SOME SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE LAWĀ (NORTHWESTERN THAILAND)

Part II

by

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The following text is a continuation of a report on ethnographic material collected on three different visits to the Umphai group of villages, and on the first anthropological survey of the northern Lawā. Part I of the report appeared in JSS, volume 60 part I (January 1972); part II will be followed by two more parts. A note on pronunciation, a glossary of principal terms, and a bibliography are appended to this part.

D. Some religious forms

2. Spirits

(a) The spirit world

The belief in spirits is deeply rooted in the souls not only of tribal people, whom we may deign to regard as "primitive", but also in the populations of highly developed cultures. In India the bhūt, in Burma the nat, in Thailand the phi, in Cambodia the neak ta (the "spirit people"; neak is a polite collective), in Viet Nam the ma qui (spoken "ma wi"), play an enormous role with the mass of the people. Even in sophisticated Europe and the United States all science and enlightenment have by no means eradicated popular concepts of spirits, ghosts and demons.

Dependable informants among tribal people will speak about spirits only to outsiders who have been longstanding friends. The enquirer would find that the few men who should know do not agree among themselves on particular points. This discrepancy of opinions was also stated for the Lawā of Bān Pā Pāē by Kunstadter (1965, 23 and 50, note 8). In recording some notions on the essence of the world of spirits, I must add that they are not uncontested and that they ought to be taken cum grano salis.

* Drawings by 'Shudhi' Chatterjee, Calcutta.
We have learned that, as a rule, spirits are calm when sufficiently placated by offerings, but all of them become evil and inflict punishment if something is done against their prescriptions (cf. the water spirit, part I, 279 of this article).

Similarly, Manndorff (1971, 145) writes of the Lisu in northern Thailand that they “believe in innumerable spirits... which stay invisible and untouchable. Their character is thought to be ambivalent: on the one side they might be good-natured and benevolent, on the other side they can get malevolent and dangerous.”

Everything in the spirit realm is reversed, so what is small on earth is big over there (e.g. the small bits of sacrificial food for the spirits), what is near becomes far, what is above becomes below, etc. Kunstadter (1972, 52) states: “Daytime in the land of the spirits is nighttime in the land of the living”, and Marshall (1922, 206) has remarked of the Karēn people in Burma that “this reversal of causal relations may represent a Karēn myth that everything in the spirit world is upside down”. The reversed world seems universal, as André Varagnac writes (1969/70, 7): “Le Pierrot est tout de blanc vêtu parce que, pour se déguiser en fantôme, il suffit de se vêtir à l’envers, puisque l’Autre Monde est l’inverse du monde terrestre. On met donc sa chemise sur tout le reste.”

Khun Suchāt, our guide, said that stairs to men’s dwellings must have an odd number of steps: 3, 5, 7; while for spirit houses they should be even: 2, 4, 6. He showed us an even number of steps at the small spirit house in the sacred grove (donggam) situated in the eastern part of the Bān Den quarter of Bān Bō Luang. It seems indeed that generally there are four steps up to the nyoe’ nyū or ritual houses, but in La’ub we noted only three. So the order of steps given above appears somewhat doubtful.

(b) Lawā spirits

The first man who wrote about Lawā spirits, those of the Bō Luang Lawā, was Hutchinson (1935, 159): “Our general impression was that reverence for the distinguished dead would appear to be the root of the religious beliefs of the Lawā who at the same time reveres the
force of natural phenomenon or 'genius loci.' Indeed, this has been stated by all those who have done research on the Lawa, that their animism is paralleled by a marked ancestor worship, more or less the same as professed by many other tribes around.

Hutchinson (1935, 157/58) writes of B. B5 Luang that "there are three principal p'i invoked by the Lawa:
the house spirit—p'i huan (Thai: phi ruean, phi ruen = house spirit
the field or local spirit—p'i ti "thi = place"
the mines spirit—p'i rae "rae = ore")
(pronounced "hae")

"All three are regarded as the disembodied spirits of ancient Lawa heroes. The presiding p'i at the spirit grove is the spirit of a Lawa, Pya In, who died in Burma long ago, and returned to haunt this grove... A p'i to whom offerings are brought at New Year is p'i rā mang—another disembodied ancestor".

Srisawasdi (1963, 174) is correct in asserting that all Lawa venerate the phi la'māng (phi luamaeng) or ancestor spirits, while the other spirits form a lot of groups.

Hutchinson (1935, 158/59) observes "p'i p'et and p'i lōk were also mentioned as disembodied spirits. The only non-ancestral spirits... were p'i kien and p'i koi, forest powers inimical to wayfarers." I cannot identify any of these four names with spirit names of the Lawa in the hills. Furthermore, it must be noted that the house spirit and field spirit belong rather to the animistic order of spirits, and are not ancestor spirits in the proper sense which are decidedly overemphasized by Hutchinson; still, every house spirit is attached as a protector to its special household. If in Bān B5 Luang some ancient heroes of times long gone, being "distinguished dead", are worshipped as spirits of the ore mines, that practice is not exactly ancestor worship, which is simply the veneration of each individual's forebears.

Regarding the animistic practices of the Lawa, some authors have spoken of their "innumerable spirits" (Rangsit 1945, 496), "a host of spirits" (Obayashi 1964, 20; 1970, 416) or "an unnumbered variety of spirits" (Kunstadter 1972, 11). But elsewhere (1965, 20) he is more specific, speaking of "a great array of spirits believed to live in the
forest. These include spirits of the virgin jungle, spirits of streams, spirits of certain kinds of trees, of white ants, landslides, falling trees and so forth”. He adds (1965, 45): “There are hundreds of spirits which are potential causes of illness.”

Srisawasdi (1963, 175, 177, 180/81) gives the names of the more important spirits in Thai: house spirit (phi ruean, φιριουαν), big village spirit (phi luang, φιλουαν), forest spirit (phi paa, φιπααα), sky spirit (phi ra, φιραα) and field spirit (phi res, φιρεσ).

Obayashi (1970, 416 seq.) lists house spirit, village spirit, jungle spirit, sky spirit, ricefield spirit, river spirit (cf. part 1, 279) and phi ka (φικα). According to him the phi ga’ are people who, without transforming into animals (or lycanthropy, which does not exist with the Lawa), eat other persons. He cites Hallett (1890, 106/08, 110, 376) who has noted that the Lao (North Thai) believe the phi ga’ to be an evil vampire and to have the form of a horse. However, Kunstadter (1965, 51, note 12) says: “The bad spirit caused by an incestuous marriage is sometimes referred to as phi ka’ (probably N. Thai), or kho’ gajm.”

Kunstadter (1965, 24) gives the following explanation of this evil spirit, as the Lawa told him: “Occasionally the soul of a person will become similar to a bad spirit, and will enter someone else’s body (called uphok to in Lua’). This happens if there is an incestuous marriage...” (cf. Kunstadter 1972, 3). “A patient who is inhabited by someone else’s soul becomes insane, and when asked who he is will reveal the name of the person whose soul has entered his body. Except for the case of incest, the person whose soul has entered someone else’s body is not adjudged guilty. A ceremony can be held to frighten the intruding...”

1) A close resemblance is noted by Mandorff (1971, 145) to the Lisu in northern Thailand: the spirits “have their seat in certain trees, rocks and fields, and live also on hill-tops, on water sources or in rivulets; sometimes they are in the wind, the lightning, or in the field crops. Beyond it there are guardian-spirits of the village to whom there must be sacrifices offered at the edge of the settlement, and ancestor-spirits who are revered in the house.” The pattern of other hill people in northern Thailand seems to be on the same line: the magico-religious sphere is formed by ubiquitous spirits on the one side, and ancestor-worship on the other.
soul out of the victim—for example by blowing hot grease into the fire—and the resulting explosion scares the intruding soul away. If this is not done, the soul will enter the victim’s heart, eat his blood, and he will weaken and die."

This, of course is the story of a phi ga’ but it hardly is of Lawā origin. I rather guess it is North Thai, taken over by the Lawā. The North Thai version may be useful, so it is given below.

The phi ga’ (central and northeastern Thai: phi bō, ไพรบ) is said to be very common in northern Thailand. Originally it was a protective spirit inherited by a family line, living in its house. There is a simple board, serving as altar, on which is put a bottle or a pot containing a cloth or a little cushion for the phi to sleep on. Around it are arranged some small plates for food which has to be given daily. If this is neglected, if it is forgotten by its family for only one day, the phi comes out of its accustomed residence to look for food elsewhere, never to return. It roams about and might settle down in the body of a sick person it might meet. Generally it is a woman, as most men have gone through a term of monkhood. People call this khao pai sing (ใช้ฟ้า, or to enter and possess; the sick one is possessed by the spirit).

At first the possessed person is vigorous and shows off; but in reality it is the phi ga’ which makes itself conspicuous in this way. A sick woman will always walk with her eyes cast down, being afraid people would recognize that she is possessed by the phi ga’ whose eyes are staring out through her own. It does not last long, for the phi ga’ goes on gnawing at the liver and inner organs, thus weakening her more and more.

To cure the sick person a spirit doctor (mō phi, หมอผี) is called who will have studied the science of magic and witchcraft (wichā saiyaśād, วิชทยาสัตถ). He wields a short knife made of ivory (without metal blade), and shouting at the sick person he stabs at her. This action menaces the phi ga’ which tries to evade the knife by continually changing places within the body. If it is hit, the knife sticks, while the phi ga’ laments and wails stridently through the mouth of the sick person.
The spirit doctor rapidly asks questions: "Who are you? What do you want? What are you doing?", etc. The sick person answers: "I am the woman so and so", not giving her own name but that of a woman of another family. Such an assertion often has given rise to heavy quarrels between families. All the questions of the spirit doctor are, of course, answered by the evil spirit through the mouth of its victim. If she awakens she does not remember anything of the magic procedures, but clandestinely, if nobody is watching, she will start to eat enormously to feed the ph'ga' within. Nevertheless she will become weaker and weaker, and finally die. If one opens the body it will be found empty, and the corpse will decompose in an incredibly short time.

The ph'ga' can be reckoned into the class of vampires, but that it has the form of a horse, as Hallett has remarked, is denied by my informant Khun Khrū Gānjanā Wongsidthicōg from Lampāng, who often has witnessed spirit doctors exorcising a ph'ga' from the body of an allegedly possessed person. Another informant, Khun Somjai Thabthimthōd from the region of Bangkok, has given nearly identical testimony.

Hutchinson (1935, 158, note) questions why the Lawā of B.B5 Luang have given him Thai names for the spirits, surmising they might be the actual names used by the Lawā for the nomenclature of superior beings, the same as the Thai use another language, Pali, for this purpose. As evidence he cites (1935, 168) a prayer of the B5 Luang Lawā: "When travelling by road and when sleeping in the forest; when making offering to spirits or praying to the Lady T'orani, make use of T'ai speech. Lawā speech is not (used)". This prayer, and especially the mention of Māe Thorani, the earth goddess, revered by the Thai people, clearly shows that in their religious thinking the B5 Luang Lawā have been under strong Thai influence for a long time.

Kunstadter (1965, 22), too, has offered Thai names for some of the most powerful spirits to which the villagers of B. Pā Pāe offer sacrifices: "caw ti, caw naj, caw myang or phā pai bon have names which are obviously Thai in origin, and are usually addressed in Northern Thai..."
thoroughly integrated into Lua’ spirit beliefs.”

This statement seems only valid for the Lawă of B. Pê Pêe, as we never came upon other hill Lawă using Thai words for their spirits; they all had Lawă names.

Obayashi (1970, 417) calls the phi ruean (นิว) “village spirit” whom he thinks resides in a little basket attached to a high bamboo with leaves stuck up at a house in B. La’ub. “This bamboo is called jungrachuk” which is nothing else but yuang or yuea ajuk, the offering device for the spirit of that particular house. The Thai word phi ruean is translated “house spirit”. It would be absolutely impossible for a single householder to own privately an offering place for the village spirit. “In the same village I noted still another village spirit called phi rad, that is, great spirit.” In reality it is the spirit of a fad or ritual house which previously we have spoken of as nyoe’ nyū. “Probably these two are different spirits. The phi ruean could correspond to the ta-yuang and the phi rad to the phi sabait (the uppermost village spirit) in Umphāi (cf. Steinmann/Rangsit 1939, 165/67; Wenk 1959, 116).”

Comparisons between the spirits of B. La’ub and B. Ómphāi Luang would seem rather impossible, as both villages had long developed their spirits independently (part I, 249, 302). A phi ruean or house spirit of one village (La’ub) cannot be compared with a village spirit of another one (Ómphāi Luang). In B. Dong there is a triple post (figure 13) called sabait ta’yuang or, as they translated it, sagang of the village (part I, 298). In B. La’ub there are three single posts, and all three, together with the three nyoe’ nyū, are owned by the village spirit ta’yuang (part I, 302), but the three ritual houses still have their own spirits called sabait. In B. Ómphāi Luang, according to Steinmann/Rangsit (1939, 165/67), just the opposite prevails: The high double sagang is for the uppermost village spirit sapait, while to the ta-yuang offerings are given on the low ngiu post in front of the ritual house. We might suspect the ta-yuang in B. Ómphāi Luang to be the spirit of the ritual house, and not

2) Thai script and meaning of the spirit names: พระ – spirit lord of the entire area; พระเจ้า – spirit lord within (the palace or realm); พระเมือง – spirit lord of the city; พระิลู – spirit gone up above.
a village ancestor spirit as originally suggested by Steinmann/Rangsit (1939, 165)—the more so as pigs are sacrificed to this spirit, the same as to the nyoe'nyū spirits phi sabai in most other villages.

Not being aware of the problem we, unfortunately, did not enquire into this question when in B. Omphai Luang. As in the northern villages the spirit of the ritual house is called sabai (sabaid), Obayashī's comparison with the phi lād is correct, but the phi sabai in the north is never "the uppermost village spirit".

(c) Phi gum

The "uppermost" position is occupied by the phi gum briefly mentioned in part I. Strangely enough we did not hear of this spirit on our tour before we reached B. Khōng. Here a female pig is offered to the phi gum in the sacred grove before the rice harvest. In the evening of that day everything is prepared for the sacrifice to the phi sabai on the following morning (see part I, 294). While there is only one phi gum, every nyoe'nyū or lād (ritual house) has its specific phi sabai. Sacrifices to the phi gum are generally made in the sacred groves of the villages.

B. Gōg Luang, B. Pae' and B. La'ub provide even better examples of such practices.

Bōn Gōg Luang

At a crossroads in a small clearing in the jungle about 200 metres north of B Gōg Luang (see figure 14), three altars are erected for the phi la'māng. Three metres south of them stands a tree to which a buffalo is tethered during sacrifices to the ancestor spirits when somebody of the family has gravely fallen ill. The animal is killed by cutting through its neck with a sword. At the side of the tree a small post, 60 centimetres high with a three-centimetre diameter, is put up; at the top of it four rings are engraved. This small post is called sa gang (see figure 15).

3) Obayashi (1970, 417) has remarked that to the field spirit "at sowing dogs, rice, cotton and sparrows are sacrificed". This observation on sparrows is certainly a translation error of the Japanese author writing in German. As sparrows never are used for sacrifice, he might have meant chicks.
As *sagang* means "post" in Lawā, especially a sacrificial one, it might be assumed that the small post represents a real *sagang* the function of which has been taken over by a sacrificial tree. Nowhere else have we met with a similar device.

A short distance from this offering place to the northwest is a sacred grove in which the two ritual house groups of the village, the *yong yiag* and the *yong khra’* (see part I, 294), have a *sagang* each, both dedicated to the village spirit *gum*. About 100 metres from the three altars west-southwest stands the *sagang gum yong yiag* (part I, figure 9), and another 100 metres from it to northeast the *sagang gum yong khra’* (Kauffmann 1972b, 231, figure 3). These sacrificial posts are about 1.8 metres high with a 20-centimetre diameter, their tops are cut flat, and they are incised about 20 centimetres below the top with three rings, and from these another 20 centimetres down with three more rings; in between the rings is cut a wide lozenge pattern of oblique lines crossing at right angles.

Long before harvest, on a morning in August, a reddish-brown cow is tethered to each *sagang* and sacrificed to the *phi gum* with a spear thrust into its right side. A sign is made with lime on the cow to guide the blow, as the beast must die at once and fall on its left side. This sacrifice is made only about every ninth year.

The eight houses of *yong yiag* and the twelve houses of *yong khra’* must pay their respective offering; apart from those, two more cows are slaughtered for food, so altogether four animals are used. These two cows are paid for by the whole village. Only dried meat from the two sacrificial cows might be given to people not belonging to one of the two *nyoe’ nyā*. Though there is no confirmation by informants, I assume that by the additional killings those households which do not own a ritual house will participate in the sacrifice to placate the *phi gum*.

A trial of sorts is performed in the presence of the village people at the *sagang gum* to settle quarrels. The two opponents must each kill a little pig; the livers are removed and weighed. The heavier liver determines who wins the case.
This is the only village which has sagangs both for the nyee' nyū spirit sabaig (for whom sagangs are never erected elsewhere), and for the village spirit gum. While the sagangs for the sabaig are standing to the north of B. Pae' on the lowest point of the village (part I, 295 and figure 10), steep up to the south, outside the upper village, there is a forest in which sacrifices are made to the phi gum (part I, 297).

In this forest two sacred groves are near each other, and somewhat farther to the north is a fenced-in place called tarē mang ra' (see figure 16). In the small eastern grove there is nothing, but outside of it is standing an old sagang, which was said to serve the four non-samang sections of the village. In the highest or southernmost part of the main grove we find the sagang gum samang ra' for the sacrifice of a brown cattle bull to the village spirit gum; it is made once yearly after harvest by the samang ra' who must ask a ta'nōg or sacrificer of another section to kill it. This sagang, approximately 1.80 metres high with a 15-centimetre diameter, is already withered, and no more adorning incisions can be traced (figure 17). In a still worse state are the two very old sagangs standing a little more to the north and seemingly out of use.

Just beyond these sagangs, to the north, is a big tree used for the sacrifice of a large female pig in case a bull is too expensive. The offering is laid down on an altar (dyong) to the east of the tree. When a special pig sacrifice to the village spirit gum is due (to which every house must contribute) then it is executed on the tarē mang ra'; after the offering it is fenced in, not to be desecrated accidentally by people or straying animals. On this day village-closure is imperative.

A jaungau (sau) of ordinary extraction leads the ceremonies. The killing can be executed by any man but a samang. The bull is killed simultaneously by two men with spears from the right side. Pigs must be killed with a sharp bamboo, knives are taboo (the same as with other tribal people, e.g. the Nagas in Assam, because very old tradition must be preserved not to displease the spirits). The ta'nōg gets half of the head and half of one foreleg of bull or pig. The hair of the animal is singed and the skin is eaten.
Ban La'ub

Here there are three kinds of village spirits:

(i) Ta’tū (elder brother) and ta’geng (younger brother). These two control every kind of field, the harvest depending on them. After harvest a morning sacrificial ceremony is celebrated for them outside the northern part of the village. Two big pigs, a male and a female, and—if people have enough money—a reddish cow and one more female pig are killed. Moreover, every house must take along a cock.

(ii) Gum (elder brother) and la’wu (younger brother) together prevent severe illnesses (cholera, smallpox, influenza, etc.) from penetrating into the village. They receive a yearly sacrifice on the same day as ta’tū and ta’geng, in the evening and outside the southern part of the village: during one year two large pigs, a male and a female; the following year, a reddish bull and a reddish cow.

At both offering places, to the north and to the south, an altar is erected under big trees with a small platform for the offerings. On the sacrificial day and the two following days strict village-closure is kept.

The people of yuang hè (first two, now six families, affiliated slightly to the samang group, cf. part I, 299-300) have their own place for sacrificing to phi gum and phi la’wu, but people would not reveal its whereabouts. Their sacrifice is the same as that of the other villagers, to the remaining spirits they offer together with the samangs.

(iii) Ta’yuang, the specific village-spirit, is the “owner” of all three nyoe’ nyu with their sagang la’ (high offering posts), and protects houses against fire and bandits (part I, 302). A sacrifice is to be held in the fifth month (end of January or in February) before felling the new swidden: in one year a buffalo bull is killed, in the next one a reddish bull of ordinary breed, then again a buffalo bull, and so on. Such costly sacrifices do not take place every year; in January 1969 we were told that the last sacrifices were held six years earlier, in 1962 or 1963.

(d) Miscellaneous sacrifices

B. Gg Luang. Before harvest there is a family meeting to judge if the rice is ripe for cutting. Every family takes a handful of cooked rice,
a handful of steamed glutinous rice, and a small chicken with them for an offering. They resolve to sacrifice a pregnant sow to the *nog phi ra*, the forest spirit. This kind of offering was introduced a long time ago by a childless *samang* on his deathbed (see part I, 267). The sow is killed in the field. Anyone may eat the foetuses inside it; or, they are to be thrown away, but one must be laid on the altar of the *nog phi ra*. On that day people consult as to which new field shall be cleared.

After harvest in October the villagers sacrifice a buffalo to the *phi gain phi* (rice field spirit) by killing it with a spear in the field. All houses must contribute toward its purchase.

B. Pae'. After harvest one pig and two chickens are sacrificed in the name of the whole village, on the path leading from the village to the swidden-field, to the *phi fim brê* (rice field spirit). All people contribute to the costs. As in Rangsit's vocabulary (1942/45, 698) “thunder” is translated by *noem brê*, it could be that *phi fim brê* is equivalent to the spirit of lightning to whom offerings are given in many places. But this is only a conjecture.

B. La'ub. At the altar of the *jao thi* (φεύ “field spirit”) on the rice terraces a pig and two chickens are sacrificed at sowing time, and the same day a red cock is offered to the *phi rechug* (field-hut spirit) at an offering tree attached to the roof of the field-hut. The same sacrifice is given to the house spirit at the houses of their respective owners, but only when the new rice is in the barn.

In La'ub, a headache is ascribed to the sun, therefore a bow with an arrow is put up on a bamboo pole and directed to shoot at the sun spirit, here called *tâ sangai*. It is the same as the *phi ta'wan* (φεύ “sun spirit”) in B. S Luang where, in a case of headache they plant a bamboo shoot, rub gently around it with an egg, and implore the sun “please, take my headache away”.

The *samangs* of La'ub sacrifice a red bull every ten years anytime after harvest to the *phi ta'nah* (φεύ “sky spirit”) in B. S Luang (Thai: *phi thong fa*), the sky spirit (part I, 300). For this purpose the *samangs* go to a special place, which they refused to show us, revealing no more than “It is near the
village". At this spot four posts, the size of the ngelu in front of the ritual houses (part I, 300), are established; over them a pavilion is erected large enough for all participants who must stay within this kind of “sānī” for the time of offering. The spirit is fed on all four posts, which they told us in 1969 were decayed; if the samangs want to feed the same spirit again they must put up new posts.

Obayashi (1964, figure 9; 1970, 416) calls the sun "heaven spirit" (phi molon) against whom he has seen directed a bow and arrow, and, indeed, maling means heaven (Rangsit 1942/45, 699). However, a discussion with our informants made it clear that the people in La’ub believe in the existence of a spirit in the sky but not in heaven. So it might be better to speak of a "sky spirit", not to imply that the La’ub people, and by the way other Lawā, worship a high spirit or even god in heaven. The sky spirit has nothing to do with Buddhist or Christian conceptions, although B. La’ub is one of the very few hill villages where there live some Christians (part I, 243).

In case of an epidemic the village as a whole will fix a bow over a talaeo made of nine bamboo lathes on a high stick against the evil spirit bringing the illness. If the bow could not deter him, then the talaeo would keep him out. This device can only be put up at the house of a headman, phuirid or old man. The talaeo is called talia satsem phrēm.

B. Changmō Manōd. A jackfruit tree (Artocarpus; Thai: ton khanun, หวาด) near the village had not yielded fruit for some time. So the owner sacrificed a pig to the tree spirit right in front of the tree, winding some bast around its trunk. The tree was then said to produce fruit again. This procedure is a Brahmin custom also followed by the Thai.

B. Yāng. At the side of the big rang tree, along the broad path leading from B. Yāng to B. Omphāi Luang, we saw in February 1962 that 14 thin trees had been stuck up in a row by 14 households. In their centre stood a small, ramified tree set with cotton flocks, a sure sign that it concerned a phi sacrifice (see Obayashi 1966, 250-51). Cotton flocks used for religious purposes are said to represent stars (part I, 291). At the side of this tree two short strong pegs were put up,
between which the sacrificial pig had been tethered and killed. Some pieces had been hung onto a square bamboo frame, 15 by 15 centimetres, attached to the central spirit tree (figure 18).

**B. Umphai Luang.** A short distance from this village in a northwestern direction we penetrated some bushes in spite of the prohibiting sign of a *talaoo*. In a small clearing we found in front of a big tree a fireplace for offerings to spirits, a few little baskets for eggs which had been sacrificed, and a low altar made of bamboo sticks. The top and rear wall of the altar consisted of plaited bamboo battens, while the creepers hanging down to the altar were set with cotton flocks (figure 19).

Close to paths near villages of the Umphai group we still were able to see miniature houses for the spirits in 1962. On our tours in 1964 and 1968 we did not find anything similar. These little houses were built like real ones, on posts with a roof, and were provided with a ladder for the spirit to climb. Inside there was usually some food and alcohol in a cup (figure 20).

If somebody falls ill in the Umphai group, he must give an offering to the road spirit *tab-grâ* at a path outside the village. The gorid rapidly builds a somewhat circular altar of very low bamboo sticks, connected above by strings of split bamboo from which dangle white cotton strands. There he kills a female piglet, by piercing it with a sharp bamboo spike, and a small tawny she-dog and a small chicken. On the altar are placed bits of the piglet and the bitch, and bits of the chicken in three little bamboo baskets. The bulk of the meat will be roasted in a pan and distributed to other people; the sick man himself is not allowed to partake of it. We often encountered such altars along the road, sometimes several of them in a row (figure 21).

The Lisu of B. Tham Ngôb (Fâng District, Chiang Mai Province) also sacrifice along the roadside to a spirit which has brought illness. The medicine man determines which spirit is involved, and leads the ceremony. Still, rites and paraphernalia are to some extent more elaborate than those of the Lawâ (Kauffmann 1966, 57-58).

**B. Pâ Pô.** Opposite the half-dilapidated *nyoe* *nyû* in which we stayed for the night stood two withered altars at the edge of the forest. They were used for offerings to two spirits at “the final ceremony of the
agricultural cycle" (Kunstadter 1965, 42; describing the ceremony in detail). Here shall be given nothing more than a description of these two altars (figure 22). They were more than two metres high, three metres apart from each other. Six or eight branches with green leaves had been stuck in the ground together, arching up and outwards to support a sacrificial table 40 by 40 centimetres, at a height of about 1.7 metres above the ground. This table consisted of two cross bars, each of three centimetres diameter, on which bamboo battens had been laid. A white cotton thread demarcated a kind of border two centimetres high at the sides of the plate. The twigs reaching up beyond it were set with cotton flocks. Strands of cotton and 'flowers' made of bamboo laths were hanging down, and from one of the altars a buffalo bell made of a bamboo knot was dangling from its rope. Below, at each of the altars a big talaoeo was attached, very carelessly made of bamboo laths.

B. Tän. Here dogs are only sacrificed at pio kho' (ษ်ချို) for sending bad luck away. This ceremony is performed yearly by the whole village between harvest and felling of the new field. After the dog is slain, its throat is cut. A black cock is sacrificed with it. Then they call the spirits: “Here, this is for you all, prepare it yourselves!”

(c) The satuang (စောင်း)

In B. Tän they said that, in addition to the above, horses, elephants, pigs, etc., made of unburnt clay, as well as a clay figure of the offerer himself, are put into a satuang together with 900 rupees represented by a cup broken into nine pieces. The whole should then be put into the donggam (sacred grove).

However, it seems certain that the offering of a satuang has nothing whatever to do with the yearly sacrifice against bad luck as related above, because this sacrifice is executed by the whole community while a satuang is only offered to an illness-causing spirit by a sick man. To put a clay figurine of the offerer into the satuang clearly indicates that it is a strictly individual action.

As described earlier, in case of illness the Lawä sacrifice to the road spirit tab-gra on altars along the path. There is another procedure used when somebody falls ill: the ritual of the satuang. It is not quite clear to us which system must be practised in any particular case.
When the medicine man has ascertained which spirit has caused the illness, he makes a square frame out of a banana stem into which he puts things which will please the spirit: a little comb, a piece of a mirror, unburnt clay figurines of pigs, a horse, an elephant and one of the sick man himself signifying 'take this, not the living one'. The medicine man, after going through a rite, puts the *satuang* with incantations on the path to the burying place or where he deems appropriate.

Two *satuang* lay along the path from B Chāngmō Manōd to B. Chāngmō Luang. One was at the path from B. B5 Luang to the cemetery in the west of that village, said to be a sacrifice to the path spirit by a sick man.

Another *satuang* for a sick man of the 'Thai-ized' Lawā we found at the road near B. Nā Fon, a village of the Bo Luang group of which I am giving a more detailed description (figure 23). The medicine man (Northern Thai: *mōpad*, *muān*) had made a square, 25 by 25 centimetres, of bamboo sticks with bamboo rims three centimetres high, and had stuck at its four corners little sticks with leaves as flags. Inside this *satuang* were laid rough, unburnt clay figurines symbolizing the sick man (about five centimetres high), a buffalo, a pig and a chicken. In other cases figurines of an elephant or a horse have been added; in principle all should be expensive animals. Furthermore there were to be found tobacco, chewing-bark4, rice, curry, and a burnt bean as a sign of good

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4) Chewing bark (Thai: *mong gō, muān*) is collected by Karen people off the *gō* tree (*ton gō*, *muān*; *Quercus brandisiana*, *Capuliferae*). This bark is used for dying cloth in a brown shade, and for chewing instead of or together with areca nut (Thai: *lūng māg*, *mān*) and with lime (Thai: *pūn, ḫu*) rolled in a betel leaf (Thai: *bāi phū*, *thāng*). The Karen chew much of this bark, as well as the bark of the wild cinnamon tree. We witnessed a Thai man who had bought a lot of *mong gō* at 30 *satang* per kilogram, to sell it for 50 *satang* in Chiang Mai (prices of February 1961).


For the identification of plants I acknowledge with deep appreciation the help of Khun Tem Smitinand, Leader of the Natural History Section of the Siam Society.
luck. All this is given as a present to the evil spirit by the sick man who is sitting next to the *satuang* while the medicine man strokes over his whole body with two kinds of leaves soaked in water: *bai nöd* (*Blumea balsamifera; Compositae*) and *bai phi suea* (*Lourea vesperilionis; Leguminosae*). At the end he binds a black thread around the neck of the sick man for health and good luck, and puts the two plants back into the *satuang*.

Kuostadter (1965, 21) mentions of B. Pā Pā an illness-causing spirit sometimes inhabiting people, about which informants seemed reluctant to speak. "The ceremony for exorcising this spirit requires the construction of a small (15 cm. square) 'boat' or tray out of a bamboo stalk (referred to by informants in N. Thai as a *sato n*). Flags may be placed at the corners, and offerings placed on it include rice, turmeric, thread and small models made of a rice paste which represent horses, elephants and people. After a ceremony at the patient's house the tray is taken to the edge of the village and thrown away."

We see that the Lawā in the hills as well as those on the high plateau use the *satuang* for magic treatment in case of sickness. But the same custom is also widespread among the northern Thai. Phya Anuman Rajadhon has described the use of a *satuang* in the province of Phrae, and Sanguan Chotisukharat has related from Chiang Mai in which way the *satuang* is used there for healing sick people.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1958, 5/6) has written: "In the province of Phrae near Chiangmai, when a person is sick a *satuang* is performed. A *satuang* is a square tray made of banana stems... On this tray are placed the clay doll and clay figurines of such domestic animals as an elephant, a horse, a buffalo, a cow, a pig, and a dog. Also placed on the tray are one or two heaps of food and a candle, a joss stick and a flower. The tray is brought in and placed in front of the sick person. The performer of the rite, a medicine-man, places a mouthful of partly chewed betel-and-areca on the tray and gives a jumbled incantation enumerating various kinds of *phi* (spirits), both good and evil, coaxing them to partake of the food and depart. After the incantation, the tray is taken out and placed far away from the house."

According to Chotisukharat (1971, part 1, 230/31) the healer knows many types of propitiation for curing a sick person, he gives directions
for the offerings. He puts into a *satuang* made of banana bark 10 by 24 inches (this is about the largest): small triangular paper-flags (white, red, black, yellow), clay figures of humans, an ox, buffalo, tiger, snake, chicken, elephant, and a little each of bananas, sugar cane, betel nut, chillies, cigarettes, pickled tea, cooked rice, curries of raw and cooked meat, sweet meats. The healer “will take the *satuang* to a fork or crossroads, or to one of the cardinal points, depending on where the evil influence comes from. He will spread a loin cloth, light candles and incense and worship the ghost or spirit concerned . . .” Raising the *satuang* above his head he invites the spirit to receive the offering; placing it on the ground he recites propitiatory verses from his text book. He includes the name of the sick man and an entreaty to allow him to recover.

If it is a greedy or dangerous spirit, it will be abused and told to get out and go somewhere else. When the ritual is over, the *satuang* is left on the spot for the birds, dogs and monkeys. The healer goes to the patient’s house for his fee and other offerings. He may bind the patient’s wrists to increase his strength.

Chotisukharat mentions also (1971, pt.1, 225/26) the use of four *satuangs* at the cardinal points and of one *satuang* in the centre of the place destined for a new house to exorcise evil influences. But it is significant that these five *satuangs* are filled exclusively with food of many kinds, but no small figurines.

Comparing the various statements on the *satuang*, we note that it can be made of bamboo or banana trunks. As to its size, there are two totally divergent opinions: we gave 25 by 25 centimetres, and Chotisukharat even gave 10 by 24 inches (25 by 60 centimetres) as “about the largest”, while Kunstadter’s 15 by 15 centimetres and Rajabhon’s “half a foot square” (15 by 15 centimetres) seem too small for loading a *satuang* with the many things to be offered. Kunstadter writes of “small models made of a rice paste”, the other reports of clay figurines. The contents of a *satuang* may be somewhat diversified yet its characteristic trait is the little figurines. The ceremony of exorcising generally seems to be executed at the house of the sick person by the medicine man, and afterwards he puts or throws away the *satuang* somewhere outside the village.
The use of the *satuang* appears to be a North Thai custom which is, as far as we know, not practised by any of the hill tribes but the Lawä.

(f) *The suebcha'ra* (เนื้อซื่อ)*

When Khun Suchat, our guide, was going down east from B. Yao to B. Den he found in the forest some sticks, about 1.7 metres long, leaning against a big tree, just behind the *mhuang* posts (erected for the dead; part I, 265). Three of those sticks put together to form a tripod are used for the life-prolonging rite called *suebcha'ra*. It is a Buddhist Thai rite, said to be Hinduistic in origin. Everybody, man or woman, might subject himself to it, hoping to prolong life for one more year. The informants showed us the *suebcha'ra* of the *samang* and former headman Lung Gaeo (mentioned in part I, 262) who at the age of 80 years underwent the rite not long before his death in 1963, and they added smiling a bit mockingly: "It was of no avail."

At the same place there was also a quite new *suebcha'ra*; to each of its three legs were fastened bundles of sticks, about 30 centimetres long. Their number must be one more than the age of the person undergoing the rite. For the ceremony a lighted candle is put on top of the tripod. Men must sit cross-legged under the tripod, women with legs to the side. From his or her folded hands, a white cotton thread runs over the tripod to the performer who is murmuring incantations. In Umphai the performer had been a monk who could read the prayers in northern Thai script. There they only gave him money; but if the rite is performed in a temple, at the side of the tripod are laid a mat with a pillow, a red and a white cloth, and two bowls, one with husked and one with unhusked rice, for the priest.

On 20 January 1964 I visited Khun Kraisi Nimmanahaeminda in Chiang Mai, who told me that *suebcha'ra* is performed all over northern Thailand, particularly during construction of a new house. Khun Kraisi described a frame made of two banana stalks connected by two or three bamboo sticks, with threads stretched lengthwise; wealthy people use gold and silver threads. On the threads cowries are strung and rice grains pasted at intervals. For the ceremony a lighted candle is put on each of the upper ends of the frame, and a white cotton thread leads down from the top of it to priests who keep it in their hands whilst chanting.
tells of a life-prolonging rite in Chiang Mai, not for an individual but for the whole city. The same holds good for the Shans in Kengtung State, Burma, according to Telford.

The suebcha'ta was confirmed by the informants to be a magic rite connected with Buddhist practices, spread over northern Thailand and into the Shan States. Both satuang and suebcha'ta demonstrate a strong influence of northern Thai on Lawa culture, to which we shall refer later.

(g) Sompöi (Sumpo)

In B. Gog Nöi the grandson of a poor woman called Boid was ill, and she brought some gifts thinking me to be a 'great man', an honoured guest credited with a strong phi (everybody has a more or less strong one). Asking for blessings and good wishes for the health of her family, she presented to us the following:

6) Chotisukharat (1971, part 1, 214) mentions the ritual of prolonging the life (suebcha'ta) of the city of Chiang Mai. "In former times this was a very big annual ceremony. It was abandoned after the last war. About two or three years ago the Chiangmai Municipal Council arranged to revive the ceremony."

7) Telford (1937, 167/68) states that in every big town of the Shans in Kengtung State there is a sai mung tree (Thai: jai muang, "heart of the city"). In the Shan town of Mung Yang, Telford observed during two days ceremonies executed by Buddhist priests and laymen at the foot of the sai mung tree. The whole community took part, bringing four big bamboo trays with offerings of all kinds, sacrificing them with prayers to the tree. The trays were removed to the "four furthermost boundaries of the township". On this first day evil spirits and illnesses were driven away by the rite.

On the second day Buddhist priests in their yellow robes were sitting on mats in a long row about 20 metres in front of the tree. Between it and the priests were sitting the representatives of the households, everyone of them below a tripod made of bamboo sticks in the uppermost knot of which was put a bit of rice. White cotton-threads were wound around the trunk of the holy tree, and one thread extended to every tripod and was connected with it. The ends of these unbroken threads, seemingly symbolizing unity and good comradeship of all participants, were put before the priests, who recited prayers for the good luck of the whole town. On this second day the good spirits were asked to come and give their protection.
Item | Thai | Lawā
--- | --- | ---
1. Turmeric | khamin (ขัน) | khang
2. Karen cucumber | taeng yāng (แต่ยาง) | ge
3. Necklace of small white seeds | — | hang gu giang
4. Pods | sōmpōi (สัมปอิ) | garuehā

While in this case sōmpōi contributed to conjure the force of my phē, Kunstadter (1965, 35-36) writes of the use of its pods as shampoo for head-washing ceremonies. Within this context, Kunstadter (1965, 35-36) relates of B. Pā Pē that in the hot season, after cutting the new fields, “people who have left the village to live in Mae Sariang... visit their elder relatives... in the mountains, and honour them with head-washing (dam hua, lit. ‘head blackening’, N. Thai)”. Among other gifts they bring, “a cup containing seed pods (sōn poi, N. Thai) used as shampoo. The elder’s head is washed... and no one cares if the shampooing is a little too vigorous—it is a good way to cool off on a hot afternoon... Similar dam hua ceremonies are held as a part of weddings.”
(b) House spirits

There are two kinds of house spirits, or perhaps better: 'spirits in the house': ancestor spirits and ancestral guardian spirits, or phi la'mang and ta' lamang.

Among the phi la'mang (hence, people just say la'mang) the spirit of the ancestor of a lineage is most important as good luck of the family depends on him in the first place. All those who die a natural death in their houses and not an 'evil death' (töt hong, mi hong) or a death far from home (cf. Kunstadter 1965, 17, 19) become phi la'mang. Yearly after harvest when the rice is stored in the barn they are offered food (chicken, pig or even buffalo, according to the money available) on the path leading to the graveyard.

The phi ta'lamang are the ancestral household guardians for the door, the stairs, and the whole house.

We could not do more than simply locate the different spirits, and to note the kinds of offerings and the time of sacrifice as far as the informants would tell us. To lead to a better understanding it will be helpful to give a summary of the interplay between households and spirits in the house so aptly described for B. Pâ Pâ by Kunstadter.

"Several varieties of spirits are believed to live in and around each family's house. The primary function of the spirits is to protect the members of the household against bad spirits, illness, theft, or other misfortune. Altars are built for these spirits in or near the houses, and sacrifices are made to them when the altars are renewed, when divination reveals them to be the cause of illness, and when a resident of the house is going on a long journey." (1965, 19)

On the other side, "the primary ritual functions of the lineage occur in the worship of spirits which are believed to live in each of the houses. During the periodic sacrifice to these spirits, the various households in a single lineage cooperate and move from one house to the next to make sacrifices according to the order of precedence within the lineage." (1965, 14; 1966 A, 70)

"All the households which belong to a single lineage must furnish at least one person to work in the field of any given household of that lineage when that household is planting; also the households of in-laws of lineage members are obliged to furnish one person. This pattern of cooperation is
symbolized in the ancestor worship which accompanies the planting—each household which furnishes a worker must also send along a bottle of rice liquor to be used in a sacrifice to the common lineage and in-law ancestors." (1966 C, 6)

On this day of planting there must not only be sacrifices to the ancestor spirits of the household and of the wife’s father’s household, but also "to the ancestors of the previous owners of the field, whoever they may have been . . . These ceremonies are conducted on behalf of the household (and related households) by the male household head, often assisted by one of the old men or priests." (1970, 12)

When a household is split because the eldest son sets up his own household, "the ancestral spirits (phi la’mæng) are informed9, and the ancestral household guardians (na’tamanæg) are divided, a portion being invited to the new house with a special offering." "Henceforth the eldest son . . . is considered to be senior to his father . . ., and to precede his father in making offerings to the ancestral spirits at the time offerings are made to the guardian spirits of the house (nok phi kæn bong, to feed spirit, head of stairs)." (1972, 1 b)

**Location of and sacrifices for house spirits10**

The approximate ground plans show the only room of the Lawâ house with the smaller porch in front of it. This porch is covered by a small roof, and is open towards the adjoining veranda. As a rule, stairs lead up from the ground directly to the porch. In rare exceptions the porch is closed on top of the stairs by a door; we have seen this in one case each at B. Ha’ (house of the Headman Nâi Run Khunwong) and at a house of B. Gog Nâi.

In the schematic sketches the house posts consecrated to spirits are indicated by a dot within the circle of the post; only in one case (B. Dong) a dotted post has a ring in addition to show that two spirits are worshipped at one and the same post. The names of the spirits have been noted down as they were pronounced by our informants or, at least, as we understood them. Often seemingly different names are identical, so lamæng choeri in B. Pe’ (German “ch” as in Bach, etc.) is the same as

9) Cf. the information given to the nyoe’nyii spirit sabaig in B. Mæd Lâ, when somebody has died ; part I, 292.
10) For the location of villages, cf. list and map in part I of this report, JSS, vol. 60 part 1, p. 218.
ləmɯàg roid\textsuperscript{11} in B. Gōg N̄i and ləmɯàg rōd in B. Laⁿg N̄ēa, B. Laⁿg Tai and B. Dong. No reader should be surprised if we confess not to have been able to obtain a translation of the spirit names.

Unfortunately, the house spirits of B. Tūn, B. Sān and B. Mūē Lōng could not be investigated thoroughly\textsuperscript{12}. Furthermore, any such research requires much discretion, for strangers are usually not allowed to enter the inner room (similar to the custom of the northern Thai\textsuperscript{13}, of the Lamet in Laos\textsuperscript{14}, and presumably of others). At B. Tūn the Headman Un Khāmjan flatly forbade photographing the holy trees outside the wooden wall of his main room; later Khun Suchāt told me that the Headman, having debts, would have agreed for a considerable sum of money which I certainly would not have been prepared to pay.

Here it is to be remembered that we inquired about house spirits only in the villages of the northern Lawā. B. Tūn however, just north of the Umphā group across a deep valley, is the last village still belonging to the southern Lawā.

\textit{Bān Tūn}

In the house of the Headman Un Khāmjan of Bān Tūn (see figure 24), a board (Thai: \textit{khūe}, \textit{ī}⁴; Lawā: \textit{nāeg}) is fixed on top of the wooden wall separating the main room from the porch. From the porch floor along the partition wall two thin trees (Lawā: \textit{kha'ayu}) with twigs but without leaves are stuck up reaching through a square opening (30 by 30 centimetres) in the ceiling of the porch into the loft. In the loft only maize, golden and green pumpkins are stored, at any rate no sacred rice

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{11} Roid might mean high or great (cf. part I, 267: contrast between low and high sanongs, sanang \textit{thiam} and \textit{sanang roid}).

\textsuperscript{12} At this time we did not realize how grave Khun Suchāt’s illness was. In spring of 1972 he died from that extended illness. We will always remember his extraordinary devotion to the task entrusted to him.

\textsuperscript{13} Nimmanahaeminda (1966, 133) states that the inner room of the northern Thai house is only accessible to the houseowner and his family, and eventually to those guests who do not displease the family spirits.

\textsuperscript{14} LeBar (1969, 225) writes that the Lamet must strictly maintain the sacred character of the house: “tools may not be made or repaired within the house, nor may a stranger sleep there”.

seed or the like. Inside the main room at the second post to the right of the door, two trees or offering sticks of the same kind as outside are attached. At sacrifices the holy trees are wound with leaves of a special kind (unidentified).

Offerings are put into so-called *taleo gob* (नृत्रित्तु) or ‘frog’ *taleo*, because of their rounded form. These are small baskets, the bigger ones being about 20 centimetres in diameter (figure 25a), with the smaller ones about 8 centimetres in diameter. They have nothing to do with the flat *taleo* made of bamboo strips in an open wickerwork, which are signs of prohibition and serve for keeping off men as well as spirits.

There are two sets of *taleo gob*, one outside and one inside the house at their respective offering trees. When we arrived at B. Tūn, the skull of a sacrificed pig was lying on the *khūe* board near the trees outside, covered by four large *taleo gob* put upside down one upon the other (figure 25b). At the offering trees inside the house two small *taleo gob* were hanging one above the other, opening upwards.

At a sacrificial ceremony to the *phi sama* (informants identified it as ‘sky spirit’) the trees are decorated with cotton flocks representing stars; there must always be 16 *taleo gob*, eight outside and eight inside the house, hung up one above the other (figure 25c). At each offering tree two *taleo gob* are filled with cooked rice, two with cooked glutinous rice and four with cooked young chicken. After a while the small *taleo gob* are taken down and thrown away. The big ones are left hanging at their place for some time; later they are emptied, turned over and kept in respect to the spirit.

A sacrifice to *phi sama* is made only if the people have a good life, pigs, money, and no illness. A time limit for this sacrifice does not exist but if during a ten-year span they think they have endured hardships, they refuse to make any offerings to this spirit. According to Kunstadter (1965, 43) after the post-harvest ceremonies in B. Pā Pāe, "another house spirit, *phi sama*, which lives in an altar outside the front wall of the house may be worshipped. This altar should be renewed every few years, and the whole lineage should do it together, but there is no obligation to participate, and not all of the families do so."
In B. Den, at the house of Nai Duang (father of Headman Ping Chumphut of Umphai) we found a talaeo gob fixed perpendicularly to the partition wall in the porch (figure 26). This the informants at B. Tun declared to be wrong, the correct place being the khue, but they agreed that once hung up in the wrong way it would be impossible to change it for fear of provoking the wrath of the spirit.

Ban Sum

Nai Ye has put his old talaeo gob on branches of a tree near his house. He said: “This is holy or magic equipment and must not be thrown on the ground, out of respect for the spirit.” For this reason he kept them at an elevated place.

Ban Gog Nai

In every house of Ban Gog Nai (figure 28) the same pattern prevails. There are three offering trees which are said to be “for the family name” (names, tni) of the houseowner, i.e. for his lineage. These thin trees are fixed to three different house posts standing in the same line. They are for:

(i) Phi lamuag, at the first post (“middle post”) to the left of the door. Offering: once yearly a male pig.
(ii) Phi jua taig, at the first post to the right of the door, opposite (i). Offering: once yearly a red cock.
(iii) Phi ta' khueang, outside the house, at a post supporting the overhanging roof in the line lamuag–jua taig (figure 27). Offering: once yearly a white cock.

The offerings for (i)-(iii) must be performed on the same day, in the morning of a Monday of any month, usually in January or March. If the inmates want to remember the grandfather they address the phi lamuag, which apparently is the most important of the ancestor spirits.

(iv) Phi lamuag roid, two offering trees at the second post of the right side for the lineage of the houseowner’s wife. Offering: once yearly a female pig, in the evening of a Friday of any month.
(v) Φh win ħhag, outside the house, a tall bamboo with leaves stuck through the corner of the roof on the same side as the ta'khueang; halfway up a small funnel-shaped offering basket (Lawā: rog; N. Thai: sa'iō wmo; “funnel”) is attached. This bamboo pole is intended for offerings to the house spirit, the protector of the whole family, and must be renewed at every sacrifice. Offering: a chicken before every new enterprise (e.g. the sale of anything large).

(vi) Dynaung pueang dyuang bē (Lawa for “soul board”), a small board with flowers, candles, joss sticks, etc. above the beam in the farthest corner to the right when entering the room.

When the house is built the souls of the inmates are called: “Please, come all, reside here and be happy.” When someone is leaving for a long trip he goes there to pray for a lucky voyage. There is no sacrifice because there is no φh, the board is the residence of the souls of the inmates. Presumably the soul board is a North Thai Buddhist custom, which was corroborated by Khun Suchāt.

Bun Hō'

In the house of the Headman Run Khunwong (figure 29), the only house with a stair door in this village, there are two offering trees for the houseowner’s lineage:

(i) Φh lamūa, at the first post to the right of the door. Offering: a male pig when the house is built, and also after harvest (October/November), in the morning.

(ii) Φh jō (=jua tāg), in the porch, to the right side of the room door. Offering: once yearly a red cock.

15) Kunstadter (1985, 41) mentions one of the house spirits “ϕh cho, which lives inside the house above the bed of the elder of the household, and is the special guardian of children”. It appears questionable if this ϕh cho of B. Pā Pāe has anything to do with the ϕh jō of B. Hō, especially because ϕh cho resides inside the house and ϕh jō in the porch, quite apart from the fact that jō apparently is identical with jua tāg.
(iii) *Phi ta'khueang*, in the porch, just at the left side of the stair door a tree is erected for sacrifice to this spirit. Offering: a white cock in the morning of the same day as for (i) and (ii).

The other houses of B. Ho', having no stair door, fix the offering tree for the *phi ta'khueang* to the roof supporting post on the stair side which is in line with the *lamua* (cf. B. Gag N3i).

(iv) *Phi roe moegut*, at the second post to the right of the door for the wife's lineage. Offering: a female pig sacrificed by the wife's side in case she falls ill.

(v) *Soul board*, in the farthest corner to the right (cf. Bân Gag N3i).

**Bân Khâng**

The location of house spirit offerings is illustrated in figure 30.

(i) *Phi lamüag*, at the first post to the left of the door for the ancestor spirit of the male family line. Offering: once yearly a male pig on a June morning. It must be on a different day than the sacrifice to the *phi sabai* of the *nyoe' nyü* (part I, 294).

(ii) *Phi jua tâg*, at the first post to the right of the door for the couple who owns the house. This is the only instance of sacrifice we have recorded for both husband and wife. Offering: a red cock.

(iii) *Phi ta'khueang*, at a special post outside the house on the left side of the lower end of the stairs, said to be for the stair spirit. Offering: a white cock in the morning of the same day as (i) and (ii).

(iv) *Phi lamüag hlaing* (Lawâ: *hlaing* = "closed"), inside the room just behind the door to the left, for the door spirit. Offering: a black chicken on the day when the first basket of rice of the new harvest has been brought to the rice barn. Both sacrifice and eating must be behind closed doors with only the family of the houseowner partaking.

(v) *Soul board*, in the farthest corner to the right.
**Bun Gog Luang**

The location for house spirit offerings is illustrated in figure 31.

(i) Phê lamuag, at the first post to the left of the door for the lineage of the houseowner. Offering: a male pig once yearly after harvest.

(ii) Phê jua tag, at the first post to the right of the door for the wife's lineage. Offering: a red cock once yearly on the same day as (i).

(iii) Phê lamuag laid, in the inner room just left of the door for the door spirit. Offering: a black hen after storing the new rice in the granary.

(iv) Soul board, in the farthest corner to the right.

**Bun Pae**

There are two offering trees for the lineage of the houseowner (see figure 32):

(i) Phê lamuag, at the first post to the left of the door. Offering: a male pig once yearly after harvest, in the morning of any day during the waning moon.

(ii) Phê jua tag, there is a small basket at the first post to the right of the door. Offering: a red chicken on the same day as (i).

(iii) Phê lamuag chroit, at the second post to the right of the door for the wife's family name. Offering: a female pig will be sacrificed in the evening by the wife's side when she is sick.

(iv) Phê lamuag laid, for the door spirit of the inner room. The offering tree is not behind the door as in B. Không and B. Gog Luang but in the room's farthest corner to the right at the place where the soul board is usually to be found. Offering: a black chicken when the first basket of new rice has been stored in the rice barn.

(v) Phê gai bong, for the stair spirit (at which place we did not get out). Offering: a dog when somebody is ill. No soul board.
There is no phi lamuag in Ban La'ang Nuea (figure 33). The husband's lineage is only represented by:

(i) Phi jua tag, at the first post to the right of the door. Offering: a red chicken after harvest, in the morning.

(ii) Phi lamuag rod, at the second post to the right for the wife's lineage. Offering: a female pig is killed by the wife's side in the evening if she falls ill.

(iii) Phi gai bong, for the stair spirit (Thai: phi bandai, ภัยบ้าน). A tall, thin bamboo with leaves is stuck through a corner of the roof; a little offering basket is fixed at mid-height.

In this village it was expressly stated that the stair spirit here is not called phi ta'khuang. Offering: three chickens after harvest.

There is no door spirit (phi lamuag lāid) as in B. Khōng, B. Gōg Luang and B. Pae', and no soul board.

Ban La'ang Tai

There is no phi lamuag in Ban La'ang Tai (figure 34), only the same two offering trees as in B. La'āng Nuea:

(i) Phi jua tag, at the first post to the left of the door for the houseowner's lineage. It is a small basket like a talaeo gob (cf. B. Tum). Offering: a red chicken when the house is built, and again when a boy is born.

(ii) Phi lamuag rod, at the second post to the left of the door for the wife's lineage. Offering: A female pig is sacrificed by the wife's relatives if she is ill.

(iii) Phi gai bong, for the stair spirit. The same device is erected as in B. La'āng Nuea. Offering: Two small chickens every year after harvest.

(iv) The soul board is in the farthest corner to the left (everywhere else to the right). Here also an offering tree for the door spirit does not exist. In the porch of Headman Lēng's house we noted a small tablet fixed to the wall with pictures of Buddhist monks (cf. Kunstadter 1965, 26).
Bân Dong

For both the husband's and the wife's lineage in Bân Dong (figure 35), the respective offering baskets are at one and the same post, the second to the right when entering the room:

(i) Phi ju (= jua tāg), a small basket similar to a talaeo gob at the upper part of the post. Offering: three chickens (a red cock, a speckled cock, a hen) when the house is newly built, and once yearly after harvest.

(ii) Phi lamāag rōd, a small basket below (i). Offering: a female pig is sacrificed in the evening by the wife's relatives if she is ill.

(iii) Phi gai bong, for the stair spirit. Offering: a male pig is sacrificed on the right side of the lower end of the stairs, and a chicken on their left side every two years after harvest.

(iv) Yuea ajuk, for the house spirit. Outside the house a tall, thin bamboo with leaves touching down onto the roof is stuck through a corner of the roof; at mid-height a small funnel-shaped offering basket is attached (figure 36). Offering: a cock (of all colours but white) once yearly during a day of the waning moon in any month.

There is neither phi lamāag nor soul board.

Bân La'ub

For the location of offerings in Bân La'ub, please refer to figure 37.

(i) Phi ju (= jua tāg), at the second post to the left of the door for the houseowner's lineage. Offering: a male pig when the house is newly built and once every year—"provided that there is enough money", as they said.

(ii) Phi gai bong, for the stair spirit at the lower end of the stairs. Offering: a pig at the right side and two chickens at the left side of the stairs once yearly after harvest, in the fortnight after the full moon in the ninth moon-month (October/November).
(iii) Phā ajūk (or yuang ajūk) for the house spirit. Noticed only at one house, outside the house at a post supporting the roof near the stairs. Offering: a chicken (not of white colour) once yearly when the new rice is stored in the rice barn.

(iv) Ta'lamāng, the soul board in the farthest corner to the left. It is not for a spirit but for the souls of the inmates, here called ta'lamāng (cf. discussion in (b) above, for contrary example).

Analysis

Of the two spirit categories in and around the house, the phā la'māng are the spirits of the deceased ancestors of the houseowner as well as of his wife in a direct line or lineage. In every house they have special posts for their veneration and offerings dedicated to them (see table 5).

But some information indicates that these ancestor spirits reside at the burial place somewhere in the forest near the village. Over the graves low huts are erected, called “soul huts” by some researchers. On one or the other occasion sacrifices are presented to the spirits of the dead on the road to the cemetery. Apparently, there are two residences believed to exist: in the house and at the graveyard; it is not yet clear how far this theory is accepted, and especially how and for what reasons the spirits would move to and fro between these two places.

The phā lamāng (B. Ho': lamāia), ancestor spirit of the houseowner’s lineage, enjoys the highest esteem: it gets a yearly sacrifice of a male pig. Otherwise a pig is only provided for the phā gai bong (stair spirit) in B. Dong and B. La’ub, and for the phā jū in B. La’ub; also in five villages a female pig is killed for the phā lamāng roid (spirit of the wife’s lineage) when the wife falls ill. The other spirits receive a lower degree of sacrifice: not more than chickens (table 6).

The word lamāang might be etymologically related to la’māng; it also appears in lamāang roid (chroit, rōd) for the wife’s ancestor spirit and in lamāang hlaing (lāid) for the door spirit. What this word means can hardly be guessed; a verifiable translation or explanation is lacking.
Table 5. The house spirits of the northern Lao

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Laming (man's ancestors) Offering</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Laming (first for men) Offering</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Takheuang Offering</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Laming (wife's ancestors) Offering</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. Gog Nai</td>
<td>x 1 male pig once yearly</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (sea pig) 1 red cock once yearly</td>
<td></td>
<td>x 1 white cock once yearly</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (laming rode) 1 sow once yearly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Ho</td>
<td>x (landa) after harvest and house building</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (jao)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (sea mosgi) if wife b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Khoong</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (for the couple)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Gog Luang</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (for wife's lin)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Pat</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (for wife's lin)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Laang Neua</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Laang Tai</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>x [jao] 3 diff. after harvest</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Dong</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (jao) 1 male pig once yearly house building and son born</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Laub</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>x (jao)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Laming ( Soil spirit) Offering | Time  | pat buag ( Soil spirit) Offering | Time  | we pun ( House spirit) Offering | Time  | soul board (no offering) Offering |

0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Gog Nai |
0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Ho |
0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Khoong |
0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Gog Luang |
0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Pat |
0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Laang Neua |
0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Laang Tai |
0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Dong |
0 |       | x (high bamboo) 1 chicken before an enterprise | x | B. Laub |
Table 6. Animals sacrificed to the spirits in the house

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VILLAGE</th>
<th>PIGS</th>
<th>CHICKENS</th>
<th>NO COLOUR MENTIONED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Gog Nai</td>
<td>1 male</td>
<td>1 sow</td>
<td>yearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Ha'</td>
<td>1 male</td>
<td>1 sow</td>
<td>after harvest, house building (wife ill)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Kh5ng</td>
<td>1 male</td>
<td>yearly</td>
<td>(June)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Gog Luang</td>
<td>1 male</td>
<td>after harvest</td>
<td>lamăng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Pae'</td>
<td>1 male</td>
<td>1 sow</td>
<td>after harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. La'ing Nua</td>
<td>1 sow</td>
<td>(wife ill)</td>
<td>lamăng hauñg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. La'ing Thāi</td>
<td>1 sow</td>
<td>(wife ill)</td>
<td>lamăng hauñg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Dong</td>
<td>1 male</td>
<td>after harvest every 2 years</td>
<td>gai bong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 sow</td>
<td>(wife ill)</td>
<td>lamăng hauñg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. La'ub</td>
<td>1 male</td>
<td>yearly and house built, after harvest</td>
<td>gai bong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The five columns relating to sacrifices are subdivided into (a) which sacrificial animal, (b) time of sacrifice, and (c) for which spirits.
Generally the post for the phi lamuag is at the left side of the door, only the lamuag in B. Ho' is at the right side. It must be emphasized that this spirit does not exist in B. La'ang Nuea, B. La'ang Tai, B. Dong and B. La'ub, i.e. the southwestern villages of the northern Lawa group.

The next important spirit of the male lineage is the phi jua tag (B. Gog Noi: jua tag, B. Ho': jo, B. Dong and B. La'ub: jui). It certainly has its foremost rank in villages without phi lamuag. Its offering tree is present everywhere from B. Gog Noi to B. La'ub usually at the first post to the right of the door, in front of the post for the phi lamuag. Exceptions are as follows: (i) in B. Ho' it is outside the room in the porch, (ii) in B. La'ang Tai it takes the place otherwise occupied by the lamuag at the first post to the left, (iii) in B. Dong and B. La'ub it has its place at the second post, in B. Dong to the right and in B. La'ub to the left.

For the lineage of the houseowner's wife, offerings are given to the spirit lamuag roid (B. Gog Noi), roe moeg (B. Ho'), lamuag chroit (B. Pae'), and lamuag rod (B. La'ang Nuea, B. La'ang Tai, B. Dong) at trees fixed to the second post to the right of the door, except at B. La'ang Tai where it is to the left. Generally there is no yearly sacrifice as for the husband's lineage, only in case the wife falls ill a female pig will be sacrificed by the relatives of her lineage. There are the following exceptions: (i) in B. Gog Noi a female pig is sacrificed once yearly; (ii) in B. Khong the phi jua tag serves for both husband and wife it receives yearly a red cock as in B. Gog Luang, but here the jua tag is exclusively for the wife's lineage. In these three villages (B. Gog Noi, B. Khong, B. Gog Luang), moreover in B. La'ub, nothing was related of a female pig's offering by the wife's relations in case of her illness.

Rather controversial is the question how the phi ta'khueang should be classified. It seems that this spirit is only known from three villages (table 5); at any rate we did not note any more ta'khueang offering trees. In B. Gog Noi and B. Ho' its tree is fixed outside the house at a roof-supporting post, in line with lamuag (figures 28, 29). In B. Khong, on the contrary, it is outside at the foot of the stairs and said to be for the stair spirit (figure 30), similar to the position of the posts for the phi gai.
bong or stair spirit in B. Dong and B. La'ub (figures 35, 37). It is significant that in the Headman's house of B. Ho', an offering tree is put up in the porch aside the stair door for the spirit of this door which we can suppose identical with the stair spirit elsewhere, especially as Kunstadter (1967, MS. 4) refers to the "phi kain bong, spirit of doorway, fed in July". If in B. Gag Nöi the phi ta'khueang was reckoned among the ancestor spirits of the male lineage, then it might as well be a misunderstanding or misinformation. Looking at table 5, it is conspicuous that for the above three villages no phi gai bong but only the phi ta'khueang is mentioned, while in the rest of the villages (but one; B. Gag Luang, from where we have no note) the stair spirit is called phi gai bong. In B. La'ang Nua it was even stated that the stair spirit is not called ta'khueang. Most probably the phi ta'khueang is nothing else but the stair spirit phi gai bong in the other villages.

A special feature concerning the position of offering posts in the house is remarkable: in B. Gag Nöi the posts for jua taig-lamuag-ta'khueang, in B. Ho' for lamia and ta'khueang, in B. Khöng, B. Gag Luang and B. Pae' for jua tag and lamuag must be in one line. This is reminiscent of the North Thai prescription that at house-building the two important posts, sao mongkhon (อามาง, or "post of good luck" for the husband) and sao nang (อามัน, "woman's post" for the wife), form a pair and "should be in a straight line opposite each other" (Chotisukharat 1971, 226, 228; Nimmanahaeminda 1966, 34). The difference is that the North Thai put up such posts in a line for husband and wife, while the Lawä do so for the spirits of the husband's lineage; those for the Lawä wife's lineage are one row behind it.

There is also a difference to the Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu) because "at the ancestral feeding rites both the ancestors of the household head and those of his wife are invited to partake of the feast" (Walker 1970, 37), while the Lawä regularly only sacrifice to the ancestor spirits of the male line (in the morning) and not more than occasionally to the ancestor spirit of the female lineage (in the evening).
Nearer to the customs of the chiefly patrilineal Lawa are the Lamet and Khmu, where the veneration of the ancestor spirits is directed by the male head of household.

In speaking about the stair spirit, we have already begun to elucidate some items of the second category of spirits: the hereditary spirit-protectors of the house and its inmates, firmly connected with the specific house since ancestral times.

The stair spirit (Thai: phi bandai, ภูบันดา) is, as a rule, called gai (d) bong (บ้วย) by the Lawa (bong = “stairs”, Rangsit 1942/45, 700: mbong = “ladder”). In our schedule it is only mentioned from B. Pae’ to B. La’ub, but certainly it is known in some more villages. So, in B. Den (Umphai group) they sacrifice to the phi gai bong every two years after harvest a pig (male or female) and a chicken which might be of all colours but white. This is in contrast to the three villages which just offer white chickens to the ta’khueang. Again the question: is the ta’khueang really equivalent to the gai bong?

When in B. Pae’ someone of the family falls ill and the jaw ngau (จํว้หัว; North Thai: tonhid ม้วน, an office which passes from father to

16) LeBar (1969, 225) tells us that the Lamet have a “socioeconomic ritual system involving sacrifice to ancestral spirits (cf. Izikowitz, Lamet, 1951) ... It is their system of beliefs about the relation of man-and in particular the housefather-to the paternal ancestor spirits that motivates much of Lamet behavior ... The ancestral spirits reside within the extended family household ... They are central to the Lamet scheme of things-they can 'help' the Lamet by ensuring health, happiness, well-being and abundance of food—but they must be kept happy lest they depart from their accustomed residence. The way to keep them contented and well disposed is (1) by strict observance of prohibitions and rules of conduct (cf. note 17) ... (2) the spirits must be fed and elaborate sacrifices made in their honor.” Only the housefather will sacrifice to and care for the spirits, “in this sense he is the 'priest' for all those under his roof”.

17) According to Roux and Tran-Van-Chu (see bibliography) the Khmu have “a house spirit, a kind of embodiment of the souls of ancestors, responsible for the well-being of people, domestic animals and crops. At the same time, this spirit punishes any breach of custom by making the housefather ill without actually causing him to die.”
son) states that the illness is caused by the *phi gai bong*, then a reddish-brown dog is killed in the evening and its muzzle, ears, paws and tail are sacrificed; the rest is thrown away. If a *samang* is concerned, he asks a simple Lawā to perform the sacrifice for him.

According to Kunstadter (1965, 41) in B. Pā Pæ “about the middle of July a ceremony is held to renew the altars of some of the house spirits: *phi kajn bong*, which acts as a guardian and lives inside the house beside the door, and *phi cho*... These sacrifices must be made according to the order of precedence within the lineage... Households of the Chang Maw group do not sacrifice to these spirits, but the next morning they make a sacrifice to another spirit, *phi sapajc*, using a buffalo every fifth year, and chickens the other four years.” They kill these animals tied to a carved *sagang* just west of the ceremonial house.

These statements of Kunstadter are interesting in several respects. Firstly, they show that within two quarters of the same village different ceremonies might be held depending on the tradition of the inhabitants’ origins. No wonder if spirits, their names, altars and sacrifices vary often enough between different villages (part I, 290). In the special case of B. Chāngmāi Nōi (part I, 283), a southern village, the people immigrated to B. Pā Pæ apparently with no *phi gai bong* but a *phi sabaig*, spirit of the *nyoe’nyu* (part I, 291). Still, the *phi gai bong* known nearly everywhere in the north is also to be met with in the south, as we have noted from B. Pā Pæ (eastern section) and B. Den. The *phi sabaig*, typical for the north, is found to exist in a village quarter originating from a Chāngmāi village belonging to the Umphāi group of the southern Lawā. The logical inference is that both spirits, *gai bong* and *sabaig*, are more or less common to all Lawā, and if they are noted little from the south it is only because the southern villages have not been investigated thoroughly in this regard.

Secondly, the location of the *phi gai bong* inside the house beside the door in B. Pā Pæ is reminiscent of the door spirit *phi lam bāg hlaing* (or *lād*) in B. Khōng, B. Gog Luang and B. Pae’ (table 5 and figures 30-32) which is fed inside the main room, in the first two villages behind the door, in B. Pae’, strangely enough, in the farthest corner to the right and in this way far from the door of which this spirit is supposed to be...
the guardian. When Kunstadter calls the phiai bong “spirit of doorway” (1967, MS. 4) and gives its location as being “inside the house beside the door” (1965, 41), difficulty arises in distinguishing between stair spirit (phiai bong) and door spirit (phlamug klaing or laid). Kunstadter’s phi kajn bong apparently takes the place of the door spirit of the main room.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1952, 8) writing on phra phum (ผูม) or jao thi (เจ้าธี), the guardian spirit of every Thai house, mentions that there are all together nine phra phum spirits. Of one of them he relates (1952, 9): “The phra phum of the door and head of the stairs is no more, but still lingers as an old superstition that when going into a living room, one must not put one’s foot on the threshold but pass over it. Undoubtedly, in the old days, the spirit of the door was there.” Here again stair and door spirit melt into one, but in the Lawa villages they generally make a distinction which is marked by different colours of the sacrificial animals (table 6): red chickens for phi tua tag, white chickens for phi ta’khuean, and black chickens for lamug klaing.

It is noteworthy that in the two La’ang villages the offerings to the phai bong are given in a little receptacle attached to a tall bamboo stuck through a corner of the roof, a procedure elsewhere preferred for offerings to the house spirit (Thai: phi ruean, ผูเรียน), called by the Lawa win juaag (B. Gog Nai), ajuk (B. Dong and B. La’ub) or achat (B. Sam). Srisawasdi (1963, 175) mentions correctly (in other instances he seems to confuse different spirits and their altars) that the Lawa “put up a bamboo with many twigs rising high above the roof... and bending its leaves towards it. The receptacle serving as residence of the house spirit is called su’tag (North Thai: ผูมา, “funnel”; Lawa: rog).

Tall bamboos of this kind, always at the stairside of the house, were apparently erected for the stair spirit in B. La’ang Nuea and B. La’ang Tai; and for the house spirit in B. Tuen, B. Sam, B. Gog Nai, B. Dong and B. La’ub.

18) This distinction is also made by other tribal people, e.g. by the Oraon in Chotanagpur (central India) of whom Hermans (1973, 360) notes that their sacrificial animals are killed in varying ways, and must have different colours according to the spirit.
Quite a number of them had been erected in B. Dong, at any rate more than in any other village. In B. La’ub we saw only one, as did Obayashi (1964, 417). It seems strange that apart from the tall offering bamboos for the stair spirit in the two La’ang-villages from B. Ho’ to B. La’ang Tāi, we did not notice any such bamboos for the house spirit. They only appeared again in B. Dong as yuea ajūk and in B. La’ub as yuang ajūk, yuea and yuang, both meaning house in Lawā.

When we stopped over in B. Tūn we found tall bamboos with a little basket attached to them stuck through the roof corners of two houses. These offering devices had been erected for the house spirit by two families willing to give up their houses in B. Tūn with intent to move to Maesariang (part I, 242). Into the little basket they had put rice grains, a candle, an incense-stick and flowers for the Buddha. All their belongings to be taken along were sprinkled with holy water (water containing toasted and broken sōmpōi). This sacrifice is for good luck (Thai: khwan, ṝī) and is called: pītan khrō’ pītan nām (เปลี่ยนชื่อเปลี่ยน суду, or “change fate, change name”). It is not Lawā but North Thai, and the performer of the ceremony must be a monk; here it was a Lawā monk from B. B5 Luang invited for the occasion.

In B. Sām there were stuck through the corner of a mighty roof at the left side of the stair two thin, three-metre-tall bamboos, narrowly tied together, with leaves in their upper part. About half way up each bamboo was attached a small basket. The whole erection is called yong dyong achōk (house-altar-phi achōk). Yearly between harvest and felling of the new field an offering is made to the house spirit phi achōk by every family lineage, excluding in-laws, for their own house. They sacrifice a pig and put small cooked bits of its muzzle, ears, tail and feet together with some cooked rice into the small baskets on the tall bamboos. This is done to bring good luck and to ward off evil, as the phi achōk has the power to make people rich or poor.

Finally, I would like to call attention to a remark of Funke concerning the Umphāi-Lawā (1960, 144): “The various sacrifices of animals for the spirits are often in connection with the phases of the moon.” Kunstadter (1965, 38) hints at similar conceptions of the Lawā.
in B. Pā Pā: “About the second week of May, at a time set by the moon, a ceremony is conducted by the Samangs... to insure that the rain will fall.” In writing about the custom of mothers, lying by a fire after giving birth, he mentions among other reasons that it “also depends on the phase of the moon” (1965, 47).

Though our notes from the northern Lawā are fragmentary in this respect, we can state the following about sacrifices executed during the waning moon in these villages:

(i) B. Pāe: for the phi lamuag a pig and for the phi jua tāg a red chicken after harvest, in the morning of any day during the waning moon.

(ii) B. Dong: for the phi ajuk (house spirit) a cock on a day of the waning moon of any month.

(iii) B. La’ub: for the phi gai bong (stair spirit) a pig and two chickens after harvest in the fortnight after full moon (i.e. waning moon) in the ninth month (October/November).

Certainly this question is not yet explored sufficiently.

In some cases even days of the week are taken into consideration:

(i) B. Gag Nōi: Monday of any month for lamuag, jua taig, ta’khueang;

 Friday of any month for lamuag roid (female line).

(ii) B. La’ang Nōe: Tuesday in December for sabai (part I, 297).

Being in communication with the plains people, they certainly have calendars to know the days of the week. Still, it leaves us with the question why they choose special days for their sacrifices. Many features remain unexplained in Lawā magic and religion.
The consonants are pronounced as in English, the vowels as in Italian. The exceptions are “ae”, “oe”, “ue”, which correspond to the German umlaut as in “ä”, “ö”, “ü” and are close to the Thai vowels “ua”, “iê”, “iê”, as respectively in the following sets of examples: (a) “talaeo”; (b) “nyoe nyu, poeguad”; (c) “khue, mbueang, yueng”. Only one phonetic letter is used: “ö”, for the “open o” (in English usually transcribed as “aw”).

Long vowels are marked by a dash (e.g. “dyong”), a stress by an accent (“sagang”), a glottal stop (abrupt ending of a vowel) by an apostrophe (“ta nög”). Tones in Thai words are not indicated; Lawā words have none.

GLOSSARY

dyong: altar made of four sticks with a small bamboo platform on top; also, small conical basket attached to a high bamboo for offerings to the house spirit

gai (d) bong (Lawā): see phi bandai
gorida gaurid, in B. Lu'ub phuirid: tonhid
gum: village spirit (northern Lawā)
jau ngau: northern Lawā for tonhid
khii'e (Thai), noeg (Lawā): board on the separation wall between porch and inner room
lām: assistant headman, in B. Pā Pā leaders of the constituent villages, in B. Lu'ub and B. Bā Luang announcer or herald of the samang
la'māng: ancestor spirits
mbueang: memorial and feeding post for the dead, low post
miang: leaves of a special kind of wild tea, fermented and rolled, chewed with a grain of salt, sometimes also sweetened
nām: ancestor post for a dead male samang, high post
nyoe' nyū: ritual house. In B. Sām, B. La'āng Tai and B. Pā Pā often called lād. Also, guesthouse in the southern group where big enough and in good repair
phā bandai หน้า (Thai), gai (d) bong (Lawa): stair spirit
phū chuai ญู (Thai): assistant headman, often also called lām
phū yai bān ญูบ้าน: village headman, more often called phū luang
phū luang: village headman, sometimes gae bān หน้า. Lawa: poequad
poequad (Lawa): headman
rai เริน (Thai): fields under slash-and-burn (swidden) cultivation
sabaig, phū sabaig (sabai, sabait): nyoe' nyū spirit
sagang: high post, double in the south, single in the north, for tethering buffaloes or cattle to be sacrificed to the village spirit. In the north sometimes also in front the nyoe' nyū for the phū sabaig
samang: higher social layer of feudal descent, spiritual leader
talēo เทียน (Thai), talā (Lawa): sign of prohibition for men and spirits, made in various forms with bamboo splints in open plaiting
talēo gob เทียนถ้วย: little baskets for offerings to the ancestor spirits
ta'nōg (northern Lawa): sacrificer who prays and offers to the spirits
ta'yuang: village spirit (southern Lawa)
tonhād เทียน (Thai): preserver of old customs (cf. gorid, jau ngau)
“village-closure”: at certain festivals or in case of an epidemic, nobody is allowed in or out of a village; indicated by a talēo at every village entrance
yuang (yong), northern Lawa yueng: village, Lawa house, especially used for the noey' nyū
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Figure 13. The bundle of three sagangs called sabai yu yang, in front of the ritual house at Ban Dong.
Figure 14. Places of sacrifice north of Bān Gōg Luang
Figure 15. Bân Gog Luang: offering tree, flanked by the small “saang”.
Figure 16. Places of sacrifice south of Bān Pae
Figure 17. The withered sagang gum of the samang ra' at the southern offering place in Bān Pae', with Nāi Dū standing at its side.
Figure 18. A square for holding pig-offerings in Ban Yaeg

Figure 19. An altar for a phi sacrifice near Ban Omphai Luang
Figure 20. The samang and former headman Lung Gaeo squatting at a spirit hut near Băn Chăngmăi Năi

Figure 21. Altar for sacrifice to the road spirit near Băn Omphăi Luang
Figure 22. One of the two spirit altars in front of the ritual house in Bān Pa Pāe

Figure 23. A satuang at a path near Bān Nā Fōn
Figure 24. Headman's house and sacred trees at the partition wall
Figure 25. Bän Tûn: (a) talaeo gob, (b) four reversed talaeo gob, (c) eight talaeo gob hanging one from another.
Figure 26. Bân Den: Talaeo gob hung perpendicularly at the partition wall of Nài Duang’s house. Notice in the foreground the big earthenware pot with little “ears” on the shoulder; according to Mr. Charles Nelson Spinks (personal letter of 7 September 1966), it appears to be in the Sawankhalok style.
Figure 27. Offering basket for the phû ta'khueang, attached outside the house to a post supporting the overhanging roof.
Figure 28. Băn Gog Nstdarg

Figure 29. House of Village Headman Run
Khunwong in Băn Hot
Figure 30. Location of offerings in Bến Khơng

Figure 31. Location of offerings in Bến Gõg Luang
Figure 32. Location of offerings in Ban Pae

Figure 33. Location of offerings in Ban Laang Nuca
Figure 34. Location of offerings in Bán La‘āng Tāi

Figure 35. Location of offerings in Bán Dong
Figure 36. Bān Dong: High bamboo with funnel-shaped offering basket stuck through the roof, for the spirit of the house ajuk.
Figure 37. Location of offerings in Bän La’ub