March 1, 1963

Dave and Alene arrived in Mahasarakham for a visit.
คณะครู เริ่มทำการอบรมวิชาวิชาเรื่องต่างๆ ที่มีความสำคัญเรื่อง ต่างๆ เช่น หลัก เข้า ศูนย์ และ สำคัญ รวมถึงการสอนที่ข้าราชการ อบรม สำนักงานการศึกษา และ บางการสอนที่บาง เนื่องในพิธีการอบรม ณ ห้องประชุม สำนักงานการศึกษา ในวันที่ ๑ มีนาคม ๒๕๐๘ เวลา ๑๔.๐๐ น.

ผู้ประชุม ชุดหลัก

Cheun Chai Yaramitr
Elementary Education Supervisor
March 3, 1963

"Muang Fa Daed"

"Muang Fa Daed" is an archaeological site at the village of Ban Sema, Tambon Nong Paen, Kamalasai Amphoe, Changwat Kalasin. We visited this site by driving from Maha Sarakham to Kalasin, then to Kamalasai, and finally to Ban Sema.

As one approaches the village of Ban Sema there is what looks like the remnants of a moat around the outside of the village (rice fields now fill in this "moat"). We first went to the wát where many of the bai sē:ma: have been collected. Most of these sē:ma: are around the boundary of the wát, but a few are in the wát grounds proper (see picture in CYD*, p. 252). All these sē:ma: are distinguishable in the stylized leaf shape with the rib on the back. Many of the sē:ma: have bas reliefs on the front depicting Buddhist stories in the Dvavarti style (see pictures in CYD, pp. 253-4). One stone which sets at the corner of a small building attached to the sala wát seems to have inscriptions on the back. These, however, are in pretty poor condition.

The wát is interesting but irrelevant. It looks to be quite old and is built in rather unusual style but it certainly isn't contemporaneous with the sē:ma:. There doesn't seem to be any images in the wát of interest.

We walked from the village across the road, to a "thâ:t." This thâ:t has a modern construction on the top. The most interesting thing about the thâ:t is that it is ribbed and is octagonal in shape (the lie of which I am not at all familiar). Also, in looking close at it, it seemed as though some of the bricks on the second level were rather new and quite un-weatherworn. (see CYD, p. 255).

March 3, 1963

In the fields near the that are a large number of hills which are obviously remains because of the bricks which are near them. Also, there are occasional sé:ma: in the fields—some half-buried (an old villager commented that it was difficult to farm because he keeps plowing up bricks.

This same farmer escorted us to a hill at some distance away at which there was a Buddhist image sans head (this had been dug up on top of the hill and placed upright). The farmer said that there had been some khamois who had come to dig in this place. Also near this hole is another sé:ma: which pictures some being (the Buddha?) doing battle with an elephant. There are several other stones lying nearby.
March 4, 1964

Bun Phra Weit:

Saturday and Sunday (lāːɛːm 9-10 khâm) are the days for the Bun Phra Weit in BNT. Today people have been making khâːw klap—a khânôm particular to this ceremony and to Bun Khâːw Clīː. Also this evening there will be a "flower making" session at the wat under the direction of the priest.

Jane gives the following description of making khâːw klap (L) / khâːw khriap (T):

"This can be made from white or black khâːw nǐaw, but the black seemed to be popular. After being steamed it is pounded to a flour in the rice pounder, and mixed either with a little sugar or with water in which a root known in Lao as tōt màː ( trg n̄uə) have been soaked. (These stalks have the property of sweetening, in the same way that beet 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 had been blended). After similarly greasing one's hands thoroughly, lumps of the rice paste were pulled out of the container, patted into balls in the hand and then pressed down on the greased banana leaf. The rice patty is then pressed outward continually until it forms a flat round. These are then placed on a straw mat to dry, and then the process repeated until all the rice mixture is used up." These patties are then kept until time to be used. Then they are toasted over the fire and while being toasted they expand and the rice puffs out. They are toasted until browned and crisp and then are eaten. Most, however, are put aside and stored until the morning of the bun when they are taken and presented to the wat."
The priest is in charge of the ceremony and it is he who arranges for invitations to other wats for their priests to participate. I visited him at the khuti this afternoon and he showed me a list of different sections of the phra we:t story, and the names of the wat or the priest who read/chant that section. The list was broken down into the following categories: (1) Number (consecutive); (2) name of part of Bun Phra We:t story; (3) section of each part by number (6 sections to a part); (4) name of wat, priest, or novice in charge of the section; (5) finally, a column for those who will "sponsor" or "receive the sermon" of the specific section.

The way of selecting a sponsor or recipient of the sermon was as follows: on slips of paper had been written the name of the part of the sermon, the number of the section, the name of the wat who will send the priest or novice to read the section (in about half the cases, the person in question would be a priest or novice from RNT and in those cases, the name of Phra Mānā: Sāng, Phra Thongnsai, or Ne:n Māi was written instead of the name of the wat). These pieces of paper were then rolled up into small cylinders and placed in a bà:t. When a person came to volunteer to sponsor a section, he would draw one of these from the bà:t, and then his name would be written in the appropriate column. As of today, the following people had already agreed to sponsoring a section: Phô: Hô:, Phô: Sî:nhâ:, Phô: BunÎ:, Phû: Chû:ai Châ:i, Lung Lâe:, Na:i Hô:m/Na:i Lâe: (KY), Lung Sâw, Na:i Nan (the barber). There are a total of 78 sections to be sponsored and all will be allotted before the time arrives. This means that about 75-80 percent of the households in the village will participate in this part of the bun.
March 4, 1970

The priest showed me the baila:n that will be used for the ceremony. It is interesting that the version which is being used, entitled lam māhā: chāːt (ล้านมะหา: ชัย) is the Northern rather than the NE'ern version though both would be published in Bangkok. He also showed me some traditional bailaːn (in khōːm script) which he said were also the Bun Phrá Wēːt Sermons. I asked him if anyone in the village can still write this script and he said that Mr. Sīːhāː can and does.

Books and Literature:

In the wat there are several types of books: (1) printed books in Thai script in Thai/Isan concerning religious practices, chants, and sermons; (2) printed bailaːn in Thai script in Thai/Isan (priests style) which are usually sermons; (3) written bailaːn in khōːm script, in Lao/Isan which are either sermons, or (the older ones), nithain. The following is the book which the priest used for sermons connected with bunbāːn and ways of doing things: ที่ ธรรมมา ที่ทำอย่างที่เป็นเอก นิพนธ์ (นิพนธ์ ทำอย่าง ที่เป็นเอก) (ที่ทำอย่าง เช่น: ที่ทำอย่าง ทำนิพนธ์)

The book contains the sermon, for ex., for bunkhāːwciː.

Ranks, Statuses, Titles:

I was noticing on Bun Phra Weːt list that the priest had written and used several titles: phōːnjāː (L)/phōːyāː (T) ("grandfather") for Mr. Hōː;
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phōːcan (L) for Mr. Sīhā; lūŋ (L)/ Lung (T) ("uncle") for Mr. Lāː;
Nāːi (L)/ Nāː (T) ("mister") for Mr. Hoːm and Mr. Lāː (KY); phūːsūai (L)/
phūːchūai (T) ("assistant [headman]") for Mr. Chaːi; sāːmāːn (L)/
sāːmAːn (T) ("Novice") for Novice Mai. For himself he had written
either phrāː (T)/ phāː (L) or simply chaː/sāː (L). This latter title
comes to a priest after he has passed through the ceremony of hōtnāːm (L)
( สะนิม ). In Thai script the above titles are as follows:
Dave and Alene returned to Bangkok.
March 6, 1963

After a break of some little while during Dave and Alene's visit, I returned to the village. Unfortunately, I missed a tham bun ceremony yesterday, but I did find out a little bit about what happened.

Tham Bun:

The ceremony was held for all the inhabitants of khum pa ha t (though some of the other villagers attended). The ceremony was sponsored by Mr. Phon (the Khum headman), Mr. Phim and Mr. La:, though the whole village supported the ceremony and festivities.

The events can be divided into two parts: (A) religious, and (B) sanuk ("fun"). The first consisted of a non-Buddhist and a Buddhist part.

A. Religious: Buddhist

The priest and three novices from Wat BNT came to the khum in the evening at about 6:00. During the evening period, they chanted and sprinkled holy water on the people. The next morning the people fed the priest and the novices. They again chanted. The priest was given B20.

B. Religious: Non-Buddhist

The major religious aspect of the ceremony consists of "tying the kwan" for both the villagers and the khum. A tray called (khai mong khon) was prepared and consisted of the following things:

1) flowers - dok campa khaw
2) raw cotton
3) cotton thread
4) cigarettes
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5) candles
6) banana leaves containing salt, peppers, tobacco, betel
7) pieces of wood called "kaen khu n" (kae:n khu:n) used with betel
8) "bai phlu", banana leaves containing lime for betel
9) peppers
10) bowl of "holy water"

As I didn't see the ceremony, I can't describe what was done with those artefacts. However, I do know that each villager had string tied around their wrists, had holy water sprinkled over them (in fact when I arrived in the village, the villagers were throwing water at each other in the fashion of songkrān), and the whole khum had a string tied from house to house to bring khwām sūk to the khum and protect it against evil phī.

C. Sanuk

The major portion of this small festival consisted of mö:lam, food and drinking sāto. This was the time when people from other khums joined in. A P.A. system had been rented for ฿100 (which all the khum members helped pay for). This khum has a mö:lam stage and many of the members are quite adept in singing mö:lam or in playing the instruments which go with it. The khum has its own mö:lam group and owns the backdrops for the stage (these cost ฿950).

D. Some General Observations:

This ceremony obviously demonstrates the integration of khum pā:hāit - the tying of the string from house to house, the joint financial support, etc. In fact, I am beginning to think that this khum has many aspects which sets it off differently from the other khums. I certainly find it the friendliest khum. Mr. Wichian says that Mr. Tāp in khum māj will sponsor a tham bun ceremony for that khum.
House Building:

Tomorrow morning the building of a new house for Mr. Čhek will begin. At about 7:00 or 7:30 a.m. there will be a ceremony to begin this process. This will be the (yāi thoranī:) ceremony, i.e. the ceremony of "moving (yāi means "to move") the earth fairies" (thoranī: means "earth, soil"). When the posts for a new house are set in the ground, the spirits who live there have to be placated. This will be done by putting food which is called (phā wān) into the hole for the house stakes.

Visitors to the Village:

A. Mr. Pā: - This man is a carpenter who has lived in Bangkok for seven years (earning a wage of B24 a day). He has returned for the wedding of his younger brother. He can speak a little Chinese because, he has worked with Chinese workmen. He is living in House Number 17. He doesn't know if he will return to Bangkok after the wedding.

B. In khūm pā: hai:t there is a man who used to live in the village but now lives in Udon province. He has returned to ma:le:n.

C. Assistant Nai Amphoe: Today Mr. Charoen, the pālät amphoe thot decided to come out with us. He has always been interested in what I am doing and in my interest in Thai customs. He was quite fascinated about my having eaten horse, for he says he couldn't have done so himself. He also doesn't like khāw nīaw.

D. The Veterinarian: Mr. Prasat, one of the vets in Sarakham, also came with us because one of the buffaloes of Mr. Phon, the headman, has been suffering with diarrēṣa. However, it seems to be all right now because...
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Mr. Phon had got some medicine from the changwat station. He says that the biggest disease of waterbuffaloes is a type of hemorrhagic fever.

Education:

Mrs. Beng says that there are only three students from the village studying advanced education anywhere. She says that the students here are just not well-suited for such continued education.

Later in the afternoon we visited the school at B. Khwâw. What a contrast! Here, there are ten teachers for 237 pupils. There is an office for the headmaster (with typewriter). The school is just full of all sorts of aids and proper desks and a small library. The students are much cleaner and much better dressed. It is hard to believe that it is the same tambon as BNT.

Kenaf Growing:

I asked the headman if kenaf is grown in the village. He answered that it used to be, but isn't now. His reasons were the following:

1. The price of kenaf has gone down (because of the preference for Pakistani hemp, which at the time of the beginning of kenaf growing in Thailand was in a slump).
2. The productivity of the land decreases after two years of use.
3. There isn't enough spare land.
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(ต่อ)
March 7, 1963

This morning Jane and I went to the village to observe some house building ceremony and other events.

House Building:

This day, which was the 13th day of the waxing moon of the 4th moon had been determined a particularly auspicious day for house building. There were in fact two houses being built. The village shaman said that the day was auspicious because it was ǔn (wän ū; ū: "to float"). Determined by knowing whether a piece of something floats or not (must find out more on this). We observed the building customs for the house of Mr. Čhek in khüm wat.

Some beliefs connected with house building:

The villagers believe that a house must be completed the same day it is begun. This is because a spirit might see the house, think it is uninhabited, and come to live in it. Thus, the house must be lived in the same day as it is begun whether or not it is finished. Therefore, many of the sections of the house are prepared beforehand, giving it somewhat of a prefabricated appearance.

Cooperative behaviour:

The person who wishes to build a house in BNT does not hire workers to come and build. Rather, on the day before the house is to be built he goes around to his friends and relatives and announces that he is going to begin building on the next day and requests their help. He provides food and drink for the workers. Only men help in building houses.

Some tools of house building:

One of the more interesting instruments used in house building was the ǔn kōp din (máj kōp din - Central Thai). This is merely a long bamboo tube which has had many slits made in the bottom. When a hole has been
dug for a house post, this instrument is put into the hole. It is pressed down hard onto the loose dirt. The ends splay out and separate and pick up the soft moist dirt.

Some magical omens:

There are several magical devices which are employed during the house building ceremonies:

a) leaves: The leaves of the \textit{baj y\textordmasculine{morinda citrifolia}) and \textit{baj khu\textordmasculine{n - cassia fistula).}

b) magical water: This consisted of a bucket full of \textit{nam h\textordmasculine{m - "scented water") with some stones which are called \textit{h\textordmasculine{kap sa:j} in it.

c) \textit{saw \textordmasculine{e:k} - One of the posts of the house is made the No. 1 pole. This is called \textit{saw \textordmasculine{e:k} in Thai and \textit{saw h\textordmasculine{a:e:k} in Lao.}

d) \textit{saw mongkhon: Another of the poles is deemed the "auspicious" post. This is called \textit{saw mongkhon} (saw mongkhon) in Thai and \textit{saw kh\textordmasculine{an}} (saw kh\textordmasculine{an}) in Lao.

e) \textit{yan nok khum:} Probably one of the most important omens connected with house building are little bits of paper on which are written in Lao characters (known as \textit{tua th\textordmasculine{m}). There is a piece of paper for each of the 8 directions, i.e. for each of the 8 posts of the house. These pieces of paper are made up by Mr. \textit{Buns\textordmasculine{i}}, who lives in kh\textordmasculine{m pa: h\textordmasculine{t}. He is known as \textit{cain} (cain) because he has spent many years in learning his secrets. In this case he learned
while he was a monk (for 4 years). He copies these characters from the "tamra: bo:ra:n" (tamrā bo rān). Each of the pieces of paper is different and each is attached to a different one of the 8 posts. These pieces of paper, which remain until they decay, are supposed to protect the house from fire and other dangers. They are known as "njãn no k khu :m" in Lao and "kha:~: n6k khUm" in Thai. (There are some in our house which I will try to compare some time.)

f) kuak(?)fai: This is a bamboo basket which is wound with cotton string and dyed blue string. It is stuffed with the auspicious leaves mentioned above. It is usually used for worshipping fairies who live in trees. It is attached to the saw khūan. In the house being built in khum jāj an "āk" ("āk) was used instead of a kuak fāj.

g) saj: A bamboo fish trap known as a "saj" (sāj) is also wrapped with string and stuffed with auspicious leaves. It too is attached to the "No. 1" pole.

* The juice of the "matu m" (mätum - Central Thai) or "maktu:m" (mäktūm - Lao), i.e. the aegle marmelos or bael fruit was used for the glue.
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Events:

Some of the auspicious leaves, the water, and the rocks in the water were taken and put in every hole of the new poles, first going to the hole of saw hae:k, then to the hole of saw khuan.

The following is a diagram showing the relative location of the various poles:

```
  O       Road       O
   O            O
saw khuan — O            — saw hae:k
   O            O
```

Also, the "fragrant water" was poured on the poles where they will enter the holes. This was done for each of the poles except saw hae:k. "This is done not for the fairies, but for auspiciousness."

Saw hae:k had a mark ᵇ on it indicating which pole it was. The fish trap was attached to this pole by measuring the fish trap four times along the pole and then attaching it to it. The other basket was attached to the saw khuan.

A measuring rod was used to measure the depth that the poles must go into the ground. From the ground to the floor of the house is 1.90 m. The pole goes .78 m. into the ground. The house poles are 5 m. from ground to top.
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Feeding the Earth Fairies:

Food for the earth fairies consisted of glutinous rice, chew of betel, palm sugar water (น้ำผักชี, nam phak chi) and cigarettes. The man in charge, Mr. Saw, took the food in three bunches and placed it around the area each time asking the earth fairy to go away.

Erecting the Poles:

Once the earth fairies had been propitiated, then the erection of the poles began. First saw hae:k, then saw khuan, then the others as follows: 50, 80, 20, 40, 30, 70, 10, 60.

Numbers 3 and 4 are known respectively as the pole that "shuts out the rat" (นิ้วแมว, niw maew) and the pole that "shuts out the cat" (นิ้วหมา, niw maa).

After the poles had been erected with much grunting and groaning, then they were turned to face the 8 directions. Once this position had been made the building in earnest began.

Rice Milling:

We watched the rice milling with the traditional mortar and pestle. Three different sized mortars (สำลีถั่ว, sak sua) were being used. These go from smaller to larger, the smallest being sak nua, the medium one, sak taw, and the largest called sak som (สำลีสอง?).
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"The Lent Watch":

Today a man from Ban Khwāw came to the headman with a complaint that his son had been "engaged" to a girl who lives in BNT. She has a watch which belongs to the man. She claimed that the boy had given it to her in exchange for a 'kiss". The father claims that she had only been given the watch to look at, as the watch was not the son's to give away. Now the engagement has been broken as the son has found someone else to marry. The father wants the watch back.

Mr. Phon, the man from Ban Khwāw, a friend of his from BNT and our little coterie went to the house of the girl and the mother (the father is dead). Much discussion ensued and many villagers gathered around. Finally, Mr. Phon decided that the watch should be returned. This was done, albeit reluctantly. The villagers just shrugged and said that a kiss ought to be free.

Laos:

In talking with the owner of the watch, we learned he had got it in Vientiane. It was said that "many" people from Ban Khwāw go to Vientiane to find work. The reason why some prefer to go there rather than to Bangkok is that Vientiane is "underdeveloped" and thus it is easier to find work there. This man said that he worked in Vientiane in order to earn enough money to buy the watch.

School:

The school children cleared the wát grounds of leaves and papers before the school opened in the morning.
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Sû: khwän Ceremony:

This morning there was also a sû: khwän ceremony for a woman who had had a baby last month. She had had trouble with it and had to go to the hospital in Sarakham. The baby doesn't seem very well, and so they decided to have there ceremony which was held in the home of the parents of the child in khûm vât.

A baj si: had been prepared containing the usual flowers (dô:k chô:m, dô:k la:w), candles, leaves in the form of baj si:, string, betel, cigarettes.

A shaman (mô: suat) had come from Ban Kut Suaj in T. Ka:ñ. The reason the local shaman was not used was because this man is the grandfather of the child.

A bowl containing the baj si:, etc. was placed on a tray, candles lit near the tray, a tray of food, rice and water set near the tray also, and shaman began chanting.

The mother sat with the baby (Day). She had a silk breast scarf on. Then she handed the sleeping baby to another woman and wajed the chanting shaman, who also wore a silk shoulder cloth. A piece of white cloth was brought and laid between the bowl and tray. The candles were then put out and the mother and a female friend ("there must be a companion in this ceremony") took hold of the bowl.

The shaman then took the bottle from the bowl and poured some of the contents (sâ:tû) into a metal scoop. Then he took some of the string and a few other things from the bowl and draped these over his right wrist. He took one of the flowers and put it in sâ:tû: and sprinkled some drops over the hands of the mother and her friend. He explained some story and then drank the rest of the sâ:tû:.
Eugenia jambos (Myrtaceae), plant in the rose apple (M.F.)

or also นิยมใช้ ยิ่ง ถึง กัน หรือ (ลง) 'confection' or 'African unigød'

B. Kut Snoj — correctly, B. Kut Sai (T) ขึ้น คุ้ม ดาว
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Then the shaman took one of the short strings, placed two baht in the hand of the woman, and tied the string round her wrist, chanting some auspicious blessing while doing so. Then other people followed suit, i.e. placed small amount of money in hand of woman, tied the string and said a blessing.

Satto was being passed around to the men while this was going on.

People also tied strings around the wrists of the mother's friend and the baby, but without the accompanying money. The money, it was explained, could be used to buy things for the baby. Also, I noticed some of the elder women tying strings on each other.

The shaman usually gets from 1-5 baht for his services. In this case he received nothing because he was a relative.

Following the ceremony, we had a meal in the house next to that where the ceremony had taken place. We discussed several things during the course of the meal, including:

Tatooing: I had noticed our host was thickly tatooed on his legs and thighs down to below the knees. Also, he had a variety of other types of tatoos on him elsewhere. When asked, he said young people no longer like to be tatooed and there is nobody left in the village who can do tatooing. On his upper arms he had tatooing in kho:m script. These are auspicious writings. The pictures on his legs, which were heavy black tatoos offsetting a design left in the untatooed part were probably pictures from the Ramakhian. Some men had designs of birds and other animals.

Mr. Ngaw: His father is definitely a farmer.
7/3/63

Tahoon

\[ \text{ written in Khmer script } \]

- Prob. two from rather than Khmer script
Village Meeting: A meeting is to be held at the school this afternoon, called by Mr. Ho:m, again to discuss the use of and deposit of the money gained at the wat fair. This is the third time the subject has been discussed at a formal meeting. It seems as though the villagers are going to keep on until they have their way against Mr. Thiang.

March 8-15, I did not go to the village because of illness.
March 18, 1963

Went with Dregers (C.M.A. missionaries in Mahasarakham) to visit the CMA leprosarium/Bible School near Khonkhan and then on to Khonkhan. At the leprosarium, I consulted Dr. Bucher, regarding my recent disease. He thinks I probably had chicken pox.
March 19, 1963

A Wedding:

Today was a wedding ceremony in the village for two couples. We arrived at 8:00 a.m. among a flurry of activity and rushed through the bustle of eating, drinking and ceremonies until 2:00 p.m. when people began to collapse (literally) on mats around the village, the ceremony being over.

It was difficult to discern the "structure" in the events because of the haze of anarchy due to the influx of people from outside the village, the growing number of drunkards, and the seeming unimportance attached to the ceremonies.

First I will attempt to describe the major events of the day. Then I will give annotations of our progression through these events.

Preparations: There were actually two weddings today. One between the daughter of Mr. Cèk (Miss Keng who was said to be over 30 years old) and Mr. Ta: (whose parents were dead). The second wedding was between the son of Mrs. Beng (Mr. Bun) and Miss Wâj who lives in Păin Mâk Já:, a village some 2-3 kilometers away. As the actual wedding ceremonies are held in the house of the bride, we only saw the wedding between the first two.

Early in the morning a buffalo and an ox were slaughtered to provide food for the day's festivities. The buffalo cost from 4-500 baht, and the ox about 600 baht. This meat plus the quantities of alcohol (sattō and the rice whiskey - 40 degrees - made in Sarakham) were paid for by Mr. Pa:, the elder brother of Mr. Ta: (groom no. 1), Mr. Cèk, father of Miss Keng (bride no. 1), Mr. Le:, father of Miss Wâj (bride no. 2 from B. Mâk Já:) and Mrs. Beng, mother of Mr. Bun (groom no. 2), whose father was dead. Everywhere we went during the day, we were offered food consisting entirely of meat dishes using meat from these animals (plus rice, of course), and whiskey or wine.
March 19, 1963

Tham Bun: The first ceremony of the day was the feeding of the priest from the wat at the house of Mr. Cék. Here, special foods were prepared, in addition to the meat dishes. The priest was fed and the usual act of chants ensued. The reason for holding this feeding of the priests was incidentally to "make merit" for Mr. Cék and for the bride as well. More importantly, it was to give Buddhist sanction to the proceedings of the day. This, however, was the only appearance the priest made throughout the proceedings (he departed the village shortly after being fed). I subsequently enquired if the bride and groom would make special offerings to the priest the next morning (as they do in the Central Plains). The answer was in the negative.

Sú: Khwán for the Groom: The sú: khwán (Central Thai) or sú: khúan (Lao) ceremony is the dominant motif of a Northeastern marriage ceremony. There are two sú: khwán ceremonies in the course of the day. In this case, the ceremony was held in the home of bridegroom no. 1 and was led by the mœ: suat from T. Koeng (the one who had performed the sú: khwán ceremony for the mother and the sick child).

Presentation of the Khān Mà:ķ: One of the most important parts of the wedding ceremony in the Central Plains is the presentation of the khān mà:ķ ("bowl containing betel and areca presented to the bride's guardian during the marriage ceremony"). Phya Anuman in his prâphe:ní: râyà:t: ò:n bā:w sâ:w kho:n thaj devotes a large part of his discussion on Thai marriage customs to the khān mà:ķ. Usually, in the Central Plains the khān mà:ķ is taken from the groom's house to the bride's house in accompaniment with a large procession.
March 19, 1963

We saw the **khan ma:k** being prepared in the house of the bridegroom during the time that the **su: khwan** ceremony was being done for the bridegroom. On a brass tray (with pedestal) were placed some candles and the leaves of **dòk láp**. Then was laid a cloth in which were put betel, areca, tobacco and rolled cigarettes. Finally part of the bride price was placed inside the cloth as well.

**Bride price:** I wish to make a slight diversion to explain about the **bride price (gà:n sìn sòt)**. In the case of the first couple, the bride price was $496; for the second couple, $566. Ordinarily the parents (i.e. the father) of the groom would pay this amount, but in the case of the first couple the parents of the bridegroom were dead. Thus the young man had raised the amount out of his own earnings.

In the case of the first couple, the **tawkâe:;e** of the groom (Mr. Chaj) gave $100 to the father of the bride to seal the marriage contract. The rest was to be paid at the time of the marriage.

When Mr. Chaj made up the **khan ma:k** he only put $200 into the cloth on the tray. The other $196 he placed in his pocket.

When he had placed the money in the **khan ma:k** he proceeded to go to the house of the bride alone. There was no procession and the groom did not accompany the **khan ma:k**. The **tawkâe:** entered the room where the wedding "ceremony" would take place. In this room was Mr. Cs:k, the **tawkâe:** of the bride and others. The first thing that happened was a small tray of food was taken from the room. This is called the **khaj kehu:** and is used to propitiate the gods (**waj phi:**). (N.B. This last later proved to be incorrect. See **Khaj phra'hù:n** in notes of March 26, 1963 - Evening.)
Although not in Raichon, def. also wide /kʰən mɛːk/.

dōk lāp - can't find this word.

lənŋ kātəŋ - not in Raichon, but def. lāo /ləŋ kən sǐn sǒt/.

lənŋ ni - lāo təŋmek /θàːŋ hêː/ lit. 'other person'.

McF. 'one who arranges marriages'.

kʰhəi - spelling uncertain.

mō̝ː hiŋ /mòː hɪŋ/ - not clear about spelling - could be 'mòː hiŋ', 'ň'.

'dam, drain' . 't so spelling in lāo would be /pʰu kʰy̝ːŋ/.
When Mr. Cēk and Mr. Chaj were seated, Mr. Chaj presented the khān māːk to the tāwkāː of the bride. This latter person looked at the money in the cloth and then announced it was not the full amount. He showed the money to MR. Cēk. Some discussion ensued. Finally, Mr. Chaj took the other ฿196 from his pocket and laboriously counted it out. Mr. Wichian said that this is called māːk khāːw kuː sīːm (Slightly incorrect. See notes of March 26, 1963).

Entrance of the Groom: After the khān māːk had been presented, two mōː sūːat came into the room (one from the village, the other from T. Ksei). Then there was considerable commotion at the stairway to the house. A group of young men were barring the way to the stairs. Mr. Chaj ran and got some liquor and came back to the stairs where he "bribed" the young men. When this had been done, the groom and his party entered the room.

The Marriage Sūː khwāːn: When the groom had entered, the room was ready for the marriage sūː khwāːn. First a baj sīː was placed in the center of the room. This was on a tray with betel, areca, tobacco, candles, flowers, string, etc. In front of this was a large pillow with a smaller pillow on top of it. The mōː sūːat from BNT sat in front of this pillow. Facing him across the baj sīː were the bride and groom who were each accompanied by a young friend (male for groom, female for bride).
3/3/63

màk khèw khè:śim - correctly in Thai. You wish in text pronunciation would be màk khèo phèʾśim.
March 19, 1963

The mō: sūat had a silk phākhawma: thrown over his shoulder (as he has had on every occasion that I have seen him perform). He also took a skein of cotton thread and wrapped these around his wrist. In this skein was a chew of betel and two one baht notes.

The groom had a white cloth over his shoulder. This cloth was open. The bride also had a piece of cloth over her shoulder, but it was folded. The dress of the couple was not special: she had on an ordinary navy-blue phā:sīn and a white blouse. He had on dark trousers and a long-sleeved white shirt.

First, the mō: sūat got up and went to the couple. They wajed him and then their parents. A candle was lit and the mō: sūat began to chant in Lao. First, the bride's hand was touching his, then their hands were placed on the tray, palm upwards. Also the hands of the "friends of the bride and groom" were placed on the ba:j sī: tray.

After the ceremony had gone thus for a short while, the mō: sūat took a water scoop and poured sā:to: into it. He then took a flower and stirred it into the sā:to:. He would stir and then sprinkle the liquid over the ba:j sī: and the hands of the four. He chanted all the time.

When this was finished, Mr. Chaj began to collect money from each person in the room (1, 5, 10, 20 ฿ notes). With each donation (which was written in a book), the people in the room tied the strings on the wrists of the bride and groom. Each time a string was tied to the wrist of the bride, he would support her arm by putting a hand under her elbow. She did the same for him.

All during the ceremony some people would wipe the perspiration from the faces of the couple and their friends.
March 19, 1963

The giving of money proceeded. The Kamnan from Ban Khwaw came and donated 5B. Some money was placed in the hands of the groom. The biggest donation came from Mr. Cèk, the father of the bride, who gave 100B. When everybody had contributed, the total was announced - 258B. I had also seen earlier in the morning the collecting of money in the house of the bridegroom. This was also noted down in a book. I was told that both collections of money would be used for the personal use of the bride and groom.

The hawkæe of the groom then took a bowl containing flowers and candles. This was placed in front of the bridegroom (the ba:j si: and cushion having been removed). The couple hawkæe, i.e. bowed with their heads touching the floor. The hawkæe gave his blessing. When this was finished, the candles and flowers were passed out to the guests. These were to be used for worshipping the Buddha on the family altar. It was also explained that the couple must worship the Buddha before they went to bed at night. When this was over, the couple departed. They separated and went to eat.

Ryan Hôi: The ceremony had taken place in the new house of Mr. Cèk. Part of this house consisted of the bridal house or ryan hôi. We were shown the bridal chamber.

Miscellaneous Observations: With the departure of the bride and groom, the ceremonial part of the wedding was finished, though the feasting and drinking would continue for as long as the food and drink held out.
Ryan hği: (รีเกม) is C. Thai - not sure if same concept in Đ. loo. If so, pronunciation would be /hği hği/. 
During the morning we had processed first from the house of Mr. Cèk where we had seen the tham bun to the house of Mrs. Beng (the mother of the second bridegroom). Here we had been served broiled meat and la:p and liquor. There was khs:n music in the background.

Then we went to the house of the bridegroom, Mr. Ta:. On the way we passed some women who were carrying some things that looked like ba:j sIp covered with cheese cloth. I never saw these things again.

At the house of the first groom, we saw the making of the ba:j sIp for the sù: khwän ceremony for the groom. They used dò:k rak for this ba:j sIp. The groom had many strings tied around him when this ceremony was over.

When we went to the house of the bride at the time that the thàwkae: took the khàn mä:k, we met at the house a middle-aged woman who was dancing and singing in traditional N.E. style.

There were many guests and relatives (phì: nès) from other villages in BNT. In fact it was almost difficult to find a villager for all the strangers. The proceedings took place entirely in khùm wát.

After the ceremonies were over, we went to the house of Mr. Hò:m in khùm nà:j for lunch. We had la:p and tóm khrýa:n naj (boiled innards of buffalo). No more liquor.

School was not closed for the day so that the teachers did not participate in the proceedings.

Analysis: It seems as though the dominant motif of the proceedings was the sù: khwän ceremonies. This contrasts considerably with marriage customs in the Central Plains. In a way the ceremony in the N.E. is more religious in that the shaman has a leading role, whereas in the Central Plains, the wedding is officiated by a civil official.
March 19, 1963

References: For a description of a wedding ceremony on the Central Plains, see Kaufman, Bangkhud, pp. 148-156.

For a general description of wedding customs in Thailand see Phya Anuman's work on the subject.

For a description of marriage customs in Laos see Thao Nhoy Abhay, "Les rites du mariage" in Aspects du Pays Lao, pp. 2-22.

Miscellaneous: During the day, several other things occurred extraneous to the wedding. I met the son of Mr. Chaj who is studying in Sarakham. He says that he speaks Chinese. Also he knows some English. Studying in Mathayom 4.

Mr. Wichian was going back and forth to Ban Khwaw where they were having a big pig sale.
ข้อความภาษาไทย:

เรื่อง  ศิลปะหนึ่งในศิลปะศิลปิน

เรื่อง  ศิลปะศิลปิน

อ้างอิง  ศิลปะวัฒนธรรมที่ ๑๒๔ / ๒๔๐๖ ที่มา ที่ ๒ ในปี พ.ศ. ๒๔๐๖

คุณหมู่สิ่งที่เรื่องที่ วิทยาศาสตร์ของเรื่องฉันเพื่อไปเป็นสิ่งที่

ศิลปะวัฒนธรรมที่ ศิลปินที่ ๑๒๔ เมษายน ๒๔๐๖ เวลา ๑๒.๐๐ น. ที่ด้วย

ทำให้การวิจัยวัฒนธรรมศิลป์ ที่มา เวลา ๑๒.๐๐ น. ที่ด้วย

ศิลปะวัฒนธรรมที่ ศิลปินที่ ๑๒๔ เมษายน ๒๔๐๖

ข้อความภาษาไทย:

(นายประภาศ พาชัย)

พิมพ์วัฒนธรรมศิลปะศิลปินที่ ๑๒๔

นายประภาศ พาชัย
March 20, 1963

Marriage:

I talked with Mr. Thiang and Mr. Sanit about the weddings. I asked if the marriages held yesterday had to be registered at the Amphoe office. Mr. Thiang said that usually marriages were not registered there (though the law states they should be registered within 15 days). However, Mr. Phon does note down all marriages, deaths, births, etc. in order to report these to the amphoe.

The two ië: khwǎn ceremonies have separate names. The ceremony for the bride groom is known as ië: khwǎn nò:j or ba:j surname:nò:j. The ceremony for both of the couples is known as ië: khwǎn jâ:j or ba:j surname:jâ:j. I enquired about the nature of the khwǎn. This is said to be a soul (winja:n). The khwǎn can wander and must occasionally be called back to the body - "to call the khwǎn"). The first ië: khwǎn ceremony is to call the khwǎn of the young man. The second ceremony is held to call the khwǎn of the couple at the same time. I enquired as to why there is a special ië: khwǎn ceremony for the groom. I didn't get a very satisfactory answer but one of the reasons seemed to be to raise money for the groom.

Mr. Chaj was a relative of the bridegroom.

Mr. Thiang said the ië: khwǎn is a Brahmin ceremony.

Immigration:

Mr. Hôm and his family migrated last year from Ban Do:n Du:. His place in Ban Do:n Du: had been flooded and destroyed in the last flood so he migrated to BNT. Mr. Phim also migrated to BNT from Ban Khwâw. He came last December.
There doesn't seem to have been much migration from the village in the last few years. The last migration was a family who went to Udorn. Migration to Bangkok seems to be seasonal and rarely permanent. I asked about migration to Vietiane. There seems to be little migration from BNT though more from Ban Khwâw. An interesting statement was made to the affect that "people from this area like to join the Laotian army because they have more chance to be officers than in the Thai army". Also, the point was made that people from this area like to join the Laotian air force because they get an opportunity to fly.
March 20, 1963

Had dinner with Dregers.
March 21, 1963

Miscellaneous:

Older men in the village one addresses as phô: jàj (literally, "great father"). Middle-aged men one addresses as phô: luŋ (literally, "father-uncle"), and middle-aged women (or those older than oneself) as mâː (literally,"mother").

Transportation from Village:

Mr. Ngaw said that various trucks and buses go from T. Nâng Kung through BNT up until the rains make it impossible for them to travel the road. The cost of transport is three baht from the village to Sarakham. It costs two baht to go from the corner (Rqî-et-Sarakham Road) to Sarakham.

Customs Concerning Violent Deaths:

On Tuesday evening in Sarakham there had been a rather hideous murder where a man chopped off the head of his son-in-law (a Chinese from Bangkok). I discussed this subject with Mr. Ngaw and "the trader" from Khun P.H. They said that when a person dies a violent death, there can be no cremation. The body is buried instead. Death by violence is called taːj họːŋ, and when such a death occurs "there are many phîː". I asked if people would live in a house where a person had died a violent death. The answer was that people could if a special môː had performed an exorcism ceremony.

Wedding:

Mr. Çâk said that his daughter who was recently married was 22 and her husband 23. They are living in the same house as him. (Incidentally, the age which he gave for his daughter conflicts with what I had heard before, i.e., 30).
$\text{Phu Sai (ct.)} - \text{Phu Sai (Lao)}$

$\text{Pha Luang (ct.)} - \text{Pha Luang (Lao)}$

$mâi$ (ct.) - mâi (Lao)

tai hông (thai) - see: [Thong Buntyan, Mon dok chaio lao sin, pp. 194-208.]
March 21, 1963

Buddhism:

In the sixth month (April-May) there will be an ordination. Two or three people will be ordained at this time for a short period (this is not the ordination for phansa: (Buddhist Lent), which comes in the eighth month. This month seems to be a popular time for short terms in monkhood - Mr. Suksarn, the head of the English Department at the Teachers’ College will be ordained on the 28th of April.

Village Religion:

I enquired of Mr. Ngaw about the phi. He said that he had never seen any and thus didn’t know if they existed or not. He said he thought there were none in America, and that Americans didn’t believe in them. "The trader" from Khum P.H. said, however, that phi would make knocking sounds in houses. I said to Mr. Ngaw that there were no caw thi in the village. He said no, but there was a sān cāw. By this he meant the shrine of pūta in the forest. There are also phi at lāk myang. In the fifth or sixth month there will be a ceremony of "feeding the phi" at lāk myang.

Education:

Illiterate villagers go to the school teachers to have them write letters. One villager came to Mr. Sanit today to have him write a letter. School is closed during the month of April (the hottest month) and during August (rice-planting?).
Charles F. Keyes Field Notebooks, Thailand
Original scanned version of typed notes
Written March, 1963
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้าว ที่: นิ่ง ซ.

กุ้ง คำ: นิ่ง ซ.

ฟ้าติถ: (ล/) ย้ำ

อิมพ์YEAR: นิ่ง ราง - 100 ข้อตอนที่ ว. ผู้เห็น (เนื้อผิว)

"feeding to peny: ข. 7 ราง ว. (เนื้อผิว) in lui.
Khùm Nọi Khwàw Nọi j:

I visited Khùm Nọi Khwàw Nọi j today with Mr. Sanit to gather census data. Mr. Phonma:, the headman of the khùm, says that there are 23 households in this khùm (though I got information on 24).

Mr. Phonma: had just sold a pig for 300 baht. I asked if he sold it in Ban Khwàw. He said no, he had sold it in Ban Chiang Hian. There are about 30 pigs in the khùm. Mr. Wichian had investigated the pigs in this khùm before because they were something special.

Economic Activity:

I learned from Mr. Ngaw today that the villagers do sell rice for a profit. He also showed me bundles of raw kapok which were being sold.
According to the map made by a former headmaster, the name is .
March 23, 1963

Food:

Yesterday in the village I was offered fried beetles. Today I was offered lizard curry (in which they took a lizard shot from a tree, let it die, and then cut it up and put it into the stew without cleaning it).

Economic Activity:

Today as I was walking past Mr. Hōm's house, I noticed he is building a new structure in front. I asked if this was a granary and he said no. It was a store for selling "small things". There is also a new food stand in the village (run by villagers) which sells som tam, bananas and miscellaneous other food items.

I observed the whole charcoal making process. First the wood is piled up and it, then branches with leaves are piled on top. On this loose dirt is thrown. Then more branches, and then more dirt. Holes are poked in the mound to create the burning matter. Charcoal making is only done during the dry season. I also saw a man in a truck who comes and buys sacks of charcoal for nine baht (they sell for 14 baht in town).

Cooperative Behaviour:

I visited the house of Mr. Ta:pā Khūm P.H. He is having the roof of the sleeping quarters of the house repaired. A bunch of men were around. Subsequently, we were all given a large meal and sāto't. It struck me that there is an awful lot of sharing in the village — if one man has more food, people come around to partake of it. People call on friends and relatives to help when a project is too large for the immediate family.
Sharing is certainly not carried on to the extent it is among the poverty-stricken Crow Indians of Montana. There the poverty is so prevalent that the people must help one another to survive. But because of the sharing, personal initiative is stifled and the progress of a single family is rendered impossible. Among the villagers in BNT, I would say that definite forces exist for the sharing of surpluses and for helping one another. There are also social pressures against working to make oneself conspicuously above the other, economically speaking. On the other hand I would say there are strong individualist tendencies, e.g. Mr. Ngaw, Mr. Phonma: and his rice mill, Mr. Hŏ:m and his new store, etc. However, I would say the traditional ideal would be something like this: If one is to be a member of the community, then one must conform to patterns of sharing, suppression of individual initiative relative to the group good, cooperative behavior against the working for money. If one wished to exert his individuality and desire for personal advancement, one would leave the village, if only for short periods. However, a new pattern is evolving where individual activity is manifesting itself within the village context: not only are outsiders like Mr. Hŏ:m and Mr. Ngaw working to better their own ends, but there is an obviously better house in Khun P.H., there is the rice mill and pigs (and better house) of Mr. Phonma:. However, the accoutrements of personal advancement are oftentimes themselves thought of as "village property", e.g. radios. Certainly here is a transitional case.

Eating Habits:

When I have eaten with the villagers, the usual practice has been of the men eating together and the women and children eating alone, though sometimes
the head of a household will eat with his family while guests eat separately. The food is set in front of the people. After hands are washed, they begin eating. There is no cue from the host when to begin or stop eating. When one feels he has had enough, he goes and washes his hands and drinks water (a habit that is very much insisted upon).

Smoking and Drinking:

Both smoking and drinking are very prevalent habits in the village. Smoking consists of home grown tobacco wrapped in banana leaves (or occasionally paper). One sees quite young boys smoking, though not continuously. Cigarettes are quite often passed around to various people. Boxes full of tobacco and banana leaves are always offered when a guest comes in (as is water). There is rarely a group of men where there isn't tobacco present. Women never smoke (to my observation) but chew betel if anything. Very few men, old or young, ever chew betel.

The most common alcoholic drink in the village is a sweet rice wine called sário. This is paraded out on almost any pretext. There seems to be no inhibitions against drinking in the morning. Stronger drink is a rice whiskey (40 degrees) which is distilled locally in Mahasarakham. With both wine and whiskey, the practice of drinking is to pour a bit out into a water scoop or glass (according to the desires of the person) by a host. This is then handed to each person in turn (the highest status person being served first or right after the host who may test the wine). The person then must
March 23, 1963

drink the proffered drink in one swig, leaving a few drops which are poured out onto the ground before the next person drinks. Women and children rarely drink, but do so on occasion. I have seen very young children drink a little bit of rice wine.

Rapport:

Before coming to Thailand, Jay Ingersoll had chivied me about being a pipe smoker. He said I should be a cigarette smoker so that I could offer cigarettes as "gifts". However, my pipe has been a real hit. People who normally roll their own cigarettes feel no hesitation in coming up and sponging "American tobacco" from me. Also many villagers have shared my pipe and get a real kick out of it.
March 24, 1963

Mr. Bunsâk:

This evening in Sarakham we had a visit from Mr. Bunsâk Thâpsûrî, who is the young man I had met in the village the day I ate horse. He had just completed Mathayom 6 in Sarakham. He was born in BNT, but his parents are now dead. His elder brother is Mr. La:, the "trader" in Khôm P.H.

This fellow has had a most interesting career. He went into the monastery after his parents died. He first entered in Thâ: Tu:m where he remained for two years. He then transferred to Sarakham where he was for three years. He reached "1st class". He is a relative of Phrá Mâhâ: ŝâng. He still lives in a wât in Sarakham.

After he came out of the wât, he went back to school. He is one of two students from BNT who are studying in Sarakham. The other is the son of Mr. Chaj who is Mathayom 4.

Mr. Bunsâk has also lived two-three months in Vientiane where he worked as the gardener at the North Vietnamese consulate. He claims that he understands Vietnamese though he can't speak it (though I have my doubts, because he also says he can read French and speak English, which he can't).

He is now working for a company in Sarakham and apparently has a job which takes him into the countryside as the company's representative. He also mentioned an idea of wanting to join the air force if he could pass the examination.
March 25, 1963

Today I was given access to some of the school records. Some of the material is not complete and will have to be added to later.
The following is a listing of children born in the year 2499, their sex, birthdate and parent's name.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Student</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Birth Date</th>
<th>Father's Name</th>
<th>Mother's Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bun lyêa som phîthâk</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>11/4/99</td>
<td>Kheîn som phîthâk</td>
<td>Nûî som phîthâk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thêm thumphîla:</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>11/4/99</td>
<td>Leîw thumphîla:</td>
<td>Bunthan thumphîla:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Phân sêîtsààráksà:</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>31/3/99</td>
<td>Poî sêîtsààráksà:</td>
<td>Thian sêîtsààráksà:</td>
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<td>Mr. rără máro:ınrat</td>
<td>M.6/p.</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
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<td>Mr. sănît wíchaitho:</td>
<td>M.6/p.</td>
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### Teachers' Information

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Teacher</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Salary (Baht/Month)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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<td>M.6/ph.p.</td>
<td>Headmaster</td>
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<td>Mr. phan khamsirirat</td>
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<td>675</td>
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<td>Mrs. Ben phanthúkun</td>
<td>M.6</td>
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<td>650</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mr. Sanit wicha:thos</td>
<td>M.6/p.</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>600</td>
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<tr>
<td>2505</td>
<td>Mr. Bunthia phanthúkun</td>
<td>M.6/ph.m.</td>
<td>Headmaster</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>Retired on the 1st of October, 2505.</td>
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<td>Mr. phan khamsirirat</td>
<td>M.2</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>Retired on the 1st of October, 2505.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mr. Sanit wicha:thos</td>
<td>M.6/p.</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>625</td>
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March 25, 1963

**Education:**

There will be a วัยกิจ or วัยกิจ: day in June after the next term opens.

There will be a closing ceremony of the term near the end of March, or at least there is supposed to be. Mr. Thiag keeps records of what time teachers come each morning and when they leave in the evening. I rather amusedly noted in these records that he always arrives first, followed by his wife and then Mr. Sanit, at 8:00, 8:10 and 8:15 respectively. All always leave at 4:00 according to the records.

**Maps of the Village:**

Among the records of the school are two maps of the village, both apparently made about the same time. One is an ink drawing, while the other is in color. The colored one cannot be more than four years old as it shows the rice mill which didn't exist before then. This map was apparently made by a former headmaster. At the time of making he lists 108 households and 642 people (in the legend). I will use this map as a basis for drawing up one of my own.

**Records at School:**

There are a variety of records available at the school from which most interesting information can be obtained:

1) Each class: student's name, birthdate, parents' names, grades and whether passed or failed.
2) Plans for new school.
3) Lists of past teachers.
4) An astrological paper made by a former teacher.
March 25, 1963

Food:

According to Mr. Bunthiang, Thais recognize the following tastes:

a) som or priaw, i.e. "sour"; (b) fàt, i.e. "astringent"; (c) ca:ng or qì:t, i.e. "tasteless, bland"; (d) wà:n, i.e. "sweet", and (e) khem, i.e. "salty".

I was offered a dish of raw mangoes (said to be very fàt) which one eats with salt, fermented fish and green peppers.

Mr. Thiang: Amazed at his geographical knowledge, particularly in contrast with very limited concept of the outside world of the villagers. Mr. Thiang is very intelligent and knowledgeable for one of his position [Villagers often ask "what direction does one go to get to America"]

Village Implement:

The sawing is a dip net. To a piece of circular wood is attached a "crocheted" net.

School:

Today as yesterday, the students were working in the field where the new school will be, clearing brush and scrub. Apparently at this time of year when examinations are over, but school is not formally closed, many schools have projects of this sort. I saw students at B. Chiang Hian working in their school yard as well. There were also students yesterday in BNT helping clean up the school building and clearing up leaves from the (old) school grounds.
25/3/43

1  ṣām ṣ̄əm
   ផ្ការ ឈឺច
   'Sour'

2  [astringent]
   ស្វាត

3  'tasteless, bland'
   ឈឺតិ

4  'sweet'
   ឈឺម្នាក់

5  'salty'
   ឈឺសល៍
March 25, 1963

Each morning school begins by the raising of the flag and the singing of national songs. These songs are usually led by pupils.

Mr. Sanit:

Mr. Thiang says that Khun Nit has taken a job at the amphoe office and may or may not return to teach next year.

Travellers:

While sitting at our house a procession of travellers on their way home from some celebration passed by. As they reached the store, they came and helped themselves to water courtesy of Mr. Ngaw.
March 26, 1963

Marriage:

This evening discussed some of the things connected with the wedding with Mr. Wichian.

a) Sù: khwàn — I asked why there were two ceremonies of sù: khwàn at the time of the marriage, one for the groom, one for the groom and bride. The first Mr. Wichian explained was a ceremony for a person moving from or leaving a house. Since the groom is leaving his house to go live in the house of his parents-in-law, there must be this ceremony for him.

Also said the sù: khwàn is a Brahmin ceremony (this is the general belief). A mò: sùat must always be present at the ceremony (and officiate), no matter how small it be. The sù: khwàn nò:j is a small ceremony usually en famille at which food and liquor are not usually served to guests. Where the ceremony is held for a priest it is not called a sù: khwàn ceremony, but a ba:j sì: ceremony. Khān ba:j sì: is the name of the collection of items (including the banana leaf construction which is sometimes also called ba:j sì:) over which the ceremony is performed.
b) Khan somma: The khan somma: (local language) consists of candle plus flower as we were given at the conclusion of the wedding ceremony. In conjunction with marriage, these items have several uses:

i) khan somma: thaw kae: - Immediately after the ceremony was over, the couple had together bowed before Mr. Chaj with their palms extended and their faces touching the floor. Usually this would be done in front of the father of the groom, but since he was dead, Mr. Chaj as the thaw kae: for the groom's side stood instead of the groom's father.

ii) khan somma: phua - On the wedding night, the new bride must kneel in bed and waj her new husband, using the khan somma:. Other wives are supposed to do the same thing even wan phra. Such "worship" of the husband is supposed to be auspicious for the wife.

iii) When a couple has been married 3-4 days, they are supposed to go to the house of the father. There they present him with some gifts which are called khryang somma:. These gifts usually consist of a pillow, silk, a piece of cloth called pha: sinmi: (this is a multi-colored silk cloth), and a sarong.

c) Kha:j Phra' Hu:ng - Just before the wedding su: khwan began, I saw a small plate of food taken out. This is called kha:j phra' hu:ng. (I had mistakenly heard khaj ke hung at the time - see notes of March 19, 1963). Phra' Hu:ng is a Buddhist saint who "lived at the time of the Buddha". He supposedly protects people against dangers and protects ceremonies against bad things. Thus, at the beginning of the ceremony he was given food in order to have him "protect" the ceremony.
 saddened — should be 疍 (Hau), as in 疍 rgb (most common

souther) "to end longines of 10. Mau seng."

khöm samêi — 疍

khöm samêi thêw lep — 疍 seng 10. maw

khêm samêi tfoot— 疍 seng

khôm samêi — 疍 seng

phê sên mi — 筍 seng

khôi phöa hü — 筍 10. maw 10 26 10. 26
March 26, 1963

At the beginning of the ceremony, I heard the word "khleutha:" used at the beginning of many ceremonies.

After the klaw kae: of both sides agreed that the sum being given as the bride price, tobacco was passed around. The side of the bride offered tobacco to the klaw kae: of the groom. The klaw kae: of the groom then said that the tobacco was very good, with a good flavour. He says this to bring the couple good fortune, for if the taste was not good, it is bad for the bride and groom to live together. This is called mak klaw phlu: sim (Lao) or mak klaw phlu: chim (Thai). Literally this means the "tasting of betel" and certainly betel must have been used before tobacco became popular.

Registration of marriage - The law requires that all couples register their marriage at the amphoe. However, in the village many do not even though this is illegal.
26/3/63

2:30 m - 2:40 - score and OH - see Mr. 1016

mà:tk khà:w phù: ści - correctly mà:tk khà:w phù: ści , นั้นพริบ

ชัด
March 27, 1963

This morning in the village we discussed the word ’o:m again. Mr. Wichian thought he had told me wrong, so he asked the villagers. For one thing, he says the word should be spelled ’o:m instead of ’om. The word is translated as "a word uttered before saying a prayer" in the dictionary.

However, it is also used in a special sense in the N.E. when used in conjunction with marriage. Khai� t^[m 0:om h& means that when a couple has agreed to marry, the boy approaches his father to go ask for his lover’s hand in marriage. This is the same meaning as su; kho; in Thai which means "to ask for the hand of (someone) in marriage".

Innovation:

Mr. Wichian has persuaded the villagers to buy some special rice seed from the agricultural station in Sarakham. He wants this rice to be demonstrated for the villagers. The rice he wants planted is called khaiw baw in Thai and khaiw do; in Lao. This is a fast-maturing rice: it matures in 3-4 months.

A Troubadour:

While we were sitting in khum pa; h& this morning, two young boys entered the village. The youngest boy was leading the other, who was blind. The blind boy was carrying a si; - a king of Thai violin which has two strings. This particular instrument was made of a tin can, two pieces of wire, and a wooden handle. He also had a bow. The boy couldn’t have been more than 15. He sat down in the midst of the group and played songs from M&lam and Thai boxing.
27/3/69

khwai bar (เขาบาร์) / khwai ds. - country Khao ds. - กาญจนบุรี -

-according to Mr., "a variety of rice plant, which mature mostly and are harvested during November"

สก. 4/8 - "two-hinged tilled violin - in case 23:"
March 27, 1963

I was utterly amazed, not only at his extreme competence but at the versatility of his rather crude instrument. As he played, more and more people gathered around and requested different renditions. He played like this for over half an hour. Finally people began bringing tobacco and giving it to him. He would feel the growing pile and if he felt it wasn't enough would play a little more. When he finally decided he had enough, he headed off towards the rest of the village. I was told he travels to many villages.

Village Radio:

I met Mr. Hōm who also has a radio.

Women's Work:

I saw a woman carrying a large load of firewood. It was explained to me that women collect all the firewood. They also go and get the water supply for each house.

Village Improvements:

Mr. Phon is currently building a new toilet in the wat grounds (there is an old one there). Mr. Phaː is doing the carpentry. Mr. Wichian wasn't particularly happy about this "john" because it will fill up too quickly. But Mr. Phon said the village doesn't have much money and so can't build a fancy type.
Forthcoming Events:

In the sixth month (lunar calendar) there will be another wedding (maybe for two couples). In April there will be the songkran festival. On the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th of April, there will be a big event at the ƙù for the whole tambon and including all the accoutrements of a wát fair.

Visitor to BNT:

There was a visitor to the village today. He is a man who was born in BNT, but hadn't lived there for 24 years. Twenty-four years ago, he joined the army (c. 1938). He was subsequently stationed in Korat. During World War II he was sent to Petchabun province where he still is. There he met his wife and settled down. He now says he is a môt for the army (probably a medic).

The subject of Petchabun province brought up an interesting point of discussion among the villagers. It seems that during or just prior to World War II, P.M. Phibun Songkram had decided Bangkok was too vulnerable to enemy attack and wanted to move the capital to a more secure place. He chose Petchabun. He first decided to build roads to the site of the new capital. In order to build these he employed the traditional Thai pattern of corvee labor. He "recruited" people from Roi-et, Kalasin and Sarakham to go to work on these roads. Petchabun is known for its malaria (even yet). Many people from those N.E. provinces where malaria is relatively rare died of it in Petchabun. Thus, many people from the village, including Mr. Cek, ran away to hide (away from the village) when the government recruiters came to get laborers. For this reason, Mr. Cek said Phibun was a "bad dictator."
Mr. Thiang versus the Village:

The issue of the new school is becoming more and more one which is pitting Mr. Thiang against the village. He has now gone and tried to requisition trees from the forest of the village spirit (pu:ta:) to use for the school building (This is roughly equivalent, in a Catholic town, to ask to tear down the church and use the stones for a city hall). The villagers were quite incensed by Mr. Thiang's asking. Sometimes, I feel he purposely tries to alienate himself from the village.

School:

Mr. Wichian said he had asked the Community Development Department to give 12,500B towards the new school. I am not too pleased at this, which I feel might have something to do with me. For one thing, it is giving the village something for nothing. Secondly, it means the school is no longer strictly a village project.
พายุฝนตกหนัก 28 เมษายน 2546
เวลา 9.30 น. ณ สถานีอุตุนิยมวิทยา จังหวัดฉะเชิงเทรา
March 30, 1963

Miscellaneous:

Mr. Saw, the mōlam director for khon wât has just returned from a visit to his mother-in-law who lives in a village near Muang Phol[tham].

Mr. Hom, the man who is building a new store, is the younger brother of the headman. He migrated from B. Don Du: when the floods ruined him last year.

Mr. Thiang says that the headman and Mr. Ngaw don't get on well together.

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

Religion:

I had a discussion with Mr. Phon, Mr. Saw, Mr. Cēk and a few others regarding religion. Mr. Phon says next month there will be an ordination of seven to eight monks. I asked how long these monks would stay in the wât, but nobody 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.

Also I asked about novices. Only some boys become novices. They are lūk sit, i.e. "pupil, disciple", to the priest(s). While they are novices, they study religion, Thai language, Pali. The group pointed out that a man should be ordained before he marries. However, a person can also be ordained after marriage. I asked what was the rank of the priest in the wât. The answer was that he didn't have a high rank because he hadn't studied long.
March 31, 1963

Kantharawichai

Today went with Mr. Thiang, the headmaster of ENT, to visit his family in Kantharawichai. In this amphoe of Mahasarkham there are two Buddha statues. There is a legend concerning these two statues. It is said that once there was a son of the "Nai Amphoe" (the word used, but meaning some local leader of some sort). This young man wanted also to be the district leader, but he was foiled in his ambitions—apparently by his parents. He subsequently took a gun and shot his parents. However, once he had done this, he began to fear the tremendous amount of bà:p or 'evil, demerit' which he made because of his misdeed. Thus, he erected these two Buddha statues: one in memory of his father (the one nearest the amphoe office) and one in memory of his mother (the one near Mr. Thiang's home).

I only visited one of these statues—the one furthest from the amphoe office. This is the one which Chin Yu Di refers to as phraphuttharu:p khu: muang (p. 161). The standing Buddha is located in the crouch of a tree. Its head had once been removed, but the people in the area claim that the original has been replaced. The carving is very rough and is certainly no work of art. The tree has many bricks in it. Both tree and Buddha are located on a hill above a contemporary wat. There are several bai sê:ma: around the statue of the shaped

One bai sê:ma: appeared to have had some inscriptions on its back. Surrounding the tree-Buddha is a square small wall of laterite which looks like it might have been a building. The diagram on the following page shows the various imp. features of the site.
Chin Yu: Di: says the following about the statue, et al (my translation), on p. 161:

"phrá phuttharuip khu: mûang: About 35 sen from the amphoe office in Tambon Kanthaïnraït is a Dvarāti Buddha statue of red sandstone. It is a standing image and faces toward the south. It is about 4 m. high. The shoulder measured from right to left measures 1 m.10 cm. The neck and head were damaged and were repaired in A.D. 1817. Both feet are imbedded in the ground at the ankles. There is a stone baisema in the front of the statue and one behind."