, candles, soap, betel, khā: m (khā: w. tām), & a banana leaf container of food which is called hā: khā: w. hāj phī: (ห่อข้าวหัจพี้). The thāj was made of rough cotton cloth which had a pole at one end sewed in so that it supported the cloth, and little pieces of wax tied at the other end - attached by string. Also, in the basket was the food to be presented to the monks.

Finally, there was a tray on which had been placed raw cotton, flowers, soap, & khāj ba: cha:.

The priests were not present when we first arrived as they had to go to a thambun bá: n ceremony. When they arrived, they placed themselves in the following manner. To the far left of the khūt: (facing toward the altar) ~~and~~ were seated on mats 1<sup>st</sup> P.M.s & then Phrá thāj sāj. Behind the latter sat a visiting priest. At some little distance away were seated the awt novice & a visiting novice. In front of the priests sat the 3 brothers and brother-in-law. On the porchway sat the women, and a few other monks sat to the far right.

20/2/64

1st the khryag bu-cha: flowers were taken from the tray and placed on a smaller dish (the cigs. were given to the head priest of BNT). Then the incense was lit & the ceremony began by waj phra during which the khryag bu-cha: was held up in front of the participant. The PMS held the priest's fan in front of his face while the "precepts" were "requested" and given. Then the food was presented to the monks & novices.

2. A mat which had been brought to the khut:, was laid on the floor. On it were first placed two dried banana leaf ~~containers~~ pieces with fresh banana leaf containers placed on them. These were prepared as offerings to the ancestral Ph:. Food was placed in the containers, cigs. & betel were placed next to these. The large basket which is regularly used for offerings to the Buddha image was also placed on the mat & as food was placed on the other offerings, food was added to it as well (when people had first arrived, they had placed food on this basket). In this case all the food being used came from the family of the dead father. Also, placed on mat were a pillow and clothing & in front of the mat was placed the phasa:t phag or "house" for the dead. A cup of water was poured over the food offerings. Also, noticed that the rice which is usually served <sup>to be placed on that of ancestors</sup> by people coming to the wat on wan phra was partially used in the making-up of the offerings.

Then, when this arrangement had been made, and the monks had finished eating, the large basket (used usually for the Buddha image offering) was taken & placed in front of

20/2/64

the priest while one of the sons (the one who lives in BNT) presented some khryag bu-cha:. Candles were lit & attached to the banana leaf offerings & to the large basket which was then presented to the priest & then taken & placed on the altar. Then the bangsakun, the clothes, the pillow, the mat and one banana leaf offering were taken over & placed in front of the priest. The bangsakun, followed in order by the banana leaf offering, the mat, pillow and clothes were presented to the priests. Then the "house" was taken over and presented. As things were presented they were removed & placed back in their original place. Then the priests chanted triat nam during which one of the sons from Petchabun began pouring water through the floor. Later at a certain point in the chant, other people joined him. During this chant PMS held a fan in front of him. N.B. If there is any water left in a container at the end of the triat nam, it is ~~passed~~ emptied at the end.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the large drum in the khut: was struck 3 times. The bangsakun in the "flag", the banana leaf containers of food, & the "house" were removed from the khut: and taken to the wat grounds below. A hole was dug between the khut: & the large Bo tree. One small banana leaf container was placed under the Bo tree. In the hole, the other banana leaf container was placed, then the contents of the "flag" were poured in on top of this. <sup>Then Nam hsim was poured over the things in the dish.</sup> The hole was filled with dirt & the flag placed in the hole & loose earth. The flag would be left standing ~~top~~ for a few hours and then would be removed by the priests. At the end, water was poured around the flag on the loose earth, & the remainder of the Nam hsim was poured on as well. The "house" was thrown away just outside

20/1/64

the woat grounds. Then everyone returned to the khut: to listen to a sermon by PMS. The sermon was "requested" by presentation of pha:j thə:it. PMS gave an experience sermon, but held ~~his~~ a book in front of him while speaking.

In this case, the ashes were not placed in a thə:it as is normal practice, but were sprinkled on the lam chi: "for the fishes to eat". This was at the wish of the dead man, & Mr. Ng. says that it was a most exceptional occurrence - one that he has never heard of before. PMS says that most people, after they have reached 10 or 12 yrs. of age, are ~~then~~ placed in a thə:it after cremation.

It is specifically stated that these ceremonies are for the purpose of giving gifts to the dead person - and a baupə:lan or sə:kə:n chi: is exactly that (though in sophisticated circles, even in the village, it is thought that such gifts are for the monks but the merit accrued by making the gifts, goes to the deceased). The same idea is contained in the term sə:k & khə:u. Thus, gifts of clothes, mats, etc. which can be of specific use for the dead, but not necessarily for the ~~deceased~~ <sup>monks</sup>, are given. Mr. Ng. & others say however that things shouldn't be given directly to the dead, but to the monks in their stead.

Note - at end of ceremony one woman stuck balls of rice on a tree

### HOUSE BUILDING:

Mr. Mi: in KW is building a new house today. This is apparently not a proper day for building houses (khj:n to 8 khəm dyan 4) but Mr. Mi:'s father said it was ok, so he is building it. Mr. Ng. had wanted to build the house for Mother Heim today, but he

20/2/64

was dissuaded because people felt that it was an inauspicious day & though he himself would not care, he respected the wishes of others. He will build the house on khj:n 10 khəm - an auspicious day. He said that people believed that if one builds a house on inauspicious days, they are inviting illness.

### USES AND CHANGE IN LANGUAGE:

There have been some definite changes in village language since Thai influence appeared; particularly since education has spread. I have noticed that ~~where~~ most people when they write letters (if they write them) will write in Thai rather than Lao (or even Lao in Thai script). Mr. Ng. explains this as because people have studied written language only as Thai & not as Lao/Lan. This is not quite correct, I should say, as people also do study the written language and for ba:j lan - the tea them (๗๒๕๕๖) - but relatively few people (exclusively men) ~~can~~ can read this script & even fewer can write it. Furthermore, this script is reserved exclusively for the subject matter which appears on ba:j lan.

I have also noticed that with priests in formal situations, they will often use Thai words and even Thai pronunciation for some words, though they are still essentially speaking Lao. ~~Less~~ I noticed in the "dialogue" situation between two priests, they will use Thai pronouns and khə:p, though such does not appear in formal situations.

Also, I have observed that many people, next with some edue. or status who speak in front of audiences, even though the audience be composed nearly exclusively of Lao

20/2/64

speakers, will prefer speaking Thai

I discussed this language question with Max Brown: he pointed out some other things which indicate change in language. In ~~the~~ Standard and written Thai there is a 3-way distinction r: l: h; In Central Thai, ~~all~~ words with initial (r) change to /l/. Max claims that trad. in Lao, all the same words would change to /h/. However, he claims that through the influence of Thai, words which orig. were pronounced ~~as~~ ~~h~~ with an initial (h) in Lao have been borrowed back from Thai with an /l/. An example the word "to study" which is written with ~~and~~ initial (r) in Thai - ~~lian~~ - is ~~lian~~ / in Lao and /lian / in CT. However, the word for school ~~is~~ which in Thai is written with ~~two~~ initial (r), ~~lo:g lian~~ / is /lō:g lian / in ~~the~~ Lao and /lo:g lian / in CT. Obviously, the word has been borrowed in Lao from CT. In Lao one finds, currently, the following situation with words which are written with an initial (r) in Thai: (1) some words beginning with /h/, (2) some words beginning with /l/, and (3) some words beginning with either /h/ or /l/. Max postulates that words in the 1<sup>st</sup> class are ones which belong orig. to Lao; those in the 2<sup>nd</sup> are borrowed words from Thai; and those in the 3<sup>rd</sup> are ones that have a borrowed <sup>CT</sup> form competing with the trad. Lao form.

It is undoubtedly true that many CT words have been borrowed into Lao and that the language is changing accordingly. Mr. Nj. will often point out that these are words which the old people use which the younger generation do not use.

21 February, 1964

21/2/64

SETTING A BRIDE PRICE:

Last evening a group of villagers (about 10 in all) went over to B. Ja:ng to settle on a bride price for Nō:ij. When we arrived at the house, Nō:ij sent us on ahead because he couldn't enter into the bargaining. Those who were ready to bargain were led into an inner room - this included Mr. Phim (KL), Mr. Lu: (KL), Mr. Chai: (KY - ant. H.N.), Mr. Phom (KL), a relative from B. Khok Su:ij who was orig. from BNT and whom Nō:ij had exp. asked to come, and myself. Also, inside were the representatives of the girl's side - an old grandfather who says he is 86: some other men, but not, I believe, the father to whom I was introduced later. Certainly, he did not participate in the bargaining. Water & tobacco (but not liquor or food which would be brought out only on the conclusion of an agreement) were placed in the center of the room along with one small kerosene lamp. No women were present. The conversation began in general terms but very rapidly moved to the subject at hand. The first figure I heard was from the male side & was \$166. The female side asked \$600, a figure they stayed at for a long time. During the course of the bargaining, the relative merits of: disadvantages of Nō:ij & his girl friend were discussed. One that I heard was the girl's side mentioning that Nō:ij had been married before. This was shrugged off by the male side as being of little importance. A disadvantage mentioned for the girl's side was that her mother was dead.

Mr. Chai: & Mr. Lu: seemed to carry on most of the bargaining for the male side, making successive offers of \$186, 206, & finally 246. By this time the bride's

21/2/64

had countered with a request for ฿306. It is interesting to note that all figures always include the number 6. This, it was explained, always occurs in bride prices (or nearly always). Mr. Lu: tried to explain to me why. He said that there are two sets of 3 which are especially auspicious & then together they equal 6 & make a doubly auspicious sum. People believe that if "6" is not included, the marriage will last long. Similar reasons are given for holding weddings

When the point was reached where the male side was offering ฿246 & the female side ฿306, somewhat of a stalemate was reached. Initially, the female side said if ฿266 was offered, that would be acceptable. There was great consultation among members of the male side & finally Mr. Chaij said that he would have to ask Nōij. He subsequently reported back that Nōij wouldn't accept ฿266. The girl's side said that this was the final figure - take it or leave it. More discussion ensued on the male side. Finally, Nōij was asked again & persuaded for this was the figure decided upon. After the decision was revealed, Mr. Lu: let out a cheer which was recorded by others.

liquor was sent for. While we were waiting for it, two other things occurred:

- (1) Mr. Chaij brought out a 100-baht note which was given to the grand father in a formal way by placing it in a water scoop & Mr. Chaij ~~later~~ <sup>later</sup> krap-ing before the grand father. He examined it closely & reiterated several times that ฿166 was still to come & received the agreement of the male side. If perchance, the marriage

2/2/64

were not to occur, then the ฿100 would not be returned.

Also, a date was settled on. In this case it will be the 12<sup>th</sup> mo 10 kham djan 4. This is interesting as orig. Nōij told me he would be married in the 6<sup>th</sup> month.

Then, and only then, was the liquor brought. Also, at this juncture food preparation began. If no decision had been reached, no food or liquor would have been provided. In fact, at one stage Mr. Chaij had threatened to return home because of the intrusiveness of the girl's side.

The bargaining had lasted a good 2-2 1/2 hours. When we reached 8:30, we were given more liquor by Nōij's father. It was 11:30 by the time I reached home.

#### BARTERING:

This morning some women from a village along the Chi R. came "bartering for rice" because their rice crops had been destroyed in last year's flood. To get rice they brought fish (fresh & fermented) which they used to barter (11:00 - 12:00) for rice. Mr. Horn bartered 1 thäng jāj of rice (paddy) for 4 "bunols" of paidēk.

22 February, 1964

#### HOUSE BUILDING

Today, the house of Mr. Horn was erected. The work began quite early in the morning - about 6:30 a.m. First the holes were dug and then each of the poles were brought & laid beside the proper hole. Each pole has its name and specific position in the house. The following ~~things~~ are the poles:

22/2/64

→ North

sāw hōiāi: 4 (๔๐๑)      5 sāw phāj jāp (๕๒๕๖)  
 sāw taksin 3 (๓๑๕๕)      6 sāw lūdo:n (๖๑๕)  
 sāw hēik 2 (๒๑๑)      7 sāw khūan (๗๑๑)  
 sāw zākhanē: 1 (๑๑๑๑)      8 sāw zī:sā:n (๘๑๑๕)

Mr. Sāw who is a mō: of soto had prepared the pieces of paper for each pole on which were written in tuatham some auspicious & appropriate signs and words. A fruit with a very sticky juice - hāk tām (๕๑๑๑๑) - was cut up and used as a glue for sticking the pieces of paper to what would be the top of the pole. To the sāw hēik was attached a fish trap in which was placed the leaves of the tōn khūn (๑๕๑๑๑) and the tōn nō: (๑๕๑๑). It was attached with strands of cotton thread. To the sāw khūan was attached a kuak (๑๑๑) - a type of cylindrical basket - in which was placed the same leaves & which was also attached with strands of cotton thread.

Mr. Sāw then took a large khūn in which was placed nā:m hō:m, some pebbles, and leaves. Then he sprinkled the water on the poles and in the tall holes & also placed pebbles & leaves in the holes. He moved in the following order, according to pole numbers: 7, 2, 5, 1, 8, 6, 3, 4.

Then came the erection of the poles (jōk sā:w) following the same order. The cross bar, khū: (๑๑), between poles 1 & 8 has the name khū: bua:pā: (๑๑๑๑๑) & is the only crossbar on which a piece of paper with the tuatham is placed.

After the erection of the posts, the job of building the house is undertaken & no more

22/2/64

Ceremonial mings happen until the family moves into the house in the afternoon. During the building Mr. Ng. kept providing rice wine & a noonday feast was provided for the workers. The work was done entirely by the wā:n system.

ENTERING A NEW HOUSE:

A new house must be made ready to be lived in in a single day w/ the people with believe that spirits will come and possess the house. It isn't necessary that the house be completed and in fact today only the frame and roof were erected as Muon will make the walling later.

When the house has been completed, the things which are to be used in the house are taken by the members of the household and the workers. These people form a procession led by Mr. Sāw holding an umbrella. He explained the umbrella as being a symbol of the family having come from a far distance to take possession of the house. Also, in the procession it is necessary to have household utensils, clothes, mattresses, pillows, and other things to be used in the house. Also, necessary to have prepared food to feed the people "who have come from a long way."

When the procession has circled the house 3 times, it stops at the stairs (ladder) which have been placed in the east. A person who pretends (but is not really) the bearer of the house and who is in the house asks Mr. Sāw why the people, procession have come from afar. Mr. Sāw answers that they have heard the news that there is a new house which has been built and they have come to live in it. Then Mother Ho:m, as the true owner of the house, knelt at the stairs & Mr. Sāw led her in worshipping.

22/2/64

phā phū:m phā cāw (MR: ๗๒๑ MR: 137) who is the spirit of the place. In this worshipping the Namo is spoken and Mo. Ho:m presented flowers & candles which she placed at either side of the stairs.

The procession then entered the house and Mr. Sāw pounded a huge nail into the sāw khūan (the nail is called sāw - sūw). On it was hung a njā:m (bag) in which was placed a fish net (hē: - ๗๗), a pestle, the 3 supports of a fireplace (kā:n sāw - ๗๗๗). He repeated the namo 3 times. This all was done for bringing blessings to the owners of the house. Then it is necessary to sweep the house in order not to have any evil influences from the old house brought into the new one.

Then, the participants ate food in order that "the people who came from other villages be given food" and also to make the day auspicious. Then the house can be lived in.

#### SENDING A BRIDEGROOM:

Today in BNKK there was a wedding. As the members of Mr. Ng. party were busy building the house, they couldn't go to the wedding at 11:00 in the morning. However, they did go "to send the bridegroom" in the evening. It seems that after a wedding the bridegroom returns to his own home until evening. At that time, a group of males - dominated usually by one of his own age come to his house. They are given a meal<sup>and liquor</sup>. They then escort ~~the~~ the new bridegroom

22/2/64

to his wife's house. They accompany him singing, playing the khē:n, dancing and yelling such things as "Hey, Mother-in-law, here comes your son-in-law." When they reach the house of the bride, they are shown in and given more food and liquor. After a short time, they depart, leaving their friend to his fate.

4 March, 1964

#### BUN PHIA WĒ:T

Sat. & Sun. eve (16:m 9-10 khām) are the days for the Bun Phia WĒ:t in BNK.

Today people have been making khāw khīap - a khāw past. to this ceremony; to bun khāw cī:. Also, this evening there will be a "flower making" session at the wāp under the agency of the priest.

Jane gives the following description of making up khāw khīap: "This can be made from white or black khāw nīaw, but the black seemed to be popular. After being steamed it is pounded to a ~~flour~~ flour in the rice pounder, & mixed either with a little sugar or with water in which a root known in Lao as tōt mē: (๗๗๗๗) has been soaked. (These stalks have the property of sweetening, in the same way that sugar does).

"Once pounded into a sticky paste, the paste is placed in a container and taken away to be made into patties. To prevent the mixture from sticking, banana leaves are coated in grease first (in this case fish grease into which the yolk of a hard-boiled ~~egg~~ egg had been blended.). After similarly greasing

23 February 1964

Add

To MK

24 Feb.

Traveled from MK to Bangkok

25 Feb.

Bangkok: ~~Dinner at Peter Bee's~~

26 Feb.

Bangkok: Dinner at Peter Bee's

27 Feb

Bangkok: Dinner at Sheldon Funnis

28 Feb.

Return from Bangkok to MK

29 Feb.

MK

~~L. Mass~~