

Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand
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(or just plain to)
It seems that during W.W.II. Prime Minister Phibun Songkram had decided that Bangkok was too vulnerable to enemy attack. Thus, he wanted to move the capital to a more secure place. He chose Petchaburi as the place to have his capital. He then first decided to build roads to the site of the new capital. In order to build these roads he employed the traditional Thai pattern of corvée labour. He "recruited" people from Ray Buri-et, Kalasin, and Mahasarakham to go to work on these roads. Petchaburi is known for its malaria (everect). Many people from these N.E. provinces where malaria is relatively rare died of malaria in Petchaburi. Thus, many people from the village, including Mr. Cék, ran away to hide (away from the village) when the govt. recruiters came to get labourers. For this reason, Mr. Cék said that Phibun was a bad "dictator".

MR. THIANQ

VS. THE VILLAGE: The issue of the new school is becoming more and more one which is pitting Mr. Thianq against the village. The latest thing that has occurred has been that Mr. Thianq tried to requisition trees from the forest of the village spirit-pits: to use for the school building. I think this would be roughly equivalent to, in a Catholic town, to asking to cut to take down the church and use its stones to build a city hall. The villagers were quite incensed at Mr. Thianq's asking. Sometimes, I almost think that he is purposely trying to alienate himself from the village.

SCHOOL: Mr. Wichian said that he has requested the C.S. dept. to give 12,500 baht towards the new school. I am not particularly pleased at this turn of events which I feel might have something to do with me. For one thing, it is giving the village something for nothing. Secondly, it means that the school is not no longer strictly a village project.

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30 March

MISC: Mr. Saw (192F) for who is the mō: lam dic. for khūm wat has just returned from a visit to his mother-in-law who lives in a village near Muang Phat.

Mr. Hsim (the man who is building a new shrine) is a younger brother of the headman. He migrated from B. Donn Du: when the floods ruined him last year.

Mr. Thianq says that the headman and Mr. Ngau don't get along together.

Mr. Sinit has definitely left the teaching profession to become a clerk at the amphoe office.

RELIGION: Had a discussion with Mr. Phom, Mr. Saw, Mr. Cék, and a few others concerning religion. Mr. Phom says that next month there will be an ordination of 7 or 8 monks. I asked how long these monks would stay in the wad. The answer was that no one knew. Some stayed a few days (15 was mentioned as the lowest), others stay in for years. When a person is ordained he "makes merit" for himself, his parents, and the whole village.

I also enquired about novices. Only some boys become novices. They are lāic sūt (ปณิธิ) - 'pupil, disciple' - to the priest/priests. While they are novices they study religion, Thai lang, Pali.

The group pointed out that a man should be ordained before they marry. However, a person can also be ordained after marriage. I asked what was the rank of the priest in the wad. The answer was that he didn't have a high rank because he hadn't studied long.

1 April

Today in the village, however, several villagers are constructing a thāt. I asked if this is a cremation structure on the wad grounds in which are kept the remains of a cremated person. I asked if someone had just died. The answer was no, but that the thāt was being constructed for a

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person who died in 1904. This person's cremated remains are presently in the boat. Sometime this month there will be a tham bun ceremony for this person's remains.

2 April

Went to village to determine date for moving into our house out there. ~~He~~ Asked the head man. He in turn took us to consult the shaman whom he calls 2a:ca:n. The shaman thought about the possibilities, doing some mental calculations. He didn't look at anything. Finally, he decided Friday, that is the 12 day of the waxing of the moon, 5th month (Friday is often an auspicious day) at 9:00 in the morning.

5 April, 1962

Today also our first day in the village so residents.

CUSTOMS CONCERNS

HEALTH:

We went over to Mr. Cak's house where there are some older ~~women~~ women doing what looked like dancing. There was a khien music playing in the background. There I saw that there was a sick person being watched over. Mr. Ngaw explained what was going on for me. It seems that the wife of Mr. Cak also is in her mut-boi's has been ill for some 10 months. But today she really became ill. Thus, a shaman was called from Ban Khawaw. In this case the shaman was a woman. She came with two women friends. These were the women who were dancing. It was explained that these women were calling the phi: including the phi: of the woman's father and mother (which they asked permission of the younger brother

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because he might be frightened in the presence of the phi: of his parents, but require his permission).

Mr. Ngaw explained that the shaman was calling the phi:. One of the women present apparently would go into a trance and be possessed by the phi:. Once this possession had taken place, the shaman would ask the phi: if death was to be the result of this disease. If the answer was affirmative, apparently nothing is to be done. However, if the answer is negative, then the shaman will ask what the phi: want to eat in order to appease them. Once this is determined, then the food would be provided and the ceremony would be over. The shaman and her companions would get ฿20 for their work.

The concern over death seems to be minimal. Mr. Ngaw said that people of this age are likely to die. And Mr. Cak seemed completely unconcerned (spending a good portion of the afternoon at her house).

Mr. Ngaw lived 6 years in Bangkok working for a company "which sells things from many countries." He went there when he was 19 and wanted to join the police which he never succeeded in doing. After he returned to the north, he first returned home and then set up shop in BNT.

His father was a good friend of Mr. Cak and apparently Mr. Cak sponsored Mr. Ngaw when he first came to the village. Mr. Ngaw quite credit and had a list which he showed me of about a dozen people in the village who owe him money.

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I don't know whether these are people who have borrowed money as well as people who have credit. There was one person who just recently paid off a debt of 8500. There were several others who owed 200 or more.

I have noticed today - the 1st time that I have spent all day on the road, that there are a larger number of vehicles who go by than I thought did. One was on its way to Wapi Pathene (I wasn't aware that this road went to Wapi).

6 April

Last night we sat around talking with Mr. Ngaw. He says that he definitely prefers living up here than in Bangkok because he can make more money here. We also discovered that he keeps a mistress - getting married is not good he said (However, with the way Thai custom is, she is more or less considered his wife).

DAILY PATTERNS: Mr. Ngaw says that villagers usually get up at 4:30 or 5 in the morning (though we heard stinnings at 5:00 this morning there was very little real motion until 5:15 or so). Villagers usually eat their breakfast at 8:00 (though often as late as 10:00), lunch at 1:00; and dinner at 8:00 in the evening (after dark). This latter practice leaves the daylight hours for work and play.

Between 6:00 and 6:30 last evening the cows and buffaloes were brought back from the fields and tethered for the night under the houses.

In the early evening 5:30-6:00 children came out onto the road to play. They made necklaces and bracelets out of the stems of certain plants. They blew

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soap bubbles using a piece of net turned on its self to make a hoop to hold the soap.

Mr. Cok came around this morning and we asked him more questions about eating. In the morning meal and noon meal, the family doesn't eat together. Also, they eat whatever is available. If the men are off fishing, they will eat at the fishing grounds.

7 April

Yesterday morning after we went left to the village we went to Ban Khueew. For three days - 6th, 7th, 8th, there is a fair in B.K. and celebrations at the η . This is an annual affair. ~~Yesterday~~ During the fair Mr. W. tried to get a market going where people would come to sell their goods, but yesterday it was a failure. ~~This~~ We also visited the η where nothing of interest was going on as yet. While at the η we ran into a large group of village men on their way to the irrigation tank to fish. The irrigation tank is large and I think that the villagers fish as a village. They go, eat, and return together.

We also attended other events at the B.K. in the evening - Thai boxing in particular. Many villagers had gone too. However, when we returned to the village at 10:30, there wasn't a sign of human life despite the fact that there was nearly a full moon and plenty of light outdoors.

This morning we are going to the ~~for~~ interment of the remains in Wat B.K. of a man from the village who had risen to become governor of Loc.

7 April (cont.)

FUNERARY RITES: Funerary rites seem to be the most marked of all life crises. There are a whole collection of rites associated with death - Buddhist, Brahmic and Animist. Today we observed one of these rites. However, this was more elaborate as it was for a former governor and a high status person - even if he had been born in Ban Khwaw.

One of the accoutrements of a high status funerary rite is the invitation etched in black and placed in an envelope also etched in black. At high status rites, those men will wear black or a white suit with a black tie and a black mourning band. Women usually wear a black dress or a black skirt with a white blouse.

The rite which we observed is formally called $\text{กฐน} \text{ฝัง} \text{อังคาร}$ (ka:n ban'eu'at) - "the interment of the ashes". The ~~person who was~~ The deceased had been cremated at Loei last year (16 Sept., 1962), his wife had had his ashes for a year and now she had decided to inter him at his home village. The events for the celebration were on two days: the 6th & 7th. What follows is a translation of the invitation card:

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS FOR INTERMENT OF ASHES

OF Nai Kiti Jotkasri:

at Wat Nai Khun Khwaw Amphoe Myang Caguet Mahasarakham

Saturday, 6th April, 2506

7:00 p.m. Arrangement of ashes at Wat sala.

5:00 p.m. Priests chant the ma'ti ka:

9:00 p.m. Celebration

Sunday, 7th April, 2506

8:00 a.m. Presenting of food (to priests).

9:00 a.m. Dhammic sermon and fangsukun ("the ritual presentation of gifts to a monk or monks at a funeral")

9:30 a.m. The interment of ashes.

Mrs. Pin samut Jotkasri:	wife	} Sponsors
Mr. So:n Phonchamri:	uncle	

This morning when we went to the wat, we discovered that the rites were not only for the former gov. of Loei but were also for a former abbot of a wat in Bangkok who had been born in Ban Khwaw and for the parents of Mr. So:n - one of the sponsors of the funeral. However, in the main, the ceremony was for the former gov. of Loei.

Since the ceremony was not in the village proper, I will not - nor was I able to - make complete notes on the activities. Rather I will merely outline what were the outstanding features. The wat was decorated with preparations for the nesting of the Wetsandon (see notes on village observation) chardok (this came in the afternoon). There were the flags around the wat sala wat with little baskets of food at the bottom of the pile. These baskets of food were for

the evil spirits who might be attracted by a site for the dead. Also, there was the basket of things for the Buddhist saint who will protect the ceremony (again see description of comparable village artifact).

When we arrived, most everyone was in the sala wat where people were feeding the priests (and then eating themselves). We were seated in the small pavilion near the sala which had been erected for the officials and high status persons. Among our compatriots were the wives of the Asst. Gov., M.S., and the Lord Mayor of M.S.; the Forestry officer of M.S. (who had served under the former gov.), the ambulatory edue. officer, etc. There didn't seem to be too great a range of officials present. Someone said that there were 53 priests present.

After the feeding was through, the standard ritual request was made by the people for a sermon by the priests. It was explained that traditionally only standard chants would be given. However, there has been change in modern years. Instead of chants, the priests made funeral orations for each of the dead.

When the perorations were over, the bangsukun occurred. This consisted of ritual presentation of gifts to the priests. This ritual is called cha:tanicha: in Lao.

When this short ceremony was finished, we all processed around the hot returning to the front. Here the boxes of ashes in a box covered with a blue white cloth and black ribbon were placed on the step. Those present came forward and passed perfumed water on the boxes. Then the boxes were placed in ready-made niches

in the wall. These would be filled up and a memorial plaque placed in front.

The case of the former gov. is a good point of social mobility. I was given a cremation volume of his funeral.

9 April, 1963

FESTIVAL AT KIU: Monday, there was a big celebration at the Kiu near Ba:n Bo:n Ou, Tamlon Khwao.

This celebration attracted people from all over the area and there were literally several thousands of people present (this is the first time I have ever ~~seen~~ seen such a large celebration in Thailand though such must be quite typical of India and traditional China). This celebration is held once a year - always according to the lunar calendar - during the day of full moon in the 5th month - $\overline{U}K 15 \overline{O} 7 \overline{O} 2 K 5$.

1. Origin and raison d'être of ceremony:

I had a discussion with Mr. Wichian and Mr. Sō:n (the head of the pig coop in OK) concerning the ceremony. Mr. Wichian didn't know why the celebration was held on this particular date, but Mr. Sō:n did. He said that the ^{day of the} full moon in the 5th lunar month is "Lao New Year", whereas Songkran (April 13, 14, 15) is "Thai New Year". Actually, I think that in actual fact, they are the same thing. Traditionally, Thai Lao New Year was determined according to the lunar calendar and the traditional date was on the day of the full moon of the 5th month. After the adoption of the Western solar calendar, the government made Songkran a fixed date. The people in the N.E. at least (although I think that this is partially true for the whole country -

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see Kaufmann & Kingshill) have retained celebrations at both dates, though the celebrations on the
trad. date seem comp. reduced compared with the new date.

Mr. Sön said that festivals on the day of the full moon, 5th month are held at every
kū: in the Northeast. This made me wonder: since the kū: are all of Khmer origin, and since
Thai-Lao New Years is originally a Brahmic ~~rite~~^{fete}, and since the Khmer were Brahmic, maybe
the custom of worshipping at the kū: is a vestige of a Khmer rite - but then this is speculation.

2. Activities at Kū:

The events of the day were a ~~sub~~ admixture of Brahmin and Buddhist customs. Monks played
a major role, even in supervising some obviously Brahmic customs. Mr. Wichian said, however, that the
major purpose of the fete was to worship the thevāda: (เทวดา) - 'Brahmic divinities'.

The events of the day really began in the afternoon around noon when people started gathering. The place
was full of processions of beautifully made fire-sockets, dancers, priests, and thousands of people.

a. Clown dancers:

There was one group of dancers composed of all men - some dressed as women and those
as men had painted faces and strange clothes. They were led by a man dressed in
white with a ~~pink~~ ^{pink} headdress with breasts accentuated by paint and a Hindu turban on
top. Mr. Wichian explained that these act-dancers were portraying ka:n chea: chōle
(កាងចៀក) from the Vessantara Chetō Jātaka (វេសន្តរាជេត្តជក្ក) (12th ជំពូកទី ១៧). In this
story the Vessantara goes to live in the forest. He leaves his son and daughter in the care of
poor Brahmins. This Brahmin takes the children to his home where they learn

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about poverty and how they can help. The man in white and Hindu turban represents the Brahmin.

I called this group "clown dancers" because the group was a source of endless
mirth to the crowd. One of the favorite forms of humor among Thai is the male
impersonation of females. The group did a comic version of the Ramwong with the men
making passes at the women ^(played by men) and the women rebuffed these passes.

b. fō:n lēp dancers:

There was another group of dancers of a more traditional type (in fact said to trace
to the N.E.). This group was entirely composed of young girls dressed in trad. N.E. fancy
garb. On their fingers they had ~~long~~ long fancy pieces of ~~thin~~ decorated bamboo of
about a ft. in length as extensions of their fingernails. Thus, the origin of the name
of the dance which is lit. translated as the "finger nail dance".

These girls processed to the kū: led by an orchestra (primarily drums) and
followed by the clown dancers (with their own orchestra). They danced as they went
in the traditional graceful manner of the Thai classical dance. They danced more
in the precincts of the kū:

c. Worship of Buddha and Devā images:

In the kū: precincts themselves were 5 Buddha images and the Devā images
which were originally found in the kū: proper (a Buddha image ^{is} now in their place and
the Devā images are normally kept at the Sula Wasey in Sarakhum). The manner of worshipping
these images was the taking of nām bō:m (lit. fragrant water - but usually

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water with camellia so that the water has a yellow color). This water is used to bathe the images. The people also use candles, incense, and jasmine flowers for worshipping. Also, they buy gold leaf and stick it on the images. All of the things for worshipping were being sold by the priests (the money would be used for building a priest's residence at the kae). I noticed mainly older people and women were doing the worshipping.

d. Worshipping the Devo:

Now, the biggest event of the celebration was the setting off of huge fire rockets (as well as small fire rockets). These big rockets are really fancy ones which require an expenditure of much time and money. Each village has some one (last year, BNT made one, but this year they did not). These rockets are often decorated with papier mache type models of devo. Most people understand why fireworks are used for "worship" but this is also Chinese pattern.

5. Amusements:

This annual event is one way in which people from all over the area come to come together. At such a time, young men and women can meet one another. Also, the ceremony is one integrating factor for the commune and surrounding area. ~~The people who come also express~~ The worshipping graphically illustrates the synthesis of Brahmic and Buddhist elements in the local religion.

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4. Water Throwing:

Another element which marks the celebration ^{at} of the kae: as a New Year's custom is that the traditional water throwing accompanies it (and, indeed, we were soaked).

SONSKRAN: I discussed the beliefs and customs surrounding Somskran with Mr. Wichiam, Mr. Sa:m (in Ban Khwaw) and some people in BNT. In the local custom wan sogkran (วันสงกรานต์) is called wan nau (วันน้ำ) [น้ำ means "water" or "new"]. The consensus was that people don't work during Somskran but pray, feed the priests, and do things of this sort. I asked ^{some} ~~one~~ men in khim p.h. if Somskran was Buddhist or Brahmic. They were quite non-plussed by this question as they had obviously never thought about it before.

Mr. Wichiam thought that water throwing originated with the idea that one provided bath water for travelers during the hot season. However, Mr. Sa:m (BK) said that since the season was hot at the time of Somskran, people would take water to the old men (elders) of a village in order for them to take baths. The old men in turn would give the bringers a blessing (พร).

Today, relatives will give older people presents of cloth, etc. The older people will reciprocate by giving money, food, farm animals, etc. This latter is usually a type of inheritance gift called khaj moidok (หัจมรดอก) [also occurs at weddings].

There will be a fair and celebration at Ban mi. They will play khli (ขลิ) which is a version of polo.

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VILLAGE

MISC.

There will be a ceremony of depositing bones in the wat during Songkran.

Mr. Haim who has the new store was buying krapok plants (pods) from children - 1 pod - 1 rubberband.

Last Sat. the Headman went to town to register all 20-21 yrs. old for the draft. This was a large event of Lab Mueang School. People from this area go to Udorn or Khonkaen for training.

I haven't figured out if there are many people from the village called up or not.

Talked with people in Khump-h. One man (the one with a mark on his nose) has a very bad cold (except for headache) which he has had for 5-6 days. He is using Chinese balm as a medicine. Used no handkerchief but his blowies were away from groups.

Planting will begin in 6th or 7th month depending on rains.

One boy in K.p.h. (older teenagers) knew that 100 Lao Kip = 8 Thai baht though no one in village seemed to have one.

Saw some boys shooting kyoaks with blow guns. They are quite accurate.

Everybody got a kick out of the fact that we got swabbed yesterday.

10 April.

Began occupying today. May have committed a faux pas. Entered wat to name off the wid tho. As I was doing this, the village priest came over purposely to ask me what I was doing. I distinctly feel that he doesn't like me. I hope this won't be a sore point as far as my collecting information on religion is concerned.

13 April, 1963

This morning we went to the village for the duration of the Songkran festival. Before we left town, however, Mr. Wichian invited us to go to Ban Mi: where there was to be a special ceremony. Thus, about 9:30 (after changing our Songkran-soaked clothes) we arrived in Ban Mi.

HONOURING OF PRIESTS:

The celebration which took place at Ban Mi was one of honoring priests - there were in fact two ceremonies: one honoring priests by water pouring priests who have served for a long time and a bañ si ceremony for two priests with their fans in dieching respectively parian 4 and parian 5 (similar ceremony to that was held in BNT for phra² māhā sēg).

PROCESSION: When we arrived at Ban Mi school, we were immediately faced by a procession in which were carried the priests to be honored. This procession called hē: hē: (๑๒๓) in Thai consisted first of litters carrying ~~the display~~ a display indicating the status of the two high monks - this display included the fans of the priests, a picture of each, and certificates which proclaimed their achievements in the Buddhist system. Following this were the priests being carried on bamboo litters. The two priests who were being especially honored had on pointed hats which look somewhat like the pointed mitred hats worn by bishops in the West. There were 7 priests being carried. Following the priests were 3 men dressed as women, a group of people carrying gifts for the priests, and some people playing instruments - (also some instruments at front of procession) - primarily gongs, drums, cymbals and pin - or Thai 2-stringed guitar.

The procession left from the school & proceeded through the village, circled the wat

16 April, 1963

The following is a reorganization of the data collected on the days 13th, 14th, 15th April - during our stay in the village during Songkran.

SONGRAN: sōng kra:n (สงกรานต์) or sōng kra:n in Lao is a festival commemorating the traditional beginning of the Thai solar year. The traditional date for celebrating New Year's is at the time of the full moon in the 5th lunar month (see pp. 168-172, Notebook 1). However, the National govt. has established the day for celebration permanently from the 13-15 of April (during the Vernal Equinox) and this is the time when the biggest celebrations are held in rural D.E. Thailand.

Mr. Wichian gave a general explanation of Songkran by saying that it is a time when villagers do no work, but go about visiting relatives and having sānuk (สนุก) in one's only village or wherever there is the greatest opportunity of having fun.

First Day (13 April):

We spent the morning in Ban Mi: (see above) and returned to BNT about noon. I had seen some people going fishing early in the morning when we were in the village and also had seen some women going to the woods to gather plants. However, in general it seemed as though the village was very quiet and those who were out were more quietly dressed (Houses in the pink hair) than on a normal day.

About 3:15 in the afternoon, the drum in the wat was struck to call the villagers to come and sōng phra: or sōng nā:m phra: (สงกรานต์ / สงกรานต์) - that is to ceremonially bathe Buddhist images with nā:m hō:m (water mixed with curin). This ceremony is held every

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during on Songkran and is one of the distinctive features of the ~~same~~ Festival. Apparently, the ritual bathing of the priests which we had observed in Ban Mi: in the morning is also a Songkran custom (pp. 176-7).

For the bathing of the images, a small pavilion was built near the bō:t. The images were removed from the bō:t and placed in the pavilion. This bathing of the images takes place on all three days of the ceremonies and was also held at the kai: festivities the week before (p. 174; Notebook I) and in every village we visited during the ceremonies. Though the gong rang at 3:15 it wasn't for a couple hours we had people started coming to do the ritual bathing. I believe that the ritual bathing is also connected with the traditional water throwing during Songkran.

Mr. Ngai explained a few things about Songkran. He said young people particularly like to go paj lén to either Bān thā: tūm or Bān M: where there are many activities and opportunities for counting. He said that last year and other years there were ~~more~~ more events in BNT (last year especially in khūm bā:n khōw nōj where there was much horse play and water throwing of water among young people), but this year there were more activities drawing the young people away from the village.

During the special occasion, the villagers had made khāw pū:n (Lao for rice noodles) which are much prized among the villagers as better than rice.

The village remained relatively quiet throughout the evening afternoon with occasional screaming which indicated that young people and children were throwing water. Some children were using water guns made of bamboo. This instrument had a small hole in the lined end of the tube. At the other end was a larger hole. Into this hole was placed a smaller ~~of~~ stick with something wrapped around the end to make it fit tight. This stick was removed to fill the tube with

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water. Then the stick was placed back in to the level of the water. When this stick is pushed the water is forced out under pressure through the small hole.

In the evening after Mr. Ngaw and I had made a walk through the fields, we returned to Khien wit where we noticed a group of young people were gathered. Very soon it became apparent that a couple of young girls were out to get me wet - which they did because as I started to run my Japanese sandals slipped off. Then as I was stumbling, talking, two other girls slipped up from behind and completed the job. This was, however, the only water we had thrown at us in the village, the blacksmith from Khien wit very quickly proceeded to explain that I was known water at only because the people here respect for me (as different from people in Suakhaem, he said).

Second day (14 April):

Activities during the second day were at a minimum - as a whole the village was quiet with the stillness occasionally broken by the screams of water throwing. The actual bathing of the statues took place in the afternoon and some people went to the fair.

Mr. Ngaw again said that there was very little ka-ni len in BNT this year because of the fair in Ban Mi. This certainly is easy to understand because when it gets dark in the village, it is too dark to dance or do anything else. The electric-lit fair, however, would be a great attraction. There was a little drum playing and fun making in BNT during late afternoon.

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Third Day (15 April):

In the late morning and afternoon, the young people were out playing a game called ໂຮ່ງໂຮ່ງ (ten hing). This game consisted of dividing into two sides - one of boys and the other of girls with a single boy assisting the girls. One side is "at bat" while the other side is "in the field". A small thick stick - about 4" x 3" is placed on the ground. A "batter" from the one side comes up and stands with the small stick - the "ball" - between his feet. Then swinging a longer stick - about 3' in length - the "bat" with both hands between his legs, he hits the "ball" toward the opposite side. If the ball went up ~~and~~ into the air and was caught by a member of the opp. side (men catching the "ball" with their hands, women with a phá: kháw wa: opened at their waist), the "batter" was "out". If it was not caught in the air, then the person who recovered the "ball" would take the ball and move to the center of the "court" and pitch the "ball" at the "bat" which had been placed lengthwise facing the opposing team. If the "ball" hit the "bat", then the "batter" was "out". However, if the "ball" missed the "bat", then the "batter" would take the "ball" and throw it a short distance toward the opp. side. A member of opp. side would then "pitch" the "ball" - usually on the ground where the batter would be waiting swinging the "bat" on the ground. If the "batter" succeeded in hitting the "ball", then he had another opportunity to throw the "ball" out to be "pitched". Once he missed however, he was "out". Each side stood until all its players had had a time at "bat" - or, in other words, until each player was "out".

The thing that rather surprised me about these activities was that the priest and the novices were also playing - the priest had removed his outer garments to be free to play, and the young girls had no hesitancy about throwing water or physically striking the

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novices. One of the novices had a drum which he used to give a musical accompaniment to the Satavitthas.

About 2:00 in the afternoon went with Mr. Ngāw ไปบ้าน to E. ๑๗๓๖ -
T. Thā: tum. First we went to the village where he comes from and where his parents live - B. Nō:ng Khā: (U. ๓๒๑๓๗). This is a village of about 100 H.H. I was interested that Mr. Ngāw's family are strictly farmers - i.e. there is no appearance of trading or business. The village is noted for its fruits and vegetables - more than BNT - and we were treated to coconut water, fresh coconut meal, & bananas (bananas which are quite delicious and sell for a sat only a pa in Sarakhom). To top off the hospitality, when we left we were given papaya, papaya, coconuts, squash, and sweet potatoes by the family.

We went to visit the village wat - which is very interesting because it has a newly-completed new bō:t. On the facade of the ~~roof~~ building is a very interesting scene depicting Hanuman - the Monkey God of the Ramayana - coming after the Buddha with a knife. Graphic representation on the synthesis of Buddhism and Brahmanism. I asked Mr. Ngāw why this village has a new bō:t when it doesn't seem any richer or bigger than BNT. He answered that the abbot - a monk of many years who is very zealous - He has made it his goal since becoming abbot to get a new bō:t built. This abbot is very interesting because he has spent up the time in a wat in Sarakhom and the rest of the time in the village. Mr. Ngāw ~~refers~~ refers to this abbot as Pa:ca:n or Pa:ca:n ju: (because he is an important monk - in this case an abbot).

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Mr. Ngāw explained that he had been ordained for 3 "Lents" - part of his time in this wat and part of his time in Thā: tum.

Mr. Ngāw's father has been ill with a stomach ailment for 4 yrs. He was recently in the hospital in Sarakhom for several months, but they couldn't help him there. Mr. Ngāw thought that maybe he should go to Bangkok, but the head doctor at Sarakhom dissuaded him because he said that they couldn't do any more for him in Bk.

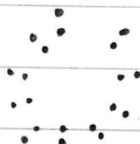
We left the village and proceeded on to Thā: tum - the tumbon center of some 300 ~~sets~~ houses. This village is beautifully situated on the Chī River. There then was a much larger town. Songkran Festival going on. They had had and were now having such diverse activities as feeding the phī, sōng phā:, ~~the~~, storytelling, dancing (where the boys and girls actually touch each other, and various games for the younger people. Mr. Ngāw explained that the activities for young people - the dancing and games are only held during the Songkran Festival - and at no other time of the year.

One game which we saw is called ๑๗๓๖ ๑๗๓๖ (lōn leasn hi: lōli:). This could be roughly translated as "polo". It is played by two teams - both mixed sexes, and is played in a small field surrounded by the dikes. Each player is equipped with a stick - which tho. should be stepped shaped like a golf club or polo stick - though, many were just sticks of about 2 1/2' to 3' in length. The principle of the game - as in polo - is to beat a "ball" (in this case a wooden - unrounded object) across the field to make a goal. In this case, making a goal

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consists in getting the "ball" across the ditch. However, instead of having "goals" to protect one's goal, there were players at the end where goals were to be made to assist in getting the ball across when the team mate had got it to the end of the field. The number who can play seem expandable and teams are not balanced for number.

We also saw another game being played by young boys and girls. This game is called เล่น โยนหิน (lên nòn khôn.) The participant mainly stand in a circle in pairs, viz.:



There are two other participants - not in the formation. One person is "IT" as in Western Tag, while the other person is "free". The "free" person must prevent being tagged. He is "safe" when he goes and stands in front of a pair, thus making the person behind - i.e., the last person - "free". As soon as a "free" person has been tagged, then the "IT" person becomes "Free" and the "Free" person "IT".

However, the game has more than one purpose. The boys and girls get a great kick out of really giving one another a ~~smack~~ smack (often on the behind) - such actions of boys and girls bucking usually not being tolerated. If both the "IT" and the "Free" persons are of the same sex, they will work in coordination so that that "IT" person can tag a person of the opp. sex. Sometimes if a boy's "IT" and really gives a

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girl a smack on the behind, she will go and give him several blows despite the fact that he has become "safe"

These games and dances and water fights which characterize Songkran, and are participated in only at Songkran, serve to give an opportunity to release certain of the prohibitions surrounding male-female relationships. Usually, in dancing - the ramwong being the best example - boys and girls never touch, but during Songkran there are dances in which touching is permitted. We even saw a young couple holding hands - probably still a brazen act - especially for the girls - but one which would never be allowed other times of the year.

At Thâi tum we also saw the shrine of pu:ka: which is located right next to the wat. We also met a priest from Bk. who used to be head monk at Thâi tum wat and was Mr. Ngâw's mentor at that wat. However, he is now in a "Lao" wat in Bk.

what follows are other data which I collected during the three days - 13, 14, 15 April - in the village.

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COMMUNISM IN
TAMBON KHUAW:

Had quite a talk with Mr. W. concerning communism in T. Khuaw. He says that he must work very hard in Bân Khuaw & Bân Ni because there are communists in this village (w/o the police believe). These are people from this area who lived a long time in Laos, and who have returned to work among their own people. Whether these are really communists or not, I am not certain.

Mr. W. rather surprises me at times. He has quite an intelligent approach towards communism. He recognizes that in dictatorships, there is often as little freedom as in comm. countries. Why does the U.S. help dictatorships, he asked - a rather difficult to answer sometimes. "Dictatorships are sometimes worse than communism." He also said that Thailand was a dictatorship. He seems to know quite a bit about the subject, and he keeps helping in the C.D. responsibility to help villages before it is too late.

MR. PHA: Mr. W. suggested that I might use one of the people in the village as an assistant. One possibility was Mr. Pha, who is a man who has just returned from a prolonged stay (see above) and is the older brother of the fellow who just married the daughter of Mr. Cah. As it turned out, however, though Mr. Pha speaks fluent BK Thai, he is illiterate and

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so couldn't help me too much. He worked in BK S. as a wage laborer - many jobs including street work and at Erawan Hotel.

WALK:

About 6:00 p.m. Mr. Ngaw suggested that we take a walk. We strolled past the way to the open fields and the wells. I noticed that the fields were quite broken up by dikes so that only small fields remain. I asked if each of these little fields were the possession of one person per field, but Mr. Ngaw replied that many of these small fields belong to one person and they are broken up this way to better hold the irrigation water.

The walk was quite idyllic. The sun was hanging like a big red ball in the ~~sky~~ ^{west} ~~room~~ ^{horizon} a hour before setting. The forest and the quiet contributed to a setting such as Chateaubriand must have imagined part of early, forested America would be. We returned by paths that were so overhung that they were almost tunnels. I am certain that the forest gets much more pungent in the rainy season.

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It is very pleasant to awake in the morning to the sounds of birds, roosters and the steady beat of the nice ~~motor~~ ^{motor}. Of course, this peaceful setting is broken as soon as Mr. Ngaw turns on his radio. When I got up at about 5:30, I could see several lights around the village.

There is a plethora of colds in the village which may partially account for my own present affliction.

PIG CASTRATION: About 6:30 a.m. Mr. Ngaw came in to ask if I wished to see the castration of a pig (P016, P016), which I did (what a way to spend an Easter morning).

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and part. before breakfast). Several men held the pig down and tied its legs. One man knelt on its snout while others kept it from squirming - though it screamed through the whole process. Then one (Mr. Di.) man took a straight razor and made only a small slit through the two skins of the testicles. He squeezed until he got the raw inside of the testicle out, taking it away from the skin. Then he put the skin back inside the sack and stuffed in limes to stop the bleeding. He sewed up each side with about 4 stitches per skin. Then the blood was washed off and the flesh rubbed with salt. There were lots of children and a few men, but no women, watching.

Phi phi: During the 6th month on a Wednesday - it must be Wednesday - there will be the ceremony of 'feeding the spirits' - Phi phi: (ฟีน ฟีน) at Kak myag and at the shrine of Phi ta:. The person who leads the ceremony is called the Phi cam (ฟีน คัม). This person is Mr. Ta:p the Blacksmith from Kheim jai. (He was the one who led the propitiation of the village spirits during the wet fair).

The feeding of phi: must include one chicken, rice and rice wine. The people say (Lo) 1 ไร่ ๑ ขวด ๑ ไร่ (lao haj kaj to:) - 'one chicken, one bottle of wine. They also worship with candles, flowers and incense. Each household will bring offerings, but most will offer (as is the custom) a mixture of shell and ashes.

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THIEVES AND

PURSUERS:

About 4:30 p.m. 2 men from a village quite a distance on the other side of Sarakhou came into the village. They were looking for 3 head of cattle which had been stolen from their village 3 days ago. We had seen the remaining two head come through the village an hour or so before. The thieves had eaten one small calf but the other two were still alive. The worth of these cattle was \$800 for the two mature head and \$200 for the calf. I don't quite understand why they didn't continue their pursuit for they stopped and had a drink with Mr. Ngaw and then returned home.

In the evening we sat outside and had a long conversation with Mr. Ngaw and Mr. Pha:

Mr. Ngaw: When Mr. Ngaw was in Bangkok he lived, ate, and worked for Chinese, though he is not Chinese. After living in B.K., he says that white rice is sabaij kua:. though he eats sticky rice as a daily diet in the village and prefers rice noodles more than anything. When he returned to the U.E. he had quite a bit of capital and wanted to go into business like his family who are farmers. He chose BNT because it didn't have a rice mill or store. He also has a close relative in BNT - a younger sister who is married to a man of BNT and who lived her 5-6 yrs. before he came. However, he said that her being here had no bearing on his choice of BNT. Incidentally, his younger sister's has reversed trend pattern by living in the village of his birth rather than moving to his wife's village. Both Mr. Pha: and Mr. Ngaw pointed this out. Mr. Pha: says that a young couple should live

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at least 2 months with his wife's family.

Mr. Pha: Mr. Pha is planning to get married during the 6th month to a girl from Bân Khô:k Nô:j. He will go to live with her family. The wedding will be held - along with other marriage in BNT on the 2nd of May which is the 10th day of the waning of the moon. All weddings must be held on either the 10th day of the waning or the 10th day of the waning of the moon of the 4th, 6th, 12th month.

CONCEPTS vsGOVT.:

Mr. Ngai asked if America has a king and I answered that we have only a president. He then asked if having a king was better than a pres. or vice versa. I implied that I didn't know. Mr. Pha: says that the Thai king can speak Thai, but both agreed that he had no consent. Mr. Ngai asked me if I had seen the royal couple on their trip to America.

Mr. Ngai asked who "Pres. Eisenhower" was? At first I didn't understand the name, and he went on to ask if he was the Pres. of China. When I explained that he was a former pres. and Kennedy is now pres., Mr. Pha: asked if they were brothers.

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How Days: Mr. Ngai says that wan phô: is called wan sîr in the local lang. and today is wan sîr jai and tomorrow (really wan phô:) is wan sîr nô:j. These two days of the week are "merit-making" days though there are no ceremonies at the wat.

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FOOD ANXIETIES ANDIMPLICATIONS:

I asked Mr. Ngai if there were more priests at the wat whether they would go around to "beg" for food. He answered that they never do. People take food to them. He says that if there were too many priests, there wouldn't be enough food.

This food anxiety has been expressed by Mr. Ngai before. He said that villagers don't like to keep cats because "when there isn't enough food for people, then how can they feed cats?" Dogs eat rice and thus are not so big a drain and they serve the useful function of being watchdogs. However, dogs in the village are generally underfed.

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ECONOMICACTIVITIES:

This time of the year is kapok harvest time. I have seen people in the village as well as in surrounding villages taking the kapok from the pods and stuffing it into sacks to be sold in the market. There are 2 types of kapok - one of which is called "red kapok". Mrs. Wichan makes kapok mattresses with the kapok she buys from BNT. She buys it for \$2.50 / kilo.

Animism: Had a long interview with Mr. Toip (P129) concerning specialists in animism in BNT (Mr. W. acted as interpreter). He is himself the khaw cam (19197) - Mr. W.'s sp. which is ^{near} I can figure out the intercessor between the village and the spirits of the village - i.e. pi:ta:. He has held this position for 10 yrs. & and will continue to hold it for life. He said that he was "chosen" by the villagers 10 yrs. ago. He then succeeded his father who had just died.

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I asked Mr. Tai:p what his responsibilities were. Primarily, he is the "intercessor" for the village with the village gods. He must make presentations to these gods at least once a year - at the liang phi: ceremony which is called liang ba:n in the village. However, he also will approach the gods at other times if there is to be an event affecting the whole village or if something bad has befallen the whole village. He certainly stands at the apex of the whole village's relationship to the village gods.

He is also the earthly guard of the village gods' domain. If someone invades this domain to cut trees or take earth or in any other way desecrate the gods' property, then Mr. Tai:p must determine a punishment which will placate the gods or some evil will befall the desecraters. Usually, the way that such violations are revealed is by the illness of some person who has committed a violation. In order to regain their health, they will confess to Mr. Tai:p who then will set a fine - usually the gift of food and/or liquor. However, sometimes it will be money which may be used to buy fireworks to "worship" the gods.

Mr. Tai:p is not the only one in the village concerned with animistic practices. The mō: suat who performs the su:khuwan ceremonies is also a mō: phi: or mō: than (๒๓๖๕๕๖) as he is called locally.

Mr. Tai:p's wife is a mō: phi: fa: (๒๓๖๕๖๗) similar to the woman from Ban Khuan whom I observed at the bedside of the sick wife of Mr. Lek (see Notebook I, pp. 161-2). There are other words for phi: fa:, viz. thaj thaj

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(๒๓๖๕๖๗) and phi: song (๒๓๖๕๖๘). The primary duties of a mō: phi: fa:, who may be either a man or woman, is - I concern that of villagers' health. Mr. Wichian contrasted this person's duties with that of a "doctor" by saying that a mō: phi: fa: must keep up the "morale" (๒๓๖๕๖๙) of the sick person. When a person is ill, this person will go and dance to the accompaniment of N.E. khre:n music. Then she will try to contact the ancestor phi: - the phi: sya in the local language [this is the same word as 'butterfly' in Thai]. She will then ask the ancestral spirits what the demand is so that they will leave the sick person alone. This demand may be the ordination of some relative so that merit may accrue to the ancestors, some other merit-making act, a bagsakun, etc. or a combination of things.

The mō: phi: fa: must always be willing to go to a sick person and to go as often as she is requested. No matter how often she goes, she will never charge more than a total of 4 baht.

It is interesting that the wife of Mr. Lek who has been ill for some 10 months with first was "treated" by the wife of Mr. Tai:p but is now being treated by a mō: phi: fa: from Ban Khuan.

An animistic ceremony called mō: phi: thaj (๒๓๖๕๖๗) is held at wat lak ba:n or lak ba:n by ba:n (๒๓๖๕๖๘) some 30 days after Songkran. At this time piles of soil are made - and that was as far as I got.

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SCHEDULE OFEVENTS: During the next ten days there are a variety of events:Mon., 29 Apr.; 7th day of wailing of the moon, 6th Month: Ceremony of putting bones in that and niilammui: postponedTue., 30 " , 8th " " " " " : " of "sakavichai" postponedWed., 1 May, 9th " " " " " " : tiag bain postponedThurs., 2 May, 10th " " " " " " : weddingFri., 3 May, 11th " " " " " " : Ordination postponedDEATH

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When we arrived in the village today we learned that events had been postponed. The reason for this was the death of 2 people in the village on the 28th. One was a woman named นาง โฉม ("Mother" To'in") who lived in Khum Jaj and was 60+ yrs. old and died of "T.B." (I am not certain what this means). The second was a man of over 70 who lived in B.K.N. (บ้านใหม่) who died of ท้องเสีย ("stomach trouble"). Because of these deaths, there were funeral activities and death rites which necessitated a postponement of some of the scheduled events.

FUNERAL RITES:

I was seated in the house when I saw a "procession" pass by carrying a casket. I naturally enquired as to the situation and learned that there was to be a cremation for the woman Mrs. To'in who had died the day before.

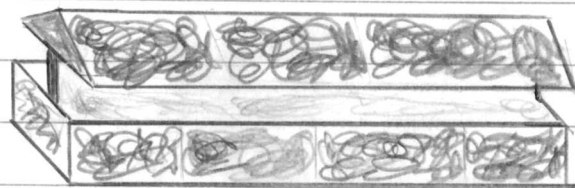
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The "procession" was headed for the cemetery which is located quite a ways west of the village - beyond the little stream (now nearly dry at this time of the year). This cemetery is known as ป่าช้า (pà: chá:) - lit. 'evil forest' - in Thai and ພິພິດສອນ (phì: pà: ló:k) - lit. 'haunted forest' - in Lao. (see below for beliefs concerning this place).

It should be noted that contrary to practice among most urban Thai and to Central Plains peasants (see Kaufman), the body is cremated within 24 hrs. (or thereabouts) of death. There is no preservation of the body for a later cremation.

I have used the word "procession" advisedly, for though a large number of villagers were making their way toward pà: chá:, they were divided into groups of 10 or 20 and these groups were choosing their own way to go. The only "procession" in reality was that of the priests with sun parasols followed by 4 males carrying the coffin on a litter.

The casket is a box made of rough planks covered with colored paper and covered with a detachable wooden canopy.



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The corpse and the other contents of the casket were covered with a piece of rough white cotton cloth.

When we reached the cremation grounds, several other pile of ashes were pointed out to me (some with broken pieces of pottery or a knife, or a water scoop) as places where other cremations had been held (there had in point of fact been one earlier in the day for the man from whom B.K.N.). The men (who composed predominantly the group at the grounds) began to gather wood in order to make the cremation pyre.

When the pyre had been constructed, a woman relative - a daughter, I believe - "fed the corpse". That is she prepared glutinous rice, raw leaves and some other dishes which were placed by the corpse and then were placed near the pyre (this included a glutinous rice basket full).

The presents present which included the one from the wat, phra māhā: sēg, a young male relative of the woman ("a son?") who just been ordained to make merit for his relative, and a priest from another village chanted a short chant.

The casket was then born aloft by the pull bearers and a small procession led by the priest-relative proceeded to circumambulate around the pyre. The canopy had been removed and on one of the posts which had supported the roof was attached a fish-net - this the priest-relative used as a lead for he held this as he led the procession around the pyre. They circled 3 times - the exact place of starting being commented upon and shouted out to the procession by the on-lookers. The group was not allowed to proceed any further once it had returned to its starting place.

Then the fish-net was removed and the casket was struck 3 times against the side

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of the pyre. It was then placed on top of the pyre.

A male relative then mounted to the top of the pyre and removed the loose clothing, shoes, and perhaps other things from the casket. These he threw onto the pyre. Then he removed the shroud and lifting up the body, removed the mat upon which the body was lying. This mat was laid at the bottom of the pyre. Then some "packages" of what are known as sak^ozānītaba: (S=K^oz^o) were laid on the casket. These are "presents for the dead".

When this was done, the shroud was thrown back and forth across the casket and pyre. This shroud must touch the ground as on one occasion one of the throwers caught the cloth. He then dropped it and then picked it up again and threw it.

Finally, 2 large logs were laid - leaning against the pyre on either side (I think to support the casket from falling). Then, the pyre was lit - by the priests and people stood a goodly distance away to watch. However, the people most of them - didn't really watch but interested themselves in other things such as searching out and out eggs. When it was obvious that the consumption would be complete, most of the people left leaving only a few to tend the fire.

I saw only one person really mourning - and that was the woman who prepared the food for the corpse and she cried a bit. As for the rest of the on-lookers who were primarily men, they were in a rather gay mood and went around gathering plants and red-ant eggs in a place which they wouldn't ordinarily come to because of the fear the phi: which inhabit the area.

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OTHER CUSTOMS AT THETIME OF A DEATH:

After a cremation is over, the participants - or at least some of them - repaired to the home of the dead person. Here there was outdo and food prepared and presented to guests which appeared to me to be all men. The food was a chicken and bamboo-stem curry and glutinous rice. There wasn't much drink or food, but this is a poor household.

On the evening of the death and for 2 subsequent evenings there is a "fun-making" or gan held in the houses of the dead persons. These "wakes" are held in order to cheer up the family of the dead person and to take their mind off the death. Young people are the primary attendants at these gan. These occasions give young boys and girls the opportunity to play together and make merry - a kind of communal courtship. There was the playing of games and in one house the singing of m̃:lamm̃:i and ke:h music. (See below for description of games). We visited both the house in Khum BKN and the one in Khum Yaj.

DEATH OF ANINFANT:

At about 6:00 in the evening on their way to the cemetery. 3 or 4 people passed again on their way to the cemetery. It seems that the infant daughter of Mr. ด.ด. น. น. น. (som thap thuanis) who was 3-4 days old had died. They live in H.H. No. 27. In this case there were essentially no rites - the infant was buried immediately. There was no cremation and there was no wake afterwards. Mr. Ngaw said that when such a child dies, its khwan was not secure and the baby hadn't yet attained the status of a human being.

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Sale of Kropok:Mr. พ.ด.ว (H.S.M)

According to the villagers there are several types of kropok. One villager said that there are 2 types.

Type:

Village sale price

๒๕.๕๐	๒๕.๕๐	(má'giu l̃:t)	฿ 1.80/kg.
๒๕.๕๐	๒๕.๕๐	(má'giu d̃:g)	฿ 2.00/kg.

However, Mr. Phon, the headman said that all kinds vary in price from ฿ 1.50 - 3.00/kg.

Mr. Nój:

Had a visit from Mr. Nój - the young man from Khum Loo - who I have considered as a possible assistant. He lived 3-4 years in Vietnam where he worked for some Filipinos. His older sister was married to a Lao soldier (army) - However, she was not happy with him and has now returned to BWT. Nój himself has been married. His wife lives in Ban Khuan. He too was unhappy and so returned home. He is 28 yrs. old.

BELIEF IN PHI:

I had a talk with Mr. Phon and Mr. Ngaw concerning phi in the village. The discussion came about with regard to the deaths that had occurred in the village. It was stated that people don't like to go to the cemetery because it is inhabited by phi. This is certainly born out in both the Thai and Lao names for the cemetery - "evil forest" or "haunted forest".

I said that I understood that the worse kind of phi is that the spirit of a woman who has died and in childbirth. Mr. Phon confirmed this and said that there had been one of these phi:

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in the village a few years ago. However, it is ~~not~~ now gone. However, there is one of these phi: in Ban Khuwaw presently. Mr. Ngao, in this regard, referred to a famous Thai movie of a few years past ~~and~~ concerning this type of phi: (See Bangkok World, Sunday supplement, 21 April, '63,

"Pi Are where You Find them.")

Mr. Phun says that if anyone in the village were to cut trees in phi:ta's domain, the whole village would suffer disastrously.

I asked if the the:wada: and phi: are the same and the answer was no. Mr. Phun said that there was hardly any the:wada: in the village.

If a season is particularly dry, there is a special ceremony for determining whether the rains will come next. There is a tug-a-war between a equal number of girls and boys. The gods (the:wada:) will help the one win which determines the rain. If the girls win, rains will come put later. If the boys win, the dry season will continue a bit longer.

② GAMES:

As mentioned above, I observed several games being played during the "waku". However, as these are played at other times as well, I will deal with them separately.

1. Drawing of Straws: This game is very similar to that in the West. One player - always a man prepares 3 straws - a long, a medium, and a short. He then holds them so that the 3 tops are exposed at equal length with one another and the bottoms are covered with his hand. He then asks another player - always a girl - to draw after he has said "Long", "Short" or "Medium". If she draws the correct one drawn, she wins; if not he wins. The winner gets to strike the other

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on the knee (and hefty blows these are). The variation on this game is that there are two "sides" each consisting of a number of boys and a number of girls, though there are only two major participants. If the girl draws correctly then all the girls get to hit all the boys and vice versa if she doesn't draw correctly.

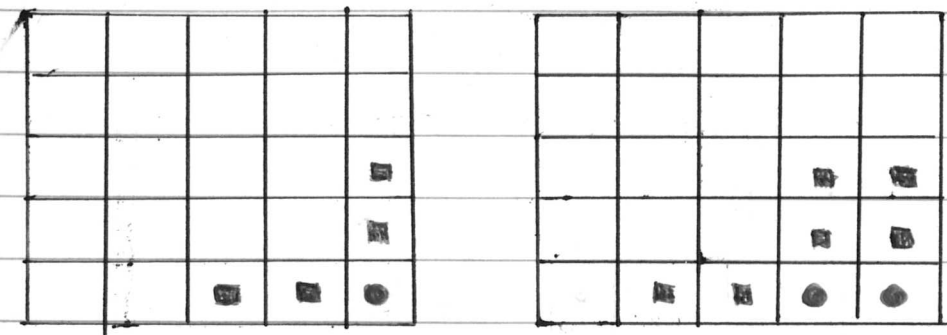
2. "Tiger eats pig": This game is played on a board of 25 squares - 5 each way. There are 4 pieces called "tigers" and 21 pieces called "pig". The board is originally set up as follows:

	A	B	C	D	E	
1.	●				●	1. 0 2. 0 3. 0 4. 0 5. 0
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.	●				●	

where the red counters are "tigers". The player with the "pig" counters can place his counters anywhere on the board one at a time. For one play of a "pig" by, the "tigers" can - one at a time - be moved one space vertically or horizontally but not diagonally. Thus, for example, a "pig" is played at C3; then a "tiger" is moved from A5 to A4.

A "tiger" can "eat" a "pig" if a "tiger" and a "pig" are on adjacent squares and there is no counter - either a tiger or pig - on the square in a direct line on the other side of the "pig". Pigs cannot eat tigers, but tigers may "die" if cornered. Thus if a tiger is caught in squares A1, A5, E1, E5 so that they can't move, then they will die. Similarly if 2 or 3 tigers are caught in a corner - say one in E5 and another in D5, then

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both ~~with~~ will die, viz. -

However, this is rarely the case. The object of the game is for the "tigers" to win and for the pigs to keep the tigers from winning. The "pigs" rarely win.

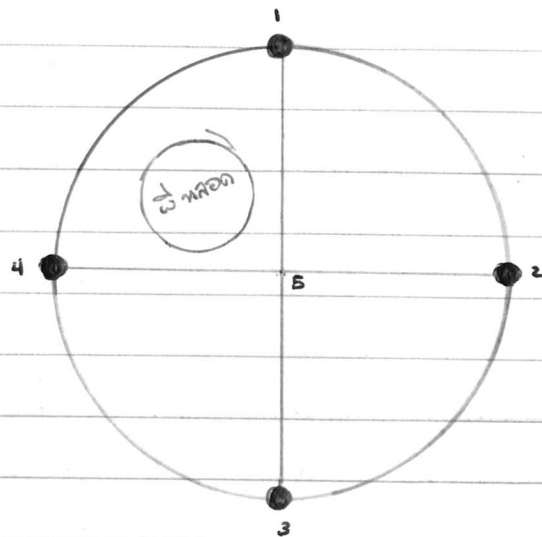
If all 21 pigs are played without one being "eaten", then 3 must be removed from the board, so that there are spaces to move. When all 21 pigs have been played, whether any have been taken or not, then the game shifts to a moving of counters around the board - pigs defensive and tigers on offensive. If the tigers become bottled up or otherwise the pigs are unable to move, then the pigs have been successful. Also, if they move into a position where they can move indefinitely without being taken then, they have won. However, if the tigers successfully eat all the pigs, then, they win.

A tiger can only eat one pig at a time.

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3. ^R 171 077 124 (kang ta; wein)

In this game there are two players each with two counters. They play on a board which is as follows:



Black and green represent the counters of the two players respectively. The ~~words~~ words in the small circle mean "haunted". The counters can move along the lines ~~in~~ in any direction except from 1 to 4 or 4 to 1 (indicated by the red part of the large circle). Each player may move a single counter, one at a time along any ~~of~~ of the other lines. The object is to manoeuvre one's own counters in such a way that ~~one's opponents~~ ~~cannot~~ ~~be~~ ~~moved~~ ~~except~~ ~~along~~ ~~the~~ ~~line~~ ~~4-1~~ ~~or~~ ~~1-4~~. Such is the case when green is at ~~1~~ and ~~2~~ and black is at ~~1~~ and ~~4~~. 5 and 3.

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GAMBLERS: Near the house of the dead Mrs. Toim where we went for the "waks", we ran in to a group of ~~gamblers~~ gamblers - 16 5 5 7 5 21 6 14 (nák ka:n phónan). This was a group of men. They were somewhat flustered when Mr. Phou came (he was with us) as gambling is illegal. However, they continued. I had heard references to women gamblers earlier in the evening. Mr. Ngai says that sometimes people lose over \$100. There was one case where a game was worth over \$500. ~~→~~

People use the stones of the tamarind which are divided in half. One side is "white" the other "black". Several are there are shaken in a cup together and then heeded out. The gamblers bet on whether the majority will be "white" or "black".

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COST OF ORANGE ITEMS: Mr. Ngai says that an ox-cart costs from \$300-1000. The villagers don't make them themselves but buy them from other villages where they specialize in making them. However, all repairs - including on the wheel paper - are done by the villagers themselves.

There is one type of kohut in the village ~~where~~ to which a heavy chain is "knitted" to give it weight. This chain costs \$6/kg. in Sarakhom.

Mr. Lo: Mr. Lo: lives in khain pa: ha:t and has always seemed to me to be rather rich because he owns a large house, a radio, and a bicycle. Mr. Ngai calls him a 16 5 1 2 0 (nák leng) - a type of playboy cum wastrel. He is the one who is in charge of killing animals and is the organizer of gambling in the village.

Mr. Ngai's "wife": Jane had a conversation with Mr. Ngai's wife - Luani. She is ¹⁷ 45 yrs. old (Mr. Ngai said that she was 19). Her mother 1 7 3 [2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2] (Mrs. Ho:m Somkhítak)

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is the one who tends the pigs for Mr. Ngai. Her father died when she was still a student and she left school at the age of 10. She has one older brother ^{19 yrs old} and 4 younger siblings: Her sister, Donn, is 14, and her youngest brother that is 4. The other two younger siblings are also boys.

Jane says that she guesses that Mr. Ngai provides rice and charcoal for the mother in return for her care of the pigs, and Luani's work, but this is only a surmise.

Luani went to the market yesterday. She brought me lace-edged patti-top for \$7.00 which she showed Jane. She has never been to Roi-et (where Mr. Ngai goes at least once a week).

SARAKHAM LIQUOR: The liquor truck from Sarakhom came through to sell liquor to Mr. Ngai (and in surrounding villages). This liquor is the 40° whiskey made in Sarakhom. Mr. Ngai was stocking up for the forthcoming wedding which comes two days hence. One bottle costs \$3.

Bá:p - "Sin": I asked Mr. Ngai the question of why ~~poor~~ Thai drink liquor when it is strictly forbidden in the Five Precepts. I also had asked this same question to a group of officials but never received a satisfactory answer. To the best of my understanding, one only makes a little ~~of~~ 2 1 2 2 (bá:p) - "sin or demerit" - unless one is a real drunkard. The word co:ij co:ij (1 2 1 1 7) came up in this regard. Essentially, this idea is a practical one - a little liquor won't really contribute too much to one's store of demerit.

On the question of bá:p, Mr. Ngai was quite adamant about killing - killing a horse, or fledge, or cow brings much demerit (and killing a man, of course, much more). However, killing a chicken brings much less and killing insects brings an almost insignificant amount (except for moths). Nonetheless, this attitude is interesting when one considers that the villagers do their own slaughtering.

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In a sense, the attitude towards "merit" and "demerit" is essentially one of not letting one's "enjoyment of life" (sānuk) be spoiled by too close observance of religious prescriptions. If one is really vitally concerned about "merit", then one should (for men, at least) become a monk for life. And even in the monkhood, a certain amount of worldliness enters in. The villager is concerned about being born in a better state or at least in as good a state as the next life, but he doesn't believe that he can jump from this life to Nirvana. The reduction and absurdity of the "merit-making" idea is that everyone should be a monk all his life (at least for men), but the exigencies of perpetuating a social community offset this. Once this principle has been rejected, other things can be tempered accordingly. 1707 (see ca:j ca:j).

Misc.: Mr. Cok came in this morning with a bottle of sake. First time I think that I have ever drunk liquor at 6 am.

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WEDDING PREPARATIONS: Tomorrow is the wedding. At 3 am tomorrow morning they will kill 3-4 cattle for the food for the wedding. They do it then because it is cool and the insects are not so bad.

2 cows cost more than \$1000.

SCHOOL OPENING: School opened today without any special fanfare. There are 2 new teachers. One is male, the other female. Both are quite young and both live in Ban Khwaw. The girl - 21237 (hua phié) studied at Mahasarakham Teachers' College.

MEETING OF HEADMEN: Mr. Pha stopped in on his way to a meeting of the headmen in the district court at the district office.

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Spent most of the rest of the day going around with Mr. Naving - teacher from BK - who was making the Agricultural Census.

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Today is the day of the wedding of a large group of people in the village.

No.	NAMES OF BRIDE & GROOM	AGES	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	BRIDE PRICE	BREWER or SPONSOR
1.	B: ๗๓ ๓๓๓๓ Pha: Thápsúj	31	Khumwat, BNT 14	B 276	Mr. Pha's parents dead. Siblings 1977- cop. Dea. ๓๓๓ (Náj)
	B: ๓๓ (wáj)	~25	B. Khók Náj		
2.	B: ๓๓ (not known) B: ๓๓๓๓ ๓๓๓๓๓๓ Thoj Jik: Sə:trákə:á	21 18	B. Nók kiá d'ók KW, BNT	B 1406	Mr. ๓๓๓ ๓๓๓๓๓๓ - Ze:n Sə:trákə:á - father of bride.
3.	B: ๓๓๓ ๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓ (sámj can thá mentri:) B: ๓๓๓๓ ๓๓๓๓๓๓ (Thoj Jik: sòmphi thák)	21 19	KY, BNT 46 KY, BNT	B 496	Mr. ๓๓๓ ๓๓๓๓๓๓๓ tá:p sòmphi thák - father of bride.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON B.N.T.

From the Student Registration Book, I have gleaned the following notes on the history of

BNT:

1) Originally, ~~Tambon Khwao was called~~ ~~it~~ (at least 27 years ago),
Amphā:
~~Amphā~~ Myang was known as Amphā: Tā-lā:t (1927).

2) In 2477-80, BNT was mū: thī: 20 of T. Khwao.

3) In 2481-, BNT was mū: thī: 16 of T. Khwao.