



วารสารวิชาการรัตนบุศย์
RATANABUTH JOURNAL
ฉบับพิเศษ “แคนคำ”



วัตถุประสงค์

เพื่อส่งเสริม สนับสนุน เผยแพร่ผลงานวิชาการและผลงานวิจัยด้านต่าง ๆ ให้เป็นแหล่งเรียนรู้ และถ่ายทอดองค์ความรู้ให้กับชุมชน ในการสนับสนุนบุคคลที่ทำคุณงามความดีกับสังคม ส่งเสริมงาน ด้านวิชาการ และด้านอื่นๆ ของนักวิชาการ นิสิต นักศึกษาและผู้ที่เกี่ยวข้องไปในการนำเสนองานวิชาการ และผลงานวิจัยเผยแพร่สู่สังคมและเพื่อให้บริการวิชาการเกี่ยวกับการเสนอทางออกในการแก้ปัญหา สังคม

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ในการจัดทำวารสารฉบับ " แคนคำ " ครั้งนี้ อยู่ภายใต้วารสาร Ratanabuth ที่เผยแพร่มาอย่างต่อเนื่องและเป็นวารสารที่อยู่ในฐาน 2

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ฉบับพิเศษ “แคนคำ”



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CÁCH CHỮA BỆNH CỦA NGƯỜI THÁI Ở NGHỆ AN (DÂN GIAN VÀ HIỆN TẠI)

TS. Vi Văn An
TS. Artha Natachukra

1. Một số thông tin chung

Trong 5 dân tộc thiểu số ở Nghệ An (Thái, Thổ, Khơ-mú, Hmông và Ô-đù), thì Thái là dân tộc chiếm số đông hơn cả. Theo số liệu thống kê năm 2009, tỉnh Nghệ An có 295.312 người Thái (năm 2016 khoảng hơn 310.000 người). Người Thái cư trú tập trung chủ yếu ở các huyện miền núi, vùng cao: Tương Dương, Con Cuông, Quỳnh Hợp, Quỳnh Châu, Quế Phong, Kỳ Sơn..., trong đó đông nhất tại các huyện: Quế Phong (51.340 người), Tương Dương (50.275 người), Quỳnh Hợp (47.632), Con Cuông (44.595) và Quỳnh Châu (40.890 người). Có 4 nhóm Thái là: Tày Mường, Hàng Tổng (Tay Dọ), Tày Thanh, Man Thanh (Tày Nhại), Tày Mười và Tày Khăng. Nhóm Tày Mường tự nhận là Thái Trắng/Tày Đón, còn 3 nhóm Tày Thanh, Tày Mười và Tày Khăng tự nhận là Thái Đen/Tày Đăm.

Người Thái sinh sống chủ yếu bằng canh tác ruộng nước và nương rẫy; chăn nuôi gia súc, gia cầm; duy trì các nghề thủ công như dệt vải, đan lát. Tập quán săn bắn, hái lượm và đánh bắt cá ở sông suối tuy vẫn còn duy trì, song đã giảm đáng kể. Hiện nay, ở khắp các địa phương của người Thái (cũng như các dân tộc khác trong tỉnh), xuất hiện các ngành nghề mới như nuôi trâu, bò, dê nhất là nuôi lợn thành đàn; mô hình trang trại vườn rừng (keo, cao su, chanh leo), nuôi cá lồng. Các dịch vụ: sửa chữa xe máy, cửa hàng ăn uống, cà phê, cắt tóc gội đầu, điện thoại di động, bán hàng tiêu dùng... mọc lên ở khắp nơi. Bên cạnh đó, hệ thống đường sá nông thôn được cải thiện đáng kể (đường bê tông, đường cấp phối, trải nhựa), xe ô tô có thể đến tận hầu hết các trung tâm xã, hơn 85% người dân được sử dụng điện lưới quốc gia, được xem truyền hình. Công tác giáo dục, y tế và chăm sóc sức khỏe cho người dân ngày càng được cải thiện.



Mặc dù sống xen kẽ hay biệt lập, ở thị trấn hay vùng cao, vùng sâu, vùng xa và với số lượng chênh lệch nhau, nhưng tình đoàn kết và mối quan hệ giữa người Thái với các dân tộc Thổ, Khơ-mú, Hmông và Ơ-đu (và với cả người Kinh) không ngừng được củng cố. Với số lượng dân số đông nhất trong các dân tộc thiểu số, nên từ trước tới nay, bên cạnh tiếng Việt, tiếng Thái là ngôn ngữ giao tiếp chính trong vùng. Có thể nói, từ xưa tới nay, người Thái luôn đóng vai trò quan trọng trong quá trình xây dựng và phát triển kinh tế, văn hoá xã hội cũng như trong sự nghiệp xây dựng nông thôn mới, bảo vệ an ninh, quốc phòng của vùng miền tây Nghệ An..

2. Các khía cạnh liên quan đến sức khỏe, bệnh tật

2.1. Quan niệm của người Thái về sức khỏe và bệnh tật

Theo quan niệm của người Thái, người có sức khỏe (mi hanh) là người có cơ thể cường tráng, da dẻ hồng hào, tóc đen, dày, đi lại nhanh nhẹn, hoạt bát. Người có sức khỏe có thể lao động quanh năm mà không bị đau ốm. Sức khỏe này có được là do: di truyền từ giống nòi của ông bà, cha mẹ; do ăn uống đủ chất, ngủ nghỉ điều độ, biết giữ gìn vệ sinh cơ thể và môi trường xung quanh. Về mặt tâm linh,

người Thái cho rằng: người có sức khỏe là do kiếp trước, người đó ăn ở có phúc đức, chăm lo thờ cúng, không làm điều xấu, nên được Then Ló (Then Đúc ra người) ban tặng. Ngoài ra, họ còn cho rằng: muốn có sức khỏe tốt, con người nên yêu thương, đùm bọc và giúp đỡ lẫn nhau, không nên suy nghĩ, tính toán hơn thiệt để cho đầu óc thư thái, nhất là không nên có âm mưu làm hại người khác.

Về bệnh tật (chếp xày), người Thái cho rằng, biểu hiện của bệnh tật là cơ thể gầy yếu, da mái, xanh xao, vàng vọt, tóc thưa, đi lại chậm chạp, người thường uể oải. Người bị bệnh tật thường không có khả năng tham gia lao động, nhất là các việc nặng nhọc, nên thường chỉ làm được việc nhẹ nhàng. Theo cách giải thích của người Thái thì, ngoài một phần do di truyền từ giống nòi, nguyên nhân của ốm đau, bệnh tật là do ăn uống, ngủ nghỉ không đầy đủ, thiếu chất dinh dưỡng dẫn đến cơ thể gầy yếu. Ngoài ra, họ còn cho rằng nguyên nhân bệnh tật còn do kiếp ông bà, cha mẹ ăn ở thiếu đạo đức với dân làng, hay ăn trộm cắp, chửi thề ma quỷ, xao nhãng việc thờ cúng, nên bị thần thánh, ma quỷ trừng phạt.



Về mặt tâm linh, cách giải thích phổ biến của người Thái về tình trạng bệnh tật thường theo quan niệm vạn vật hữu linh. Cụ thể là, con người sống được là nhờ có linh hồn (khoăn/văn) và vía (ngau) ngụ trong thể xác. Theo họ, số lượng hồn cụ thể ngụ trong cơ thể mỗi con người không thể tính hết được, chỉ biết hồn được phân bố đều trên khắp cơ thể con người. Trong lời cúng có câu: “xam xíp khoăn/văn tang nà, hà xíp khoăn tang lăng, khoăn chung chăng xoong xàng” (30 hồn đằng trước, 50 hồn phía sau, hồn lau nhau ngụ hai bên sườn) hoặc “xam xíp minh văn châu, cầu hội minh văn hua” (30 hồn ngụ trong cơ thể và 900 hồn khác ngụ ở trên đầu). Tuy nhiên, người ta cũng có thể chỉ ra được một số vị trí trên cơ thể có hồn cư ngụ: văn hua (hồn đầu), văn ta (hồn mắt), văn hu (hồn tai), văn tấp (hồn gan), văn pọt (hồn phổi), văn chơ (hồn tim...). Trong tổng số các hồn kể trên có một hồn chủ được coi là hồn gốc (văn tồn) ngụ ở chỏm tóc trên đỉnh đầu (chom văn). Vì thế, người Thái kiêng việc xoa đầu hay đánh vào đầu trẻ em vì sợ hồn chủ sẽ lìa khỏi thân xác, dẫn đến ốm đau, bệnh tật, thậm chí có thể chết. Điều này cho thấy, về bản chất và chức năng thì khoăn/văn (tức hồn) là “cơ quan” bảo vệ cho thân xác và duy trì sự sống của con người - nơi mà chính nó trú ngụ.

Một trong những đặc tính của hồn là hay đi lang thang, mãi chơi quên cả đường về hoặc thường bị ma quỷ bắt cóc, không trở về nhập vào thể xác được, nên con người mới bị đau ốm. Do vậy, mỗi khi bị đau ốm, người nhà phải lấy chiếc áo của người bị ốm đi xem bói để biết được hồn lạc ở đâu, bị ma nào bắt. Sau đó, gia chủ phải phải sắm lễ vật, mời thầy cúng đến làm lễ gọi hồn (hiếc khoăn/văn), buộc chỉ cổ tay (còi/phục khen) để chuộc hồn về. Lễ gọi hồn cũng có nhiều hình thức và cấp độ cao thấp khác nhau. Tùy theo mức độ ốm nhẹ hay nặng mà người ta chuẩn bị mâm lễ vật cúng là trứng, gà hay mổ lợn, thậm chí là mổ trâu/bò. Hiện nay, lễ gọi hồn vẫn là tập quán phổ biến của người Thái Việt Nam nói chung, người Thái ở Nghệ An nói riêng.

Ngày nay, hầu hết người Thái đã nhận thức được rằng, sức khỏe có nguồn gốc từ quá trình chăm sóc thai nhi, nuôi dưỡng, ăn uống điều độ, đủ chất dinh dưỡng và biết đề phòng bệnh tật. Người Thái cũng hiểu rằng, các trường hợp bị bệnh tật là do ăn uống thiếu chất hoặc nghèo đói do



kinh tế khó khăn; do sinh hoạt không hợp vệ sinh, lao động quá sức; do môi trường sống và nguồn nước bị ô nhiễm (không có nhà vệ sinh, phóng uế bừa bãi, gia súc gia cầm chăn thả rông...), nên nhiều vi khuẩn gây bệnh. Bởi vậy, người Thái đã và đang ngày càng quan tâm hơn tới các biện pháp phòng bệnh, bảo vệ sức khỏe. Tuy nhiên, do các cơ sở y tế còn non kém, khả năng tiếp cận các dịch vụ y tế của người dân hạn chế, trong khi khí hậu miền núi thường khắc nghiệt, ẩm ướt, nóng và rét bất thường, cùng với một số tập quán, thói quen khác... vẫn là những yếu tố bất lợi ảnh hưởng trực tiếp hay gián tiếp đến sức khỏe và bệnh tật cho người dân.

2.2. Những loại bệnh thường gặp

Dựa vào vốn kinh nghiệm dân gian, các thầy mo người Thái đã phân biệt được những bệnh thường mắc phải theo mùa và theo từng lứa tuổi. Những bệnh hay gặp vào mùa Đông gồm: cảm cúm, sổ mũi, đau mắt đỏ, đau khớp; Những bệnh thường gặp vào mùa Hè gồm: Sốt rét, tiêu chảy, đau bụng, đau mắt, đau răng, đau đầu, bệnh gan. Mỗi loại bệnh đều có một vài phương thuốc chữa trị.

Theo lứa tuổi, trẻ em thường mắc các bệnh: Suy dinh dưỡng, viêm phổi, viêm phế quản, đau bụng giun, tiêu chảy, viêm họng, bệnh ngoài da... Người già thường mắc những bệnh: Đau lưng, hen suyễn, lao lực... Người trong độ tuổi lao động thường mắc bệnh: Đau lưng, đau dạ dày, bệnh gan, thận... Riêng phụ nữ thường mắc các bệnh: phụ khoa, đau mắt, bướu cổ, viêm tuyến vú, nhức mỏi cơ thể, đau đầu, hoa mắt chóng mặt, ốm vặt khi thai nghén...

Đáng chú ý là những năm trước đây, các bệnh lây truyền qua đường tình dục, đặc biệt là căn bệnh thế kỷ HIV/AIDS ở lứa tuổi thanh niên đang có xu hướng gia tăng. Ví dụ, số người nhiễm HIV/AIDS ở huyện Quỳnh Châu năm 2005 là 79 người, chiếm 2,9% tổng số người nhiễm HIV toàn tỉnh Nghệ An (Số liệu báo cáo của Phòng Y tế huyện Quỳnh Châu năm 2006). Năm 2009, số người nhiễm HIV trong địa bàn huyện tăng lên 221 người, gấp 2,8 lần so với năm 2005 và chiếm 4,4% tổng số người nhiễm HIV tỉnh Nghệ An (Số liệu báo cáo của Phòng Y tế huyện Quỳnh Châu năm 2010).



3. Cách chữa bệnh dân gian của người Thái

3.1. Các cách chẩn đoán bệnh

- Đối với những người bị đau ốm, bệnh tật, nhưng không biểu hiện các triệu chứng bệnh lý (kém ăn, tiểu tiện, khó thở, ngất xỉu...), người ta thường sử dụng thuật xem bói để chẩn đoán bệnh. Thuật xem bói có hai cấp độ. i/Nếu ốm nhẹ, thì người nhà lấy áo của người bị ốm, đĩa trầu cau, bát gạo, chai rượu đến nhờ thầy mo (nam hoặc nữ) đoán bệnh gọi là nhượng/dượng (bói bằng áo). Thao tác của cách bói bằng áo này gồm: cuộn tròn hoặc buộc túm cổ chiếc áo của người bệnh, sau đó cầm cổ áo giơ cao ngang mặt lắc lư cho áo đung đưa, đồng thời nói thầm các câu phù chú để hỏi chủ áo xem nguyên nhân bị bệnh. Mặc dù thao tác đơn giản, song thầy bói vẫn có thể đoán được phần nào nguyên nhân bệnh tật của người bị ốm để thông báo cho đương sự biết. Tuy nhiên, đôi khi nguyên nhân này thường không mấy chính xác, nên sau khi thực hành lễ cúng tạ lỗi, người ốm vẫn không thuyên giảm. ii/ Trường hợp bị ốm nặng, thì người ta phải sắm lễ vật đến nhờ thầy mo xem bói (bằng que). Thao tác/hành động xem bói này

gọi là mo/mò, được tiến hành theo trình tự, bài bản trong thời gian khá lâu. Lễ vật gồm: áo của người ốm, trầu cau, rượu, gạo, ít tiền. Đến nơi, lễ vật được bày ra mâm hoặc một cái rổ và đặt nó lên một chiếc chiếu trải dưới chân bàn thờ ma nhà, sau đó thầy bói đứng lên rót 2 chén rượu đặt lên bàn thờ (hình một/hình môn) của vị tổ sư nghề treo trên vách mái nhà, khấn mời tổ tiên về nhận lễ vật rồi nhắc ống xem bói xuống (Bình thường không ai được phép chạm vào hay nhìn vào bên trong chiếc túi đó đặc biệt là phụ nữ bởi họ có thể làm ô uế và làm mất thiêng những đồ vật của thầy bói). Ống xem bói là một giống nứa khô, dài khoảng 20cm, phần đuôi ống để nguyên mắt, phần miệng có đai bịt bằng dây mây ken. Trong ống có 17 hoặc 23, thậm chí 30 que (số que ít nhiều tùy theo ống bói của từng người), dài khoảng 30cm, được chế tác bằng thanh tre, cây trúc nhỏ (trúc tép) và lông nhím. Đầu của mỗi que bói được cắt gọt thành các hình thù kỳ dị như hình đầu rắn, đầu rồng; trên thân que đôi khi được khắc các vạch ngang, làm ký hiệu mà thường chỉ thầy bói mới biết ý nghĩa của chúng.

Đầu tiên, thầy bói nắm những que bói bằng tay phải rồi đưa vòng ra đằng sau rồi quay ra đằng trước, đập vào lòng bàn tay trái ba lần và hô "Hoa!" để thông báo cho tổ sư nghề. Sau đó số que được tách thành 2 phần,



tay trái nắm một phần, tay phải nắm một phần. Thầy bói gấp từng cặp que bói bên tay trái đặt vào các kẽ ngón giữa ngón trỏ và ngón giữa, ngón giữa và ngón đeo nhẫn, giữa ngón đeo nhẫn và ngón út của bàn tay phải. Theo nguyên tắc thông thường, thầy bói gọi kẽ giữa ngón đeo nhẫn và ngón út là tin (chân), kẽ giữa ngón giữa và ngón đeo nhẫn là chơ (tim), kẽ giữa ngón trỏ và ngón giữa là hua (đầu). Các bước làm trên tiếp tục được lặp đi lặp lại cho tới khi ở bàn tay trái chỉ còn lại một hoặc hai que. Những chiếc que đầu tiên ở kẽ ngón cái và ngón trỏ của tay trái được đặt xuống. Sau đó những chiếc que đang bị ghi chặt ở giữa những ngón tay phải sẽ được chuyển sang tay trái để gọi và thông báo cho vị tổ sư nghề về giúp sức để tìm nguyên nhân của người bệnh. Ví dụ như bói về nguyên nhân ốm đau, nếu mỗi kẽ ngón tay có 5 chiếc que, thì bệnh tật không phải do hồn lạc hay bị ma bắt, mà do nguyên nhân khác. Nếu kẽ giữa ngón trỏ và ngón giữa có 5 chiếc que và kẽ giữa ngón giữa và ngón đeo nhẫn có 6 chiếc que hoặc kẽ giữa ngón giữa và ngón đeo nhẫn có 6 chiếc que và kẽ ngón đeo nhẫn và ngón út có 5 chiếc que, thì nguyên nhân ốm đau là do ma quỷ làm hại. Thầy bói sử dụng những kiến thức bí truyền để đọc những vạch khắc, các nấc và hình thù trên những chiếc que để xác định tên của các loại ma gây ra đau ốm và những lễ vật nào mà gia đình nhà chủ phải chuẩn bị để

cúng gọi/chuộc hồn. Trong trường hợp bị mất của, thì thầy bói sẽ xác định được của bị mất đó có tìm lại được nữa hay không.

- Đối với những người bị đau ốm, bệnh tật có biểu hiện các triệu chứng bệnh lý cụ thể như sốt cao, đau đầu, đau mắt, chóng mặt, ù tai, nóng trong người, đau ngực, nhức mỏi và suy nhược cơ thể; các bệnh đường ruột, bệnh ngoài da, hô hấp hay gãy chân tay, rắn rết cắn... thì người ta quan sát (tròng mắt, màu da, giọng nói...), sờ trán, nắm chân tay để nhận biết: nhiệt cơ thể, nghe nhịp thở (thậm chí có người còn bắt mạch), kết hợp với áp dụng thuật xem bói nêu trên. Những quan sát, sờ nắm hoặc cả bắt mạch này là cơ sở để bốc thuốc truyền thống một cách chính xác để chữa trị đúng bệnh, hiệu quả.



3.2. Cách chữa bệnh

Có thể nói, cho đến trước năm 1975, các cơ sở y tế khám chữa bệnh ở vùng người Thái miền tây tỉnh Nghệ An còn rất yếu kém. Hầu như mỗi huyện chỉ có một bệnh viện với trang thiết bị nghèo nàn, đội ngũ y bác sĩ ít ỏi, trình độ chuyên môn thấp, hệ thống trạm y tế xã nơi có, nơi không và hầu như rất tạm bợ, thiếu thốn đủ thứ (tại miền tây Nghệ An, một số huyện như Kỳ Sơn, Tương Dương, Quỳnh Châu..., mãi tới năm 2000, mới có bác sĩ cho tuyến y tế xã, còn trước đó, chưa có). Vì thế, việc chữa bệnh của các dân tộc thiểu số nói chung, của người Thái nói riêng hầu như chỉ áp dụng cách chữa trị dân gian (bói, gọi hồn, uống thuốc dân tộc), trong đó phổ biến nhất là xem bói (để biết nguyên nhân ma làm) rồi mổ gà, lợn để cúng gọi hồn tạ lỗi với ma. Thật vậy, như trên đã đề cập, một trong nguyên nhân của ốm đau và bệnh tật của con người là do hồn vía bị lạc đường về hay bị ma quỷ và các thế lực siêu nhiên làm hại. Nếu hồn vĩnh viễn lìa khỏi thể xác thì con người sẽ chết. Vì thế, muốn hồn hồn trở lại nhập vào thể xác, trước hết, người ta phải xem bói để biết nguyên nhân cụ thể, sau đó mới tổ chức lễ cúng gọi hồn (hiếc khoán/văn).

- Lễ gọi hồn

Lễ gọi hồn có nhiều dạng/cấp độ từ đơn giản đến phức tạp khác nhau:

Dạng thứ nhất gọi là hòng văn/hiếc khoán on (gọi hồn lạc). Đây là cách gọi hồn đơn giản nhất, do con người khi đang làm một việc gì đó tự nhiên giật mình sợ hãi làm cho hồn vía rời khỏi cơ thể không biết đường trở về. Để gọi hồn lạc, người ta lấy áo của người ốm cho vào trong một cái giỏ, bỏ thêm vào đó 1 gói cơm, 1 con gà luộc chín, hoặc 1 gói muối (nếu nhà nghèo). Sau đó thầy mo hoặc một người nào đó biết gọi hồn cầm giỏ ra ngã ba đầu bản gọi hồn. Thời điểm gọi hồn thích hợp nhất là lúc xế chiều, bởi người Thái cho rằng, hồn vía cũng như con người, ban ngày mãi mê làm việc, tối đến mới về nhà. Nhưng vì hồn bị lạc không biết đường về, nên người nhà phải ra đầu bản để đón. Gọi hồn xong, người nhà phải làm thịt 1 con gà (có thể thay bằng cá nướng) để cúng cho hồn vía người ốm được khoẻ mạnh. Gà sau khi luộc chín được chia làm 3 phần, trong đó có 2 phần thịt và 1 phần gồm có đầu, chân, lòng, mề. Trong mâm cúng còn phải có thêm 1 nắm xôi, 2 cái bát và 5 đôi đũa. Mâm cúng được đặt ngay tại chân giường người ốm. Lúc thầy mo thực hành nghi lễ người ốm phải ngồi bên cạnh mâm cúng (nếu đi bệnh viện hay vì lý do nào đó mà vắng nhà thì phải lấy áo đặt cạnh mâm). Sau lễ cúng hồn, người ốm nắm 3 miếng ở 3 phần thịt trong mâm cúng (nếu vắng nhà người ta lấy 3 miếng bỏ vào túi áo) gọi là tom văn/tom khoán. Người ốm tom văn xong, thầy mo lấy 2 sợi chỉ đen hoặc



สอย gai buộc vào cổ tay người ốm (trường hợp người ốm vắng nhà thì buộc vào ống tay áo) để cầm vía, không cho chúng ra ngoài.

Dạng thứ hai, gọi là xọc văn (tìm hồn lạc). Đây là cách gọi hồn được tiến hành trực tiếp ngay tại nhà người ốm. Lễ vật chuẩn bị gồm có gà, xôi, rượu (nếu có cả rượu cần thì càng tốt). Lễ cúng này phải do mo một, mo môn đảm nhiệm. Vì chỉ có những người làm mo mới biết sử dụng các bài cúng một cách bài bản và chỉ có thầy mo mới biết sử dụng các pháp thuật để sai khiến quân lính nhà trời (gọi là xeng) tìm hồn lạc về. Trong quá trình cúng (xên) tìm hồn vía lạc, thầy mo còn mời cả đằm nà hoóng (linh hồn cha mẹ đã chết thờ ở hoóng) và Pu xửa (thần bản) đi cùng để nhận vía của người ốm. Khi kết thúc lễ tìm hồn lạc, người nhà cũng mổ 1 con gà để cúng “làm vía” cho hồn của người ốm và sau đó buộc vía để hồn vía người ốm được khoẻ mạnh.

Dạng gọi hồn thứ ba gọi là ói văn (dỗ hồn lạc). Đây là cách gọi hồn khi hồn vía người ốm bị lạc vào một nơi mà ở đó quá vui, ma quỷ nơi đó lại tiếp đón rất chu đáo, nên hồn người ốm không muốn về. Để tổ chức lễ ói văn, thầy mo phải tìm một địa điểm mà hàng ngày người ốm vẫn thường hay lui tới để dựng 1 cái trạm gọi là “huông”. Tại cái trạm được gọi là huông, thầy mo dựng lên nhiều cảnh vật núi, rừng, bản - mường, chợ búa với nhiều của ngon, vật lạ, tổ chức

nhieu tò chơi dân gian thật đông vui để hồn vía lạc tìm đến chơi. Từ đó, ông mo mới phát hiện ra hồn vía của người ốm mà dụ dỗ chúng về. Sau lễ gọi hồn, người nhà cũng làm 1 con gà để cúng cho hồn vía người ốm được khoẻ mạnh và sau đó làm lễ buộc vía cho người ốm.

Dạng thứ tư được gọi là họng văn dong châu. Đây là cách gọi hồn cho những người có tuổi. Theo quan niệm của người Thái, con người lúc về già hồn vía thường ra khỏi “thân chủ” của nó để đến với ông bà, tổ tiên. Do vậy, khi biết hồn vía của người đó đã đi ở với tổ tiên, người ta phải làm 1 lễ cúng lên đằm chào để gọi hồn về gọi là họng văn dong châu. Để tổ chức nghi lễ tín ngưỡng này, người ta phải chuẩn bị một mâm cúng gồm có: 1 cái giỏ, trong đó có một cái áo của người ốm, 1 gói cơm, 1 gói muối (nếu nhà có điều kiện có thể thay bằng thịt gà); 1 chai rượu với 2 cái chén; 1 đĩa trầu 5 miếng và 1 que củi đã đun cháy giòn một đầu. Mâm cúng được đặt trong một cái chiếu trải sẵn trước cầu thang lên xuống. Lễ cúng này phải do một người làm nghề môn hoặc nghề một đảm nhiệm và thường kéo dài từ 5 đến 8 giờ mới xong. Sau lễ gọi hồn người ta phải làm lễ cúng đón hồn trở về (gọi là tòn văn), và cuối cùng, phải làm lễ buộc vía để giữ cho hồn vía khỏi ra ngoài.



Ngoài những nghi lễ gọi hồn kể trên, trong tập quán của người Thái ở Nghệ An còn có lễ tòn văn huộng (đón vía lớn). Xuất phát từ quan niệm, hồn vía con người khi về già thường sang bên ngoại ở với bố mẹ vợ một thời gian, do vậy, cứ vào khoảng độ tuổi 70 (hoặc sớm hơn), người Thái ở đây thường tổ chức làm lễ gửi áo sang nhà bố mẹ vợ gọi là Cọi xừa (gửi áo). Dĩ nhiên, khi đưa hồn vía sang gửi nhà bố mẹ vợ, bên gửi áo phải chuẩn bị một lễ nhỏ gồm có 1 đôi gà, 1 chai rượu để cúng cho ông bà tổ tiên bên ngoại biết vợ chồng đã về làm lễ Cừ xừa. Thời gian gửi áo lâu hay mau là tùy thuộc vào công việc chuẩn bị của gia đình. Bởi muốn đón vía trở về, trước hết gia đình phải chuẩn bị 1 con lợn vía (gọi là mu văn). Lợn được dùng để cúng trong lễ văn huộng phải là con lợn trước đó đã được thầy mo làm lễ đánh dấu để hồn vía của vợ chồng gửi áo nhận và chăm sóc nó. Theo người Thái, đây là con vật rất thiêng, do vậy, khi đã làm lễ đánh dấu rồi thì không được sử dụng vào những mục đích khác (trừ khi thời gian gửi áo quá lâu phải làm lễ xin hồn vía cho thay lại con khác). Thông thường, khi lợn vía đã lớn, con cháu trong nhà tổ chức đi đón vía về gọi là tòn văn. Để đón vía về, theo phong tục bên đón vía phải có 1 lễ nhỏ gồm 1 đôi gà, 1 chai rượu và 5 miếng trầu cau để cúng cho tổ tiên bên ngoại biết. Có thể nói, đây là một trong những nghi lễ rất quan trọng đối với mỗi một đời người, do vậy, không

những bên đón vía chuẩn bị chu đáo mà bên ngoại cũng chuẩn bị lễ vật rất nhiều để mừng cho bên đón vía như vải vóc, chăn đệm, lợn, gà và nhiều loại thực phẩm khác. Khi đoàn đón vía về đến gần nhà thì con cháu tổ chức đánh trống, khua chiêng vừa để chúc mừng hồn vía trở về, đồng thời cũng là nghi thức mở đầu cho lễ văn huộng. Hồn vía được đưa thẳng vào buồng ngủ của người được đón vía. Trong buồng, người ta đã bố trí sẵn 1 mâm cúng gồm có thịt lợn (được chia thành 2 nhóm thịt xen kẽ 1 nhóm lòng, còn phần đầu, chân, và móng thì để thành 1 nhóm riêng), rượu cần, xôi, 2 cái bát và 4 đôi đũa. Khi làm lễ cúng người được làm vía luôn phải ngồi bên cạnh mâm. Tuy nhiên, mọi thực hành nghi lễ cúng vía đều do thầy mo đảm nhiệm. Nội dung chính của nghi lễ là thầy mo báo với tổ tiên về công trạng của người được làm vía trong suốt cuộc đời đã làm được nhiều điều cho gia đình, dòng họ; đến nay tuy tuổi đã cao nhưng vẫn còn là chỗ dựa của gia đình, nên con cháu tổ chức làm vía để tỏ lòng biết ơn, thể hiện sự hiếu thảo đối với ông bà, đồng thời cũng là để cầu chúc cho hồn vía ông bà được khỏe mạnh và tiếp tục giúp đỡ con cháu. Sau lễ cúng hồn, thầy mo lấy 2 sợi chỉ đen (hay sợi gai) buộc vào cổ tay người được làm vía.



Thông thường, người ta không bao giờ tự cắt/dứt chỉ buộc cổ tay, mà để tự nó đứt, vì nếu không hồn của đương sự sẽ thoát khỏi thể xác dẫn đến ốm đau. Bà con, anh em họ hàng đến dự thường mừng tiền, gạo hay chai rượu, con gà góp vui với gia chủ. Ngoài đương sự, người ta cũng có thể buộc chỉ cổ tay cho cả con cháu trong gia đình với mong muốn cầu sức khỏe và may mắn

Về ý nghĩa, lễ gọi hồn buộc chỉ cổ tay thực chất là lễ cầu sức khỏe, đáp ứng nhu cầu tâm linh của cá nhân và cộng đồng. Vì thế, đây là nét đẹp trong văn hóa ứng xử của người Thái nói chung. Lễ buộc chỉ cổ tay còn là một nét văn hóa biểu trưng cho lòng mến khách của người Thái đối với bè bạn, khách quý. Khi buộc chỉ, bao giờ người Thái cũng dành những lời chúc tốt đẹp nhất cho người được buộc.

Như đã đề cập, bên cạnh xem bói, tổ chức lễ gọi hồn, người ta thường kết hợp chữa trị cho người ốm đau, bệnh tật bằng các bài thuốc dân gian, nhưng trước kia, việc cúng gọi hồn cho người bệnh luôn là mục đích được đề cao.

- Chữa trị bằng thuốc dân gian:

Việc chữa trị bệnh tật bằng các phương thuốc dân gian ở người Thái đã có từ lâu đời. Theo đó, tại các vùng sâu vùng xa, do điều kiện giao thông đi lại khó khăn, cũng như các vùng trung tâm, đi lại thuận tiện, thông thường khi trong nhà có người bị bệnh, người ta thường tìm đến các thầy lang để xin thuốc về chữa trị. Muốn có thuốc, người ta phải sắm một lễ nhỏ gồm: áo (của người bệnh), đĩa trầu cau, bát gạo và ít tiền (có thể kèm thêm chai rượu) mang đến trình bày bệnh tình với thầy lang, sau đó ông ta hẹn ngày giờ đến lấy thuốc về uống. Cũng có khi người ta đích thân đến mời thầy thuốc về nhà chẩn đoán bệnh để bốc thuốc chữa trị. Đây thường là những trường hợp người bệnh đã có biểu hiện bệnh lý rõ ràng, nên tùy theo mức độ nặng, nhẹ, thầy thuốc có thể tiến hành sơ cứu và tìm ra phương cách chữa trị hợp lý nhất cho người bệnh. Việc sơ cứu thường mang màu sắc tôn giáo như khấn vái báo cho vị tổ sư hay lấy một chén nước đặt lên bàn thờ vị tổ sư, làm phép rồi cho bệnh nhân uống để dịu cơn đau, trấn an về mặt tinh thần cho người bệnh.



Do đã xác định rõ được bệnh tật, nên thầy thuốc chỉ việc vào rừng tìm các loại thuốc thích hợp đem về cho bệnh nhân uống thử. Thông thường mỗi đợt điều trị sẽ phải trải qua từ 2 đến 3 đợt thử thuốc. Qua những lần thử thuốc (hắc mạy dam), thầy thuốc thường theo dõi tiến triển của bệnh để thay đổi các vị thuốc cũng như liều lượng thích hợp. Trong quá trình sử dụng thuốc chữa bệnh, bao giờ thầy thuốc cũng thường chú trọng đến những vị thuốc có tác dụng bồi bổ cơ thể để người bệnh có sức khỏe, tăng khả năng đề kháng chống chọi với bệnh tật. Trường hợp uống thuốc đến lần thứ 3 mà người bệnh không thuyên giảm thì thầy thuốc cáo lỗi với người nhà và để bệnh nhân tìm thầy thuốc khác. Nếu bệnh tình của bệnh nhân có dấu hiệu thuyên giảm, khả quan thì thầy thuốc mới tiếp tục chữa chạy và dồn hết công sức, kinh nghiệm bản thân và liều thuốc để cứu chữa cho người bệnh. Đối với các bệnh nặng phải sử dụng các loại lá hoặc cây thuốc độc, người thầy thuốc thường cho sử dụng thử với liều lượng an toàn, thùy theo sự tương thích của cơ thể người bệnh mà tăng hoặc giảm liều lượng vị thuốc đó.

Người Thái quan niệm, hái thuốc chữa bệnh cứu người là bổn phận đã được định sẵn, nên không nhằm mục đích bán lấy tiền, mà chỉ giúp người. Vì thế, các thầy lang không bao giờ lấy tiền người bệnh, cũng

không hứa sẽ chữa khỏi bệnh cho họ. Thầy thuốc người Thái rất xem trọng người được truyền nghề ngoài sự nhanh nhẹn, chóng hiểu còn phải có đạo đức tốt, phải luôn xem người bệnh như người nhà, không phân biệt giàu nghèo, sang hèn, mà phải lấy tâm của thầy thuốc làm tiêu chí hành nghề, nếu người bệnh cần đến thì dù có khó khăn, vất vả đến mấy cũng phải đi và chữa bệnh.

Nếu bệnh được chữa khỏi hẳn thì người nhà của người bệnh phải sắm một lễ tạ ơn gọi là phai hắc mạy. Lễ vật gồm: 1 con gà luộc, 1 chai rượu trắng, vài bát gạo, một ít tiền, đĩa trầu cau, một mảnh vải hay áo/quần biếu thầy lang. Đến nơi, lễ vật được bày ra mâm, thầy lang cúng báo cho vị tổ sư nghề biết bài thuộc hiệu nghiệm đã cứu được người bệnh. Cúng xong, chủ và khách cùng ăn cơm vui vẻ.



Với cách chữa trị này, người Thái cũng đã tích lũy được khá nhiều kinh nghiệm trong việc chữa bệnh bằng các bài thuốc dân tộc. Nhiều phương thuốc có thể chữa được các bệnh mãn tính, bệnh nan y. Nhiều thầy lang có tay nghề cao trong việc chữa bệnh, với một số bài thuốc, vị thuốc nổi tiếng trong vùng được người dân kính trọng. Các bài thuốc dân gian của người Thái khá nhiều, chủ yếu là các loại cỏ cây trong rừng, rễ, củ, thân, lá tươi, dùng để đun nước uống, ngâm,

do một nhóm gồm những người ít hay nhiều liên quan đến việc thực hành các nghi lễ và tín ngưỡng tôn giáo thực hiện. Trong xã hội Thái, những người này được gọi chung là MO (Thầy/Chuyên gia), luôn được người dân kính trọng, bởi họ được xem như là những người ban phúc, chuyên làm điều thiện. Thực ra, Mo là danh từ có hàm nghĩa rộng hơn, dùng để chỉ những người giỏi dang, nổi trội/nổi tiếng về một lĩnh vực/một nghề/một chuyên môn nào đó như: âm nhạc, ca hát, dạy học, thợ săn, tính ngày giờ... và bao gồm cả các lĩnh vực bói toán, y học dân gian, cúng bái và chữa bệnh bằng bốc thuốc. Chẳng hạn, người thổi sáo giỏi gọi là Mo pí, người hát giỏi được gọi là Mo khấp, mo lăm, người thợ săn thiện xạ gọi là Mo phan, người dạy giỏi gọi là Mo khu, người biết tính ngày giờ đẹp gọi là Mo mự, người biết thuốc dân tộc gọi là Mo hặc mạy, người biết cúng gọi là Mo xơ...

rửa, tắm, bó, trải nằm hay đắp lên cơ thể. Việc lấy cây thuốc cũng như uống thuốc thường gắn với một số kiêng kỵ (kiêng chất tanh hôi: thịt gà trắng, cá chép, ba ba), kinh nghiệm chọn ngày giờ, mùa vụ, thời tiết. Có một số bài thuốc khá hiệu nghiệm như chữa sốt rét, chữa gãy chân tay, răn cắn, cầm máu, sinh con, thấp khớp, viêm gan, lở loét, viêm da... hiện nay vẫn được sử dụng khá phổ biến.

Trong thực tế, việc xem bói, cúng gọi hồn và bốc thuốc dân tộc thường được kết hợp với nhau và đều

Riêng những thầy Mo liên quan đến thực hành các nghi lễ, tín ngưỡng và bốc thuốc dân tộc gồm có 6 loại, mỗi loại mo thường có tên gọi riêng, có chức năng riêng (trừ mo một và mo môn), cụ thể là:

Mo nhượng, mo mò: Thầy xem bói;

Mo xơ: Thầy cúng (cúng gọi hồn, làm vía, cúng ma bản, ma ruộng, cúng ma nương, ma ruộng...);



Mo tang nhao/Mo xống phi:
Thầy cúng tiễn hồn người chết lên trời.
Đây là mo chuyên nghiệp, các loại mo
khác không làm được;

Mo một: Thầy cúng chữa bệnh
bằng phù phép kiêm bốc thuốc. Khi
hành lễ, phải có khăn thổ cẩm đội đầu
(khăn một), ống xem bói, có một mo
chuyên thổi sáo. Trong quá trình hành
lễ, không được uống rượu. Sử dụng
âm binh/lính để trừ tà ma. Loại mo này
cũng có bàn thờ vị tổ sư nghề (hình
một), hằng năm cúng dâng lễ vật vào
tháng 4 hoặc tháng 8 gọi là lễ Xăng
khan hay còn gọi là Ki xà;

Mo môn: Thầy cúng chữa bệnh
bằng phù phép kiêm bốc thuốc. Khi
hành lễ, có thanh gươm, dùng lời lẽ
dọa nạt, sử dụng âm binh/lính để trừ
tà ma, được uống rượu trong quá trình
hành lễ. Loại mo này có bàn thờ vị tổ
sư nghề (hình môn), cúng dâng lễ vật
vào tháng 4 hoặc tháng 8 hằng năm
gọi là lễ Xăng khan (nhóm Tày Thanh)
hay còn gọi là Ki xà (nhóm Tày Mường);
Mo hặc mạy: Thầy lang (thầy thuốc),
chuyên bốc thuốc dân tộc để chữa trị
cho người bị đau ốm, bệnh tật.

4. Cách chữa bệnh của người Thái hiện nay

Trong thực tế, trước năm 1975, người Thái ở Việt Nam nói chung, người Thái ở Nghệ An nói riêng cũng đã biết đến và sử dụng các loại thuốc tân dược/thuốc tây y (APC, ký ninh...), nhưng chỉ là những loại thuốc thông thường do trong nước bào chế. Một mặt, do trạm y tế xã, bệnh viện thường ở xa thôn bản, mặt khác do tập quán xem bói, gọi hồn và uống thuốc dân gian còn được đề cao, nên việc sử dụng thuốc tân dược của người bệnh chưa phổ biến. Từ sau năm 1975 trở đi, do phong trào xây dựng nếp sống văn hóa mới, ăn ở vệ sinh (xây dựng chuồng trại trâu bò, lợn gà; xây dựng nhà vệ sinh, ăn chín, uống sôi, ngủ màn...) được phát động ở nhiều địa phương trong cả nước; cùng với việc từng bước xây dựng hệ thống cơ sở y tế ở vùng miền núi, nên người Thái có điều kiện tiếp cận với các loại thuốc tân dược nhiều hơn. Tuy nhiên, cũng từ năm 1975 đến 1985, do Việt Nam phải khắc phục hậu quả chiến tranh, nền kinh tế trì trệ, đời sống nhân dân gặp nhiều khó khăn, nên việc chăm sóc sức khỏe và bệnh tật cho người dân qua thăm khám, điều trị thuốc tân dược rất hạn chế. Do vậy, cách chữa trị bệnh tật của người Thái thời kỳ 1975-1985 tùy vào hoàn cảnh, điều kiện và thành phần gia đình của người bị bệnh là nông dân hay cán bộ hưởng



lương nhà nước, mà người ta có thể chữa trị bệnh bằng các bài thuốc dân gian hay đến các cơ sở y tế thăm khám để mua thuốc tân dược về chữa trị. Thông thường, ở vùng sâu vùng xa, nhất là vùng núi cao, cách chữa trị bệnh tật bằng các bài thuốc dân gian vẫn chiếm ưu thế, kết hợp với việc thực hành các nghi lễ tôn giáo thông thường (làm vía, buộc chỉ cổ tay) nhằm trấn an về mặt tinh thần cho người bệnh. Do phong trào bài trừ mê tín của ngành văn hóa được phát động, nên việc xem bói, xem số mệnh ở người Thái thời kỳ này gần như vắng bóng. Các thầy bói, thầy cúng cất giấu đồ hành lễ, tìm cách từ chối hành nghề khi có người đến nhờ. Tuy nhiên, riêng thầy thuốc thì vẫn hành nghề bình thường, nên việc người dân chữa trị bệnh bằng thuốc dân gian phổ biến cũng là điều dễ hiểu. Những gia đình cán bộ, viên chức cư trú gần trung tâm xã, huyện thì có điều kiện hơn trong việc thăm khám và mua thuốc tân dược chữa trị cho người bị bệnh tật, đồng thời kết hợp với việc chữa trị bệnh bằng các bài thuốc dân gian.

Từ sau 1986 trở đi, khi Việt Nam thực hiện công cuộc Đổi mới đất nước, nhất là từ sau những năm 1990 trở lại đây, nhờ thành tựu trên nhiều lĩnh vực của công cuộc Đổi mới sau hơn 30 năm, trong đó có thành tựu về y học (nhiều loại thuốc tân dược do Việt Nam bào chế và các loại thuốc nhập ngoại từ các quốc gia trên thế giới).

Thêm vào đó, từ sau những năm 1990 trở lại đây, hệ thống cơ sở y tế, khám chữa bệnh được xây dựng ở hầu khắp tuyến huyện, tuyến xã (kể cả các huyện và các xã miền núi, vùng người dân tộc thiểu số, trong đó có người Thái). Theo số liệu thống kê tỉnh Nghệ An: Năm 2009, toàn tỉnh có: 547 cơ sở y tế, 25 bệnh viện, 43 phòng khám trung tâm, 4.903 số giường bệnh; 22.7 giường bệnh/vạn dân; 1.429 bác sĩ (trong đó Quỳnh Châu: 19), 1.668 y sĩ (Quỳnh Châu: 54), 2.311 y tá (Quỳnh Châu: 55), 903 nữ hộ sinh (Quỳnh Châu: 20), 644 dược sĩ (Quỳnh Châu: 9). Hiện nay, riêng TP. Vinh, tỉnh Nghệ An đã có 10 bệnh viện, trong đó 4 bệnh viện khá hiện đại. Cùng với đầu tư về trang thiết bị tối thiểu, thuốc men, đội ngũ y bác sĩ cũng dần được bổ sung thêm, có trình độ từ sơ cấp, trung cấp đến đại học; ngân sách đầu tư cho ngành y tế của các huyện miền núi hàng năm cũng tăng dần (ví dụ ở huyện Quỳnh Châu, năm 2000: 360 triệu VND, năm 2005: 556 triệu VND, năm 2006: 520 triệu VND, năm 2007: 720 triệu VND, năm 2008: 680 triệu VND và năm 2010: 1000 triệu VND).



Trong thực tế, nhờ hàng loạt các Chương trình (chương trình 327: phủ xanh đất trống đồi núi trọc, chương trình 135: điện, đường, trường, trạm; chương trình 134: hỗ trợ nhà ở, đất sản xuất...), chính sách ưu tiên phát triển về kinh tế-xã hội và văn hóa đối với vùng miền núi, dân tộc, nên hiện nay diện mạo nông thôn miền núi đã và đang thay đổi sâu sắc, đời sống nhân dân ngày càng được nâng cao. Theo đó, người Thái có điều kiện, cơ hội lựa chọn và tiếp cận dễ dàng hơn với các dịch vụ y tế, chăm sóc sức khỏe và chữa trị bệnh tật. Tuy nhiên, ngoài được thụ hưởng từ các chương trình ưu tiên về chăm sóc sức khỏe chung dành cho cộng đồng (tiêm chủng, khám chữa bệnh miễn phí, hỗ trợ bảo hiểm y tế...), không phải mọi người dân (nhất là gia đình nghèo, gia đình đơn thân, người già không nơi nương tựa) đều có điều kiện tiếp cận và hưởng lợi về chữa trị bệnh tật, bởi chi phí khá đắt đỏ, tốn kém, trong khi thu nhập của người dân chưa cao và không đồng đều. Vì thế, tùy theo hoàn cảnh, điều kiện và thành phần xã hội của gia đình người bị bệnh ở từng nơi, mà người Thái lựa chọn cách chữa trị bệnh tật khác nhau.

Đối với những gia đình nghèo không có khả năng và điều kiện tài chính (hầu hết là nông dân cư trú ở vùng sâu, vùng xa) thì cách lựa chọn để chữa trị bệnh tật phổ biến của họ là: khám bệnh ở các cơ sở y tế tuyến xã

hay tuyến huyện rồi mua thuốc tân dược để uống điều trị tại nhà hoặc điều trị tại trạm xá (nếu bệnh nhẹ) hay bệnh viện huyện (nếu bệnh nặng). Do hoàn cảnh nghèo, được Nhà nước hỗ trợ mua bảo hiểm y tế, việc khám chữa bệnh tại cơ sở y tế xã, huyện, tỉnh, trung ương đều được miễn phí, nên người dân bớt được gánh nặng tài chính. Tuy nhiên, do họ chỉ được miễn phí trong giới hạn nhất định nào đó về các khoản viện phí phải chi trả, trong khi kinh phí tàu xe đi lại, ăn ở đều phải tự túc, nên khi đã sử dụng hết các khoản ưu tiên, cho dù bệnh tình không thuyên giảm, thì họ cũng thường xin phép đưa người bệnh về quê chữa trị bằng thuốc dân gian, kết hợp cúng vía.



Đối với hầu hết các gia đình cán bộ, viên chức, giáo viên, nhà khá giả thì do đảm bảo được tài chính (đóng tiền mua thẻ bảo hiểm y tế), nên cách lựa chọn để chữa trị bệnh tật của họ thường là: Xin giấy giới thiệu từ cơ sở y tế xã, huyện đưa người bệnh đến thẳng luôn tuyến bệnh viện đa khoa tỉnh, thành phố để chữa trị. Khi được hỏi tại sao không điều trị bệnh tại các cơ sở y tế xã, huyện thì thường nhận được câu trả lời rằng: họ không hài lòng và tỏ ra lo ngại về: trang thiết bị, năng lực trình độ chuyên môn của y bác sĩ, nhất là ở cơ sở y tế xã. Các bệnh viện ở tuyến tỉnh, thành phố được họ lựa chọn vì ở đó có nhiều y bác sĩ giỏi, thiết bị hiện đại, thuốc men dồi dào hơn, chữa bệnh hiệu quả hơn.

Cho dù chữa khỏi bệnh tật hay thuyên giảm đáng kể, thì sau khi xuất viện trở về nhà, người bệnh thường tiếp tục uống thuốc theo đơn của bác sĩ, nhưng bao giờ gia đình cũng thổ lộ chút cúng vía để an ủi thêm về mặt tinh thần cho người bệnh. Đôi khi, những gia đình có điều kiện còn mổ lợn liên hoan, mời anh em họ hàng, bà con tới dự.

Cũng cần nhấn mạnh thêm là cho đến nay, tuy các cơ sở y tế ở địa phương được củng cố thêm, song có thể nói việc đầu tư phương tiện và trang thiết bị (nhất là trạm xá, bệnh viện miền núi) phục vụ chữa bệnh nghèo nàn, cũ kỹ chưa đáp ứng được nhu cầu thực tế, nhiều trạm xá xuống cấp, thuốc men không được cung cấp kịp thời. Thêm vào đó, đội ngũ y bác sĩ (tuyến trạm xá), nhất là bác sĩ có trình độ chuyên môn cao còn rất khiêm tốn. Hiện nay, mỗi bản có 1 y tế bản (trình độ sơ cấp hay qua tập huấn về chuyên môn 6 tháng); mỗi trạm xá chỉ có 2 cán bộ biên chế gồm: 1 trạm trưởng (bác sĩ), 1 trạm phó (y tá). Chức năng của trạm xá xã chủ yếu là tuyên truyền các chương trình chăm sóc sức khỏe, kế hoạch hóa gia đình, phòng ngừa bệnh tật, tiêm chủng mở rộng; khám bệnh, sơ cứu chăm sóc người bệnh ban đầu... còn việc chữa trị bệnh tật do không đáp ứng về trang thiết bị, năng lực chuyên môn, nên thường phải giới thiệu lên bệnh viện tuyến huyện. Các bệnh viện ở tuyến huyện tuy có đội ngũ y bác sĩ nhiều hơn, trang thiết bị tốt hơn, cơ sở vật chất khang trang hơn, song cũng nằm trong tình trạng khó khăn chung về nhiều mặt: thiếu trang thiết bị đồng bộ, hiện đại, thiếu các loại thuốc men chất lượng tốt; lại thường cách xa các bản người dân vùng cao, trong khi giao thông đi lại ở nhiều nơi vẫn còn gặp khó khăn, nhất là mùa mưa lũ... Chính những yếu tố này mà ở nhiều nơi, người dân không



mấy mặn mà với cơ sở y tế xã. Khả năng tiếp cận và hưởng thụ dịch vụ y tế và các thành tựu y học hiện đại trong chữa trị bệnh tật bị hạn chế. Bên cạnh đó, một số yếu tố của phong tục tập quán truyền thống dân tộc (xem bói, cúng ma, phù phép...) cùng với kiến thức hiểu biết về sức khỏe và bệnh tật của người dân có hạn, cũng ít nhiều ảnh hưởng và cản trở nhất định tới việc tiếp cận và hưởng thụ các thành tựu y học hiện đại hiện nay.

5. Đôi điều nhận xét

- Với những tư liệu trình bày trên đây, chúng ta thấy mặc dù chỉ là những quan niệm dân gian, song người Thái ở Nghệ An cũng đã có những hiểu biết nhất định về sức khỏe và bệnh tật. Quan niệm, nhận thức và hiểu biết về sức khỏe và bệnh tật của họ cũng thay đổi, phù hợp với sự phát triển đi lên của xã hội và các thành tựu của y học. Theo đó, cho đến sau năm 1975 và cả thời kỳ bao cấp, khi mà các cơ sở y tế, dịch vụ chăm sóc sức khỏe, chữa bệnh vùng miền núi, dân tộc thiểu số nói chung, vùng người Thái nói riêng còn nghèo nàn, chưa đáp ứng nhu cầu đòi hỏi; khả năng tiếp cận các dịch vụ chăm sóc sức khỏe, chữa bệnh của người dân còn hạn chế, thì việc chữa trị bệnh tật theo cách dân

gian truyền thống của người Thái cũng là điều đương nhiên. Chính vì thế, trong suốt thời gian dài, hành vi ứng xử và cách chữa bệnh phổ biến của họ là: xem bói, cúng ma, làm vía kết hợp với uống các phương thuốc dân gian.

Cũng cần khẳng định là: Thái là một trong những tộc người vốn sở hữu nền y học dân gian hết sức quý giá, với nhiều bài thuốc, vị thuốc khá độc đáo và hiệu nghiệm, trong đó mỗi vùng, mỗi địa phương đều có vài thầy thuốc/kiêm thầy cúng nổi tiếng, có uy tín và được người dân kính trọng.

- Từ sau năm 1975 đến năm 1985 trở đi, do phong trào “ăn chín, uống sôi” được phát động; và nhờ các cơ sở y tế ở xã, huyện dần được củng cố, nên người dân có điều kiện tiếp cận hơn với các dịch vụ y tế để chữa bệnh. Tuy nhiên, do khó khăn chung trong khắc phục hậu quả chiến tranh, việc khám bệnh và điều trị bệnh bằng thuốc tân dược của người dân vẫn rất hạn chế, nhất là vùng sâu vùng xa, nên cách chữa trị bệnh tật bằng các bài thuốc dân gian vẫn chiếm ưu thế, kết hợp với việc thực hành các nghi lễ tôn giáo. Từ sau 1986 và nhất là từ sau những năm 1990 trở đi, như các thành tựu của công cuộc Đổi mới, hệ thống cơ sở y tế được củng cố thêm một bước cả về cơ sở vật chất, trang thiết



bị, đội ngũ y bác sĩ...người dân được hưởng chính sách ưu tiên nhất định, nên có điều kiện tiếp cận và hưởng thụ nhiều hơn các thành tựu của y học hiện đại. Việc chữa bệnh của người dân phổ biến là khám, chữa trị bệnh bằng thuốc tân dược tại nhà, tại trạm xa hoặc bệnh viện huyện và khám và điều trị tại bệnh viện tỉnh; kết hợp làm vĩa buộc chỉ cổ tay.

- Làm thế nào để sử dụng và phát huy các thế mạnh của y học dân gian Thái một cách hiệu quả đang là vấn đề nan giải của ngành Đông y ở địa phương nói chung, góp phần bảo tồn, lưu giữ các giá trị văn hóa tộc người trong công cuộc xây dựng nông thôn mới hiện nay.

Tài liệu tham khảo

Một xu hướng chung hiện nay trong việc chữa trị bệnh tật của người Thái là: Tùy theo điều kiện của gia đình, thành phần xã hội mà Kết hợp giữa y học dân gian (cúng vĩa, uống thuốc dân tộc) với y học hiện đại (thăm khám, chữa trị tại trạm xá, bệnh viện huyện hoặc tỉnh và thành phố).

- Ngoài những hạn chế chung của các cơ sở y tế, hiện nay, hạn chế trong việc tiếp cận và hưởng thụ dịch vụ y tế và các thành tựu y học hiện đại trong chữa trị bệnh tật của người Thái ở Nghệ An nói chung còn do cản trở của một số yếu tố phong tục tập quán truyền thống dân tộc (xem bói, cúng ma, phù phép...) cùng với kiến thức hiểu biết về sức khỏe và bệnh tật và sự giảm sút lòng tin của người dân.

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HAI NGÔI ĐỀN 9 GIAN VÀ MỐI QUAN HỆ NGUỒN GỐC LỊCH SỬ CỦA NGƯỜI THÁI THANH HÓA VÀ NGHỆ AN

TS. Vi Văn An

TS. Artha Natachukra

1. Đặt vấn đề

Cho đến nay, vùng người Thái miền tây Thanh-Nghệ hiện diện 2 ngôi đền 9 gian: 1 ngôi Đền 9 gian tại huyện Quế Phong, tỉnh Nghệ An (thuộc Mường Noọc, Phủ Quỳ Xưa) và 1 ngôi Đền 9 gian tại huyện Như Xuân (thuộc Mường Chiềng Ván, Châu Thường Xuân, tỉnh Thanh Hóa). Trong 2 ngôi Đền 9 gian ấy, thì ngôi Đền 9 gian ở Quế Phong, Nghệ An đã được các nhà DTH tìm hiểu, nghiên cứu (kể cả các nhà báo) và công bố khá nhiều, nhất là sau khi phục dựng và tổ chức lễ hội lần đầu vào năm 2006. Trái lại, ngôi Đền 9 gian ở Như Xuân, Thanh Hóa thì dường như giới nghiên cứu DTH mới chỉ biết đến vài năm gần đây, nhất là từ khi phục dựng và khánh thành năm 2016.

Có một câu hỏi đặt ra là: Tại sao cùng có chung đối tượng thờ cúng-Then Phạ và Tạo Lo Y - Người khai sơn phá thạch, lập bản, dựng mường; với mục đích tạ ơn Trời đất, công lao các bậc tiền bối và cầu mong sức khỏe cho bản trên mường dưới để người yên, vật thịnh, mùa vụ bội thu...,

song Đền 9 gian ở Quế Phong lại được nhiều người biết đến hơn Đền 9 gian ở Như Xuân?. Thêm vào đó, truyền thuyết, truyện kể và ký ức của người Thái nơi đây (nhất là lớp người già) về ngôi Đền 9 gian ở Quế Phong cũng cụ thể và đầy đủ hơn?. Một số tài liệu ghi chép về lịch sử của ngôi đền này cũng tương đối rõ ràng hơn. Trong khi đó, truyền thuyết, truyện kể về lịch sử của ngôi đền 9 gian ở Như Xuân thì khá khiêm tốn, ít ỏi. Các tư liệu, tài liệu ghi chép về nguồn gốc ngôi đền này hầu như không còn gì hoặc rất tản mạn. Ký ức của người Thái trong vùng (6 Thanh) về ngôi đền cũng khá mờ nhạt?.



Trước khi có điều kiện tiến hành một cuộc khảo sát, điển dĩ có sự chuẩn bị kỹ càng để thu thập thêm tư liệu và tài liệu liên quan, tham luận của tôi mong muốn góp thêm đôi điều hiểu biết và một số vấn đề đặt ra để cùng thảo luận. Đây chỉ là ý kiến riêng của tôi, dựa trên các tư liệu, tài liệu về mối quan hệ nguồn gốc lịch sử cũng như những nét tương đồng về văn hóa giữa người Thái Thanh Hóa nói chung, bộ phận Thái ở Như Xuân (và cả Thường Xuân) nói riêng với người Thái miền tây Nghệ An, trong đó có người Thái ở Mường Noọc, Quế Phong.

2. Thông tin chính liên quan đến 2 ngôi Đền 9 gian

2.1. Ngôi Đền 9 gian ở huyện Quế Phong

Theo các nguồn sử liệu và các kết quả nghiên cứu đã được công bố, Đền 9 gian (Tên càu hòong) ở Quế Phong hiện nay được xây dựng từ thế kỷ XIV (thời gian Cầm Cẩn, Cầm Lạn làm Tào mường của Mường Noọc). Lúc đầu, Đền được xây dựng trên núi Pu Chà Nhàng, nên còn gọi là Tên Pom (Đền trên núi), thuộc bản Khoảng, xã Châu Kim, huyện Quế Phong (thuộc Mường Tôn). Đền gồm 9 gian, là nơi thờ cúng Trời (Then Phạ), Nàng Xi Đa và Tào Lò Y - người có công lập bản dựng Mường đầu tiên (lúc đầu là Mường Tôn) của người Thái ở tây bắc

Nghệ An. Sau này, một chi của dòng họ Lò Cầm tách ra, thành lập mường mới bên cạnh Mường Tôn gọi là Mường Noọc (Mường ngoài của Mường Tôn/Mường gốc). Do thế lực Mường Noọc ngày càng hưng thịnh, nên về sau Mường Noọc trở thành trung tâm châu mường, quy tụ tất cả 8 mường trong toàn vùng Phủ Quỳ, gồm: Mường Pắn (02 bản: Co Lên, bản Khoảng, xã Châu Kim; Mường Mừn (04 bản: Na Pu, Dốn, Hăn, Cắng, xã Mường Noọc); Mường Ha Quèn (bản Mường Việc, xã Hạnh Dịch); Mường Puộc (02 bản: Mường Hin, bản Phảm, xã Tiễn Phong), 02 bản: Mường Pôm, Mường Piệt (xã Thông Thụ), 02 bản: Mường Khúc, Mường Bóng, xã Đồng Văn); Mường Quáng (xã Quang Phong, xã Cầm Muộn); Mường Chừn (04 bản: Co Nòng, bản Lăm, Na Pháy, Na Nga, xã Mường Noọc); Mường Miếng (xã Châu Hạnh, huyện Quỳ Châu); Mường Choọng (xã Châu Sơn, Châu Lý, huyện Quỳ Hợp); Mường Chon (xã Châu Phong, Châu Hoàn, Diên Lãm, huyện Quỳ Châu).



Theo truyền thuyết, vào một năm nọ, đúng ngày mở hội tế trời, trước khi thực hành nghi thức hiến trâu, không trung bỗng tối sầm, mây đen giăng kín bầu trời khu vực đền, rồi có con Rồng lao xuống cắp con trâu trắng của Mường Tôn bay đi. Ông Mo Mường biết đó là điềm xấu, bèn tâu với Tào Mường lệnh cho mổ những con trâu đen còn lại làm lễ vật, dâng cúng Then phạ, tổ tiên để xin chuyển dời Đền đi nơi khác. Tương truyền, ngay sau khi kết thúc bữa cơm của lễ tế trâu năm đó, có con quạ cổ khoang trắng bay đến gặp miếng xương trâu rồi bay đi và thả xuống một ngọn đồi gọi là Pu Căm (Núi Vàng) ở mạn phía nam Mường Tôn, nên tục gọi là Pu Quai (núi trâu). Vì thế, cuối thế kỷ XVIII, Tào Mường Noọc lệnh cho dân 9 mường di rời Đền từ vị trí cũ núi Pu Chà Nhàng đến vị trí mới Pu Căm, nên còn gọi là Xơ pu Quai (đổi Đền hiến trâu), thuộc bản Piếng Chào, xã Châu Kim, huyện Quế Phong (Nghệ An). Ngoài vẫn giữ nguyên kiểu kiến trúc nhà sàn 9 gian, ngôi đền còn được sửa chữa, thay thế, tu bổ thêm.

Năm 1927, Đền tiếp tục được tôn tạo lại, gồm nhà sàn 9 gian bằng gỗ lim, có 4 hàng cột kê đá tảng. Từ năm 1927 cho đến sau năm 1945, việc tu sửa Đền chủ yếu là thay rui mè, lợp lại mái bằng lá cọ. Trải qua thời kỳ 2 cuộc kháng chiến chống Pháp và Đế quốc Mỹ và cả thời bao cấp, do hoàn cảnh chiến tranh, do bị coi là mê tín, việc dâng cúng lễ vật tế Then Phạ cũng bị ngắt quãng, lãng quên dần rồi bị bỏ quên, nên ngôi Đền bị hư hại rồi chỉ còn là phế tích. Năm 2004, UBND huyện Quế Phong xây dựng dự án trình Sở VH-TT-DL tỉnh Nghệ An xin kinh phí xây dựng lại bằng bê tông, cốt sắt, lợp ngói, gồm 9 gian kết hợp kiểu dáng kiến trúc cũ với kiến trúc mới. Bên cạnh Đền chính, phần diện tích phía sau bên trái Đền còn có một dãy nhà xây, trong đó dành 2 gian thờ (1 gian thờ tượng Bác Hồ và 1 gian thờ tượng Phật Bà Quan Âm). Năm 2006, Lễ hội Đền 9 gian được tổ chức với quy mô hoành tráng trở thành lễ hội lớn của đồng bào các dân tộc vùng tây bắc xứ Nghệ. Năm 2008, Đền 9 gian được công nhận là di tích lịch sử văn hóa cấp tỉnh. Đền Chín Gian được Bộ VH-TT&DL đưa vào danh mục di sản văn hóa phi vật thể quốc gia theo Quyết định số 2067/QĐ-BVHTTDL ngày 13/6/2016. Tháng 12/2017, UBND huyện Quế Phong đã tổ chức khánh thành Ngôi nhà sàn mới thờ tượng Bác Hồ trong khuôn viên Đền 9 gian (tổng diện tích 79,7m², gồm 2 gian, mỗi gian rộng 3,6 m, hành lang

phía trước rộng 1,25m, hành lang 2 bên, mỗi bên rộng 1,5 m; có 2 cầu thang lên xuống 2 bên, mỗi bên cầu thang rộng 2,2 m. Kinh phí san ủi, xây dựng nhà sàn bằng bê tông, cốt sắt, lợp ngói và huy động được trên 1,1 tỷ đồng từ nguồn xã hội hóa và các doanh nghiệp, cá nhân cung tiến 9 con trâu bằng đá nguyên khối đặt phía trước sân đền chính (mỗi con nặng 2,5 tấn) thay thế toàn bộ 9 trâu đực bằng bê tông trước đây.

Trước kia, việc thờ cúng, dâng lễ vật tại Đền 9 gian được tổ chức mỗi năm 2 kỳ: Kỳ tế chính vào tháng 2 Âm lịch, kỳ thứ hai vào tháng Tám (bắt đầu ngày 28/8) Âm lịch. Trong 2 năm đầu, lễ cúng do Mường Tôn chủ trì, lễ vật chỉ mổ lợn, rượu cần, mỗi nóc nhà trong bản góp 1 con gà, 1 gói xôi cúng tại Đền (dân các bản thuộc 8 mường còn lại tự tổ chức cúng, vui chơi tại đền mường mình). Năm thứ 3, lễ cúng Đền kỳ 2 (tháng Tám Âm lịch) được tổ chức quy mô, kéo dài 7 ngày. Lễ vật chính cúng dâng Then Phạ gồm 9 con trâu của 9 mường, trong đó riêng Mường Tôn, nộp trâu Trắng (ngoài ra, lễ vật còn có gà, cá khô, rượu cần, xôi...). Ngày nay, lễ hội Đền 9 gian được tổ chức vào trung tuần tháng 2 âm lịch hằng năm (2 năm đầu chỉ mổ lợn, gà, năm thứ 3 mổ trâu).

Phần Lễ gồm có lễ khai quang, lễ yết cáo (khay quan), lễ tắm trâu và lễ rước (Ạp Quai, tòn Đầm, tòn Thên), lễ hiến trâu (mọp quai), lễ chém trâu (phấn quai), lễ đại tế (xơ Thẻ, xơ Đầm), lễ khai mạc và lễ tạ (chả ơn - Thào quan). Về phần hội gồm các hoạt động thi hội trại với bản sắc nhà sàn Thái cổ; các trò chơi dân gian như nhảy sạp, tò le, ném còn; hội thi gói bánh chưng, thổi cơm lam, thi mâm ẩm thực của các xã thị trấn; hoạt động văn nghệ gồm thi đánh trống, cồng, chiêng, khắc luống và hát xướng, nhuôn đối đáp, thi văn nghệ, thi người đẹp lễ hội; bên cạnh đó là thi các môn thể thao dân tộc như chơi gà, tò le, ném còn, kéo co, bắn nỏ, đẩy gậy, cờ thẻ, đi cà kheo...



Các mâm lễ vật cúng dân Then Phạ và Tạo Lo Y tại Đền 9 gian, Quế Phong
Ảnh: Vi Văn An (2016)



2.2. Ngòi Đền 9 gian ở huyện Như Xuân

Theo lời kể (với nhiều dị bản) của người dân ở địa phương hiện nay thì, nghe các cụ già trước đây kể lại: Đền 9 gian có từ xa xưa, được dựng tại vùng người Thái Mường Chiềng Van, châu Thường Xuân. Đến năm 1937-1938, ông Cẩm Bá Bảo (Tri châu Thường Xuân, sau Cách mạng tháng Tám 1945 là Chủ tịch Ủy ban kháng chiến hành chính huyện Thường Xuân, đồng kiêm uỷ viên Ủy ban hành chính Thượng du, Hội đồng nhân dân tỉnh Thanh Hóa. Ông Cẩm Bá Bảo mất năm 1987) tổ chức di chuyển ngòi Đền từ Mường Chiềng Van, châu Thường Xuân về dựng lại trên ngọn đồi tên là Pu Pỏm (Đồi tròn) thuộc Mường Chang, tổng Quân Nhân (thôn Thống

Đền do họ Lương làm mo mừng, chủ trì việc tổ chức lễ tế trâu cúng dâng Then Phạ/Pó Phạ. Theo ký ức của một số cụ già hiện nay, từ khi Đền chuyển về dựng tại Mường Chang, dân trong 9 mường đã tổ chức lễ tế trâu thờ Then Phạ và ông tổ của người Thái là Tào Lo Y được 3 lần (1938, 1941 và 1944).

Nội dung của Lễ tế hằng năm bao gồm việc cúng dâng lễ vật Trâu để tạ ơn Trời (Then Phạ) và Tào Lo Y (cùng vợ là Nàng Si Đa)-người đầu tiên có công lập bản, dựng mường của người Thái trong vùng (cả tây Thanh-Nghệ). Lễ tế trâu được tổ chức vào tháng Sáu Âm lịch hằng năm, diễn ra trong 3 ngày: ngày thứ nhất cúng nộp lễ vật gà (3 mâm), ngày thứ hai, cúng nộp lợn (3 mâm), và ngày thứ ba, cúng nộp trâu (9 mâm). Có 9 mường tham gia đó là: Mường Chang, Mường Lự, Mường Pán (Như Xuân), Mường Chiềng Van, Mường Phụ, Mường Luộc (Thường Xuân), Mường Mùn, Mường Tôn, Mường Chai (thuộc Nghệ An). Trong các cuộc lễ tế hằng năm, gian giữa dùng để mâm lễ tế trâu. Ngoài ra, mỗi mường phải có thêm 9 con lợn, 90 con gà nhỏ và 90 cặp cá khô và 1 chum rượu cần (lẩu xá). Các lễ vật này được xếp theo các tầng (hạn) từ thấp lên cao.

Nhất, xã Thanh Quân hiện nay (lúc bấy giờ, Thanh Quân vẫn thuộc về châu Thường Xuân). Đền vẫn cất dựng lại theo nguyên bản, gồm 9 gian, gọi là Tên Xơ Quai (tức Đền hiến Trâu) bằng các loại vật liệu gỗ, tre, nứa, lợp tranh, vách thưng bằng gỗ ván (nên dân thường gọi là Hươn pèn/Nhà ván). Phía dưới đồi đền là dòng suối Tốn, có bến Tá Tào (Bến Quan).



Đến năm 1944, trong bối cảnh sục sôi cách mạng, nên việc tổ chức lễ tế trâu thờ Then Phạ và ông tổ của người Thái không còn được tổ chức và việc bỏ lễ tế trâu kéo dài cho đến tận ngày nay. Do trải qua thời gian dài không được sửa sang, chăm nom, nên ngôi đền dần xuống cấp, hư hại, chỉ còn phiến bàn đá, vài cây cột mục nát. Cũng từ sau 1944 đến nay, thay vì tế trâu, dân bản chỉ dựng miếu nhỏ, dùng gà làm lễ vật cúng dịp trước tết Nguyên đán hằng năm.

Xuất phát từ niềm mong mỏi, nhu cầu tâm linh của đồng bào dân tộc Thái vùng 6 Thanh, UBND tỉnh Thanh Hóa đã ban hành Quyết định số 1820 ngày 31/5/2013 cho khôi phục lại lễ hội “Dâng trâu tế trời” của dân tộc Thái thuộc “Đề án bảo tồn và phát triển văn hóa các dân tộc thiểu số tỉnh Thanh Hóa đến năm 2020” (UBND tỉnh Thanh Hóa cũng đã công nhận là di tích lịch sử văn hóa ngày 30/01/2015 tại Quyết định số 345/QĐ-UBND). Từ việc nghiên cứu kinh nghiệm phục hồi Đền 9 gian cũng như việc tổ chức lễ hội mổ trâu tế trời và Tạo Lo Y của người Thái ở huyện Quế Phong, tỉnh Nghệ An, tháng 1/2016, UBND huyện Như Xuân đã tổ chức lễ động thổ xây dựng Đền 9 gian tại thôn Thống Nhất, xã Thanh Quân, trên cơ sở kiến trúc 9 gian của ngôi đền cũ, gồm 2 tầng chủ yếu bằng vật liệu bê tông sơn giả vân gỗ. Trước sân đền tái dựng hình 9 con

trâu đá (6 trâu đen, 3 trâu trắng) và 9 giếng... tượng trưng cho những nét văn hóa độc đáo của người dân tộc Thái. Sau gần 2 năm thi công, các hạng mục công trình chính trong quần thể di tích mới đã được hoàn thành. Lễ khánh thành được tổ chức tháng 9/2017. Đây là công trình văn hóa, lịch sử tiêu biểu của địa phương.



Đền 9 gian ở Như Xuân, Thanh Hóa
Nguồn: Phòng VH huyện Như Xuân



3. Về quan hệ nguồn gốc lịch sử của người Thái Thanh Hóa và Nghệ An

Người Thái ở miền tây Nghệ An nói chung, ở huyện Quế Phong nói riêng thường có 4 nhóm: Tày Thanh, Tày Mường, Tày Mùoi và Tày Khăng [1]. Theo các kết quả nghiên cứu đã được công bố, về nguồn gốc, không nghi ngờ gì nữa, hầu hết các nhóm Thái đều có gốc xã xưa từ các mường khu vực Tây Bắc di cư vào Thanh Hóa, sau đó, nhiều bộ phận tiếp tục di cư vào miền tây Nghệ An. Cũng có nhóm từ Tây Bắc di cư qua Lào, rồi từ Lào tiếp tục chuyển cư xuống định cư tại các huyện miền núi tỉnh Nghệ An (nhất là các huyện giáp biên). Trong các nhóm Thái ở Nghệ An, nhóm Tày Mường vừa có gốc Thái, lại vừa có gốc Kinh, gốc Mường.

- Theo các tài liệu thông sử, sự có mặt của các nhóm Thái ở Nghệ An rõ nhất là vào thời thuộc Minh. Theo cuốn Đại nam nhất thống chí, thì vào thời thuộc Minh, vùng Phủ Quỳnh (Quế Phong, Quỳnh Châu, Quỳnh Hợp, Nghĩa Đàn hiện nay) có Cẩm Quý làm tù trưởng và cai quản trong vùng. Khi Lê Lợi đem quân vào Nghệ An, Cẩm Quý đem toàn bộ đội dân binh gia nhập nghĩa quân [2:132]. Trong cuốn Nghệ An ký, Bùi Dương Lịch cũng ghi: Phủ Quỳnh xưa thuộc đất Bàn Nam tục gọi là mường Tôn (hay Bôn). Đầu thời Lê do tù trưởng Cẩm Công chiếm giữ. Đến thời Hồng Đức, tách thành phủ Trấn Ninh [3: 202].

Theo đó, trong cộng đồng người Thái định cư ở vùng đường 48 (Phủ Quỳnh xưa) nói chung, các nhóm Thái ở Quế Phong hiện nay nói riêng, hầu hết cũng đều có nguồn gốc và di chuyển cư từ các địa phương (các mường xưa) của người Thái ở miền tây Thanh Hóa (và từ Lào sang) vào những thời điểm khác nhau, chia làm nhiều đợt.

Trong 2 nhóm Tày Mường và Tày Thanh ở Quế Phong, nhóm Tày Mường là nhóm có mặt trước, nhưng nội bộ nhóm này không thuần nhất. Họ vừa có gốc Thái, vừa có gốc Kinh. Tày Thanh là nhóm đến sau, bao gồm bộ phận cư dân từ Thanh Hoá vào và một bộ phận khác từ Mường Thanh (Điện Biên) chuyển cư qua Lào rồi mới vào Nghệ An cách đây khoảng 200 - 300 năm [4: 20-32].



- Hiện nay, ở Quế Phong, nhóm Tày Thanh chủ yếu phân cư tại các xã: Tri Lễ, Nậm Giải, Nậm Nhoóng, Hạnh Dịch, Thông Thụ. Tại xã Tri Lễ có 33 bản (21 bản người Thái, 10 bản người Hmông, 2 bản người Khơ-mú). Trong 21 bản Thái, có 8 bản người Tày Mường (Na Niêng, Chà Lạnh, Na Càn, Na Lịt, Na Chạng, Na Túi, Bản Bò), 13 bản người Tày Thanh (Kèm Ái, Bản Đôn, Bản Chọt, Bản Lăm, Noong Một, Bản Hai, Hua Nà, Piêng Luông/Lôm, Bản Cẩm/Khăm, Bản Chiềng, Yên Sơn, Na Ca, Bản Xan)- số liệu thu thập tại phòng Thống kê của xã Tri Lễ (2015).

Những tư liệu mà chúng tôi thu thập được trong nhiều năm qua cho phép khẳng định hầu hết nhóm Tày Thanh đều di cư từ các huyện miền núi Thanh Hóa vào.

Theo lời kể của ông Vi Văn Châu, người Tày Thanh 81 tuổi (xóm Chợ, cán bộ hưu trí) thì: nhóm Tày Thanh ở Tri Lễ có 2 nguồn gốc. Một bộ phận có nguồn gốc từ Mường Đền, Mường Mót (Bát Mọt), vùng Yên Khương, huyện Lang Chánh, tỉnh Thanh Hóa di cư vào. Đây là bộ phận Tày Thanh có mặt đầu tiên, có công khai sơn, phá thạch lập bản, dựng mường ở khu vực Tri Lễ ngày nay. Một bộ phận khác ngược lên định cư tại Mường Pào (thuộc huyện Sầm Tở, tỉnh Hòa Bình, Lào) và các thung lũng dọc theo dòng Nậm Xăm (sông Chu), sau đó có những

nhóm nhỏ tiếp tục chuyển cư xuôi theo dòng Nậm Giải xuống cư trú tại vùng Tri Lễ thuộc đất Việt Nam (Vi Văn An-Tư liệu thu thập năm 2015 tại xã Tri Lễ, huyện Quế Phong).

Như vậy, con đường chuyển cư của nhóm Tày Thanh vào đất Nghệ An là theo 2 hướng. Một hướng từ Thanh Hoá sang Phủ Quỳ (Nghĩa Đàn, Quỳnh Hợp, Quỳnh Châu, Quế Phong); bộ phận khác di cư từ Lào xuống sau, cư trú tại các ngọn nguồn khe suối. Vì là nhóm có mặt muộn hơn, nên người Tày Thanh thường cư trú thành các bản riêng, hoặc cư trú xen ghép với những người Tày Mường đã đến từ trước đó. Do vậy, họ trở thành dân ngụ cư, có địa vị xã hội thấp hơn.



Trong quá trình triển khai Dự án: Tác động của Ti vi đối với sự biến đổi gia đình của người Thái ở Việt Nam, triển khai tại 2 huyện Quỳnh Châu và Quế Phong, tỉnh Nghệ An chúng tôi đã thu thập được một số tư liệu liên quan đến các nhóm Thái ở 2 huyện này. Ví dụ, tại xã Nậm Giải, huyện Quế Phong, có 8 bản, trong đó có 7 bản Thái. Trong 7 bản Thái này, bản Poóng (bản cây tai chua (mác Poóng) là bản đầu tiên, sau này khi dân cư đông đúc, mới tách ra thành lập các bản xung quanh, trong đó có bản Pục, bản Cáng, bản Tóng, bản Mờ...Hiện bản Poóng có 105 hộ (104 hộ Thái, 01 hộ Kinh), 438 khẩu.

Về nguồn gốc, theo ông Quàng Văn Thơ 97 tuổi-một trong những cụ già nhiều tuổi nhất ở bản Poòng hiện nay cho biết: người Tày Thanh ở bản Poóng di cư từ Thanh Hóa vào khoảng từ sau thời Lê (TK15) trở đi, gồm 2 bộ phận/hai dòng họ, theo hai đường khác nhau:

(i). Nhóm di từ từ Thanh Hóa vào thẳng vùng Phủ Quỳnh

- Nhóm họ Lữ quê gốc ở Mường Xại (vùng Quan Sơn, Thanh Hóa), do không chịu được áp bức bóc lột nặng nề của Tào Mường Xại, nên tìm đường di cư vào tây Nghệ An. Lúc đi có 5 anh em. Khi đến vùng này, 5 anh em dựng nhà, lập bản ra Poóng. Ban đầu, 5 anh em dựng nhà gần suối, có một năm do

lũ lụt to cuốn trôi cả cối, chày giã gạo ra tận bản Mờ ngày nay, nên khúc suối cạnh bản hiện nay còn có một hòn đá lớn gọi là hòn Chày (cón Xác). Trong câu chuyện di cư của họ Lữ, người ta thường kể đến các đỉnh núi mà họ đã đi qua như: Pù Cọ, Pù Phường, Pù Lè (đều là các đèo/núi nằm trên quốc lộ 48 từ Quỳnh Châu lên Quế Phong rồi vào Nậm Giải hiện nay). Theo ký ức của ông Thơ, từ khi di cư đến nay, dòng họ Lữ bản Poòng đã trải qua hơn 15 đời (gần 400 năm).

(ii). Nhóm di sang Lào rồi từ Lào chuyển cư xuống

Nhóm họ Quàng/Quang (ở bản Poóng hiện nay) quê gốc ở Mường Đền (Yên Khương, Lang Chánh, Thanh Hóa). Lúc đầu có 3 anh em, khi di cư, anh cả đi theo đường Thanh Hóa vào Quỳnh Châu, còn 2 em di cư sang Lào (vùng Sầm Tở, Hủa Phăn) sau đó mới đi xuôi dòng Nậm Giải đến nhập với nhóm anh em họ Lữ. Họ Quàng thuộc hàng rể của họ Lữ, lúc mới đến, dựng nhà, lập ra bản Còn (bên kia suối Nậm Giải), đến năm 1973 mới chuyển sang bản Poóng hiện nay. Họ Quang và họ Lữ là 2 họ đông khá giả và có thế lực nhất trong bản. Nhiều người làm cán bộ xã, Ban quản lý bản; các em học sinh đi học ở trường nội trú huyện, tỉnh chủ yếu cũng là con em của hai họ này (Vi Văn An-Tư liệu thu thập năm 2016 tại xã Tri Lễ, huyện Quế Phong).



Cách giải thích về nguồn gốc của bộ phận Tày Thanh ở đây cũng tương tự và phù hợp với cách giải thích, cũng như kết quả khảo sát mà chúng tôi đã từng công bố về nguồn gốc và ý nghĩa tên gọi của nhóm Thái này trong một số công trình, bài viết trước đây. Theo đó, sở dĩ gọi là Tày Thanh/Tày Nhái là vì họ di cư (Nhại: Di cư/di chuyển), có nguồn gốc từ Thanh Hóa vào. Đây là cách lí giải thuyết phục nhất về ý nghĩa tên gọi của nhóm này. Vào khoảng đầu thời Lê, tại vùng Mường Xưa (nay là xã Sơn Thủy, Quan Sơn, Thanh Hóa), nhân một hôm lợn nhà cho Tào Mường, có một người quên buộc một múi lạt. Sau khi lợn xong, người chủ trì buổi lợn nhà phát hiện được bèn báo lại với Tào Mường. Vì cho rằng, người đó cố ý tạo điểm gở cho dòng họ Tào, nên Tào Mường tức giận, sai cả mường tháo dỡ để lợn lại; đồng thời bắt phạt vạ người vi phạm. Tức giận trước hành động ngược đãi của Tào Mường, một bộ phận Thái rủ anh em, bà con họ hàng, thu xếp đồ đạc đi khỏi mường và thể sẽ không bao giờ quay lại. Bộ phận Thái này chia làm hai nhóm di cư theo hai đường:

Cũng trong thời kỳ này, một nhóm Thái khác từ vùng Như Xuân, Thường Xuân theo đường núi vượt sang định cư tại vùng sâu, vùng xa thuộc đất Phủ Quỳnh Châu, Nghệ An như: xã Châu Thuận; bản Luồng (xã Châu Phong), bản Xổp Hốc (xã Diên Lãm); xã Nậm Nhoóng, Tri Lễ, Quang Phong, Cam Cọn, Châu Thôn (Quế Phong). Tiếp đó, có những dòng họ vượt núi, di chuyển sang cư trú ở các bản Na Khích (Nậm Nhoóng), Na Ngân, Na Kho (xã Nga My, huyện Tương Dương). Đặc biệt, có một bộ phận di chuyển từ Tri Lễ, Quang Phong sang tận Môn Sơn, Chi Khê, Lam Khê (huyện Con Cuông). Truyện kể về 2 đợt chuyển cư của người Thái từ Thanh Hóa vào Quế Phong rồi vượt sông Lam đến Mường Quạ (huyện Con Cuông) gắn liền với tên tuổi của 2 vị thủ lĩnh có tên là Tào Xưa (hay còn gọi là Cang ồng) và Hầu Bông.



Trước kia, người Tày Thanh ở bản Poóng cũng như các bản người Tày Thanh ở xã Nặm Giải đều thuộc diện dân ngụ cư (Páy cư), thân phận lệ thuộc vào chủ đất người Tày Mường của Mường Noọc (xã Châu Kim), hằng năm phải chịu tô thuế, lao dịch và cống nạp theo Lệ Mường. Chẳng hạn, khi săn được Sao la, Tê giác thì phải nộp sừng; khi săn được hổ thì phải nộp móng vuốt, răng nanh. Theo lệ chung: Tô kin hăm au ha nả, tô kin nhả au ha lẳng (Con ăn cá thì nộp đuôi trước, con ăn cỏ thì nộp đuôi sau).

Cần nhấn mạnh thêm là: một trong số những dòng họ Thái thuộc nhóm Tày Mường ở xã Châu Kim, huyện Quế Phong hiện nay cũng di cư từ Thanh Hóa vào. Ví dụ dòng họ Lương (hậu duệ là ông Lương Sỹ Cường hiện nay). Dòng họ này vẫn còn anh em họ hàng bên Như Xuân, Thường Xuân.

4. Đôi điều lý giải về câu hỏi đã nêu

- Như đã đề cập, ngoài thờ Trời/Ngọc Hoàng/Then Phạ, đối tượng thờ cúng chính trong lễ tế trâu tại 2 ngôi đền 9 gian ở Quế Phong và Như Xuân đều là Tào Lo Y-người có công xây dựng bản mường. Tuy nhiên, tình tiết liên quan đến Tào Lo Y và câu chuyện thiên di của người Thái ở Quan Hóa và Quế Phong có đôi chút khác nhau. Theo đó, trong sự tích về sự hình thành mường Ca Da thì không nhắc gì đến tên Tào Lo Y, mà chỉ nói đến chuyện con quạ cứu người. Cốt truyện như sau:

Thời đó, vùng đất này đã có Tào Mường cai quản, sau khi gả con gái cho con trai Vua Nước (của hồi môn là đôi trâu sừng đồng, sừng sắt), trở nên giàu có đến mức phải hỏi người khác làm thế nào để nghèo đi, nên Trời giận thu lại mường ấy và không cho làm tạo nữa. Vùng đất này trở nên hoang vu, dân tình đói khổ. Nhân một hôm, có một cái xác người đàn ông trôi trên thượng nguồn sông Mã về vương vào bụi lau sậy, sau đó có con quạ bay qua sà xuống mổ bụng, không ngờ con quạ vừa ăn cây thuốc hồi sinh trên ngọn núi thiêng (Cửa Hà) về, thuốc còn dính trên mỏ, vừa mổ vào xác chết thì người chết bèn sống lại. Sau khi



được hồi sinh, người đàn ông đó sinh sống trên vùng đất này, làm ăn giàu có, dựng lại một Mường lớn và làm tạo Mường. Nhớ ơn con quạ đã cứu mình, ông tạo bèn đặt tên Mường là Mường Ca Da (quạ cứu chữa/vớt). Sau này, nhân dân địa phương cũng đặt tên là Hồi Xuân để ghi nhớ công ơn của con quạ nọ.

Truyền thuyết về Tạo Lo Ý của người Thái Quế Phong cũng liên quan đến câu truyện thiên di của họ từ Thanh Hóa vào, song lại có nhiều tình tiết liên quan đến Lào. Đó là: Thửa xưa, vua mường Luông phabang (bên Lào) có 2 con trai. Con cả tên là Lo Ý, con thứ tên là Lo Ai. Khi vua cha già yếu, ông muốn truyền ngôi cho người anh. Biết được ý định, Lo Ai ngầm hãm hại anh, đem vớt xác trôi theo dòng sông Mã. Đến đoạn Quan Hóa, xác vướng vào gốc lâu sậy, có con quạ bay ngang qua sà xuống mổ ăn xác thối, không ngờ vừa mổ vào bụng, xác sống trở lại nhờ con quạ vừa ăn phải cây thuốc hồi sinh. Thửa đó, vùng này chưa có Tạo, nên dân bèn mời anh ta ở lại làm Tạo mường, đặt tên mường là Ca Da (quạ cứu chữa) để ghi nhớ công ơn của quạ. Làm Tạo Mường một thời gian, vì nhớ quê cũ, nên Tạo xin dân mường về thăm, nhưng vì không nhớ đường, Tạo

bị lạc vào đất Quế Phong. Thửa ấy, dân vùng này đã có mường, nhưng chưa có Tạo, bèn mời Tạo ở lại cai quản bản mường. Thương dân, Tạo nhận lời ở lại, lập mường mới lấy tên là Mường Tôn, tập hợp dân chúng khai phá cánh đồng Đon Cham, Mường Noọc. Tạo lấy vợ tên là Si Đa (là con của Ngọc Hoàng), sinh con và cha truyền con nối làm Tạo. Sau khi Lo Ý mất, để nhớ công ơn, con cháu lập Đền thờ ông tại đồi Pu Chà Nhàng, bản Khoảng, xã Châu Kim, hằng năm mổ trâu cúng Then Phạ và ông tổ Lo Ý.

- Như vậy, tuy có khác nhau về tình tiết, song truyền thuyết về sự di cư của người Thái ở Quan Hóa và Quế Phong đều liên quan đến câu truyện về xác người sống lại nhờ được quạ cứu vớt. Tuy nhiên, trong câu chuyện về nguồn gốc của mường Ca Da không thấy nhắc gì đến tên Tạo Lo Ý và việc người Thái lập đền thờ ông tại đây, cũng như việc lập đền thờ ông tại mường Chiềng Van. Trong khi đó, câu chuyện về sự thiên di và việc lập đền thờ Tạo Lo Ý của người Thái ở Quế Phong thì được lưu truyền khá rõ. Theo đó, về logic, ngôi đền 9 gian tại Thanh Quân, huyện Như Xuân phải có trước và được xây dựng sớm hơn ngôi đền 9 gian ở Châu Kim, huyện Quế Phong,



bởi các tư liệu trên cho thấy rõ là người Thái ở miền tây Nghệ An nói chung, ở Quế Phong nói riêng đều có nguồn gốc từ miền tây Thanh Hóa di cư vào. Thanh Quân theo đó có thể là nơi cư trú của bộ phận Thái Quế Phong trước khi họ chuyển cư vào đây?. Tuy nhiên, theo chúng tôi, có lẽ là do vùng người Thái ở Như Xuân trước kia chỉ là một mường nhỏ trực thuộc mường Chiềng Van (một trong 4 mường lớn của người Thái ở Thanh Hóa: Mường Ca Da, Mường Khoòng, Mường Đèng, Mường Chiềng Van), nên lễ tế trâu tại ngôi đền 9 gian ở Thanh Quân ban đầu cũng chỉ mới quy tụ được bộ phận người Thái xung quanh và người Thái vốn có họ hàng ở Quế Phong tham gia, mà chưa thu hút được cư dân của 4 mường lớn. Thêm vào đó, cần nhớ rằng, ở Thanh Hóa, người Thái cũng ít hơn người Mường. Trong chừng mực nào đó, có thể nói vai trò, ảnh hưởng và văn hóa Mường cũng có phần nổi trội hơn, bởi thiết chế xã hội nổi trội vùng miền núi là chế độ Lang đạo. Trong thực tế, người Thái (nhất là Quan Hóa, Bá Thước, một số vùng Thường Xuân) chịu ảnh hưởng, tiếp thu các yếu tố văn hóa Mường khá rõ rệt (nhà cửa, trang phục và cả một số nghi lễ tín ngưỡng). Chính vì thế, tầm quan trọng của lễ tế đền 9 gian chỉ bó hẹp trong

phạm vi nhất định, nên ngoài họ Cẩm ra, các nghi thức tế lễ, quy trình thực hành không được quan tâm dẫn đến mai một dần. Đặc biệt, từ sau năm 1948 trở đi, do chiến tranh, do bài trừ mê tín (có thể bị phá bỏ) và khó khăn của thời bao cấp...nên ngôi đền bị hư hại rồi trở thành phế tích, không ai còn nhớ quy trình thực hành lễ tế như thế nào?. Chính vì thế, huyện Như Xuân phải nhiều lần vào Quế Phong tham khảo kinh nghiệm quy trình/các bước trước khi tổ chức lễ hội.

Một minh chứng nữa là, ngôi đền trước kia gồm 9 gian- tượng trưng cho 9 mường. Vậy, trước kia cũng như hiện nay, đó là những mường nào ở Thanh Quân hay cả 6 Thanh?, không ai còn nhớ cụ thể và cũng không có ghi chép nào để lại. Đây cũng là một trong những khó khăn đối với người được giao trọng trách phân vân, lưỡng lự để rồi cuối cùng mặc dù ngôi đền vẫn được thiết kế thành 9 gian, song không biết gian nào là vị trí đặt mâm thờ của mường cụ thể nào, mà (hình như) chỉ bê nguyên xi cách bố trí theo đền 9 gian ở Quế Phong?



5. Đôi điều kết luận

Việc phục dựng lại ngôi đền 9 gian ở Thanh Quân, huyện Như Xuân là công việc phù hợp với chủ trương, chính sách Dân tộc của Đảng và Nhà nước; chính sách về tôn vinh, bảo tồn, gìn giữ và phát huy các giá trị văn hóa dân tộc thiểu số chung, người Thái ở địa phương nói riêng.

Đây là việc làm hết sức có ý nghĩa thiết thực, đáp ứng lòng muốn của cộng đồng người Thái nơi đây về đời sống văn hóa nói chung, đời sống tâm linh nói riêng.

Việc tổ chức lễ hội hằng năm chẳng những nâng cao hưởng thụ văn hóa, mà còn góp phần tăng cường và củng cố khối đại đoàn kết giữa các dân tộc trong quá trình xây dựng nông thôn mới.

Thông qua nội dung các hoạt động cụ thể, việc tổ chức lễ hội còn góp phần giới thiệu, quảng bá những sắc thái văn hóa, phong tục tập quán của người Thái nơi đây với bạn bè, du khách gần xa.

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HỢP TÁC NGHIÊN CỨU KHOA HỌC XÃ HỘI VÀ NHÂN VĂN GIỮA VIỆT NAM VÀ LÀO DƯỚI GÓC ĐỘ NHÂN HỌC BẢO TÀNG

TS. Vi Văn An

Bài viết của chúng tôi không có tham vọng trình bày kết quả Hợp tác nghiên cứu và đào tạo về KHXH&NV giữa Việt Nam và Lào, mà chỉ đề cập đến một số hợp tác nghiên cứu dưới góc độ Nhân học bảo tàng, qua kinh nghiệm của Bảo tàng Dân tộc học Việt Nam với Viện Nghiên cứu Văn hóa Lào (trực thuộc Bộ Thông tin-Văn hóa Lào trước đây), nay là đơn vị trực thuộc Viện Hàn lâm KHXH Quốc gia Lào. Trên cơ sở đó, đặt ra một số vấn đề trong hợp tác nghiên cứu giữa hai Viện HLKHXH của hai nước.

1. Đặt vấn đề

Việt Nam và Lào là hai quốc gia láng giềng có đường biên giới dài trên 2000km, các dân tộc ở hai nước có nhiều nét tương đồng về lịch sử và văn hóa, quan hệ hữu nghị đặc biệt giữa hai nước cũng đã trải qua gần 60 năm (từ 1962).

Nhằm thực hiện chủ trương củng cố và phát triển quan hệ hữu nghị đặc biệt và sự hợp tác toàn diện giữa Việt Nam và Lào theo tinh thần tuyên bố chung của hai nước nhân chuyến thăm cấp cao Việt Nam-Lào ngày 12/10/2006 tại thủ đô Viêng Chăn, việc Viện Hàn lâm KHXHVN chủ trương đẩy mạnh hợp tác nghiên cứu và đào tạo về khoa học xã hội giữa Việt Nam và Lào là hết sức có ý nghĩa về khoa học, chính trị và thực tiễn. Theo đó, Viện Hàn lâm KHXHVN đã cử hai đoàn cán bộ sang thăm và làm việc với Viện Hàn lâm KHXH Quốc gia Lào tại Viêng Chăn nhằm cụ thể hóa nội dung, hình thức và giải pháp về sự hợp tác này.

Trong 20 năm qua, kể từ khi thành lập năm 1995 đến nay, Lào là quốc gia luôn được Bảo tàng DTHVN chú trọng trong việc hợp tác nghiên cứu, sưu tầm, trưng bày và trình diễn. Thông qua các đề tài, dự án, việc hợp tác giữa Bảo tàng DTHVN và Viện Hàn lâm KHXHQG Lào góp phần củng cố và thắt chặt tình đoàn kết, hữu nghị đặc biệt giữa Việt Nam và Lào do hai Đảng của hai nước đã dày công vun đắp, gìn giữ từ trước đến nay.



2. Một số thông tin cơ bản

Quan hệ hợp tác và đào tạo về KHXH&NV giữa Việt Nam và Lào đã được triển khai từ nhiều năm. Thật vậy, từ sau những năm 1980 của thế kỷ trước cho đến những năm gần đây, Chính phủ Lào đã cử một số sinh viên sang học các chuyên ngành: lịch sử, Khảo cổ học, Dân tộc học... tại Trường Đại học Tổng hợp Hà Nội (nay là Khoa Nhân học, trường Đại học KHXH&NV thuộc Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội). Sau khi tốt nghiệp, hầu hết số sinh viên Lào trở về nước và hiện đang làm việc trong các cơ quan của Nhà nước của Lào, trong đó một số hiện đang là lãnh đạo tại các Viện nghiên cứu thuộc Viện HLKHXHQG Lào tại thủ đô Viêng Chăn. Đây là chưa kể số học sinh, sinh viên Lào được đào tạo tại các trường đại học khác tại Hà Nội, TP. Hồ Chí Minh hay các tỉnh miền Trung, nhất là tại trường Hữu nghị 80; học viên các trường thuộc Bộ Công an, Quân đội quản lý.

Năm 2001, Bộ môn Dân tộc học, Khoa Lịch sử trường đại học Khoa học xã hội và Nhân văn (Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội) tiếp nhận và đào tạo một nghiên cứu sinh chuyên ngành Dân tộc học người Lào là Khăm Pheng Thipmuntaly. Năm 2005, đã bảo vệ thành công Luận án tiến sĩ với đề tài: Tổ chức xã hội truyền thống của người Phu Thay ở tỉnh Hủa Phăn, CHDCND

Lào. Năm 2011, Học viện KHXHVN cũng đã tiếp nhận và đào tạo một nghiên cứu sinh chuyên ngành Nhân học, người Lào là Khammanh Siphanhxay. Năm 2015, NCS này đã bảo vệ thành công luận án tiến sĩ với đề tài: Nghi lễ gia đình của nhóm Tày Đeng huyện Sầm Tở, tỉnh Hủa Phăn, Cộng hòa Dân chủ Nhân dân Lào.

Như vậy, về lĩnh vực hợp tác đào tạo nói chung, giữa hai nước đã đạt được nhiều kết quả rõ rệt. Tuy nhiên, riêng lĩnh vực hợp tác nghiên cứu về khoa học xã hội và Nhân văn giữa hai Viện Hàn lâm KHXH của hai nước (Viện Hàn lâm KHXH Quốc gia Lào mới được tái thành lập năm 2006) cũng như với các khoa Lịch sử, Khoa Nhân học thuộc Trường ĐHKHXH&NV (Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội) từ trước đến nay, hầu như mới chỉ diễn ra một chiều. Thật vậy, từ trước đến nay, Viện HLKHXHVN thường chỉ cử một số cán bộ của Viện Nghiên cứu Đông Nam Á học tiếng Lào tại Trường đại học Đồng Đô độc, Thủ đô Viêng Chăn.



Vào những năm 1980, khi mà Ủy ban Khoa học xã hội Lào còn tồn tại, Ủy ban Khoa học xã hội Việt Nam đã từng cử một số chuyên gia Viện Dân tộc học và Ban Nghiên cứu Đông Nam Á (nay là Viện Nghiên cứu Đông Nam Á) sang Lào giúp bạn trong việc nghiên cứu, xác định thành phần dân tộc, hay các đợt cán bộ nghiên cứu của Viện Hàn lâm KHXHVN sang bạn để phối hợp nghiên cứu về ngôn ngữ, dân tộc học, lịch sử, văn hóa tại Lào. Kết quả của sự phối hợp này là một số công trình nghiên cứu, bài viết về lịch sử, ngôn ngữ, văn hóa, dân tộc học... của Lào đã được công bố, nhất là trên Tạp chí Nghiên cứu Đông Nam Á; trong khi, thời kỳ đó, hầu như chưa có một cán bộ nào phía Lào sang thực tập sinh hay phối hợp nghiên cứu về KHXH&NV tại các Viện nghiên cứu trực thuộc Viện Khoa học xã hội Việt Nam.

Từ khi Ủy ban Khoa học xã hội Lào giải thể đến năm 2005, các Viện nghiên cứu chuyên ngành của bạn đều trực thuộc Bộ Thông tin-Văn hóa Lào. Trong hoàn cảnh đất nước còn nghèo, kinh phí dành cho nghiên cứu khoa học hạn chế, nên thành tựu nghiên cứu về lĩnh vực KHXH&NV của Lào nhìn chung cũng còn khiêm tốn. Vì thế, việc hợp tác nghiên cứu về khoa

học xã hội giữa hai bên càng ít ỏi hơn. Ngoài một số cán bộ của một số viện nghiên cứu chuyên ngành của Viện HLKHXHVN sang trao đổi kinh nghiệm với Lào theo nguồn kinh phí “ta đi ta chi”, ngoài Đề tài Hợp tác nghiên cứu về người Hmông, phối hợp giữa Viện Dân tộc học (Viện HLKHXHVN) với Viện Dân tộc và Tôn giáo (Viện HLKHXH Lào), còn lại hai bên chưa có một chương trình, dự án hợp tác nghiên cứu nào thêm.

3. Cách làm và các hoạt động hợp tác giữa Bảo tàng Dân tộc học Việt Nam với Viện Nghiên cứu Văn hóa Lào

Là cơ quan mới được thành lập năm 1995, tách ra từ Viện Dân tộc học-đơn vị trực thuộc Viện Hàn lâm Khoa học xã hội Việt Nam, việc hợp tác nghiên cứu, sưu tầm và trưng bày giữa hai Bảo tàng Dân tộc học Việt Nam và Bảo tàng Quốc gia Lào cho đến trước năm 2001 cũng nằm trong tình trạng tương tự. Một trong những lý do khách quan của tình trạng này là: một mặt, Bảo tàng DTHVN mới thành lập, từ sau khánh thành khu trưng bày thường xuyên năm 1997, Bảo tàng lại tiếp tục triển khai xây dựng 12 công trình Những ngôi nhà dân gian của các dân tộc: Kinh, Chăm, Ê-đê, Ba-na, Gia-rai, Cơ Tu, Dao, Tày, Hmông và Hà



Nhì ở khu trưng bày ngoài trời, nên chưa đủ điều kiện và thời gian để bắt tay vào hợp tác với Lào về lĩnh vực chuyên môn bảo tàng học, mặc dù đã có mối quan hệ khá chặt chẽ từ nhiều năm trước; mặt khác, do Bảo tàng DTHVN là đơn vị trực thuộc Viện hàn lâm KHXHVN, còn Bảo tàng Quốc gia Lào lại trực thuộc Bộ Thông tin-Văn hóa Lào. Thêm vào đó, mặc dù là quốc gia đa dân tộc, nhưng Lào chưa có Bảo tàng Dân tộc học, nên việc phối hợp nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật giữa hai bên cho đến năm 2001 trở về trước chưa được triển khai.

Việc hợp tác nghiên cứu, trao đổi về KHXH & NV dưới góc độ nhân học bảo tàng giữa BTĐTHVN với Lào có thể chia làm 2 giai đoạn như sau:

3.1. Giai đoạn 1: Hợp tác nghiên cứu, sưu tầm trong khuôn khổ dự án do Quỹ Rockefeller tài trợ

Năm 2002, BTĐTHVN đã khởi xướng một dự án nhằm tăng cường thúc đẩy và phát triển mạng lưới hợp tác giữa các bảo tàng, các cơ quan văn hóa, các nhà nghiên cứu ở tiểu vùng sông Mê Công và đã được Quỹ Rockefeller tài trợ.

Nhằm thiết lập mạng lưới ở tiểu vùng sông Mê Công (từ tháng 9/2002-tháng 8/2003), các nhân viên của bảo tàng thực hiện những chuyến công tác tại Lào, Thái Lan, Vân Nam (Trung Quốc); gặp gỡ, trao đổi với các bảo tàng các nước sở tại để thúc đẩy quan hệ hợp tác giữa các bảo tàng, các cơ quan văn hóa và các nhà nghiên cứu. Một trong những nhiệm vụ quan trọng của các chuyến công tác này là tìm hiểu và xác định chủ đề nghiên cứu và trưng bày sao cho kết nối được sự hợp tác giữa những nước có liên quan với nhau.

Sau những chuyến công tác có tính khảo sát này, nhận thấy chủ đề trưng bày về Đồ vật Thái ở tiểu vùng sông Mê Công là có tính khả thi hơn cả, nên từ tháng 8/2003 đến cuối năm 2004, các nhân viên của BTĐTHVN đã thực hiện các chuyến nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật của các dân tộc tại 3 nước Thái Lan, Lào, Vân Nam (Trung Quốc) và tại một số tỉnh có người Thái ở Việt Nam. Riêng tại Lào, nhóm nghiên cứu của BTĐTHVN đã hợp tác với Viện Nghiên cứu Văn hóa Lào, trong đó phía bạn đã cử 02 cán bộ (chị Úttala và anh Xổm Thon) cùng tham gia các chuyến nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật tại các tỉnh Kham Muộn, Luông Pra Băng và Hủa Phăn. Số lượng hiện vật sưu tầm được tại 3 nước nói trên, một mặt chuẩn bị cho trưng bày văn hóa các nước Đông Nam Á, mặt khác phục vụ



trực tiếp cho trưng bày về Đồ vải Thái tổ chức tại BTĐTHVN, Hà Nội (từ tháng 12/2004-6/2005, với sự có mặt của các đại biểu đến từ Vân Nam (Trung Quốc), Lào, Thái Lan..., đặc biệt là đại diện của Quỹ Rockefeller).

Song song với cuộc trưng bày này, BTĐTHVN cũng đã xây dựng các chương trình giáo dục và xuất bản đa dạng, tổ chức hội thảo, chiếu phim, thuyết trình về nghề dệt và đồ vải Thái của các nước tiểu vùng sông Mê Công. Đặc biệt là cuốn sách Đồ vải của người Thái ở tiểu vùng sông Mê Công: tiếp nối và biến đổi (tiếng Việt và tiếng Anh) gồm các bài viết của nhiều chuyên gia nghiên cứu về đồ vải, trong đó có bài viết của chị Uttala Viện Nghiên cứu Văn hóa Lào.

Ngoài ra, nhân dịp khai trương trưng bày, BTĐTHVN đã tổ chức cuộc gặp mặt các đại diện của các bảo tàng trong khu vực Đông Nam Á để thảo luận khả năng phát triển hợp tác với nhau và khả năng đưa trưng bày đi lưu động ở các nước trong khu vực, trước hết là các nước phối hợp tham gia dự án.

Sau khi kết thúc trưng bày, nhằm tiếp nối với dự án trên tháng 6/2005, BTĐTHVN tiếp tục bắt tay vào xây dựng dự án mới với chủ đề “Củng cố mạng lưới với các bảo tàng, cơ quan văn hóa và các học giả ở khu vực sông Mê Công và tăng cường hiểu biết về Đông Nam Á và khu vực”. Dự án này gồm 4 hoạt động chính (từ cuối năm 2005 cho đến cuối năm 2008).

Hoạt động 1: Đưa trưng bày Đồ vải Thái ở tiểu vùng sông Mê Công: tiếp nối và biến đổi đi trưng bày tại Bảo tàng các dân tộc Vân Nam (Trung Quốc); đồng thời xây dựng những chương trình có liên quan. Cuộc trưng bày lưu động này đã được thực hiện vào tháng 10/2006 với sự phối hợp của 3 nước: Việt Nam, Lào và Trung Quốc cùng các nhà nghiên cứu, các cơ quan văn hóa. Đoàn Lào có 2 đại biểu.

Hoạt động 2: Tổ chức Hội thảo nhân dịp khai trương trưng bày tại Vân Nam với chủ đề: Diễn đàn gặp gỡ các giám đốc bảo tàng và các nhà nhân học Đông Nam Á với sự tham gia của các giám đốc bảo tàng và các nhà nhân học từ 8 nước châu Á; đồng thời xuất bản kỷ yếu của Hội thảo này.



Hoạt động 3: Nghiên cứu Tác động của Hành lang kinh tế Đông-Tây (giai đoạn 1) dọc theo con đường số 9 nối từ cầu Hữu nghị Lào-Thái số 2 (giáp với tỉnh Mueang, Thái Lan) thuộc địa phận tỉnh Savannakhet (Lào) qua cửa khẩu Lao Bảo tới Đông Hà, tỉnh Quảng Trị (Việt Nam). Hoạt động này có sự phối hợp giữa các cán bộ của BTĐTH-VN và 2 nhà nghiên cứu của Viện Nghiên cứu Văn hóa Lào (nay trực thuộc Viện Khoa học xã hội Quốc gia Lào) là TS. Bountheng Souksavatd và cử nhân Thanongsone Sibunhuong và sẽ kết thúc vào tháng 6/2008. Nội dung của hoạt động này là hai bên cùng hợp tác nghiên cứu về nhân học đương đại về 4 lĩnh vực: tác động về môi trường, tác động về kinh tế, tác động về xã hội và tác động về nếp sống văn hóa của các cư dân như: Lào, Phu Thay, Xuôi, Tri, Măng Coong, Ca tang (bên Lào); Bru-Vân Kiều, Ca tang, Kinh (bên Việt Nam) sống dọc theo trục đường số 9 từ Lào sang Việt Nam, trong đó đề cập đến các cơ hội và những thách thức. Kết thúc nghiên cứu này (tháng 6/2008), hai bên đã phối hợp tổ chức một cuộc trưng bày tại BTĐTHVN, Hà Nội; đồng thời xuất bản một cuốn sách ảnh kèm theo.

Hoạt động 4: Chương trình trao đổi học giả và nâng cao năng lực, chương trình học tiếng Việt, tiếng Trung cho cán bộ bảo tàng giữa Việt Nam và Trung Quốc. Hoạt động thứ hai (chưa thực hiện được) là: triển khai 2 chuyến thực tế tại Campuchia và Malaysia và đón tiếp các nhà nghiên cứu từ Lào, Campuchia, Thái Lan đến Việt Nam để hỗ trợ cho BTĐTHVN chuẩn bị trưng bày.

3.2. Giai đoạn 2: Hợp tác nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật chuẩn bị cho trưng bày văn hóa các nước Đông Nam Á

Để chuẩn bị cho việc khai trương trưng bày văn hóa các nước Đông Nam Á tại BTĐTHVN vào cuối năm 2013, một trong những chủ trương của BTĐTHVN là tăng cường và đẩy mạnh sự hợp tác và trao đổi với các bảo tàng, cơ quan văn hóa ở các nước Đông Nam Á và khu vực. Trên cơ sở mối quan hệ hợp tác sẵn có, nhiệm vụ ưu tiên hàng đầu và trước mắt là triển khai các đợt nghiên cứu, sưu tầm nhằm xây dựng các sưu tập hiện vật dân tộc học, phục vụ trưng bày. Đây là nội dung có ý nghĩa hết sức quan trọng nhằm tăng cường sự hiểu biết lẫn nhau giữa các quốc gia dân tộc vốn có những nét văn hóa tương đồng trong khu vực, nhất là Lào; đồng thời mở ra những khả năng về hợp tác nghiên cứu, sưu tầm và trưng bày giới thiệu các giá trị văn hóa các dân tộc ở Đông Nam Á và khu vực.



- Chọn đối tác

Trong các nước Đông Nam Á và khu vực, Thái Lan, Vân Nam (Trung Quốc) và nhất là Lào là 3 quốc gia được BTĐTHVN chọn làm đối tác đầu tiên để triển khai nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật, trong đó, các bảo tàng, các cơ quan nghiên cứu là những nơi trực tiếp đặt quan hệ hợp tác. Lý do chọn 3

quốc gia này đầu tiên làm đối tác là vì: Các dân tộc thiểu số ở Lào đều có nét tương đồng về quan hệ nguồn gốc, ngôn ngữ, lịch sử và văn hóa với nhiều dân tộc thiểu số ở Việt Nam. Vì thế, khi trưng bày các giá trị văn hóa Lào, chúng ta sẽ thấy được nét tương đồng và khác biệt về văn hóa.

Ngay từ khi khai trương năm 1997, BTĐTHVN đã có những mối quan hệ nhất định với các bảo tàng, các cơ quan văn hóa, các nhà nghiên cứu của 3 quốc gia này, đặc biệt là quan hệ với các nhà nghiên cứu của Lào. Trong thực tế, do số cán bộ nghiên cứu ở Viện KHXH Quốc gia Lào còn rất mỏng (Năm 2010, tổng số cán bộ 72 người, trong đó có: 6 tiến sĩ, 14 thạc sĩ, 27 cử nhân. Năm 2015, tổng số cán bộ 167 người, trong đó có: 13 tiến sĩ, 38 thạc sĩ, còn lại là cử nhân), thuộc nhiều chuyên môn khác nhau; trình độ

năng lực hạn chế, nên thành tựu nghiên cứu KHXH và NV của bạn còn khiêm tốn, song thuận lợi cơ bản là hầu hết các cán bộ nghiên cứu ở Lào đều nói được tiếng Việt khá sõi; một số cán bộ nghiên cứu được đào tạo cơ bản, đúng theo các chuyên ngành KHXH&NV và hơn bao giờ hết, khi đặt quan hệ phối hợp nghiên cứu, sưu tầm với Lào, họ là những người duy nhất có thể đáp ứng được yêu cầu, nội dung công việc.

Trong nhiều năm qua, một số Viện nghiên cứu trực thuộc Viện Hàn lâm KHXH Việt Nam như: Viện Dân tộc học, Viện Nghiên cứu Đông Nam Á...; Khoa Lịch sử trường Đại học Sư phạm Hà Nội đã xuất bản nhiều công trình, bài viết thuộc các lĩnh vực: Lịch sử, ngôn ngữ, văn hóa, dân tộc học, khảo cổ học... về Lào. Đây là những tài liệu thật sự hữu ích làm cơ sở cho việc hợp tác nghiên cứu, đào tạo về KHXH& NV giữa hai Viện Hàn lâm nói chung; nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật dân tộc học đối với BTĐTH nói riêng. Bên cạnh đó, không thể không nói đến những thuận lợi về mặt địa lý: giao thông đi lại thuận tiện; thủ tục thông thoáng, gọn nhẹ. Điều hết sức quan trọng nữa là phía Lào luôn dành tình cảm, sự giúp đỡ và ưu tiên đặc biệt đối với các cán bộ nghiên cứu Việt Nam.



- Triển khai nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật

Trên cơ sở những chuyến nghiên cứu, sưu tầm trước đây, tháng 1/2006, một nhóm cán bộ của Bảo tàng DTHVN đã sang Lào phối hợp với 02 cán bộ của Viện Nghiên cứu Văn hoá Lào tiếp tục nghiên cứu về dự án Tác động của hành lang kinh tế Đông-Tây, đồng thời kết hợp sưu tầm hiện vật dân tộc học các dân tộc ở Lào, phục vụ cho trưng bày Đường 9: Cơ hội và Thách thức và nhất là phục vụ cho trưng bày Văn hóa các nước Đông Nam Á. Trong chuyến công tác này, các cán bộ của Bảo tàng DTHVN đã sưu tầm được 116 hiện vật thuộc nhiều chủng loại như đồ vải, đồ gia dụng, đồ gốm... của các dân tộc ở Lào.

Để có được số lượng hiện vật trên, trước khi xuống thực địa, các cán bộ của Bảo tàng DTHVN đã thảo luận kỹ với đối tác về địa điểm, dân tộc sẽ đến, chủng loại hiện vật sẽ sưu tầm nhằm phản ánh được 5 chủ đề dự kiến sẽ trưng bày. Nhóm công tác chủ trương vừa sưu tầm hiện vật tại các làng, vừa sưu tầm các bộ sưu tập hiện vật gốc từ các nhà sưu tầm tư nhân; tranh thủ sự giúp đỡ của các chuyên gia trong việc giám định chất lượng hiện vật, ghi chép thông tin liên quan

đến nguồn gốc xuất xứ, dân tộc, cách chế tác, sử dụng; ý nghĩa liên quan...; đồng thời hoàn thành các thủ tục Hải quan để vận chuyển hiện vật về Việt Nam. Bên cạnh sưu tầm hiện vật, nhóm công tác còn thảo luận các vấn đề về hợp tác, trao đổi kinh nghiệm nghiên cứu, sưu tầm, trao đổi học giả và phối hợp trưng bày trong tương lai. Đến nay, riêng Lào, Bảo tàng DTHVN đã sưu tầm được trên 600 hiện vật. Toàn bộ số hiện vật này đã được hoàn thành lý lịch, lưu kho bảo quản. Năm 2013, Bảo tàng DTHVN đã chọn 25 hiện vật tiêu biểu của Lào vào không gian trưng bày Văn hóa các nước Đông Nam Á.

- Kết quả

Dưới góc độ nhân học bảo tàng, việc hợp tác nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật đã thu được kết quả đáng kể (hiện vật, ảnh, phim video), phục vụ thiết thực cho việc trưng bày, giới thiệu các giá trị văn hoá của Lào tại Khu trưng bày văn hoá các nước Đông Nam Á vào cuối năm 2013 tại BT DTHVN. Điều quan trọng nữa là thông qua việc triển khai thực hiện các đề tài, dự án, hai bên đã xác lập và củng cố được quan hệ hợp tác lâu dài, vững chắc.



Qua các đề tài, dự án đã hợp tác nghiên cứu, kinh nghiệm của Bảo tàng DTHVN cho thấy, phía Việt Nam thường phải đứng ra chủ trì chính: từ xây dựng đề cương dự án, xin tài trợ từ các tổ chức quốc tế; chủ động trong việc xây dựng tiến độ thời gian triển khai các đợt nghiên cứu điền dã, sưu tầm tư liệu, hiện vật. Tại các địa phương điền dã, các nhà nghiên cứu Lào chủ yếu là học hỏi kinh nghiệm, dẫn đường, giao dịch thủ tục giấy tờ với lãnh đạo các địa phương và phiên dịch từ tiếng Lào sang tiếng Việt. Kinh nghiệm của Viện Nghiên cứu Đông Nam Á trong hợp tác nghiên cứu dự án Cộng đồng người Việt ở Lào cũng cho thấy, mặc dù phía Lào đã cử 4 cán bộ của họ tham gia, song báo cáo của các cán bộ Lào phải dày công chỉnh sửa, bổ sung mới hoàn thiện.

4. Một số vấn đề đặt ra Nam với Viện Nghiên cứu Văn hóa Lào

Một trong những khó khăn và thách thức lớn nhất trong hợp tác nghiên cứu KHXH & NV nói chung cũng như hợp tác nghiên cứu dưới góc độ nhân học bảo tàng nói riêng với Lào là: phía bạn thiếu nhân lực. Như trên đã đề cập, số cán bộ viên chức cả Viện KHXHQG Lào hiện chỉ có 167

người, trong đó học vị tiến sĩ 13 người, 38 thạc sĩ, số còn lại là cử nhân. Số lượng cán bộ trong 5 viện nghiên cứu trực thuộc (và 1 Văn phòng) cũng rất mỏng, hầu như mới chỉ có bộ khung, còn cán bộ tác nghiệp thì chưa nhiều. Ví dụ: Viện Nghiên cứu Văn hóa chỉ có 17 người (4 Th.s), Viện Nghiên cứu Xã hội học cũng chỉ có 21 người (3 tiến sĩ, 6 Th.s). Điều bất cập nữa là, trong số 167 cán bộ trong Viện Hàn lâm, thì số cán bộ nghiên cứu các chuyên ngành KHXH&NV không nhiều, mà chủ yếu là những người đã trải qua công tác lãnh đạo ở các bộ ngành chuyển về hay bộ đội chuyển ngành tuổi đã cao, không được đào tạo về chuyên môn các ngành KHXH&NV. Do vậy, khi triển

khai hợp tác, nhất là thực hiện các đề tài nghiên cứu, hai bên sẽ rất khó khăn về nguồn nhân lực tác nghiệp.

Khó khăn thứ hai trong hợp tác nghiên cứu là trình độ và năng lực chuyên môn nghiên cứu của các cán bộ Lào còn hạn chế. Vì thế, ngoài một số công trình nghiên cứu về lịch sử và các bài viết về dân tộc học đăng trên Tạp chí Di sản Lạn Xạng, Tạp chí KHXH Quốc gia Lào hay rải rác ở một vài



cuốn sách nào đó, cho đến nay, hầu như có rất ít công trình nghiên cứu tầm cỡ về tất cả các chuyên ngành liên quan đến KHXH&NV do chính các cán bộ nghiên cứu Lào chấp bút được công bố; thậm chí, cho đến nay, ở Lào có bao nhiêu dân tộc cũng chưa thống nhất...(năm 2003, Ủy ban Trung ương Mặt trận Tổ quốc Lào có xuất bản một cuốn sách giới thiệu về thành phần các dân tộc Lào, nhưng không ghi cụ thể có bao nhiêu dân tộc. Laurent Chazée trong cuốn các tộc người của Lào năm 2002 ghi 53 tộc người), trong khi đó, các công trình nghiên cứu của các học giả Pháp, Mỹ, nhất là các nhà nghiên cứu Việt Nam thuộc các lĩnh vực: sử học, dân tộc học, kinh tế học, ngôn ngữ học, nghề dệt và đồ vải... về Lào lại khá phong phú.

Để từng bước khắc phục hạn chế này, theo tôi, Viện HL KHXHVN cần chú trọng xây dựng chương trình hợp tác, đào tạo có tính chiến lược, hệ thống giúp cho Lào, trước hết phải nắm được lý luận và phương pháp các chuyên ngành KHXH& NV. Hàng năm, mỗi Viện chuyên ngành của Việt Nam phải giúp cho từng Viện nghiên cứu chuyên ngành phía Lào trong việc đào tạo này, thông qua các đề tài, dự án mà hai bên sẽ hợp tác, nhằm trong quá trình tham gia, họ phải được đào tạo lại. Ngoài ra, hằng năm phía Lào được cử một số cán bộ nghiên cứu sang Việt

Nam tham gia các khóa học, tiếp cận, làm quen và thực hành các phương pháp nghiên cứu mới trong một thời gian nhất định tùy theo kinh phí trao đổi cho phép. Trong quá trình xây dựng chương trình hợp tác, trên cơ sở nguồn kinh phí cho phép, trước mắt cần chú trọng các hệ đề tài, dự án có tính khả thi, cấp bách như: các hệ đề tài về lĩnh vực lịch sử, dân tộc học, bảo tàng học...

Từ kinh nghiệm của Bảo tàng DTHVN đã nêu trên, chúng ta cần thiết phải đẩy mạnh hơn nữa việc hợp tác, nghiên cứu về KHXH&NV giữa Việt Nam và Lào. Trong quá trình hợp tác, phải xem xét và ưu tiên nhất định đối với phía Lào, trong đó, ngoài nghiên cứu về KHXH&NV thì góc độ Bảo tàng học cũng là một mảng quan trọng cần được quan tâm thích đáng. Đặc biệt, trong quá trình hội nhập với khu vực và thế giới, nhu cầu hiểu biết về đất nước, con người; hiểu biết về văn hóa truyền thống của các nước xung quanh Việt Nam, trong đó có Lào ngày càng cao. Vì thế, chỉ có thông qua hợp tác nghiên cứu, sưu tầm hiện vật và trưng bày, giới thiệu, chúng ta mới có thể nhận diện và hiểu biết được các giá trị văn hóa truyền thống của Lào-một quốc gia đa dân tộc; vốn có những nét tương đồng về văn hóa với Việt Nam.



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TRADITIONAL AND MODERN HEALING PRACTICES OF THAI PEOPLE IN NGHE AN PROVINCE

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1. General Information

Among five ethnic minority groups in Nghe An (Thai, Tho, Kho-mu, Hmong, and Odu), Thai ethnic group accounts for the majority. According to the 2009 statistical data, Nghe An Province has 295,312 people belonging to Thai group (about more than 310,000 people in 2016). Thai people mainly live in the upland and mountainous districts such as Tuong Duong, Con Cuong, Quy Hop, Quy Chau, Que Phong, and Ky Son; among which, they are mostly concentrated in Que Phong (51,340 people), Tuong Duong (50,275 people), Quy Hop (47,632 people), Con Cuong (44,595 people), and Quy Chau (40,890 people). Thai ethnic group is divided into four subgroups, including Tay Muong, Hang Tong (Tay Do), Tay Thanh, Man Thanh (Tay Nhai), Tay Muoi and Tay Khang. The Tay Muong subgroup called themselves White Thai/Tay Don while the remaining subgroups of Tay Thanh, Tay Muoi, and Tay Khang are considered Black Thai/Tay Dam.

Thai people are mainly engaged in wet rice and upland cultivation, livestock husbandry, and handicrafts such as weaving and knitting. Hunting, gathering, and river fishing customs are maintained, although declined significantly. Today, among Thai people as well as other ethnic groups in the province, new production activities have emerged such as cattle breeding, goat keeping, and particularly pig farming, forest garden farm model (acacia, rubber, and passion

fruit trees), and cage fish farming. Services including motorbike repair, eatery, coffee shop, hairdressing, mobile phone, and consumer sale, etc. are growing rapidly. Furthermore, rural road system has been significantly improved (concrete, gravel, and asphalted roads), most of the commune centers can be accessed by cars,



and more than 85% of the population use national grid and televisions. In addition, education and healthcare services are increasingly improved.

Regardless of their living areas (mixedly or isolated, in towns or mountainous and remote areas) and population size, the solidarity and relationships between Thai people and other ethnic groups such as Tho, Kho Mu, Hmong, and Odu as well as Kinh/Vietnamese people are constantly strengthened. With the largest population among the ethnic groups, apart from officially Vietnamese language, Thai language is the main communication language in the region. It can be said that Thai people always play an important role in socioeconomic and cultural development process as well as new rural development, security, and national defense in the western area of Nghe An Province.

2. Health– and Disease –related Aspects

2.1. Thai concept of health and disease

According to Thai people, healthy people (mi hanh) are those with vigorous body, bright complexion, black and thick hair, agility and vivaciousness. Healthy people can

work all year round without getting sick. Good health is genetic and therefore inherited from their grandparents and parents, from proper nutrition, eating and sleeping in moderation, keeping personal hygiene and environmental sanitation. In terms of spiritual viewpoint, Thai people think that healthy people were kind people, took care of worship, and did not do bad things in their previous lives; therefore, the deity Then Lo (Then created human) gifted them with good health. Furthermore, according to the Thai, to have good health, people should love, care, and help each other, should not think and calculate too much to have a relaxed mind, and most importantly should not attempt to harm others.

With regards to diseases (chep xay), Thai people think that the manifestation of diseases is emaciated body, pale and yellow skin, thin hair, slowness, and sluggishness. Sick people are unable to participate in labor, particularly hard work; therefore, they often do light work. As



explained by Thai people, sickness and diseases are partly from gene and inheritance, they are also caused by insufficient diet and sleep, and nutritional deficiencies that lead to weakness. In addition, the reasons for sickness and diseases are also explained that in the previous lives, grandparents and parents did bad things to their villagers, such as stealing, cursing, and neglecting worship; therefore, they are punished by the gods and devils.

In spiritual viewpoint, the common interpretation of Thai people regarding diseases and sickness is originated from animism. The Thai believe that humans can live because of their souls (khoan/van) and spirits (ngau) in their bodies. According to them, the number of souls in the body of each person is uncountable; it is only known that souls are distributed evenly throughout the human body. There is a saying that “xam xíp khoăn/văn tang nà, hà xíp khoăn tang lăng, khoăn chung chăng xoong xàng” (30 souls in the front, 50 souls behind, and several souls on both sides of the body) or “xam xíp minh văn châu, cầu hội minh văn hua” (30 souls live in the body and another 900 souls living on the head). However, people can point out some positions on the body where the souls live, such as văn hua (head soul), văn ta (eye soul), văn hu

(ear soul), văn tấp (liver soul), văn pọt (lung soul), văn chơ (heart soul), and so on. Among the above mentioned souls, there is a main soul which is considered the original soul (văn tồn) living in the hair on top of the head (chom văn). This explains why Thai people abstain from touching on other's head or patting children's heads as they are afraid that the soul will leave the body, leading to illness, diseases, and maybe even death, which shows

that, in terms of nature and function, khoăn/văn (the soul) protects the body and maintains human life, which is also its shelter.

One of the characteristics of the soul is that it often wanders and thus forgets the way back or is kidnapped by the ghosts; therefore, the soul cannot return to enter the body, which makes people sick. Hence, whenever a person is sick, the family has to take his shirt to the shaman to locate the lost soul or to know which ghost has arrested the soul. The family then has



to buy offerings and invite the shaman to conjure up the soul (hiếu khoả/vấn), and tie the string around the wrist (còi/phục khen) to redeem the soul. Evocation ceremonies take in different forms and levels. Depending on the severity of sickness, people will prepare offerings such as egg, chicken, or pig, and even buffalo/cow. To date, evocation ceremony is still a common practice of the Thai people in Vietnam in general and in Nghe An Province in particular.

Today, most of Thai people are aware that good health is derived from fetal care, nurturing, balanced diet, nutritional adequacy, and disease prevention know-how. Thai people also understand that sickness and diseases are due to inadequate nutrition or poverty because of economic hardship, unhygienic living conditions, overwork, polluted environment and water sources (lack of sanitary toilets, open defecation, grazing livestock, etc.), leading to several pathogenic bacteria. Therefore, Thai people have given more attention to disease prevention and health protection measures. However, poor health clinics and limited access to health services in addition to harsh, humid, and changeable weather of the mountainous area together with some other customs and habits are adverse factors directly or indirectly affecting people's health and diseases.

2.2. Common ailments

Based on their practical experience, Thai shamans have distinguished common diseases that often occur in different seasons and among age groups. Common winter diseases include influenza, cold, runny nose, red eyes, and body aches whereas the common summer diseases are malaria, diarrhea, sore eyes, stomach ailments, and liver diseases. Each disease has a few cures.

By age, children are often suffered from malnutrition, pneumonia, bronchitis, abdominal pain, diarrhea, sore throat, and skin diseases, etc. while the elderly often have back pain, asthma, physical TB, etc. People in the working age often suffer from back pain, stomach pain, liver and kidney diseases, etc. By gender, women often have gynecological disorders, eye diseases, goiter, mammary gland diseases, body aches, headache, dizziness, common sickness during pregnancy, and so on.



It is noted that in the previous years, sexually transmitted diseases, especially the 20th century disease, HIV/AIDS, among the youth tend to increase. For example, the number of people with HIV/AIDS in Quy Chau District in 2005 was 79, accounting for 2.9% of the total people suffered from HIV in Nghe An Province. In 2009, the number of people with HIV increased to 221 people, 2.8 times higher than the 2005 figure, representing 4.4% of the total HIV-infected people in Nghe An Province (Data provided by Quy Chau District Department of Health, 2006).

3. Traditional Healing Practices by Thai People

3.1. Diagnosis methods

- For those who are sick but do not show the disease symptoms (such as anorexia, emaciation, shortness of breath, fainting, etc.), people often use divination to diagnose the disease. Divination has two levels, (i) if the sickness is not severe, the family member often takes the shirt of the sick person together with paan, a bowl of rice, and a bottle of wine to the shaman (man or

woman) to know the disease, which is called *nhượng/dưỡng* (divination using shirt). The divination procedure is as follows: curling or tying the shirt collar of the sick person, then holding and swaying the collar at the face level and at the same time whispering the spells to ask the shirt owner the reason for his sickness. Although the procedure is simple, the shaman can partly guess the sickness reason to inform the family. However, sometimes these reasons are not accurate; hence, after performing the apology ceremony, the disease is not reduced. (ii) In case of severe disease, people have to buy offerings to the shaman for divination (using stick). This divination method/action is called *mo/mò*, which is conducted in order and sequence in a rather long time. The offerings include shirt of the sick person, paan, wine, rice, and some money. On arrival, the offerings are laid out on a tray or in a basket and then placed on a mat at the foot of the house ghost altar. The shaman then stands up and pours two cups of wine to place on the altar (*hình một/hình môn*) of the shaman founder hanging on the wall of the roof to invite the ancestors to come back and receive the offerings. The shaman will take down the bamboo tube for divination (normally no one is allowed to touch or look inside the bag, especially women as they can profane sacred things of the shaman).



The divination tool is a dry bamboo tube of about 20cm long, the bottom of the tube still has eye bud while the top of the tube is covered with weaved rattan. Inside the bamboo tube is about 17 or 23, even 30 rods (the number of the rods depends on the divination tool of each shaman), which are about 30cm long and made of bamboo, small bamboo tree (bamboo stalks), and quills. The head of each rod is cut into bizarre shapes such as snake head or dragon head; on the rod body, sometimes horizontal lines are engraved. Only the shaman knows the meaning of these signs and symbols.

Firstly, the shaman holds the rods with his right hand and then puts behind and turns around to the front, hits the left palm three times and shouts out "Hoa!" to inform the shaman founder. After that, the number of the rods are divided into two parts held by left and right hands. The shaman will pick each pair of rods in the left hand to put between fingers (between index finger and middle finger, between middle finger and ring finger, and between ring finger and little finger) of the right hand. According to the usual rules, the shaman calls the area between the ring finger and little finger tin (foot), the area between middle finger and ring finger chơ (heart), and the area between the index finger and middle finger hua

(head). The above steps are repeated until there are only one to two rods left in the left hand. The first rods between the thumb and index finger of the left hand will be put down. Then the rods held tightly between the right fingers will be switched to the left hand to call and inform the founder to help find the cause of the sickness. As an example, if each area between fingers has 5 rods, the sickness is not caused by lost soul or ghost but other reasons. If there are 5 rods between the index finger and middle finger and 6 rods between the middle finger and ring finger or 5 rods between the ring finger and little finger, the cause of sickness is ghost's harm. The shaman uses his esoteric knowledge to read the engraved lines and shapes on the rods to identify what caused sickness and which offerings should be prepared by the family to call/redeem the soul. In case of losses, the shaman will see whether the lost asset can be found.



- For those who are ill or suffer from a disease with manifest symptoms such as high fever, headache, eye sore, dizziness, tinnitus, hot flash, chest pain, body aches, and asthenia; intestinal diseases, skin diseases, respiratory diseases, or broken limbs, snake-bite, and so on, people will observe and check the iris, skin color, and voice, touch the forehead and arms/legs to know the body temperature, breathing (even check the pulse), and combine with the divination method above. Such observation, checking and pulse palpation are the basis for accurate traditional medication for proper and effective treatment.

healthcare system in the communes is inadequate and temporary (in the western area of Nghe An, before 2000, some districts, such as Ky Son, Tuong Duong, and Quy Chau, did not have doctors for communal clinics). Therefore, the treatment for the ethnic minorities in general and Thai people in particular are mostly traditional practices (divination, evocation, ethnic medicine), in which divination is the most popular (to know the sickness/disease cause). The family of the sick person will offer chicken and pig to perform apology ceremony to the ghost. Indeed, as mentioned above, one of the causes for sickness and disease of people is that their soul is lost on the way home or caught and harmed by ghosts or supernatural forces. If the soul leaves the body permanently, people will die. Therefore, if people want the soul to return to the body, people will first have to go to the shaman for divination to understand the specific reason, and then hold an evocation ritual (hiếu khoản/văn).

3.2. Treatment

It can be said that until before 1975, the medical facilities in the area of Thai people in the western region of Nghe An Province were very poor. Each district had only a hospital with poor equipment and understaffed doctors and nurses with low professional qualifications. In addition,



- Evocation ceremony

Evocation ceremony takes in different forms from simple to complex levels:

The first type is called *họng văn/hiếu khoản* on (lost soul evocation). This is the simplest way of evocation. When people are doing something and then startled, their souls will leave the bodies and do not know the way back. To call the lost soul, people will take the shirt of the sick person in a basket together with a rice packet, one boiled chicken, or one salt packet (if the family is poor). Then the shaman or someone knows evocation will bring the basket to the junction of the village road to call the soul. The most appropriate evocation time is sunset because Thai people believe that souls are similar to human, busy working during the day and coming home in the evening. However, because the soul is lost and does not know the way back, the family member has to wait at the village entrance. After the evocation, the family has to prepare a chicken (which can be replaced with grilled fish) to pray that the soul of sick person is healthy. The boiled chicken is divided into three parts including two meat parts and one part of head, feet, and gizzard. On the tray are sticky rice, two bowls, and five pairs of chopsticks. The offering tray is placed at the foot of the sick bed. When the shaman performs the ritual, the sick person has to sit next to the offering tray (if he/she is

hospitalized or absent for any reason, his/her shirt must be placed next to the tray). After the ritual, the sick persons will taste three pieces of three divided meat parts on the tray (in case of absence, three pieces will be put into the shirt pocket), which is called *tom văn/tom khoản*. After the sick person “*tom văn*”, the shaman will take two black threads or hemp string to tie around the sick persons’ wrist (in case the person is absent, tying around the shirt sleeve) to hold the spirit and not let it out.



The second type is called *xọc văn* (finding the lost soul). Such evocation is conducted directly at the sick person’s house. The prepared offerings include chicken, sticky rice, and wine (stem/tube wine is better). This ritual must be undertaken by *mo một*, *mo môn* because only those know how to use the praying and magic properly to dictate the celestial soldiers (so called *xeng*) to find the lost soul. During the ritual performance (*xên*), the shaman also invites *đằm nà hoóng* (deceased



parent's souls worshipped at hoóng) and Pu xủa (village god) to go together and receive the spirit of the sick person. When the ritual is finished, the family members will prepare a chicken to offer to the soul of the sick person and then "tie" the spirit so that soul and spirit of the sick person become healthy.

The third type of evocation is called ói vẫn (coaxing the lost soul). This method is used when the soul of sick person is lost in a place where there is so much fun and the lost soul is attentively received by the ghosts, and thus does not want to return. In order to perform ói vẫn ritual, the shaman has to find a place where the sick person often go/visit to build a "huông". At the huông, the shaman has to simulate the landscapes of mountain, forest, village, and market with a lot of delicious and strange food, and organize traditional folk games to attract the lost souls. Then the shaman will detect the soul of the sick person to coax it to return. After the ceremony, the family will also prepare a chicken to offer for the sick person's soul to become healthy and then perform the ritual to "tie" the soul of the sick person.

The fourth type is called hợng vẫn dong chầu. This evocation practice is often used for the elderly. According to the Thai, when people are older, their souls often leave the bodies to come to their grandparents' and ancestors'. Therefore, when their souls leave to meet their ancestors, people have to perform a ritual to đẳm chầu to call the souls back, which is hợng vẫn dong chầu. In order to prepare this religious ceremony, people have to prepare an offering tray including one basket with the shirt of the sick person, one rice packet, and one salt packet (if the family is better-off, they can substitute with chicken), one bottle of wine and two cups, a dish of betel and areca nut with five pieces, and one half-burnt firewood. The offering tray is put on a mat placed in front of the staircase. The ritual must be taken by someone who is môn or một and often lasts for 5 to 8 hours. After the evocation ceremony, people continue to perform a ritual to receive/welcome the soul back (which is called tòn vẫn), and finally, the ritual performer must tie the soul to keep it from letting out.



Apart from evocation rituals described above, in the customs of Thai people in Nghe An, there is a ritual called *tòn văn huộng* (receiving/welcoming big soul/spirit). This ritual is derived from the concept that a person's soul and spirit often go to his wife's family and live with his parents-in-law for a while when he gets older. Therefore, when a person is about 70 years old (or even earlier), Thai people often hold a ceremony to send their shirts to their parents-in-law, which is called *Cởi xừa* (shirt sending). When sending soul to their parents-in-law, the sender has to prepare offerings including a pair of chickens and one bottle of wine to worship and inform the wife's ancestors that the husband and wife have come back to perform *Cử xừa* ritual. The shirt keeping duration depends on the preparation of the family. If the family wants to receive the soul back, they have to prepare a spiritual pig (so called *mu văn*). The pig which is used for *văn huộng* ritual must be the one that had been marked by the shaman for the souls of the couple who send the shirt to receive and take care of it. According to Thai people, pig is sacred

animal; therefore, when it is marked, the pig must not be used for other purposes (except when the shirt sending duration is too long, another ceremony will be held to ask the soul to replace with another pig). Normally,

when the spiritual pig is grown up, the family will receive/welcome the soul back, which is called *tòn văn*. In doing so, the family has to prepare a small offering including a pair of chickens, one bottle of wine, and five pieces of betel and areca to worship the wife's ancestors. It can be said that this is one of the rituals of great importance to a person's life; therefore, not only those receiving the soul have to prepare carefully but also the wife's family has to prepare many gifts for the receiving family such as clothing, blanket, pig, chicken, and other foods. When those carrying the soul approach the house, the young members will play drums and gongs to celebrate the soul's return, which is also the opening ceremony of the *văn huộng*. Soul will be carried directly to the bedroom of the spirit-owner. In the room, an offering



tray is already prepared with pork (divided into two parts of meat and one part of intestine while its head, feet, and butt constitute a separate part), stem/tube wine, sticky rice, two bowls, and four pairs of chopsticks. During the ritual, the spirit-owner must always sit next to the tray. However, the entire ritual will be undertaken by the shaman. The primary purpose of the ritual is for the shaman to inform the ancestors about the achievements/good deeds of the spirit-owners throughout his life for his family. Although he (the spirit-owner) is older but still a mainstay of the family; therefore, his family holds the ceremony to express their gratitude and filial piety and to pray that their soul and spirit are healthy and continue helping the family. After the worship, the shaman will tie two black threads (or hemp strings) around the wrist of the spirit-owner.

Normally, people will not cut/break the thread around their wrists but let it break naturally; otherwise, the soul will leave the body, leading to sickness and diseases. Family members and relatives attending the ceremony often contribute money, rice, wine or chicken to the family. Besides the spirit-owner, people can also tie threads around the wrists of young family members to pray for health and luck.

In terms of its meaning, wrist tying ceremony for evocation is actually a heath praying ritual to meet the spiritual needs of the individuals as well as communities. Therefore, it is a beauty in the culture of the Thai people in general. Wrist tying ceremony is also a cultural characteristic manifesting the hospitality of Thai people towards their friends and distinguished guests. When tying the thread around another person's wrist, Thai people always give the best wishes to such person.



As mentioned, apart from divination and evocation, people often combine with treatment for those suffer from sickness and diseases using traditional medicines. Nevertheless, before, evocation ceremony for the sick person was always given priority.

- Treatment using traditional medicine:

Disease treatment using traditional medicine of Thai people is a long-lasting practice. In the remote areas, due to transportation difficulties, when there is sick person at home, people often go to traditional healers to ask for medicine. In exchange, the family has to prepare small offerings including the shirt (of the sick person), betel and areca, a bowl of rice and a small amount of money (possibly together with a bottle of wine) to bring to the healer and tell him about the sickness. Then the healer will tell the family the date and time to take the medicine. Sometimes, the family also invites the healer to their house in order to diagnose the disease for medication. These are often the cases when the sick person has some clear symptoms; therefore, depending on the severity, the healer may perform initial treatment and then find the most appropriate medication for the patient. The initial

treatment is often religious, such as praying to inform the ancestor or take a cup of water to place on the altar; then the patient will drink the blessed water to relieve the pain and give mental reassurance to the patient.

Because the disease has been identified, the healer simply needs go to the forest and find suitable medicines to the patient to try. Normally each treatment will require two to three times of medicine testing. During the medicine testing (hắc mạy dam), the healer often tracks the progress of the disease to change the medicine as well as appropriate dose. In the process of using medicine, the healer always focuses on the medicines that are good for the patient's health to gain their strength and increase immune system to fight the disease. If until the third treatment, the patient cannot get better, the healer will apologize to the family for them to find another healer. If the patient's condition shows sign of improvement, the healer will continue treating and devoting his effort, experience, and medicine to heal the patient. For serious diseases, the healer has to use poisonous leaves or trees and try it with suitable and safe dose. Depending on the conditions of each person, the healer can increase or decrease the dose of such medicine.



According to Thai people, picking herbal medicine to heal people is a bounden duty; therefore, they do not do it for money but to help other people. Therefore, the healers never take money from the patients nor promise to be able to cure them. Thai healers are thus very serious in choosing the apprentice, in addition to the agility and quickness to understand, he must have good morals and always consider the patients as his family members regardless of their wealth. He must take the good heart of the healer as practice motto, when a person is in need, despite all the difficulties and hardships, the healer has to go and treat the sick.

If a sick person is healed, the family has to prepare offerings to show their gratitude, which is called phai hắc mạy. These include a boiled chicken, a bottle of rice wine, some bowls of rice, a little money, betel and areca, a piece of cloth or shirt/trouser to give to the healer. On arrival, the offerings will be laid out on the tray, then the healer will pray and inform the founder that the medicine is effective in healing the patient. After the worship, the healer and the patient's family will happily eat together.

With this healing practice, the Thai has accumulated considerable experience in treatment with traditional medicines. Many medicines can be used to cure chronic diseases or diseases deemed incurable. Several healers have remarkable skills in healing with famous remedies and medicines and thus are highly respected by people in the region. The traditional medicines of Thai people are various, mainly herbs in the forest (roots, tubers, stems, fresh leaves) which are used to boil for drinking, soaking, washing, bathing, laying out, or covering the body. Herb picking as well as medicine drinking are often associated with a number of taboos



(abstaining from fishy and stinking food such as white chicken meat, carp, and turtle), selection of date, time, season, and weather. Some medicines are effective in curing malaria, treating broken limbs and snake-bites, stopping bleeding, giving birth, healing rheumatism, hepatitis, ulcers, dermatitis, and so on, which are still popular until today.

In fact, divination, evocation and traditional medicines are often combined and undertaken by a group of people more or less related to the practice of rituals and religious beliefs. In Thai society, these people are often called MO (Master/Expert), who are always respected by people as they are seen as bless givers and do good deeds. In fact, Mo is a noun with broader meaning which is used to refer to those who are good, exceled/-famous in a field/profession/specialization such as music, singing, teaching, hunting, calculating date and time, and also divination, traditional medicine, worship, and healing. For example, people who are good at playing flutes are called Mo pi, people who sing well are called Mo khắp, mo lăm, skilled hunters are Mo phan, good teachers are Mo khu, those who

are able to calculate good date and time are called Mo mự, people with considerable knowledge of traditional medicines are Mo hặc mạy, and people good at worshipping are Mo xơ...

Particularly, Mo related to practices of rituals, religious beliefs, and traditional medication are classified into six types, each group has its own name and specific functions (except for mo một and mo môn), specifically:

Mo nhượng, mo mò: diviner;

Mo xơ: shaman (evocation ritual, spirit ritual, village ghost worship, field ghost worship, etc.);

Mo tang nhao/Mo xống phi: the shaman performs ritual to farewell the deceased to the sky. This is a specialized shaman, other mo cannot perform such ritual.



4. Contemporary Healing Practices of Thai People

Mo một: shaman cures the sick by casting spell and using traditional medication. When performing the ritual, the shaman has to wear embroidered brocade head scarf (một scarf), divination tube, and another mo playing flute. During the ritual, the shaman cannot drink wine and use ghost soldiers to rid of evil spirits. This type of mo also has their founder altar (hình một); they often worship and offer sacrifices in April or August every year, which is called Xăng khan or Ki xà ceremony;

Mo môn: shaman cures the sick by casting spell and using traditional medication. During the ritual, the shaman uses a sword, uses threatening words and ghost soldiers to rid of evil spirits. Such shaman can drink wine when performing the ritual. This type of mo also has their founder altar (hình môn), and often worships and offers sacrifices in April or August every year, which is called Xăng khan (Tay Thanh subgroup) or Ki xà (Tay Muong subgroup) ceremony;

Mo hặc mạy: healer who is specialized in using traditional medicines to heal the sick.

In fact, before 1975, Thai people in Vietnam in general and in Nghe An Province in particular, were aware of and used different kinds of western medicines (APC, quinine, etc.), but only the conventional medicines which were manufactured domestically. On one hand, commune health clinics and hospitals were far from the villages; on the other hand, divination, evocation practices, and the use of traditional medicines were still common, the western/new medicines were not popular. Since 1975, due to the development of new cultural lifestyle and sanitary living environment movement (animal shelters and toilets were built, food was cooked, water was boiled, and people used mosquito nets, etc.) which were initiated in many provinces; coupled with the gradual development of health-care system in the mountainous areas, the Thai had more favorable conditions to access to more western medicines. However, during 1975 to 1985, Vietnam had to overcome the consequences of the war with stagnant economy and people's difficult living conditions; therefore, the healthcare services, examination and treatment using western medicines were very limited. Hence, the healing practices



of Thai people during this period depended on each family's situation and condition, and whether the patient or his family member was farmer or government official. Based on which, they could be treated by traditional medicines or went to the health clinics to buy new medicines for treatment. Normally, in the remote and mountainous areas, the traditional medication was dominant, combined with common religious rituals (spirit, wrist tying) for mental reassurance for the patient. Due to the superstition eradication movement launched by the cultural sector, the divination practices among Thai people during this period were almost absent. The diviners and shamans had to hide their divination tools and refused to perform when people asked. However, as the healers could still practice normally, it is understandable that the treatment using traditional medicines maintained its popularity. The families of the government officials lived near the commune and district centers had more favorable conditions in examination and buying new medicines for treatment, in combination with traditional medication.

From 1986 onwards, Vietnam implemented the "Doi Moi" renovation policy, particularly since the 1990s, thus obtained many achievements in various areas of the economic reforms after more than 30 years, including the medical achievements (several new medicines are produced in Vietnam together with other medicines imported from other countries). Furthermore, since the 1990s, the health-care system has been developed in most of the districts and communes nationwide (including mountainous areas where ethnic minorities are living, including Thai people). According to the statistical data of Nghe An Province, in 2009, the province had 547 health facilities, 25 hospitals, 43 clinic centers, 4,904 sick beds, 22.7 beds per 10,000 people, 1,429 doctors (19 in Quy Chau), 1,668 physicians (54 in Quy Chau), 2,311 nurses (55 in Quy Chau), 903 midwives (20 in Quy Chau), and 644 pharmacists (9 in Quy Chau). To date, Vinh City in Nghe An has 10 hospitals; of which, four hospitals are rather modern. In addition to investment in fundamental equipment and medicines, the medical staff should be supplemented with primary, secondary to university level. The budget allocated to health sector in the



mountainous districts has been increased over years. As an example, in Quy Chau District, in 2000, the budget was VND 360 million, which has been increased to VND 556 million in 2005, VND 520 million in 2006, VND 720 million in 2007, VND 680 million in 2008, and VND 1,000 million in 2010.

expensive while their incomes are not high and uneven. Therefore, depending on the circumstances, conditions, and social background of the patient's family, Thai people choose different treatment methods.

For the poor families who cannot afford the healthcare costs (most of whom are farmers in the remote areas), they tend to choose examination in the health clinics at commune or district level and then buy medicine for treatment at home or at the clinic (if the disease is not serious) or at the district hospital (if the disease is more severe). The poor are supported by the state in terms of health insurance, and exempted from fees for examination and treatment at health facilities at commune, district, province, or central level; therefore, their financial burdens are lessened. However, they are only exempted from a certain amount of hospital costs while they have to bear the traveling and accommodation costs; hence, when reaching the limit, even the sick is not yet cured, the family often asks to take the patient back home for treatment using traditional medicines combined with spirit worship.

In fact, thanks to a series of programs (Program 327 on reforestation, Program 135 on electricity, road, school, and healthcare station; Program 134 on housing and productive land support, etc.) and priority policies on socioeconomic and cultural development of the mountainous and ethnic areas, the rural mountainous areas have been changed significantly and people's living standards are being improved and enhanced. Therefore, Thai people also have favorable conditions, opportunities to select, and easier access to healthcare services. However, apart from the benefits from priority healthcare programs for the communities (vaccination, free examination and treatment, health insurance support, etc.), not every person (particularly the poor, single parent, and the elderly) has access to and enjoy the healthcare benefits because the costs are



Regarding the families of government officials and teachers, or better-off families, as they do not have to shoulder the financial burden (able to afford the health insurance), they tend to ask for the referral from the commune, district health clinics and bring the patient directly to the provincial or city hospital for treatment. When being asked about the reason for not getting treatment at the commune and district health facilities, they say that they are concerned and not satisfied about the equipment, professional qualifications of the medical staff, especially at the commune health clinic. They choose the provincial and city hospitals as they have better doctors with modern, advanced equipment, and more medicines, which are more effective for treatment.

Whether the patient's disease is cured or significantly reduced, after returning home from the hospital, the patient continues taking medicines as prescribed by the doctor; nevertheless, the family always holds spirit worship ceremony to comfort the patient mentally. Sometimes, the wealthier families even invite family members, relatives, and neighbors to eat pork for celebration.

It should be emphasized that although today the local healthcare system has been improved, the investment in equipment and facilities (particularly clinics and hospitals for the mountainous area) for treatment is still poor and out-of-date, thus unable to meet the actual demands. Several clinics have been downgraded and medicines have not been provided in a timely manner. In addition, medical staff (at clinics), especially doctors with high professional qualifications, is limited. To date, each village has one

medical staff (primary level or 6-month professional training); each clinic has only two permanent staff including the head of the clinic (doctor) and vice-head (nurse). The main responsibilities of the communal clinics are to disseminate the healthcare, family planning, disease prevention, and extended vaccination programs; examine and give initial treatment for the patients and then refer the patient to district hospital as they do not have adequate equipment as well as professional skills for total treatment. Although the district hospitals have more medical staff with better equipment and facilities, they also face certain difficulties regarding a lack of



synchronized and modern equipment and shortage of good quality medicines. Furthermore, the district hospitals are often far from the mountainous villages while the transportation is difficult, especially during rainy season. Due to such reasons, in many areas, people do not rely on the healthcare services in the communes. The accessibility to and benefits of health services and modern medical achievements are still limited to them. In addition, some elements of the traditional customs of the ethnic minorities (divination, ghost worship, casting spell, etc.) together with low awareness of health and disease also affect and hinder, to a certain extent, the accessibility and enjoyment of the modern medical benefits and achievements.

5. Remarks

- As mentioned above, we can see that although they are traditional practices, the Thai people in Nghe An Province have certain knowledge of health and diseases. Their viewpoints, awareness, and understanding of health and diseases have changed over time in line with the development of the society as well as medical achievements. Accordingly, until after 1975 and during the subsidy period, when the medical facilities and healthcare services in the mountainous and ethnic minority areas in general, and in the area of Thai people in particular, did not meet the demands and people's accessibility to the healthcare services was limited, the popularity of traditional healing practices of the Thai people is understandable. Therefore, during a long period of time, their common treatment method is divination, ghost worship, and spirit ritual combined with traditional medicines.



It should be noted that the Thai is one of the ethnic minority groups that have precious folk medicine with several unique and effective medicinal recipes and herbs. In each area and region are some famous and prestigious healers/shaman who are highly respected by the local people.

- From 1975 to 1985 onwards, the “eating cooked food, drinking boiled water” movement was launched; in addition, the healthcare facilities in the communes and districts were improved, people were able to access to the health services for treatment. However, due to the difficulties in overcoming the war’s consequences, the examination and treatment with new/modern medicines were still limited, particularly for people in the remote and mountainous areas. Traditional healing practices combined with religious rituals, therefore, were still dominant. After 1986, and particularly during the 1990s, due to the achievements of the Doi Moi Renovation period, the healthcare system has been improved significantly in terms of facilities, equipment, and medical staff; people can enjoy certain priority policies, thereby being able to access and enjoy more benefits of the modern medical achievements. More people get examination and treatment using western/new medicines at home, at communal clinic or at

district/provincial hospital in combination with spirit worship and wrist tying practices. .

A current trend in disease treatment practices of Thai people is: depending on each family circumstance, condition, and social background, they can combine between folk medicine (spirit worship, taking traditional medicines) and modern health services (examination and treatment at communal clinics, district/provincial/city hospitals).

- In addition to the general limitations of the medical facilities, currently, the limitations in accessibility and enjoyment of healthcare services and modern medical achievements of Thai people in Nghe An Province are partly due to some elements of the traditional customs and practices (divination, ghost worship, casting spell, etc.) coupled with the limited knowledge and awareness of health and diseases and decline of people’s trust.

- How to use and promote the strengths of Thai folk medicine in an effective manner is a crucial issue of oriental medicine in the area in general, which will contribute to preserving the cultural values of the ethnic minorities in today’s new rural development process.

Hanoi, October, 17, 2018

ตำนานเมืองฟ้า เมืองแกน : คตินิยมและความเชื่อของไทโบราณ

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หากท่านผู้อ่านเป็นคนที่สนใจและติดตามเรื่องของตำนานชาติพันธุ์ สิ่งหนึ่งที่เราจะเห็นและได้พบนั้นก็ก็คือ ตำนานที่เป็นเรื่องเล่าสืบกันมาเมื่อครั้งอดีต ซึ่งในเรื่องนี้มันก็คล้ายกับสายแวงที่มันเต็มไปด้วยกลยุทธ การหลอกล่อให้ผู้อ่านหลงเชื่อไปกับทั้งความจริงและความเท็จ แต่เป็นความเชื่อของอดีต ที่พยายามจะให้สืบทอดจากรุ่นสู่รุ่น ดังนั้นสิ่งสำคัญในการศึกษาตำนานเราต้องอ่านเอาความคิด ความเชื่อของสังคมเป็นเบื้องต้น แล้วข้อเท็จจริงค่อยพิสูจน์กันต่อไป



ถนนทางเข้าด่านหินและตาน้ำปุ่น

ในเรื่องเมืองแกน (Muong Thanh) ซึ่งเป็นเมืองโบราณของคนไท ปัจจุบันอยู่ทางตอนเหนือของเวียดนาม แต่หากบอกว่าเมืองแกน หรือเมืองเตียน เบียนฟู ก็คือเมืองเดียวกัน คนไทยเราอาจจะเข้าใจมากและง่ายกว่า เพราะเราจะคุ้นชินกับประวัติศาสตร์ยุคใหม่ เมื่อครั้งที่ฝรั่งเศสเข้ามายึดครองอินโดจีน แต่ท้ายที่สุดฝรั่งเศสก็พ่ายแพ้ต่อเวียดนามในที่สุด

เมืองโบราณกับชื่อสถานที่สำคัญๆ ที่เรารู้จักก็เห็นจะได้แก่ชื่อ เมืองแกน เมืองน่าน้อยอ้อยหนู เมืองเต่าปุง เมืองหนองสามหมื่น เป็นอาทิ



บ่อน้ำปุ่น

แต่ชื่อต่างๆเหล่านี้ หากเราตามรอยอดีตเราจะเห็นว่าชื่อเมืองแกน นั้นยังพอเห็นและพอมีร่องรอยอดีต ซึ่งนั่นก็คือเมืองเตียนเบียนฟู ในปัจจุบัน ส่วนเมืองน่าน้อยนั้น ยังปรากฏว่ามีเมืองที่ชื่อนี้อยู่ห่างจากเมืองแกงไปราว 18 กม. แต่เมืองน่าน้อยไม่มีคำว่าอ้อยหนูต่อท้าย ?

ส่วนเมืองหนึ่งในตำนานที่กล่าวไว้ก็คือ บ้านหนองสามหมื่น นั่นก็เป็นเมืองที่อยู่ห่างจากตัวเมืองไปทางด้านใต้ จาง (Tay Trang) ซึ่งเป็นด่านเวียดนาม ลาว ประมาณ 7 กม. ซึ่งชื่อและสถานที่ต่างๆ ที่เราไปนั้น หากเราเอามาตรฐานคนไทย ผสมกับมาตรฐานคนกิง หรือเวียดนาม และคนไทดำ ที่อยู่ที่นั่นแล้ว ต้องบอกว่ามันคนละระบบคิดและการถ่ายทอดทั้งความหมายและเสียง ?



บ่อน้ำบุน บ้านตาปุง

ดังนั้นสำคัญที่สุด เราต้องเข้าใจถึงความ เป็นไทดำ ของเมืองแกงให้ชัดร้อยเปอร์เซ็นต์ และยังเรามีความสามารถเข้าใจภาษาเวียดนามอีก จะทำให้เราเข้าใจในเรื่องราวได้อย่างถูกต้องและชัดเจน ยกตัวอย่างง่ายๆ คือบริเวณกลางเมือง แกง มีสายน้ำสายหนึ่งทอดยาวผ่านกลางตัวเมือง ภาษาเวียดนามเรียกว่าแม่น้ำโหลม (Song Rom) แต่เสียงที่คนไทดำออกเสียงนั้นจะเป็น น้ำยม (Nam Yom) ก็ลองๆพิจารณาดูครับ ว่า จะเลือกที่จะเชื่ออะไร ?



ทางส่งน้ำเก่าเพื่อเลี้ยงคนในบ้านตาปุง

ส่วนอีกเรื่องที่ ร้อยทั้งร้อยของคนไทย ประเทศไทย ที่ไปเมืองแกง ส่วนใหญ่จะไปตามหาญาติพี่น้องร่วมเผ่าพงศ์พันธุ์ ดังนั้นจึงพกเอาความฝันจากเมืองไทยไปเกินร้อย ถึงขนาดไปตามหา “ ผู้ไท ” ที่เมืองแกงเอาเลยก็มี นอกจากนั้น สิ่งที่ต้องเข้าใจร่วมกันในเรื่องตำนาน เพราะเรื่องนี้ ผู้เขียนสนใจและศึกษาการเขียนประวัติศาสตร์ หรือ Historiography หรือ



ประวัติศาสตร์นิพนธ์ นั้นแหละครับ สิ่งที่เราเห็น ก็คือความผิดพลาดในการตั้งคำถามและการถ่ายทอดภาษา จากสามภาษาคือภาษาไทย ประเทศไทย ภาษาไทดำ เมืองแกง และภาษาเวียดนาม ซึ่ง จะยกตัวอย่างกรณีบ้าน เต้าปุง หรือบ้านน้ำเต้าปุงในตำนานเมืองแกง ที่คนไทยเราสนใจ

วันนี้ หากเราจะไปตามหาบ้านน้ำเต้าปุง คงไม่เห็น แต่หากตามหาบ้านตาปุง (Ta Pung) ก็พอที่จะสืบสาวราวเรื่องได้ ยิ่งเมื่อเราเข้าไป ไตร่ถามคนไทดำ บ้านตาปุงด้วยแล้ว เราจะเป็นการผูกเรื่องสองเรื่องเข้าด้วยกันนั่นก็คือเรื่องของ ตาปุง และต้นหมากน้ำเต้า ?

เมื่อเราเข้าไปในชุมชนตามหา ต้นน้ำเต้าปุงอยู่ไหน คำตอบเดียวกันที่ถ่ายทอดออกมาจากปากคนไทดำก็คือ สมัยยายเฒ่า มีอยู่แต่มีคนถูกทำลายเมื่อคนถึง เข้ามาทำสะพานและตัดถนน ผ่านหมู่บ้านและได้ตัดต้นน้ำเต้าทิ้งหมด และไม่หลงเหลืออะไรให้เห็นจะเห็นเพียงก้อนหินใหญ่ที่เชื่อว่าเคยมีต้นน้ำเต้าปุงเกิดในครั้งอดีต ?



ทางส่งน้ำจากบ่อน้ำปุน

แต่สิ่งที่น่าสนใจก็คือ ชื่อบ้านนามเมืองที่เรียกว่าบ้านตาปุง (Ban Ta Pung) หากเราพอมีความรู้ภาษาไทดำและภาษาเวียดนาม จะเห็นความหมายที่ถูกซ่อนเอาไว้ เพราะคำว่า ตา ก็คือ ตา ส่วนคำว่าปุง ก็คือ บุน เพราะการออกเสียงของคนถึง จะไม่สามารถออกเสียง ป ปลาได้ จะออกเสียง บ ใบไม้เป็น ป ปลาทั้งหมด เช่น เมืองหินบุน ปกติก็คือเมืองหินบุน เป็นต้น



ด้านหลังคือบ่อน้ำบุน ชายผู้นี้คือผู้นำทาง

ในเรื่องนี้ข้อที่น่าสังเกตก็คือ ทุกคนที่เล่าเรื่องบ้าน ตาปุง เรื่องเล่าจะถูกเริ่มที่ ตาน้ำ เพราะน้ำคือสิ่งสำคัญในชีวิตของคนในเขตภูเขาสูง ดังนั้นการเกิดเมืองตาน้ำ กับตำนานน้ำเต้าปุง จึงไม่ใช่เองแปลก ที่เรื่องนี้จะถูกสร้างขึ้นมาเพื่อ ย้ายผลทางอุดมการณ์แห่งชาติพันธุ์

เมื่อมาพิจารณาเรื่องของบ้าน ตาปุง นั้นก็คือ บ้านตาบุน ซึ่งหมายถึง บ้านที่มีตาน้ำไหลออกมา หรือจะพูดสั้นๆ ก็คือ ตาบุน ชื่อบ้านนามเมืองลักษณะนี้ก็ยังปรากฏชื่อบ้านนามเมืองที่ จังหวัดอุบลราชธานี ในปัจจุบัน ดังนั้นหากพิจารณาเรื่องเล่าที่ชาวบ้านเล่าถึง ตาน้ำ ที่ผูกพันในชุมชนกับ กรณีน้ำเต้าปุง จึงน่าจะเป็นเรื่องที่ถูกรื้อฟื้นขึ้นมาใหม่ เมื่อสังคมเริ่มสร้างบ้านแปลงเมืองในสมัยต่อมา



และจุดนี้เองจึงทำให้เราหลงในความเป็นชาติ มากกว่าที่จะเรียนรู้พัฒนาการของเผ่าพันธุ์มนุษย์ ซึ่งจะต่างจากชาติอื่นๆรอบๆบ้านเรา ที่เขาให้เกียรติและให้ความเชื่อมั่นในความหลากหลายทางชาติพันธุ์ ดังนั้นความเข้าใจและการอยู่ด้วยกันอย่างสันติ สุขสงบจึงปรากฏขึ้น

อะไรคือความผิดพลาดในระบบการเรียนรู้ชาติพันธุ์

จะว่าไปแล้วปัญหาเชิงระบบกับความผิดพลาดในการเรียนรู้เรื่องاتیไปที่มาของความเชื่อชาติเผ่าพันธุ์ไทย ก็อยู่ตรงที่ว่า วัตถุประสงค์แรกเราไปเรียนรู้เรื่องราวของชาติพันธุ์ผ่านกระบวนการชาตินิยม เพราะในเรื่องนี้ หากจะดูย้อนไปก่อนสมัยจอมพล. ป.พิบูลย์สงคราม กระบวนการสร้างชาติ โดยอิงจีนนั้นดูจะสูง ดังนั้นจึงไม่ต้องห่วงนิยายอิงตำนานที่ผ่านจินตนาการจึงมีการผลิตขึ้นเพื่อตอบสนองนโยบาย จึงถึงกลับบางครั้งก็แยกกันไม่ออกระหว่างมายากับจินตนาการ

ดังนั้นยุคนี้เราจึงจะเป็นเพลงรักชาติ บทเรียนรักชาติ หรือแม้แต่ระครรักชาติก็เกิดอย่างมากมายในยุคนี้ จะอย่างไรก็ตามหากเรามองไปก่อนนั้น โดยเฉพาะในช่วงรัชกาลที่ 4 รัชกาล 5 กลับปรากฏว่าในสมัยนั้นการเรียนรู้เป็นการเรียนรู้เพื่อความอยากรู้อยากเห็นว่าสิ่งต่างๆนั้นคืออะไร เป็นมาอย่างไรและสมัยดังกล่าวนั้นเองจึงเป็นจุดเริ่มของ การเก็บข้อมูลเพื่อนบ้านจนกลายเป็น

ฐานให้เราได้เรียนรู้ ถึงแม้สมัยนั้นเราจะไม่รู้และไม่สนใจความเป็นชาติพันธุ์เลยก็ตาม

ถึงแม้ในยุคหลัง ที่นักวิชาการเรียนรู้เรื่องราวของมนุษย์ผ่านเครื่องมือที่เรียกว่า วิชามานุษยวิทยาเองก็ตาม แต่ก็ยังปรากฏว่า ความผิดพลาดก็มีปรากฏให้เห็น ไม่ว่าจะเป็นเพราะการหลงในความเป็นเชื้อชาติเผ่าพันธุ์ของตนเอง ไม่ว่าจะเป็นการหลงในความเป็นวิชาการแต่ขาดความรู้พื้นฐานในเรื่องที่จะลงไปศึกษา โดยเฉพาะการไม่รู้ในภาษาของชาติพันธุ์นั้นๆ นั่นคืออันตรายอันใหญ่หลวงที่ปรากฏให้เห็นแล้ว ในวงวิชาการบ้านเรา

ดังนั้น กระบวนการที่จะก้าวผ่านปัญหาเหล่านั้น เราคงต้องมากบกวอนกันใหม่ตั้งแต่ วัตถุประสงค์ของเราว่า เราต้องการอะไรจริงๆ ในใจก็วิจัยชาติพันธุ์ หลังจากนั้นค่อยตรวจสอบทั้งองค์ความรู้ในปัจจุบันของสังคมและของเรว่าวันนี้ มันอยู่ตรงไหน แล้วค่อยลงไปหาความต้องการแห่งตน แต่สิ่งสำคัญอีกประการที่เห็นแล้วหนี้อยู่กับนักวิชาการไทย ที่ขาดความรู้ในภาษานั้นๆ เพราะนั่นคือปัญหาความลึกซึ้งของการวิจัย ที่เราอาจเข้าไม่ถึงแก่นถึงแม้ว่าเราจะปกป้องตนเองว่า “ฉันมีนายภาษา”

ตัวอย่างมายาคติที่คนไทยไม่เปลี่ยนแปลง

หากท่านผู้อ่านเป็นคนที่สนใจและติดตามเรื่องของท่านาน ชาติพันธุ์ สิ่งหนึ่งที่เราจะเห็น และได้พบนั้นก็ก็คือ ท่านานที่เป็นเรื่องเล่าสืบกันมาเมื่อครั้งอดีต ซึ่งในเรื่องนี้มันก็คล้ายกับลายแทงที่มันเต็มไปด้วยยุคการหลอกล่อให้ผู้อ่านหลงเชื่อไปกับทั้งความจริงและความเท็จ แต่เป็นความเชื่อของอดีต ที่พยายามจะให้สืบทอดจากรุ่นสู่รุ่น ดังนั้นสิ่งสำคัญในการศึกษาท่านานเราต้องอ่านเอาความคิด ความเชื่อของสังคมเป็นเบื้องต้น แล้วจึงเท็จจริงค่อยพิสูจน์กันต่อไป



ถนนทางเข้าดานหินและตาน้ำปุ่น

ในเรื่องเมืองแกน (Muong Thanh) ซึ่งเป็นเมืองโบราณของคนไท ปัจจุบันอยู่ทางตอนเหนือของเวียดนาม แต่หากบอกว่าเมืองแกน หรือเมืองเตียน เบียนฟู ก็คือเมืองเดียวกัน คนไทยเราอาจจะเข้าใจมากและง่ายกว่า เพราะเราจะคุ้นชินกับประวัติศาสตร์ยุคใหม่ เมื่อครั้งที่ฝรั่งเศสเข้า

มายึดครองอินโดจีน แต่ท้ายที่สุดฝรั่งเศสก็พ่ายแพ้ต่อเวียดนามในที่สุด

เมืองโบราณกับชื่อสถานที่สำคัญๆ ที่เรารู้จักกันก็เห็นจะได้แก่ชื่อ เมืองแกน เมืองน่านน้อย อ้อยหนู เมืองเต่าปุ่น เมืองหนองสามหมื่น เป็นอาทิ



บ่อน้ำปุ่น



แต่ชื่อต่างๆ เหล่านี้ หากเราตามรอยอดีตเราจะเห็นว่าชื่อเมืองแกน นั้นยังพอเห็นและพอมีร่องรอยอดีต ซึ่งนั่นก็คือเมืองเตียนเบียนฟูในปัจจุบัน ส่วนเมืองน่านน้อยนั้น ยังปรากฏว่ามีเมืองที่ชื่อนี้ อยู่ห่างจากเมืองแกนไปราว 18 กม. แต่เมืองน่านน้อยไม่มีคำว่าอ้อยหนูต่อท้าย ?

ส่วนเมืองหนึ่งในตำนานที่กล่าวไว้ก็คือ บ้านหนองสามหมื่น นั่นก็เป็นเมืองที่อยู่ห่างจาก ตัวเมืองไปทางด้านใต้ จาง (Tay Trang) ซึ่งเป็น ด่านเวียดนาม ลาว ประมาณ 7 กม. ซึ่งชื่อและ สถานที่ต่างๆ ที่เราไปนั้นหากเราเอามาตรฐาน คนไทย ผสมกับมาตรฐานคนกิง หรือเวียดนาม และคนไทดำ ที่อยู่那儿แล้ว ต้องบอกว่ามันคนละ ระบบคิดและการถ่ายทอดถึงความหมายและ เสียง ?



บ่อน้ำบัน บ้านตาปุง

ดังนั้นสำคัญที่สุด เราต้องเข้าใจทั้งความเป็นไทดำ ของเมืองแกงให้ชัดร้อยเปอร์เซ็นต์ และยังเรามีความสามารถเข้าใจภาษาเวียดนามอีก จะทำให้เราเข้าใจในเรื่องราวได้อย่างถูกต้องและ ชัดเจน ยกตัวอย่างง่ายๆ คือบริเวณกลางเมือง แกง มีสายน้ำสายหนึ่งทอดยาวผ่านกลางตัว เมือง ภาษาเวียดนามเรียกว่าแม่น้ำโหลม (Song Rom) แต่เสียงที่คนไทดำออกเสียงนั้น จะเป็น น้ำยม (Nam Yom) ก็ลองๆพิจารณาดู

ครับว่า จะเลือกที่จะเชื่ออะไร ?



ทางส่งน้ำเก่าเพื่อเลี้ยงคนในบ้านตาปุง

ส่วนอีกเรื่องก็ ร้อยทั้งร้อยของคนไทย ประเทศไทย ที่ไปเมืองแกง ส่วนใหญ่จะไปตามหา ญาติพี่น้องร่วมเผ่าพงศ์พันธุ์ ดังนั้นจึงพกเอา ความฝันจากเมืองไทยไปเกินร้อย ถึงขนาดไป ตามหา “ ผู้ไท ” ที่เมืองแกงเอาเลยก็มี นอกจาก นั้น สิ่งที่ต้องเข้าใจร่วมกันในเรื่องตำนาน เพราะ เรื่องนี้ ผู้เขียนสนใจและศึกษาการเขียน ประวัติศาสตร์ หรือ Historiography หรือ ประวัติศาสตร์นิพนธ์ นั้นแหละครับ สิ่งที่เรารู้เห็น ก็คือความผิดพลาดในการตั้งคำถามและการ ถ่ายทอดภาษา จากสามภาษาคือภาษาไทย ประเทศไทย ภาษาไทดำ เมืองแกง และภาษา เวียดนาม ซึ่งจะยกตัวอย่างกรณีบ้าน เต้าปุง หรือบ้านน้ำเต้าปุงในตำนานเมืองแกง ที่คนไทย เราสนใจ

วันนี้ หากเราจะไปถามหาบ้านน้ำเต้าปung คงไม่เห็น แต่หากถามหาบ้านตาปung (**Ta Pung**) ก็พอที่จะสืบสาวราวเรื่องได้ ยิ่งเมื่อเราเข้าไป ไตร่ถามคนไทดำ บ้านตาปung ด้วยแล้ว เราจะเห็นการผูกเรื่องสองเรื่องเข้าด้วยกันนั่นก็คือ เรื่องของ ตาปung และต้นหมากน้ำเต้า ?

เมื่อเราเข้าไปในชุมชนถามหา ต้นน้ำเต้าปung อยู่ไหน คำตอบเดียวกันที่ถ่ายทอดออกมา จากปากคนไทดำก็คือ สมัยย่าเฒ่า มีอยู่แต่ มันถูกทำลายเมื่อคนถึง เข้ามาทำสะพานและตัดถนน ผ่านหมู่บ้านและได้ตัดต้นน้ำเต้าทิ้งหมด และไม่หลงเหลืออะไรให้เห็นจะเห็นเพียงก้อนหินใหญ่ที่เชื่อว่าเคยมีต้นน้ำเต้าปung เกิดในครั้งอดีต ?



ทางส่งน้ำจากบ่อน้ำบุน

แต่สิ่งที่น่าสนใจก็คือ ชื่อบ้านนามเมืองที่เรียกว่าบ้านตาปung (**Ban Ta Pung**) หากเราพอมีความรู้ภาษาไทดำและภาษาเวียดนาม จะเห็นความหมายที่ถูกซ่อนเอาไว้ เพราะคำว่า ตา ก็คือ ตา ส่วนคำว่าปung ก็คือ บุน เพราะการออกเสียงของคนถึง จะไม่สามารถออกเสียง ป. ปลาได้ จะออกเสียง บใบไม้เป็น ป ปลาทั้งหมด เช่นเมืองหินบุน ปกติก็คือเมืองหินบุน เป็นต้น



ด้านหลังคือบ่อน้ำบุน ชายผู้นี้คือผู้นำทาง

เมื่อมาพิจารณาเรื่องของบ้านตาปung นั้น ก็คือ บ้านตาบุน ซึ่งหมายถึง บ้านที่มีตาน้ำไหลออกมา หรือจะพูดสั้นๆ ก็คือ ตาบุน ชื่อบ้านนามเมืองลักษณะนี้ก็ยังปรากฏชื่อบ้านนามเมืองที่ จังหวัดอุบลราชธานี ในปัจจุบันดังนั้นหากพิจารณาเรื่องเล่าที่ชาวบ้านเล่าถึง ตาน้ำ ที่ผุดขึ้นในชุมชนกับกรณีน้ำเต้าปung จึงน่าจะเป็นเรื่องที่ถูกผูกขึ้นมาใหม่ เมื่อสังคมเริ่มสร้างบ้านแปลงเมืองในสมัยต่อมา



ในเรื่องนี้ข้อที่น่าสังเกตก็คือ ทุกคนที่เล่าเรื่องบ้าน ตาปู่ เรื่องเล่าจะถูกเริ่มที่ ตาน้ำ เพราะน้ำคือสิ่งสำคัญในชีวิตของคนในเขตภูเขาสูง ดังนั้นการเกิดเมืองตาน้ำ กับตำนานน้ำเต้าปึง จึงไม่ใช่เรื่องแปลก ที่เรื่องนี้จะถูกสร้างขึ้นมาเพื่อ ขยายผลทางอุดมการณ์แห่งชาติพันธุ์

ในการเรียนรู้เรื่องเมืองแกง - เมืองแกน ต้องรู้ 12 จุไท

ในการที่จะเข้าใจในความเป็นเมืองแกง เราคงต้องเข้าใจก่อนว่าเมืองแกงหรือเมืองแกน นั้น เป็นประหนึ่งชื่อกลาง ที่เราใช้เรียกศูนย์กลางของชาติพันธุ์ไท ที่อยู่ทางภาคเหนือของเวียดนามปัจจุบัน ซึ่งในความเป็นจริงแล้ว เมืองที่เรียกว่าเมืองแกน เมืองแกงนี้ จะมีเมืองเก่าในยุคเดียวกันอยู่ 16 เมืองใหญ่ หรือ 16 จุ ซึ่งเราจะรู้ในชื่อของ 16 จุไทนั่นเอง

ในเมืองโบราณดังกล่าวนี้ ปัจจุบันจะอยู่ในเวียดนามเหนือ ทั้งสิ้น 12 จุไท และอยู่ในแผ่นดินจีนทางใต้อีก 4 จุไท

เมืองในตำนานกับ 12 จุไท

ในเรื่องของการรับรู้คนไทของไทยเรา เริ่มมาตั้งแต่ช่วงรัตนโกสินทร์ตอนต้นเป็นต้นมา โดยเฉพาะในรัชสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวที่ต้องเรียนรู้กระบวนการอย่างฝรั่งที่เข้ามาในภูมิภาค และจะส่งผลกระทบมาถึงสมัยรัชกาลที่ 5 ที่พระองค์ท่านต้องให้เสนาบดี ได้บันทึกและเรียนรู้เรื่องราวของ เมือง แกน เมืองไร เมืองลอ ผ่านเชลยสงคราม

เมืองที่เป็นต้นแบบแห่งตำนานทั้ง 12 เมือง

1.เมืองลอ (Mŏng Lò)

เมืองลอ (Mŏng Lò) อำเภอวันเจิน มีพื้นที่ 1,245.0 ตารางกิโลเมตรประชากร 18,370 คน ในนั้นคนไทดำ 5,849 คน เมืองล่อเกิดขึ้นเมื่อคนเผ่าไทดำจากเมืองโอม (Mŏng Ôm) เมืองอ้าย (Mŏng Ai) เคลื่อนย้ายมาตั้งรากเหง้าภูมิสำเนา ดังนั้นคนไทดำยังถือว่า ภาคตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือเวียดนาม (Tây Bắc) เป็นดินแดนของบรรพบุรุษของพวกเขา คนไทดำมีประเพณีความเชื่อว่า หากคนไทดำเสียชีวิต เขาต้องส่งวิญญาณผู้ตายขึ้นช่วงชั้นฟ้า ไปอยู่กับบรรพบุรุษที่ตายแล้ว วิญญาณผู้ตายต้องถูกนำไปที่เมืองลอ “บ้านเก่าเมืองเดิม” แท้จริงของเขา ที่นั่นวิญญาณผู้ตายจะเข้าชม



แผ่นดินถิ่นเกิดและเข้าไปในเขตป่าดงที่เรียกว่า "ด่งควายฮา- ĐÔNG quai ha " (ป่าควายตาย) หลังจากออกจาก "ด่งควายฮา" วิทยญาณจะป็นชั้นภูเขายังสถานที่ "น้ำตก – Nam tok tat" ไต่สะพานที่เรียกว่า " สะพานของคน สิบก - c l i n c n i a n g n ấ i X á b á c " เมื่อผ่านไปได้แล้วจึงเป็นอันว่าวิทยญาณนั้นได้ไปสู่หาสวรรค์

จนกระทั่ง ค.ศ.1435 ในหนังสือเล่มมือเดียวจี- Dư địa chí ของ เหงียน ไตร-Nguyễn Trãi (คำ" Cẩn án" โดย Nguyễn Thiên Tích ว่าได้เขียนไว้ว่าอำเภอเกรินเอียน-Trấn Yên หมายถึงเมืองหง เมืองฮั่ง Mường Hồng Mường Hăng ในสมัยเก่า

เมืองน้ำ - MŨƠNG NẬM เมืองปัว - Muong PIU ปัจจุบันคือตำบล เกื่องบึงหลา - ThŨƠNG BẮNG La ตำบลเมืองปุก - MŨƠNG PŨC เมืองแม่ - MŨƠNG MẺNG ปัจจุบันเป็นตำบลด้ายหลัก - ĐẠI LỊCH เมืองมิน - MŨƠNG MIN ปัจจุบันเป็นตำบลหญาไห้อ เมืองหล่ง - MŨƠNG LŨNG ปัจจุบันเป็นตำบลตุล - TŨ LỆ และทั้งหมดของชุมชนนี้ ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับอำเภอวันเงิน

ในเมื่อคราว เมืองลอ ปรากฏตัวอยู่เขตอ่างกะทะหรือหุบเขา- lòn g ch áo ซึ่งถูกแบ่งออกเป็นสามเมืองเล็ก ๆ ได้แก่ 1.เมืองลอหลวง ซึ่งถูกเลือกเป็นศูนย์กลางของเขตอ่างกะทะ 2.เมืองลอจา เรียกสั้น ๆ ว่า เมืองจา (Muong Cha) 3. เมืองลญา เรียกสั้น ๆ ว่า เมืองหญา (Muong Gia) เพราะฉะนั้นจึงเรียกเมืองลอว่า เมืองสามลอ- Mường Xam Lò และยังมีเมืองขนาดเล็กหลายเมืองขึ้นกับเขตอ่างกะทะ ได้แก่ เมืองหง เมืองฮั่ง

เมืองลอ ยังมีชื่อเรียกว่า “ วันเงิน -Văn Chấn ” แม้ว่าเขตเมืองลอ อาจนอนในเขตเจาดัง - Chấn Đẳng สมัยของลี - LÝ และ Quy HỎa สมัยของ เกริน - Trĩn แต่จนถึงปัจจุบันยังไม่มีเอกสารใดที่เขียนบันทึกเกี่ยวกับ“วันเงิน - Văn Chấn”เลยเมื่อปีค.ศ. 1435 ในคำ " Cẩn án " โดย Nguyễn Thien Tich บันทึกไว้ในหนังสือบันทึกเขตแดน - DƯ ỨI địa chí ของ เหงียน ไตร - Nguyễn Trĩi ว่าเมืองวันเงิน - Văn Chấn เป็นตำบลที่อยู่ภายใต้การระเบียบของ กวีฮวา - Quy HỎa หรืออยู่ใต้คำสั่งของ ฮึงฮวา - HƯNG Hoá

สมัยก่อน คนไทยในดินแดนนี้ยังคงมีประเพณีใช้ไม้ไผ่ลำต้นใหญ่เจาะรูทำเป็นบันไดขึ้นชั้นบนเรือน(บ้านยกพื้น) บันไดนั้นเรียกว่า " ไหลเบ Lay bẻ " แปลว่า บันไดแพะ มีคนกล่าวไว้ว่า " เมืองหง่ายบันไดแพะ " อซึ่งบอกถึงลักษณะที่อยู่อาศัยของคนในภูมิภาคนี้



ปัจจุบัน เมืองล่อ ยังเป็นตัวของอำเภอเหี้ยไหละ - Nghĩa Lộ หรือเป็นอำเภอหนึ่งของจังหวัด เอียนบ้าย - Yên Bái นอกจากคนเผ่าไทย ที่อำเภอวันเจิ่นแล้ว ยังมีคนเผ่าดาวหมู มั่ง เมือง และกิ่งที่เมือง เหี้ยไหละ - Nghĩa Lộ ปัจจุบัน(ศูนย์กลางเมืองล่อ) มีอนุสาวรีย์นักปฏิวัติ มีเขื่อนอนุสรสะพานประธานโฮจิมินห์ มีพิพิธภัณฑ์ วันเจิ่น - Văn Chấn ห้วยน้ำพุร้อนที่หมู่บ้านทอผ้า...ตลาดใจกลางเมือง

จาก ฮานอย ไป เมืองล่อ สั้นทางยาวประมาณ 270km (เฉพาะโดยรถยนต์) สามารถใช้สองเส้นทาง คือ เส้นทางถนนหมายเลข 2 (quốc lộ số 2) หรือใช้ถนนผ่านสะพาน จุ่งฮา - Trung Hà ผ่านจังหวัดฟู่เถาะ - Phú Thọ ไปถึงควานอุง - Đoan Hùng (ที่มีส้มโอที่อร่อยที่มีชื่อเสียง) เลี้ยวซ้าย แล้วตรงไปเมืองล่อ จะมีป้ายบอกเส้นทาง เขียนว่า Bản Cai, Túc Đán, Bảo Tao, Bản Hố, Bản Cốc Iúa

ตัวเมืองเมืองล่อปกคลุมทุ่งหญ้าเขียว (หุบเขา) ที่กว้างใหญ่ระดับสองของภาคตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือเวียดนาม รุ่งเรืองเมืองล่อ มีเนื้อที่ 29.66 ตารางกิโลเมตรประชากร: 26,000 คน (2,004) เมืองประกอบด้วยสี่อำเภอ และสามตำบล ได้แก่อำเภอเมือง - Trung Tâm อำเภอเตินอาน - Tân An อำเภอเกาเกีย - Cầu Thia อำเภอฟู่จาง - Phú Trang และ ตำบลเหี้ยอาน - Nghĩa An ตำบลเหี้ยลัย - Nghĩa Lợi ตำบลเหี้ยฟุก - Nghĩa Phúc มี 12 กลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ที่อาศัยอยู่บนที่ดินนี้ ส่วนใหญ่เป็นคนเผ่าไทย และคนกึ่ง(44%) ส่วนที่เหลือเป็นเชื้อชาติ ไทย - Tày เมือง - Mường Húng - Nùng ที่นี้เป็นเขตสภาพภูมิอากาศปานกลาง ภูมิประเทศค่อนข้างแบน มีแหล่งเก็บสำรองน้ำขนาดใหญ่ ทางหลวงหมายเลข 32 วิ่งผ่าน Nghĩa Lộ ไป Mù Cang Chải ขึ้นไป Lai Châu จาก Nghĩa Lộ ไปยังTrạm Tầu เพียง 30 กม..

ความเป็นมาของตัวเมือง Nghĩa Lộ ก่อตั้งขึ้นครั้งแรกเมื่อ 8 ตุลาคม 1971 บนพื้นฐานของตำบล Nghĩa Lộ และ อีกหมู่บ้านจำนวนหนึ่งของสามตำบล Nghĩa An Nghĩa Lộ Nghĩa Phúc และ อำเภอ Văn Chấn ตำบล Nghĩa Lộ ในเมื่อก่อนเป็นเมืองเอกของจังหวัด Nghĩa Lộ เมื่อ 1967/3/8 เมืองแห่ง



เกษตรกรรมNghĩa Lộถูกก่อตั้งขึ้นเป็นตำบล
Văn Chấn

หลังจากที่ส่วนใหญ่ของจังหวัดNghĩa
Lộ รวมเข้ากับLào Cai และ Yên Bái เป็นจังหวัด
Hàng Liên Sơn(1975) เมื่อ 03/04/1978
Nghĩa Lộ กลายเป็นตัวเมืองของตำบล Văn
Chấn เขตย่อยที่ IV, V และ VI ของเมืองรวมเข้า
สามตำบล Nghĩa An Nghĩa Lộ Nghĩa
Phúc

20 กรกฎาคม 1991 ได้มีการจัดสร้าง
จังหวัดคืนใหม่อีกครั้ง จังหวัด Lào Cai และ
Yên Bái ตัวเมือง Nghĩa Lộ ขึ้นกับจังหวัด
Yên Bái

15 พฤษภาคม 1995 จัดตั้งตัวเมือง
Nghĩa Lộ ขึ้นเป็นครั้งที่สองในพื้นที่ 8.785
ตารางกิโลเมตร กววมรวมทั้ง 4 ตำบลใจกลาง
เมือง มี Trung Tâm Tân AnCần Thia และ
Pủ Trạng ประชากร มี 15,925 คน อยู่ทาง
ภาคเหนือของหุบเขา Mường Lò สุดโสมันตึก
ที่มีแม่น้ำก๊ย - Thia เป็นลำธารขนาดใหญ่ใน
ช่วงฤดูฝนลำธารที่สำคัญแห่งนี้กว้างกว่าร้อย
เมตร ภาษาท้องถิ่นThia มีความหมายว่าน้ำตา
คนท้องถิ่นเล่าว่า เมื่อก่อนก็มีหญิงสาวชาวเขา
มีความรักกับหนุ่มชาวทุ่งราบ หนุ่มคนนั้นจาก
ไปโดยไม่วันต่อมา เธอจึงร้องไห้อยู่คนเดียว เธอ
ร้องไห้ร้องไห้น้ำตาไหลจนเป็นลำธาร Thia มา
ถึงเท่าทุกวันนี้

เพลงที่สาวสาวเมืองลอ เหยี่ยวโหละชอบ
ร้องมากคือเพลง อ้ายจะเข้าไปเหยี่ยวโหละ “ Anh
có vào Nghĩa Lộ Ầึงเกาะหว่าวเหยี่ยวโหละ ”
บทกวีเนื้อเพลงของฮวางเฮ้ง - Hoàng Hạng
ทำนองดนตรีของจ็องลวาน -Trọng Loan

2. เมืองเตียน Mường Tiến/Mường So (Xo หรือ Chiến)

เมืองเตียน Mường Tiến/Mường
So (Xo หรือ Chiến) อำเภอฟองโก - Phong
Tho มีพื้นที่ 1,677.0 ตารางกิโลเมตร
ประชากร 94.304 คน คนเผ่าไทย: 16.349 คน
นี่คือเมืองหนึ่งที่ต้องการปกครองเมืองรับรองว่า
ได้มีมาแต่ศตวรรษ ที่ XIV ชื่อว่าเมืองปากฟ้า “
Mường Pác phạ ” (ปากสวรรค์) ศูนย์กลาง
ของเจ้าเมืองตั้งอยู่ที่เมืองซอ - Mường Xo ซึ่ง
เป็นชื่อที่คนเผ่าไทยเรียกมาตั้งแต่แรก ๆ เมื่อคน
เผ่าไทยหลังโหละย้ายถิ่นลงมาอยู่



ตามที่นิทานชาวบ้านกล่าวว่า ที่เมืองชอมักจะเกิดอุบัติเหตุฟ้าผ่าเป็นประจำ ตั้งแต่ในดินแดนนี้ปรากฏมีท่านนักกรมมี "ซ้อง" ในครอบครองมาเป็นผู้นำ ฟ้าผ่าเขาหลายครั้งแต่เขาไม่ตาย เพียงใบหน้าด้านหนึ่งของเขาเป็นสีดำ จึงได้สมยานามว่า "ปู่ฟ้าหน้าดำ" (Pú phạ nả đăm) เมื่อเมืองเตียน - Mường Tiến ปรากฏขึ้น ได้มีหลายเมืองเล็ก ๆ รวมเข้ากัน



เมืองเจียน - Mường Chiên หรือเมื่อเจียนฟ่ง - Chiềng Phung ยังมีชื่อเก่าในสมัยโบราณว่า กิ่งคว่าย - Kinh Khoái แต่รู้จักกันทั่วไปเพียงเล็กน้อย

ใน dư địa chí ของเหงวียนจ้าย - Nguyễn Trãi (คำ "cẩn án" โดย Nguyễn Thiên Tích) ได้รับรองให้เมืองกวังยาย - châu Quỳnh Nhai เป็นเมืองเอกของรัฐเอียนไต - phủ Yên Tây และเป็นชื่อของเมืองเจียน - Mường Chiên ดังนั้นใน 1435 เมื่อ Quỳnh Nhai ปรากฏตัวขึ้นMường Chiên ก็ไม่ได้ขึ้นกับMường Tiến อีก

เมืองถาน - Mường Than เมืองคิม - Mường Khim เมืองก่าง - Mường Cang ตั้งอยู่ในเขตลุ่มน้ำทุ่งภูเพียงหุบเขา ถานเอวี่ยน - cánh đồng lòng chảo Than Uyên

เมืองม้า - Mường Mả เรียกชื่อว่า เหลืองเทียน - Luông Tiễn เมืองสาด - Mường Sắt เรียกอีกชื่อว่าเยี่ยงกว๊ - Duông Quỳ เมืองบอ - Mường Bo เรียกอีกชื่อว่า กามเตื่อง - Cam Đuong ปัจจุบันเป็นดินแดนของจังหวัดฮวงเลี่ยนเซิน - Hoàng Liên Sơn

เมืองคิม - Mường Kim เมืองท้าว - Mường Tháo (หรือเมืองววา - Mường Khoá)

ใน dư địa chí ของเหงวียนจ้าย - Nguyễn Trãi (คำ "cẩn án" โดย Nguyễn Thiên Tích) ได้ลงนามให้เมืองวันบ้าน - châu Văn Bàn ขึ้นกับรัฐกว๊ฮัว - phủ Quy Hoá ดังนั้นใน 1435 เมื่อเมืองวันบ้าน ปรากฏตัวขึ้น เมืองคิม - Mường Kim เมืองท้าว - Mường Tháo กลายเป็นเมืองเอกที่แยกออกจากเมืองเตียน - Mường Tiến

ตามความคิดเห็น ของ เล กวี โดน - Lê Quý Đôn ได้เขียนภาษาท้องถิ่นใช้เมืองภู โดยเจียนเป็นเครื่องหมาย Xo (คำว่า Thu อาจเป็นกับศัพท์ของคำว่า Xo)



เมืองเตียน - MUỜng Tiến ยังมีชื่อว่า
เจ้าเตียน - Châu Tiến หรือ เจ้า เจี้ยวเติน -
Châu Chiêu Tẩn บางทีชื่อที่ว่าเจียนเติน -
Chiêu Tẩn บางทีชื่อนี้อาจได้มาจากต้นคำที่
ว่าเจ้าเตียน ชื่อที่ว่าเจี้ยวเติน - Chiêu Tẩn
ถูกบันทึกไว้ในหนังสือยี่ เตีย จี - DU đũa chí
ของเหงวียนจ้าย - Nguyễn Trãi (คำ " คัล
ลัน " โดย Nguyễn Thiến Tích) ว่าเป็นเขต
หนึ่งขึ้นกับรัฐเอียนไต - phủ Yên Tây ใน
Hưng Hoá ยุคตะกูลเหงวียน - Nguyễn
กิงตี้ก - TỰ ĐỨC

ในปี 1891 ฝรั่งเศสก่อตั้งขึ้นจังหวัดลาบ
กาย- Làp Cai ในนั้นมีทุกส่วนของเขต เจี้ยวเติน
รวมอยู่ด้วย และพื้นแผ่นดินส่วนนี้ยังเรียกว่าเขต
เจี้ยว เติน - Chiêu Tẩn ณ ที่เมืองซอ -
MUỜng Xo พวกเขานำสิ่งอำนวยความสะดวก
สะดวกที่เรียกว่าตัวแทนและเรียกว่าตัวแทน
ฟองโก - Phong Thở

ปี 1895 ฝรั่งเศสผู้ล่าอาณานิคมได้ตั้ง
ฟองโก - Phong Thở ให้เป็นเขตพิเศษนอนอยู่
ใน ดาว เติน ลาย - Tẩn Lai แล้วจาก 1909
ดาว เติน ลาย ได้ขึ้นกับจังหวัด Lao Cai

ในปี1909 ฝรั่งเศสยังตั้งเขต กาน เอวี่ยน
- Than Uyên กานเอวี่ยนเป็นชื่อของหมู่บ้านขึ้น
กับ เตือง กวี - Dương Quý เป็นเมืองหลวงของ
เขตเจี้ยว เติน - Chiêu Tẩn สมัยราชวงศ์
เหงวียน - Nguyễn

ดังนั้น ในสมัยฝรั่งเศสปกครอง เมือง
เตียน หรือเขตเจี้ยว เติน ไม่มีอีกต่อไปแต่มีสอง
เขตเกิดขึ้นใหม่ได้แก่เขตเมืองซอ หรือฟองโก และ
เมืองกาน หรือ กาน เอวี่ยนปัจจุบันเมืองซอ หรือ
อำเภอฟองโก และเมืองกาน หรืออำเภอกาน
เอวี่ยนขึ้นกับจังหวัด - Lai Chau

Than Uyen เป็นดินแดนแห่งการพัฒนา
ระยะยาวของวัฒนธรรม Hoa Binh ของ
วัฒนธรรม ดงเซิน เมื่อมาถึงยุคราชวงศ์ ลี - Ly
เมืองกานเอวี่ยนขึ้นกับเมืองเตียนเจา ดัง - Tiến
Châu Đăng, ยุค เล - Lê ขึ้นกับเมือง เจี้ยวเติน
- Chiêu Tẩn แคว้นอาโนไต- An Tây ต่อใ้ยุคฮัง
ฮวา - Hưng Hoá, ยุคตี้ก - TỰ ĐỨC ยอม
ราชวงศ์ เหงวียน- Nguyễn เมืองกานเอวี่ยน -
Than Uyên เป็นเขตเมืองเจี้ยวเติน - Chiêu
Tẩn. เมื่อวันที่ 28/06/1909ฝรั่งเศสตั้งเมือง
กานเอวี่ยนให้ขึ้นกับจังหวัด ลายเจา - Lai Châu.



02/1920 เมืองทานเอวี่ยนไปขึ้นกับ จังหวัดเอียนบาย - Yên Bái. หลังจากที่มีความ สงบสุขได้รับการบูรณะ ในปี 1955 เมืองทาน เอวี่ยน เป็นเขตปกครองตนเองของชาวม้งและไทย (ภาคพื้นตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือ) ท้ายปี 1962 จัด ตั้งขึ้นเป็นจังหวัดเหงียไล้ - Nghĩa Lộ เมืองทาน เอวี่ยนจึงเป็นอำเภอหนึ่งของจังหวัดเหงียไล้ - Nghĩa Lộ. เมื่อ วันที่ 1976/03/01 เมืองทาน เอวี่ยน ได้อำเภอหนึ่งของจังหวัด ฮวาง เลียนเซิน - Hoàng Liên Sơn (หลังจากการควบรวม ของสามจังหวัดเป็นจังหวัดฮวางเลี่ยน เซิน - Lào Cai - Yên Bái - Nghĩa Lộ thành Hoàng Liên Sơn) ตั้งแต่เดือน 10/1991 เมืองทาน เอวี่ยน ขึ้นกับจังหวัดลาวกาย หลังจากที่ยก จังหวัดลายเจาครั้งใหม่ ในปี2004/01/01 เมือง ทานเอวี่ยน ถูกแยกออกจากจังหวัด Lao Cai และกลายเป็นส่วนจังหวัด Lai Chau.

อนุสรณ์สถาน ภูเขา “กอ” - Khau Co เมื่อ 20/11/1886 ที่เมืองไล - MUỜng Lay เมืองควา - MUỜng Khoa ประชาชนท้องถิ่นเขา ไกรธัคฆ์ และรวมกันดักโจมตีพวกฝรั่งเศส คณะ ที่พวกฝรั่งเศสเลื่อนพลบุกเข้าอำเภอกานเอวี่ยน อนุสรณ์สถานแห่งนี้เป็นแหล่งเรียนรู้การเคลื่อนไหวต่อสู้อย่างกล้าหาญ ศึกษาเรียนรู้ความรัก ชาติด้วยความหลงใหลสูงส่ง เสริมสร้างจิตตานุ ภาพความหวัง อดทนกับความยากลำบาก กระตือรือร้นในการต่อต้านกับการรุกรานจาก ต่างประเทศชาติของชนกลุ่มน้อยแห่งเมืองทาน

เอวี่ยน อนุสรณ์สถาน ภูเขา “กอ” - Khau Co เป็นป้อมที่มั่นของทหารกองพันที่ 2 ที่เปิดทาง 279 ในสงครามชายแดน ในปี 1979 ที่นี้ยังมี หลายร่องรอยประวัติศาสตร์จากเมื่อควาเปิด ทางในครั้งนั้น (เปิดถนนอยู่บนหน้าผา) จากที่นี่ สามารถสังเกตเห็นหุบเขาเมืองทานเกือบทั้งหมด (เมืองทานเป็นเขตหุบเขาใหญ่ที่ 3 ของภาคตะวน ตกเฉียงเหนือเวียดนาม)

บ้านนาถ้าง - Nà Khoảng (ตำบลเมือง คิม - Muờng Kim) หนึ่งในฐานกองโจรเวียด นามในช่วงเวลาต่อต้านฝรั่งเศส ปี 1950-1951 ประกอบส่วนในการตีปลดปล่อย ทานเอวี่ยน เมื่อ 15-10-1952 บ้าน ฮาง เจ บ่อ ตำบลเมืองทาน (คือเมืองฝูกทานในปัจจุบัน ที่ถูกยุบเพื่อหุดคั้น หินปูน) - ถ้าลี้กลงไปในภูเขากวี่อยู่ใกล้ลำธารยาว 750 กม. เป็นที่น่าประทับใจมากที่สุด อบอุ่นใน ฤดูหนาว เยือกเย็นในฤดูร้อนยังมีปลาหลากหลาย ว่ายน้ำน้ำรอบๆ และยังมีหินย้อยจำนวนมาก และเสมือนการลงนามในคุณค่าความงาม

- บ้านเลียด ตำบลเมืองคิม เป็นย่านสถานที่สำคัญทางประวัติศาสตร์ เป็นที่สร้างตั้ง องค์คณะพรรคสาขาแรกซึ่งกายเป็นองค์คณะ พรรคจังหวัดLai Chau ในปัจจุบัน



- ทำได้เปรียบทางเศรษฐกิจของบ้าน
ต่ายา - Tà Gia คือการท่องเที่ยวธรรมชาติขึ้น
ชื่อทางภูมิทัศน์ที่ต่ายามีถ้ำสวยงามมาก ภูเขา
หินปูน อุดมสมบูรณ์ด้วยพืชนานาพันธุ์ มีแม่น้ำ
หมูสวายใสไหลเย็นประกอบกับภูเขาป่าไม้เขียว
กระจจี อำนวยให้ Tà Gia ถ้าวหน้าได้เร็วไว ที่ยังมี
หมู่บ้านไทยโบราณที่เป็นบ้านยกพื้นเป็น
เอกลักษณ์พิเศษ

3. บ้านเมืองเด็ก - MUỜng Tấc

บ้านเมืองเด็ก - MUỜng Tấc อำเภอฝู
เอียน - Phừ Yêñ มีพื้นที่ : 1,236.0 ตาราง
กิโลเมตรประชากร : 95.957 คนไทย : 28.640
คน จนถึงขณะนี้ยังไม่มีคำอธิบายเกี่ยวกับการ
กำเนิดเมือง MUỜng Tấc แต่สามารถมั่นใจได้
ว่าก่อนที่จะมีชนเผ่าไทยเข้ามาอยู่ได้มี MUỜng
Tấc อยู่แล้ว เมื่อมีไทยเข้ามาตั้งถิ่นที่เมืองล่อจึง
มีการประกวดไทผู้สีก(นักรบผู้ไท) จึงมีคำกล่าว
ไว้ว่า " เมืองเด็กเป็นเมืองนางแก้วมาอยู่จนเฒ่า
" เมืองเด็กเป็นบ้านของ ผู้ไทยสาว ถ้าเอาตาม
ที่มีระยะเวลาที่มีสาวคนไทขาวในภาคเหนือของ
ภาคตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของเวียดนาม อย่างน้อย
จากศตวรรษที่แปด ศูนย์กลางเมืองตั้งอยู่ในหุบ
เขาเขตลุ่มน้ำนี้เรียกว่า เมืองเด็ก หรือเวียงเด็ก
(ปัจจุบันเรียกว่า บ้านเวียง)

MUỜng Tấc ยังมีชื่อเรียกว่า ฝูเอียน -
Phừ Yêñ(ภูอาน) ชื่อภูเอียนปรากฏในสามก๊ก
ตอนที่ชาติเวียดนามตกอยู่ใต้การปกครองของ
ตระกูลเติน - nhậ Tấc เตินปกครองเป็นปี “ Kíểñ
Hậnh ” ที่ 3 แล้วเปลี่ยนเป็นการปกครองของ
ตระกูลโง - nhậ Ngồ (271 ปี) อำเภอฝูเอียน
(ภูอาน)ได้รับการรับรองให้ขึ้นกับเวตจูบึง - Vừ
Bình ที่อาศัยอยู่ในเขต Vừ Bình ในเวลานั้น
เรียกว่าคนยี่ - Di และล่าว - Lầo ในเขตนี้มีคน
ไทดำหรือไม่ ยังต้องค้นหาข้อมูลเพิ่มเติมถึงจะ
เป็นงานวิจัยยืนยันใหม่จึงจะชัดเจนได้

ปี 1435 (Dư đĩa chí của Nguyễn
Trãi (lời “cửu án” Nguyễn Thiệñ Tấch)
ประกาศชื่อว่าภูฮวา - Phừ Hoa ขึ้นกับยาฮิง -
phừ Gia Hưंग ในฮิงฮวา “Ming Mệnh”ที่
19 (1838) ชื่อเดิมคือภูเอียน ปัจจุบันเมื่อเด็ก ยัง
เรียกกันว่าเมืองภูเอียนจังหวัดเซินลา

หัวเมืองเด็กในเมื่อก่อนรวมมีเมืองเล็ก ๆ
ได้แก่ เมืองปัว เมืองมวง เมืองยอเมืองलग
(ปัจจุบันยังเรียกชื่อเดิม ซึ่งขึ้นกับอำเภอภูเอียน)
เมืองกุก เมืองอาต(เวตกุก) เมืองตง เมืองตัน
(เวตลายดง) เมืองเวิน เมืองแวง (อาจใช้เวต
เซวินตาย) ปัจจุบันเป็นเขตของเผ่าเมืองขึ้นกับ
จังหวัด วังฝู - Vĩnh Phừ



4. เมืองช้าง - MU'Ōng Xang

สถานที่ทางภูมิศาสตร์ : อำเภอเมืองกูเอียนนอนอยู่ทางทิศตะวันออกของ Son La ห่างจากเมืองเซินลา 130 กิโลเมตร และไกลจากฮานอย ไปทางทิศตะวันตกประมาณ 170 km ทิศตะวันตกของเมืองกูเอียนติดกับอำเภอบั๊กเอียน - Bắc Yên ทิศใต้ติดกับอำเภอหมกเจ้า - Mộc Châu ตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ติดกับอำเภอดาบั๊ก - Đà Bắc จังหวัด ฮวาบิ่ง - Hòa Bình ทิศตะวันออกติดกับอำเภอแก่งเซิน จังหวัดฟูท้อ - Phu Tho ทิศเหนือของอำเภอวันเจิ่น จังหวัดเอียนบาย เทศบาลเมืองกูเอียนอยู่ตรงกลางหุบเขาเมืองเด็ก

พื้นที่อำเภอมี 1.227 ตารางกิโลเมตร จำนวนประชากร 96,000 (2,004) ส่วนใหญ่เป็นคนไทยขาวและไทยเมือง อำเภอหลี่ - Huyện lý เป็นเมืองเอกของกูเอียนตั้งอยู่บนทางหลวงหมายเลข 37 ไปยังเมือง Son La ประมาณ 126 กม. ทางทิศตะวันออก ถนนหลักของจังหวัดเลขที่ 113 ปัจจุบันเป็นทางหลวงแห่งชาติเลขที่ 37 ตามทิศตะวันตกไปอำเภอ Bac เอียน ไปตามทางหลวงแห่งชาติเลขที่ 32 ตามทิศตะวันออกไปอำเภอ Thanh Sơn (Phú Thọ)

เมืองช้าง - MU'Ōng Xang ตำบล Moc Chau พื้นที่ : 2.046 km ประชากร : 882.077 คนเผ่าไทยดำ 482.985 คน ท้องถิ่นยังเรียกว่าเมืองหมอก เมืองหมอกหมายถึงเมืองที่ปกคลุมด้วยเมฆหรือหมอก ชื่อ " เมืองช้าง " ปรากฏในตำนานของพระธรรมเกี่ยวกับการเคลื่อนย้ายที่ยิ่งใหญ่ของคนไทยขาว จากประเทศลาวมาตั้งถิ่นฐาน "เมืองช้าง" เป็นชื่อที่ออกเสียงเพี้ยนจากคำว่า เมืองวาง - "MU'Ōng Khang" วาง - Khang มีความหมายว่า "เหล็ก หรือ วาง" มีเรื่องเล่าว่า เมื่อขุนพน หรือ เจ้าพระยาจากลาวล้านช้างนำประชานย้ายมาอยู่อาศัย ณ แห่งนี้ระหว่างการเดินทางได้ให้กำเนิดบุตรชาย ตลอดสามปีแรกหลังเกิด เด็กชายคนนี้ไม่ยอมรับประทานอาหารไม่นอน ไม่พูด เอาแต่นั่งร้องไห้ เจ้าพระยาผู้เป็นบิดาสุดแสนเป็นห่วง แต่ละวันได้จัดหาอาหารอย่างอร่อยให้เขาเลือกว่าเขาจะเลือกทานอะไร เด็กนั้นไม่เลือกอาหารที่บิดาเสนอให้เลือก แต่เขากับชี้มือไปที่มิดไกที่ทำด้วยเหล็ก ฟององเขาก็จำต้องถอดมิดไกให้นั้นให้กับบุตร ดูเห็นว่าเด็กหน้าตาสดชื่น และก่อกำเนิดเหล็กมิดไกอย่างอรด อร่อยอย่างรวดเร็ว ทันใดนั้นเด็กคนนั้นโตขึ้นเหมือนลูกโป่งคนเป่า เขาโตเป็นชายหนุ่มหน้าตาดีทันที่ เจ้าพระยาผู้เป็นบิดาจึงใส่ชื่อบุตรว่า " ยอดกำ - Nhọt Cầm " เพื่อเป็นการเฉลิมฉลองเจ้ายอดกำ เมื่อพวกเขาเคลื่อนย้ายมาถึงที่แห่งใหม่ตั้งเป็นอยู่อาศัยโดยถาวรแล้ว พวกเขาจึงใส่ชื่อบ้านของพวกเขาเป็น " เมืองวาง



- “MUŌng Khang” " และหลังกมาพวกฝรั่งเข้ามาปกครอง เรียกคำว่าขางเพี้ยนเป็นซาง เมืองขางกายเป็นเมืองซาง

เมื่อการปรากฏตัวของเมืองซาง ที่ดินซึ่งเป็นที่ยาวมากรวมทั้งเมืองเล็ก ๆ (เข้าใจว่าเมืองหมายถึงหมู่บ้าน) เช่นเมืองเชียงเกี (ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับเมืองDa Bac - Hoa Binh Province)

เมืองแอต - MUŌng Ét เชียงค้อ - Xiēng Khō ขณะนี้ตั้งอยู่ในจังหวัดห้วยพันส์ ประเทศลาว

ส่วนเมืองเชียงดี เชียงบาน หรือตุนัง ผัวเต่า เชียงกาง เชียงแวง เซวัญญา (ปัจจุบันเป็นดินแดนแห่ง อำเภอMoc Chau)

เมืองซางยังมีชื่อที่เรียกว่า Moc Chau แม้ว่า Moc Chau จะอยู่ภายใต้เขตทางหลวงคาง - Đà Giang ในสมัยของทริน - Trăn แต่ชื่อของ Moc Chau ได้รับการบันทึกไว้ในสมุดยี่ เคย จี - dŭ đĩa chí ของ เหงวี่ยน ทราย - Nguyễn Trãi ในยุค เลเซอ - Lê sƠ

ความหมายชื่อของ Moc Chau มีสองความคิด : ชื่อที่หนึ่ง มาจากความไทยคำมาจากชื่อ "เมือง หมอก" ประการที่สองอาจจะเป็นชื่อบอกพื้นที่ที่มีไผ่เยอะ (แผ่นดินเปลี่ยน) เพราะตามที่ตั้งจริง Moc Chau มีชื่อเสียงด้านไม้ที่มีค่าในปี เกี้ยวบิ่ง - Thiệu Bình แรกของสมัยของเลไท ต่ง - Lê Thái Tông (1434) ศาสได้รับการยอมรับขอบเขตดินแดนเทียบเท่ากับที่ดินใน Moc Chau (เมืองซาง) เมื่อมาในสมัยของ แก่งฮิง - Cảnh Hưng ที่ 36 และสมัยของเลหยินต่ง - Lê Hyén Tông (1775) พระราชา จริง - Trịnh เห็นที่ดินกว้างเกินไป พึ่ง้องเกิดบาดหมางกันถึงต้องแบ่งที่ออกเป็นสามแดนเมือง - ba châu คือ ดาบัก - Đà Bắc (เมื่อเทียบกับที่ดินเมืองซางเดิมก็คือ เมืองเชียงเกี) บ้านนาม หรือน้ำม้าใต้ (เทียบกับที่ดินเมืองซางเดิมนั้นคือเมืองแอต เชียงค้อ และ Moc Chau ปัจจุบันเมืองซางยังเป็นอำเภอ Moc Chau จังหวัด Son La)

5. เมืองหวาด : อำเภอเอียนเง่า

เมืองหวาด : อำเภอเอียนเง่า มีพื้นที่ 867.0 ตารางกิโลเมตร ประชากร : 57.160 คน รวมทั้งคนไทยคำ 30.570 คน เกี่ยวกับเมืองหวาดถูกกล่าวขานกันข้ามตัวเมือง “ Quám tồ mŭng ” สมัยของ ลอแลด (ประมาณศตวรรษ XIII) เทียบเท่ากับระยะเวลาของการย้ายถิ่นของ ไทยคำจากลาวล้านช้างไปในพื้นที่เมืองซาง



เมื่อพูดถึงการปรากฏตัวของเมืองวาด ปัจจุบันมีความคิดว่าเป็นคำที่สะกดผิดชื่อของ คำว่า " วัด " คนไทยดำเรียกศาสนาพุทธ " วัด " คนถิ่นเมือง “ Vạt ” คือชุมชนศาสนาพุทธใน ลาวย้ายมาอยู่อาศัย ฉะนั้นจึงตั้งชื่อที่อยู่อาศัย ของเขาเองว่าเมืองวาด - Mường Vạt (Vạt) แล้วยังมีความคิดชี้ให้เห็นว่า เพราะพวกผู้ชายใน แคนเมืองนี้มีนิสัยสวมเสื้อรักแร้ขาด แต่เสื้อที่ รักแร้ขาดจะมีแผ่นผ้ารองชั้นในด้านหน้าของเสื้อ คนไทยดำเรียกแผ่นผ้ารองชั้นในนั้นว่า “ Vạt ” ฉะนั้นจึงเรียกหมู่บ้านนั้นว่าเมือง “ Vạt ” (?)

ศูนย์กลางเมือง “ Vạt ” ตั้งที่เชียงคอง - Chieng Khoong ฉะนั้นเมือง “ Vạt ” ยังมีชื่อ เรียกว่า Chieng Khoong ในช่วงศตวรรษที่16 เมือง “ Vạt ” ยังมีชื่อเรียกว่าเมือง พาวี - Mường Phạ Vi ภาษีมูลค่าเพิ่มเพส เมืองวาด ประกอบด้วยเมืองขนาดเล็ก : เชียงดง - Xieng Dong เชียงช้าง เมืองควา - Muong Khoa เมืองลิ้ม - Mường Lưm เมืองอ่าย - Mường Ái ปัจจุบัน เมืองเหล่านี้ขึ้นกับพื้นที่อำเภอเอียนเง่า - Yên Châu

สมัยราชวงศ์จิ้น - Trần เรียกเรียกเมือง “ Vạt ” ว่า เมืองเวียด - Mường Việt (เวียดคือ การออกเสียงของคำว่า Vạt) มสียตะกุลาล - Lê เรียกเมือง “ Vạt ” เวียดเง่าสมัยตะกุลาลหยินปี มินห์เหมิง - năm Minh Mệnh ที่ 3 (1822) เปลี่ยน เวียดเง่าเป็นเอียนเง่า ปัจจุบันยังคงเรียกเมือง “ Vạt ” อำเภอเอียนเง่า จังหวัด Son La Mộc Châu ทั้งอำเภอมีกว่า 15,000 คน พื้นที่ 2025.1 ตารางกิโลเมตร ในอัตราส่วน 69 คน ต่อตารางกิโลเมตร

ภาคเหนือของภูเอียนล้อมรอบด้วยแม่น้ำ ดา - sông Đà พรมแดนตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของ ภูเอียนติดกับอำเภอบักเอียน และอำเภอเอียน เง่า ตะวันตกเฉียงใต้ของภูเอียนติดกับจังหวัด หัวพันห์ ส.ป.ป.ลาว ใต้ติดกับจังหวัด Thanh Hoa ทิศตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ติดกับจังหวัด Hoa Binh



ด้านวัฒนธรรม Moc Chau มี 12 กลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ที่อาศัยอยู่ร่วมกัน ซึ่งส่วนใหญ่เป็นไทยดำ 33% ม้ง 18% kinh(แกว) 15% นอกนั้นมีลาว จีน พมู เย้า ไต อาหารไทยดำมีหลายอย่างที่อุดมและเป็นเอกลักษณ์เฉพาะตัว มีงานเทศกาลอาหารประจำปี (Hoa Ban, Hết CHá) ประเพณีปลูกพืชรับฝนจะถูกจัดขึ้นในฤดูใบไม้ผลิโดยมีความปรารถนาให้ได้รับผลปลูกมากมาย ระหว่าง30/8-2/9 ของทุกปี อำเภอมีการจัดงานเทศกาลวัฒนธรรมประจำปี จัดขึ้นสำหรับชาวม้งจากจังหวัดทางภาคเหนือรวมทั้งตัวเมือง Moc Chau วันงานเทศกาลวัฒนธรรมนี้เป็นโอกาสสำหรับคู่หนุ่มสาวชาวม้งใกล้ชิดเรียนรู้ และเข้าใจซึ่งกัน

การเดินทางท่องเที่ยว : Moc Chau เป็นพื้นที่ภูเขาสูง ที่กว้างขวางและสวยงามที่สุดของภาคเหนือสภาพภูมิอากาศเป็นแบบมรสุมเย็น จุดท่องเที่ยวที่มีชื่อเสียงเช่น ถ้ำ Hang Doi ดงไม้สน(ไม้โล่งเล่ง) Mọc Châu และภูเขา หุบเขาใน เมืองMoc Chau แต่ละปีเขตพื้นที่ได้ต้อนรับนักท่องเที่ยวนับแสนคนไปเยี่ยมชมและพักผ่อน ศักยภาพด้านทุนของอำเภอยังไม่สอดคล้องกับความต้องการ แต่อำเภอได้ดำเนินการสำเร็จการท่องเที่ยวเชิงนิเวศ ใน Moc Chau หน่วยงานที่รับผิดชอบในการส่งเสริมและพัฒนาท่องเที่ยวชนบทในมกเจ้า Moc Chau คือสำนักงานบริหารการท่องเที่ยวระดับอำเภอดังอยู่สำนักงานที่ว่าการเก่าของอำเภอMoc Chau ติดกับหอวัฒนธรรมประจำอำเภอ Moc Chau

6.เมืองมัวะ - MU'Ōng MUa

เมืองมัวะ - MU'Ōng MUa: ตำบลมายเฮิน - Mai SŌn มีพื้นที่: 1,435.0 ตารางกิโลเมตร ประชากร : 112.502 คน ในนั้นมีคนไทยดำ 62.525 คน ได้มีการกล่าวถึงในมหากาพย์เกี่ยวกับไต่ยผู้เส็ก - Táy PÚ XŌc สมัยปางเจื่อง - Lạng ChŭŌng ได้นำชนเผ่าไทยดำมาจากเมืองลอขึ้นไปยังเมืองแกง (ศตวรรษที่สิบสอง)



ศูนย์กลางเมืองมัวะเรียกว่าเชียงยอง - Chiêng Dong ฉะนั้นเมืองมัวะยังถูกเรียกว่า เชียงยอง - Chiêng Dong เมืองมัวะ - Muông Mụa ยังมีเมืองเล็กรวมอยู่ด้วยได้แก่ เมืองฮุง - Muông Hung หรือ เชียงกิด ลอ ตี - Chiêng Cát Lò Ti เชียงกาง - Chiêng Cang ปัจจุบันได้ ยกเข้ากับอำเภอแม่น้ำ - sông Mã (เป็นตำบล ที่จัดตั้งขึ้นใหม่เมื่อภาคตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือรับ การตั้งให้เป็นเขตปกครองตนเอง 05/07/1955) เมืองแจง - Muông Chanh หรือ เชียงแควน - Chiêng Quen เมืองบอน - Muông Bon เมืองหมั่น - Muông Mẫn ตอนนี้เป็นเขตพื้นที่ที่ขึ้นกับ อำเภอมายเซิน - huyện Mai Sơn

เมืองมัวะยังถูกเรียกว่ามายเซิน - Mai Sơn เป็นชื่อที่ตั้งขึ้นในสมัย เล มาด กวาง - Lê Mạt khoảng ยุคจิ้งเซิม - Trịnh Sâm (1767-1782) ฮวง บิง จิ้ง - Hoàng Bình Chính อดีตผู้อำนวยการ “ ดง ชื่อ ฮัว - đồng xứ Hưng Hoá ” เขียนไว้ในหนังสือของเขา “ อัง ฮัวชื่อฟองโก ” ในช่วงต้นของ เลแกงฮิง - Lê Cảnh Hưng พระเจ้าจิ้งเซิมจงเอาที่ดินขนาดใหญ่เกินไปยากที่จะควบคุม เลยกแบ่งเป็นสามแดน เมือง ได้แก่ เซินลา มายเซิน และเตวียนยาว (Sơn La, Mai Sơn, Tuần Giáo) ดังนั้น จนศาล ศตวรรษที่สิบแปด มายเซินจึงได้รับรองเป็นสำนัก อำเภอ

ความหมายของชื่อ มายเซิน ปัจจุบันยังมีความคิดว่า ในเมื่อก่อน จุดใจกลางของมายเซิน เป็นป่าไม้ ” มาย - mai (สะกฺระ) ” ฤดูใบไม้ผลิ ดอกไม้ มาย บานเรื่อยเรื่อยกลายเป็นพื้นหลังสีขาวทั่วภูเขา จากภาพนั้นอาจมีการสนับสนุนให้แดน เมืองนี้เต็มไปด้วยบทกวีออกชื่อ แดนมายเซิน - Mai Sơn (Núi mƠ-ภูเขาในฝัน) ทุกวันนี้ เมืองมัวะยังเป็นชื่อ อำเภอ มายเซิน จังหวัด เซินลา

สถานที่ทางภูมิศาสตร์ : ทิศเหนือของ มายเซินติดกับเทวียนแจ้ - Thuận Chải เมือง เองของจังหวัดเซินลาคือเมืองหลา - Muông La ภาคตะวันออกติดกับอำเภอบักเอียน เอียนแจ้ - Bắc Yên Yên Chải ชายแดนตะวันตก ติดกับอำเภอแม่น้ำ - Sông Mã ทิศใต้ติด กับจังหวัดหัวพันส์ ส.ป.ป.ลาว ยาว 8 กม.



7.เมืองหลา - MUỜng La

เมืองหลา - MUỜng La : พื้นที่
1,421.0 ตารางกิโลเมตร ประชากร : 67.294
คน ในนั้นมีไทยดำ 8.969 คน

ชื่อ เมือง ลา ประกฏตัวจากศตวรรษที่
สิบสอง มันเป็นชื่อตรงกันกับชื่อของเมืองลอบาง
ที่ชื่อหัวเมืองนี้ไทยดำตั้งขึ้นเพื่อสร้างความขงจำ
ถึงแดนเมืองเมืองลอบางแห่งบันพระบุรุดของ
พวกเขา ตามตำนานกล่าวงานของคน เมืองลา
กล่าวว่า เมื่อผู้ใหญ่บ้าน - Lạng ChửỚng นำ
คนไทยดำมาถึง เมืองลา พวกเขาได้สร้างหอที่
ศูนย์กลางเมืองเพื่อเซ็นไหวบูชาบรรพบุรุษของ
พวกเขา (พุทธนางของพวกเขา) ฉะนั้น จุดศูนย์
กลางที่สร้างหอเซ็นไหวนั้นคือ บ้านโฮ “ hละi ”
ปัจจุบันแน่นอนว่าเป็นบ้านโฮที่ขึ้นกับตำบล เชียง
อาน อำเภอ เมืองลา ในยุคนั้น เพราะบ้าน โฮ เป็น
จุดศูนย์กลางของหัวเมือง จึงเรียกว่า “ Viềng
hละi - เวียงโฮ ”

ศูนย์กลางหัวเมืองโฮ เชียงอาน เพราะ
ฉะนั้นชื่อจึงเรียกหัวเมืองว่า Chiềng An เมือง
เล็กต่าง ๆ ที่ขึ้นกับเมืองนี้มี : เมืองจำย - MUờng
Trai หรือ Chiềng Nghiêm เมืองบุ้ - MUờng

Bú หรือ Chiềng Biên เมืองจูม - MUờng
Chủm เมืองเจียน - MUờng Chiền ตามที่
“ Quám tổ mướng ” สรรนิษฐานว่า ประมาณ
ศตวรรษ 15 หลิง ตา เงิน - Ta Ngần ที่ เมืองลา
- MUờng La ซึ่งมี ดวงคำ - Duờng Cầm เป็น
ผู้นำ MUờng La เริ่มแพร่ขยายเติบโต จนระหว่าง
ศตวรรษ XVII เป็นช่วงเวลาของ บุญแปง - Bun
Pànhg เป็นผู้นำได้แยก MUờng La ออกจาก
เมืองมวย - MUờng Muội เมืองลาเป็นหัวเมือง
ใหญ่เข้มแข็ง เข้าสู่ศตวรรษ XVIII ยุคของ บุญ
แปง - Bun Phanhgเป็นผู้นำ MUờng La ได้
กลายเป็นหัวเมืองที่มีอิทธิพลไปทั่วแดนเมือง
“ 16 หัวเมืองของไทยดำ ”

ระหว่างยุคของ เลมาด - Lê mạt จึงเซิม
- Trinh Sâm จึงตั้งเมืองลาเป็นหัวเมืองศตวรรษ
XVIII นั่นเองที่สำนักราชวงศ์ ก็ได้รับรอง เมือง
ลา เป็นเมืองที่แยกออกจากอิทธิพลของเมือง
ม้วย - MUờng Muối (Thuận Châu-เถวนเจ้า)



เมืองลา ลักษณะโดยทั่วไปของเมืองลา

อำเภอเมืองลาคืออำเภอภูเขาของเขินลา ไกลจากตัวเมืองเขินลา 41 กม.ไปทางทิศตะวันออก ทิศตะวันออกและตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือติดกับจังหวัดเอียนบายและติดกับอำเภอบักเอียนของจังหวัด เขินลา ทิศตะวันตกและตะวันตกเฉียงใต้ติดกับจังหวัดกว๋างย่าย - Quỳnh Nhai และอำเภอเถินแจ้ - Thuận Châu ทิศใต้ติดกับอำเภอมายเขินและตัวเมืองเขินลา ทิศตะวันออกและทิศตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของอำเภอเป็นภูเขาสูง ภูมิประเทศต่ำ อำเภอยาวเลียบตามสองฝั่งแม่น้ำดา - sông Đà และมีอีกห้าลำธารขนาดใหญ่ไหลผ่าน : น้ำหมุ - Nậm Mu น้ำเจียน - Nậm Chiến น้ำจาย - Nậm Trai น้ำปาน - Nậm Pàn และน้ำเปย - Nậm Pia

การปกครอง - อำเภอมี 16 หน่วยบริหาร รวมทั้ง 01 ตัวเมืองคือตัวเมืองฮิดอง - Ít Ong และและตำบลต่าง ๆ คือ เชียงฮัว - Chiềng Hoa, ตาบู - Tạ Bú, เมืองจุม - Muồng Chùm, เชียงसान - Chiềng San, น้ำป่า - Nậm Păm, พี้ตอง - Pi Toong, เมืองบู - Muồng Bú, หัวจาย - Hua Trai, เชียงลาว - Chiềng Lao, น้ำโยน - Nậm Giôn, เมืองจาย - Muồng Trai, เชียงน่ม่วน - Chiềng Muôn, เชียงเอน - Chiềng Ân, เชียงกง - Chiềng Công, ง็อกเจียน - Ngọc Chiến

ประชากร - กลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ : ตามสถิติสิ้นปี 2008 จำนวนประชากรทั่วอำเภอคือ 16,449 คน 85,974 ครัวเรือน ที่มีผู้อาศัยอยู่อาศัยอำเภอ 6 กลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ที่อาศัยอยู่ด้วยกัน ได้แก่ กลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทยดำ 63.21 %, ม้ง 16.98 % Kinh - กิ่ง(แกว) 12,65 %; ลาฮา - La Ha 5,91 %; ค้าง - Kháng 0,93 %; มุ - Khơ Mú 0,32 %

8. เมืองม้วย - MUỜng MuỎi

เมืองม้วย - MUỜng MuỎi ตำบลเถินแจ้ มีพื้นที่ 1,804.4 ตารางกิโลเมตรประชากร 147.104 คน รวมทั้งไทยดำ : 113.143 คน (1999)

ปัจจุบันแม้ว่าจะยังไม่ทราบความหมายของชื่อเมืองม้วย แต่สามารถพูดได้อย่างแน่นอนว่า เมืองม้วยปรากฏและมีชื่อเสียงพร้อมกับลางเจื่อง - Lạng Chử้ง ที่นำคนไทยดำย้ายจากเมืองลอมมาตั้งถิ่นฐานที่เมืองม้วย (ศตวรรษที่สิบสอง) ตั้งแต่ศตวรรษที่สิบสามเมืองม้วยกลายเป็นตัวเมืองของอำเภอ (chลื่น mUỜng) เวลานั้น ขุนนางหรือผู้นำชาติพันธุ์เผ่าไทยดำก็ได้หนีจากศูนย์กลางเมืองแกว - MUỜng Thanh ลงมาอยู่เมืองม้วยด้วย ศตวรรษที่สิบสี่เมืองม้วยกลายเป็นศูนย์กลางของคนไทยดำในภาคตะวันตกโดยทั่วไป ศูนย์กลางเมืองม้วยคือ เชียงลี - Chiềng Ly (หรือยังเรียกว่า เชียงพา)



เมืองเล็กเมืองน้อยที่อยู่ใต้การปกครองของเมืองม้วยมี : เมืองชาย - MUỜng Sại หรือเชียงม่วน - Chiềng Muôn, น้ำเพียง - MUỜng Piềng หรือเชียงวาง - Chiềng Khoang, เชียงปึก - Chiềng Pắc, เมืองอี - MUỜng É หรือเชียงเว Chiềng Ve ทั้งหมดนี้ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับอำเภอทวนจำ - Thuận Châu ส่วนเมืองหลิม - MUỜng Lầm แยกไปอยู่อำเภอน้ำม้า - huyệן Sông Mã ตั้งแต่ 7-5-1955 หลังประกาศภาคตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือเป็นเขตปกครองตนเอง - khu tự trị Tây Bắc

เมืองม้วย - MUỜng Muối ยังมีชื่อเรียกว่า ทวนจำ - Thuận Châu ชื่อThuận Châu ประกटตัวในยุค Lê แต่แดนดิน MUỜng Muối อาจได้รับการรับรองในสมัยchâu Lầm Tây ของ ตะกูล Lý สมัย Trần เรียกว่าโม้ยจำ - Mối Châu (ออกเสียงม้วย - Muối เป็นโม้ย - Mối) ในหนังสือของ Nguyễn Trãi (คำ “ cẩn ản ” ของNguyễn Thiến Tích) ได้เขียนรับรองชื่อ Thuận Châu ชื่อนี้มีความหมายว่า ผู้นำ - tần trưởng ที่นี้ตั้งกษัตริย์ขึ้นปกครองตั้งแต่แรก ฉะนั้น ชื่อว่าทวนจำ - Thuận châu ตั้งขึ้นในปี 1435 ปัจจุบัน MUỜng Muối ยังเป็นอำเภอ Thuận Châu จังหวัด SƠN LA.

Thuận châu : Thuận châu เป็นเมืองภูเขาของจังหวัด Son La ทิศตะวันออกติดเมือง Son La และอำเภอเมืองหลา ตะวันตกของของจังหวัด Dien Bien เขตภาคใต้ติดกับอำเภอน้ำม้า - Sông Mã และอำเภอมายเซิน - Mai Sơn ทิศเหนือติดอำเภอกว๋างยาย - Quỳnh Nhai อำเภอ Thuận châu มีพื้นที่ 153,507.24 เฮกเตอร์(เฮคเตอร์) และมีประชากรอาศัยอยู่ 133,802 คน 29 หน่วยการบริหาร และ 28 ตำบล

ประวัติและพัฒนากการ : คนท้องถิ่นเรียกThuận châu ว่า เมืองม้วย - Muờng Muối Thuận châu คือผืนแผ่นดินที่มีมนุษย์มาอาศัยอยู่ทำมาหากินตามถ้ำ ตามแม่น้ำ มาแต่ยุคหินใหม่ ซึ่งยังมีร่องรอยที่อยู่อาศัย วัตถุเครื่องมือล่าสัตว์ ของคนโบราณในแผ่นดิน Thuận Châu พิสูจน์ให้เห็นว่าสถานที่นี้ได้มีมนุษย์โบราณเคยอยู่มาก่อน

ช่วงเวลาที่อยู่ภายใต้ระบอบการปกครองของฝรั่งเศส Thuan Chau ต้องอยู่ภายใต้การควบคุมของทหารฝรั่งเศส ปี 1895 Thuan Chau ขึ้นกับจังหวัดหว๋านบุ - Vạn Bú (แยกออกจาก Hưng Hoá) ปี1904 จังหวัด Vạn Bú เปลี่ยนชื่อเป็นจังหวัดเซินลา - Son La



ปี 1952 หลังับนุส “ ตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือ - Tây Bắc ” Thuan Chau ขึ้นกับจังหวัด Lai Chau เดือนกุมภาพันธ์ 1954 Thuan Chau กับมาขึ้นกับจังหวัด Son La

ปี 1955 จัดตั้งเขตปกครองตนเอง “ ไทย – แมว ” (Thái-Mèo-ไทดำและม้ง) Thuan Chau ขึ้นกับเขตปกครองตนเองดังกล่าว เมื่อวันที่ 27/12/1962 กองประชุมสภาแห่งชาติเวียดนามครั้งที่ 5 สมัยที่ 2 ได้มีมติให้เปลี่ยนชื่อเขตปกครองตนเองไทย – แมว เป็น “ เขตปกครองตนเองทางตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือ ” ตั้งจังหวัด Son La และ Lai Chau คืบใหม่ และจัดตั้งจังหวัด เงยโละ - Nghĩa Lộ และจัดตั้งอำเภอเถินเจ้า - Thuận Châu จังหวัด Son La ถึงปี 2003 ที่อำเภอมี 34 ตำบล และ 1 ตัวเมืองที่ตั้งอยู่ในอำเภอเถินเจ้า

สถานที่ทางภูมิศาสตร์ : อำเภอเถินเจ้า ตั้งอยู่ที่ทิศตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของจังหวัด Son La บนทางหลวงหมายเลข 6 (ฮานอย - Hoa Binh - Son La - Dien Bien) ห่างจากเมือง Son La 34 กม. ห่างจากอำเภอ Tuan Giao จังหวัด Dien Bien 52 Km ตะวันออกติดอำเภอเมืองหลา และตัวเมือง Son La ตะวันตกติดอำเภอเดียนเบียน ทิศตะวันออกติดอำเภอเมืองอ่าง - Mường Ảng และอำเภอเตินยาว - Thuận Giảo จังหวัด Điện Biên ทิศใต้ติดอำเภอมาย

เซิน และอำเภอน้ำม้าจังหวัด Son La ทิศเหนือติดอำเภอกว๊นยาย และ อำเภอเมืองหลาจังหวัด Son La

พื้นที่และจำนวนประชากร : เมืองเถินเจ้ามีพื้นที่ทั้งหมด : 154126 เฮกเตอร์ มีประชากร 147,073 คน ในนั้นมีคนไทยดำ 102,788 คน ม้ง 15,643 คน กิ่ง 5019 คน มุ 1956 คน ค่าง 3,388 คน ลาฮา : 2,399 คน อื่น ๆ : 137 คน

ประวัติศาสตร์ในช่วงสงครามฝรั่งเศส และหลังจากที่ความสงบสุขได้รับการบูรณะในภาคเหนือเวียดนาม แม้ว่าท่านโฮจิมินห์จะมีการงานของชาติหลายร้อยหลายพันอย่าง แต่เขาคือพ่ออันเป็นที่รักของชาติยังใส่ใจกับประชาชน บรรดาเผ่าที่เขตปกครองตนเองไต่บัก สอนองความไว้วางใจของลุงโฮจิมินห์ ประชาชนบรรดาเผ่าชาวตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือได้ต่อสู้อย่างกล้าหาญ ยืนยันกระตือรือร้น แ่งเงินทำงาน ทำการผลิตผล และปรารถนาที่จะได้รับต้อนรับการกลับมาเยือนของลุงโฮจิมินห์ หวังจะได้รายงานผลสำเร็จต่อลุงโฮจิมินห์



เมื่อวันที่ 1959/05/07, ความปรารถนาของประชาชนภาคตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือชาติ ได้กลายเป็นความจริง ที่สภามหาชนของที่ว่าทางของเขตปกครองตนเองไทย-ลาว ได้มีผู้ต่างหน้าประชาชนชาวตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือ 43,000 คน ถือป้ายและคำขวัญกักตุนรับต้อนรับลุงโฮจิมินห์ และคณะผู้แทนของพรรคและรัฐบาลที่มาเยือนอย่างสนุกสนาน ลุงโฮจิมินห์เป็นคนที่เรียบง่ายมากเป็นกันเองและใกล้ชิดติดต่อกับประชาชน ลุงกล่าวขยอการเสียสละและผลงานอันยิ่งใหญ่ของประชาชนเขตปกครองตนเองตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือในการต่อสู้กับพวกล่าเมืองขึ้นฝรั่งเศส และในการฟื้นฟูทางเศรษฐกิจหลังสงครามต่อต้านพวกล่าเมืองขึ้นฝรั่งเศส ลุงโฮจิมินห์ได้เป็นตัวแทนรัฐบาล มอบเหรียญแรงงานชั้น 1 ให้กับประชาชนภาคตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือ ลุงโฮจิมินห์ยังได้ให้คำแนะนำประชาชนว่า ต้องกระตือรือร้นแข่งขันกัน พัฒนาเศรษฐกิจ สังคม เสริมสร้างความเข้มแข็งทางเศรษฐกิจ นำใช้เทคนิควิทยาศาสตร์ และ เทคนิคเข้าในการผลิต ขยายแรงเครื่อง่ายการศึกษาและการพัฒนาด้านสาธารณสุขเสริมสร้างความมั่นคงของชาติ กว่า 40 ปีผ่านไป โดยปฏิบัติตามคำแนะนำของลุงโฮจิมินห์ องค์คณะพรรค องค์การปกครองและประชาชนจังหวัดเซินลา มุ่งมั่นดำเนินการ ซึ่งได้และกำลังทำให้ภูมิภาคตะวันตกของประเทศมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงเจริญอย่างเร็วไว

ผาดิน-Pha Din หรือภูเขาสูงชันผาดินยาว 32 km. ที่ตั้งอยู่บนทางหลวงหมายเลข 6 ส่วนหนึ่งขึ้นกับตำบล ฟองลาย - Phông Lái อำเภอเทินเจ่า Thuận Chải จังหวัด Sơn La และอีกส่วนหนึ่งเป็นของตำบล ตวางตั้ง อำเภอ Thuận Giỏi จังหวัด Điện Biên ห่างจากเมือง Sơn La ไปทางทิศตะวันตก 66 กม. ไกลจากเมือง Dien Bien จากประมาณ 84 km.

ตามตำนาน ผู้เข้าชมมักจะจัด เหวฟ้าดิน - Pha Din เป็นหนึ่งในสี่ที่เป็นผาที่ใหญ่มาก "สี่ núi đại đèo" ในเขตตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือของเวียดนาม เหวฟ้าดิน - Pha Din อยู่ข้าง ผาโอกวิโฮ - Ô Quy Hồ ภูเขาฟ้า - Đèo Khau Phạ และภูม้าปีแล้ง - Đèo Mã Pí Lèng นอกจากนี้ยังอาจจัดเข้ากลุ่มภูเขา 6 ลูก ที่น่าประทับใจที่สุดในเวียดนาม ได้แก่ เหวฟ้า - Khau Phạ หงภูม่าน - Hồng Thu Mán อยู่บนทางหลวงเลข 4D (ขึ้นกับ ปาสอ ฟองโก จังหวัดลายเจ่า - Pa So Phong Thở, Lai Chải) อกวิโฮ หายเวิน และ ฮอนยาว(ขึ้นกับ ฮอนยาว ,แจ้งฮว่า - Hòn Giao, Khánh Hòa)



ชื่อเขาฟ้าดิน เดิมมาจากภาษาไทยคำ
“ ฟ้า ดิน ” ฟ้า ซึ่งหมายความว่า "สวรรค์", ดิน
หมายถึง "โลก" หมายความว่านี่คือสถานที่ที่ต่อ
เชื่อมกันระหว่างสวรรค์และโลก

คน Lai Chau เก่า (ตอนนี้ Dien Bien)
และ Son La เขามีเรื่องเล่าว่า ในสมัยโบราณได้มี
การหาช่องทางที่จะหาหรือเกี่ยวกับการแบ่งเส้น
เขตแดนของสองจังหวัดที่สุดก็เดิมพันกันด้วย
การแข่งม้าขึ้นเนินเขาฟ้าดิน คนและม้าของทั้งสอง
ฝ่ายวิ่งออกจากตีนเขาสูงชันคนละฝั่งพร้อม ๆ
กัน มุ่งสู่ยอดเขาที่จุดนัดพบกัน ทั้งม้าและผู้กล้า
หาญทั้งสองมีความแข็งแรงและจิตตานุภาพเท่า
กับ ระยะทางที่พวกเขาจะพบกันในสถานที่นัด
หมายไม่แตกต่างกันมาก แต่ม้าตัวที่วิ่งจากลาย
เจ้าวิ่งเร็วกว่า ม้าที่วิ่งจาซินลา ฉะนั้นส่วนของภู
เขาจึงตกเป็นของลายเจ้ามากกว่าส่วนของซิน
ลานิดหน่อย

ไปตามทางหลวงเลว 6 ผ่านที่ราบสูง
Mộc Châu ถึง Yên Châu, Thuận Châu และจาก
Thuận Châu ผ่านฟ้าดิน - Pha Din ถึงตัว
อำเภอ - Tuần Giáo ซึ่งเป็นประตูเข้าสู่ลายเจ้า
(เก่า) คือจังหวัด Dien Bien ในขณะนี้

เขาฟ้าดิน ยาว 32 กม. จากกิไลเมตรที่
360 หกสิไลเมตรที่ 392 บนทางหลวงหมายเลข
6 คือที่ต่อเนื่องกันตามทิศตะวันออกเฉียงใต้
ระหว่างจังหวัด Son La และ จังหวัด Dien Bien
ที่ตั้งอยู่ในระบบที่ราบสูง Ta Phin จุดที่สูงที่สุด
ของภูเขา 1648 เมตร เหนือระดับน้ำทะเลและมี
เสาสัญญาณโทรทัศน์ที่มีน้ำหนักประมาณ
70 ตัน สามารถต้านแรงลมได้ 200km ต่อชั่วโมง
ภูมิประเทศเป็นภูเขาสูงชันมากด้านหนึ่งของเขา
เป็นเนินเขา และอีกด้านเหวชันลึก ความลาดเอียง
ชันของภูเขา 10% บางที่ 12% ถึง 15% แม้
ใน 19% ขึ้นเนินลงเนินและถนนคดเคี้ยวบนภูเขา
ด้วย 8 ช่วงทางที่อันตรายที่สุด รัศมีทางโค้งน้อยกว่า
15 เมตร และเป็นโค้งแบบตัวอักษร A หรือ
Z ในนั้นมีหลายที่แคพอสำหรับรถคันเดียวผ่าน
พื้นที่นี้เป็นภูเขาดินแดง ไม่ใช่เขาหินปูน เพราะ
ฉะนั้นพื้นดินโดยทั่วไปค่อนข้างอ่อนแอ มีแนวโน้ม
ที่จะล้มเลื่อนแผ่นดินถล่มในฤดูฝนและนอกจากนี้
พื้นผิวถนนที่ขรุขระ เป็นกรวด ดังนั้นมีการเกิด
อุบัติเหตุที่น่าเศร้ามากที่ได้เกิดขึ้นบ่อยครั้งบน
ถนน



บนภูเขาฟ้าดิน มักจะมีเมฆปกคลุมอย่างมิดไม่โปร่งแสง ที่รอบล้อมต้นเขาจะมีหมู่บ้านกระจายอยู่ยืนอยู่เนินภูเขาสูงชันด้านจังหวัด Dien Bien ผู้เข้าชมสามารถมองเห็นวิวหุบเขาเมืองกวาย - thung lũng MUỜng Quặi ด้วยสีเขียวของภูเขา กลมกลืนกับหมู่บ้านแรกของอำเภอเตวณยาว - Tuลั้n Giỏo แต่เมื่อใกล้ถึงยอดเขาเกือบจะไม่เห็นหมู่บ้าน หากจะเห็นเพียงสีเขียวข่มของภูเขาเล็กที่ยิ่งใหญ่

9. เมืองกวาย - MUỜng Quặi

เมืองกวาย MUỜng Quặi พื้นที่ 1.617 ตารางกิโลเมตร ประชากร 97.866 คน ในนั้นไทดำ 61.617 คน ปัจจุบันเรียกว่า อำเภอ เตวณยาว - Tuลั้n Giỏo สำรองปรับปรุงครั้งสุดท้ายเมื่อวันที่ 14 Nov.2006 ตามมติ 135/2006 ND - CP บลพื้นฐานแยกส่วนหนึ่งของอำเภอเตวณยาวเก่า เพื่อจัดตั้งเพิ่มอีกอำเภอ คือ อำเภอ

ในสมัยสงครามต่อต้านฝรั่งเศส ซึ่งเป็นหนึ่งในเส้นทางสายหลัก (เส้นทางของหลอดเลือด) ในการขนส่งอาวุธและกระสุน และอาหารให้กับสนามรบ Dien Bien Phu (1954) ของเวียดนามมินห์ ส่งผ่านภูเขาฟ้าดินนี้ซึ่งทำให้เขาฟ้าดินได้กลายเป็นสัญลักษณ์ของน้ำใจที่กล้าหาญที่มีมากกว่า 8,000 อาสาสมัครเยาวชน " ได้เสียสละชีวิตเพื่อประเทศที่ให้งาน " ในปี 1954 ฝรั่งเศส สตรีคริสเตียน เดอคาซเตรี - Christian de Ca stries ได้ใช้เครื่องบินทิ้งระเบิดยิงกลุ่มทางหลวงเลว 6 อย่างดุเดือดต่อเนื่องตลอด 48 วันและคืน ในนั้นภูเขาฟ้าดิน และสามแยกกอดอย - ngẫ ba Cỏ Nỏi (ประวัติศาสตร์แห่งชาติ ngẫ ba Cỏ Nỏi เป็นเขตพื้นที่อำเภอมายเซิน - Mai Sơn จังหวัดเซินลา) เป็นสองพื้นที่ที่ได้รับลูกระเบิดมากที่สุด ปัจจุบันด้านบนของภูเขาฟ้าดินยังมีป้ายจารึกประวัติศาสตร์ดังกล่าว

เมืองอาง - MUỜng Ấng กิษตะวันออกติดกับอำเภอกวังยายและ เทวณเจางของจังหวัดเซินลา กิษตะวันตกติดกับอำเภอเมืองจ่า กิษใต้ติดกับอำเภอเมืองอาง กิษเหนือติดกับอำเภอตัวจั่ว

การบริหาร : หลังการสำรองปรับปรุงพื้นที่อำเภอเตวณยาวจึงยังเหลือ 113.629,45 เฮกเตอร์ ประชากร 71.423 คน มี 14 หน่วยงาน 1 ตัวเมือง และ 13 ตำบล



10. เมืองแกง - MUỜng Thanh

MUỜng Thanh – เมืองแกง : อำเภอเดียนเบียน (ตัวเมืองเดียนเบียน) พื้นที่ 1.867.6 ตารางกิโลเมตร ประชากร 104.887 คน ในนั้นเป็นไทดำ 53.214 คน

ดังที่ได้กล่าวในตอนต้นแล้วว่า เมืองแกงชื่อเก่าเรียกว่า เมืองแก เป็นชื่อสัน ๆ กับนิธานตำนาน เกี่ยวกับการกำเนิดชนเผ่าไทดำ นั้นคือ “ถิ่นฐานบ้านเกิด” ของกลุ่มชนไทยอยู่เอเซียตะวันออก ในเมื่อ “Lạng ChửỜng - หล้างเจียง” นำชนเผ่าไทดำออกมาจากเมืองลอ เข้าเมืองแก เมืองแกในเมื่อนั้นยังเรียกกันว่า “Song Thanh - แม่ น้ำแกง” เพราะว่าที่หุบเขาที่กว้างใหญ่นี้มี 2 เมือง คือ เมืองแกเหนือ - Thanh NU๑a กวมเอาจากบ้านหนองแสด - Noong H๑t จนต้นน้ำโรม (N๑m R๑m) ที่นี้เคยเป็นศูนย์กลางเมืองแก อีกเมืองหนึ่ง คือเมืองแกใต้ (Thanh T๑n-แกงเตา) เริ่มจากบ้านหนองแสด - Noong H๑t สลักเข้าจนต้นน้ำโรม (N๑m R๑m) ที่นี้เมื่อก่อนคือ “เวียงสามหมื่น หรือสามหมื่นเมือง” เป็นแดนเมืองเดิมของเผ่าไทยลื้อ สร้างขึ้น

เมืองต่าง ๆ ที่ขึ้นกับเมืองแกงเก่ารวมมี :

- เมืองพัง (MUỜng Ph๑ng) เมืองยา - MUỜng Nh๑ เมืองเลือน - MUỜng Lu๑n เมืองลอย - MUỜng L๑i เมืองแลว - MUỜng L๑o ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับอำเภอเดียนเบียน

- สบกบ - X๑p C๑p และเมืองหวา - MUỜng V๑ ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับอำเภอน้ำม้า - S๑ng M๑

- เมืองอุ - MUỜng U (อุใต้ - U T๑n และอุเหนือ - U NU๑a) ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับจังหวัดผังสาลี ส.ป.ป.ลาว

ในหนังสือ “ฮึงฮวา - H๑ng Ho๑” ของ อ่างมิงจิง - Ho๑ng B๑nh Ch๑nh ได้เขียนเกี่ยวกับเมืองแกง เมื่อก่อนเมืองแกงมีชื่อเรียกว่า “แหลมเทียน- M๑nh Thi๑n” เป็นชื่อที่ออกเสียงเพี้ยนด้วยตัวหนังสือหันของคนเมืองทอน - MUỜng Thon เพราะว่าเมื่อนั้นมีหัวหน้าที่มีชื่อเสียงของขบวนชาวนาคนหนึ่งคือ อ่างกงเย็ด - Ho๑ng C๑ng Ch๑t ได้เอาใจกลางเมืองแกงเพื่อสร้างการสร้างกำแพงเรียกว่าแกง - th๑nh (กำแพงสำนัก Chi๑ng L๑ - ฝั่งเล ออกเสียงเป็นคำไทดำ “จริงเล - Tr๑nh L๑”) เวลานั้นเมืองแกงเป็นที่มั่นของขบวนชาวนาลุกขึ้นต่อต้านสลายศาล เลจริง - L๑ - Tr๑nh คณะเดียวกันเมืองแกงเป็นทั้งศูนย์กลางของภาคพื้น 16 แดนเมืองไทดำ



ตรงกับคำกลอนที่ว่า

Đây! dưới xuôi có vua – *ใต้ เขื่อนสวญเกาะจัว*

Trên này có chúa. – *เจอนไหนเกาะจัว*

Những miền như Mường Phố, Chấn
Ét – *ยังเหมียนยือเมืองพวน, เจาเอต*

Từ Đà Bắc, chợ Bờ – *ตลาดบัก, เจอะเบอ*

Lại phía trên như Mường So, Mường
Là đở lại – *ล้ายฝิเยเจอนยือเมืองซ, เมืองหลา
ไควว*

Tất cả đều quy phục chúa Mường
Thanh – *เตดกำเดวกวิฝุกจัวเมืองแกง*

คำแปล :

ที่นี่ ใต้น้ำมีพระเจ้าชีวิต

บนนี้มีนายหลวง

บรรดาแคว้น คือเมืองพวน เมืองแอต

จากท่าบัก ตลาดท่า

จากเขื่อนบลันคือเมืองซอ เมืองหลาหลังไหลเข้ามา

หมดทั้งมวนนั้นยอมยื่นแด่นายหลวงเมืองแกง

ฮ่าง กว เย็ด – Hoàng Công Chất
ต่อใส่ Công Toản (บุบุดชาย) เคยปกครองเมือง
แกง (1754-1769) หลังการชุมนุมประท้วงจับไล่
ของชาวนา สาสได้ยกเลิกไป เมื่อถึงปี แก่งฮึง –
Cảnh Hưng ที่38(1777) สาสได้จัดตั้งเมืองแกง
เป็นเจ้าเมือง(อำเภอ) นิงเบียน – Ninh Biên ขึ้นกับ
แคว้นเอียนไทย (phủ Yên Tây) เวลานั้นชาว
นาผู้ชุมนุมประท้วง ก็ยอมรับสถานะของเจ้านิง
เบียน เหมือนว่าทั้งหมดพื้นที่เมืองแกงเป็นของคน
ไทดำ นิงเบียน มีทั้งหมด 12 เมืองเล็กรวมเข้ากัน
เหนือติดกับ เนายาง – Nâu Giang (น้ำอู) และน้ำ
หมานสาลี – Nam Man Xa Lý(แคว้นผังสาลี –
ลาว) ใต้ติดกับเตว่นยาว ตะวันตกติดกับอ้ายลาว
– Ai Lao ตะวันออกติดกับลายเจ้า

ตลอดทั้งปี “ เกียนตริ – Thiệu Trị ”
(1841) ตระกูลเหงวียน ตั้งฝูเดียนเบียนเข้ากับ
เจ้านิงเบียน จากนั้นมาชื่อเมืองแกง ถูกเรียกเป็น
เมืองเดียนเบียนฝู- Điện Biên Phủ

ปัจจุบันเมืองแกงยังถูกเรียกว่า เดียน
เบียนฝู ปกติภูมิแห่งโซนที่ยิ่งใหญ่อย่างเป็น
ประวัติศาสตร์ ซึ่งได้กวาดล้างพวกล่าเมืองขึ้น
ฝรั่งเศสออกจากประเทศชาติเวียดนาม เปิดยุค
ของการล่มสลายของลัทธิล่าอาณานิคมแบบเก่า
เมืองแกงหรืออำเภอเดียนเบียนปัจจุบันขึ้นกับ
จังหวัดลายเจ้า(Lai Châu-หลายเจ้า?)



เดียนเบียนเป็นแผ่นดินยากจน มีร่องรอย
ซากสลักหักพังในถ้ำเงือง - Thảm Khuong
ถ้ำนบัว(อยู่ตื้นเขิน) ซึ่งยืนยันว่า ได้มีคน
เวียดนามยุคโบราณอาศัยอยู่ มาถึงศตวรรษ ที่
9 -10 คนลี้ภัยอยู่เมืองแกงไต้ขยายตัวอย่างเร็วไว
และส่งผลอย่างแรงไปยังพื้นที่ ซินโฮ - Sìn Hồ
เมืองไล - Mường Lay เมืองเต๋วนยาว ปี 1831
มิงมาง - Minh Mạng เปลี่ยนเป็นจังหวัดฮึงฮวา
- Hung Hóa สำนักจังหวัดตั้งอยู่ตำบลฮึงฮวา
- Hung Hoá อำเภอตำม่ง - Tam Nông
(ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับจังหวัดฟู้เถาะ - ภูกระต่าย ?)
สมัยฝั่งปกครอง ฮึงฮวา - Hung Hóa ถูกแบ่ง
เป็นหลายจังหวัด เช่นจังหวัด ฮวาบิ่ง - Hoà
Bình เซินลา - Sơn La ลายเจ้า - Lai Châu
ลาวกาย - Lào Cai เอียนบ้าย - Yên Bái และ
แยกบางอำเภอให้ขึ้นกับฟู้เถาะ - Phú Thọ ชื่อ
เรียก “ โดย เกี้ยวจิ ” ตั้งในปี 1841 จากเจ้านิง
เบียน - Ninh Biên (เดียนแปลว่าเข้มแข็ง เบียน
แปลว่าทรายแดง) ฟู้เดียนเบียน หรือ เดียนเบียนฟู้
ในยุคของ เกี้ยยาดรี - Thiệu Trị ได้รวมสามเจ้า
คือ นิงเบียน เต๋วนยาว และลายเจ้า เข้ากันแล้ว
เรียกว่าเดียนเบียน หรือ เดียนเบียนฟู้ตั้งแต่บัดนั้น
เป็นต้นมา

ปี 1890 พวกล่าอาณานิคมฝรั่งเศสจึงยึด
ครองลายเจ้า - Lai Châu (เดียนเบียนและลายเจ้า
ในปัจจุบัน) ลายเจ้าแยกจากฟองโก - Phong
Tho ขึ้นกับผู้อำนวยการทหารราบ ที่ 4 เขตทหาร
วันบี - Vạn Bì วันที่ 7/5/1954 จังหวัดเดียนเบียน
สร้างชัยชนะประวัติศาสตร์เดียนเบียนฟู้ ได้สาธนา
นามว่า “ บั๊นรบสะเทือนโลก เสียถึงวานทั่ว 5
ทวีป ” หยุด 80 ปีที่เป็นห่าทาศได้แตกปกครอง
อาณานิคมระบบศักดินาเพื่อเพิ่มทวีความเป็นน้ำ
หนึ่งใจเดียวกันระหว่างประชาชนบรรดาเผ่า และ
สร้างโอกาสให้ในเขต " Tây Bắc - ตะวันตกเฉียง
เหนือ " ได้ก้าวหน้าเร็วไวรอบด้าน องค์การนำ
ส่วนกลางประเทศตกลงจัดตั้งเขตปกครองตนเอง
ของชนบรรดาเผ่าอยู่ภาคตะวันออกเฉียง
เหนือ เรียกว่า “ เขตปกครองตนเอง ไท - มั่ว ”
ตามมติของสภาแห่งชาติวันที่ 29/4/1955 ลง
นามโดยประธานประเทศเวียดนาม ก่อนนั้น ตาม
คำสั่งฉบับเลขที่ 143 - SL ลงวันที่ 28/1/1953
ลงนามโดยประธานประเทศเวียดนาม " เขตตะ
วันตกเฉียงเหนือ - khu Tây Bắc " ประกอบด้วย
จังหวัด ลาวกาย เอียนบ้าย เซินลา และลาวเจ้า
โดยแยกออกจากสหเวียดบั๊ก (Liên khu Việt
Bắc)



จากปี 1962 ถึง 1994 ลายเจ้าเป็นดังของ
อำเภอลายเจ้า ปัจจุบันเป็นตัวเมืองจังหวัดลาย
เจ้า หลังน้ำท่วมครั้งประวัติศาสตร์ ในปี 1990
เพาะพื้นที่ตัวเมืองของจังหวัดไม่สามารถเปิดกว้าง
ได้ ในเมื่อเกิดการน้ำท่วมหลายๆครั้งก่อนนั้นได้
กัดเซาะพื้นที่ไปไม่น้อย พิเศษ น้ำท่วมครั้ง
ประวัติศาสตร์ปี 1990 เป็นอุกภัยอย่างใหญ่
หลวงทำให้พื้นที่ตัวเมืองชุตีเขื่อนหายไป 20
- 30%

จากความเป็นจริงของสถานการณ์ที่
กล่าวมาข้างบน ในอนาคตมีความอาจสามารถ
ที่น้ำจะท่วมตัวเมืองของจังหวัดแห่งนี้ เมื่อก่อสร้าง
เขื่อนไฟฟ้าพลังน้ำเซินลา ตามการตกลงของ
รัฐสภา เลขที่ 130/HĐBT วันที่ 18/4/1992 ได้
ตกลงจัดตั้งตัวเมืองเดียนเบียนฟู และ ย้ายที่ว่าการ
จังหวัดมาตัวเมืองเดียนเบียนฟู

วันที่ 26/9/2003 รัฐบาลได้นำเสนอผ่าน
ร่างรัฐกำหนด เลขที่ 110/2003/NĐ-CP เกี่ยว
กับการจัดตั้งตัวเมืองเดียนเบียนฟูเป็นนคร
(thành phố Điện Biên Phủ - Dien Bien
Phu City) วันที่ 26/11/2003 สภาแห่งชาติที่
X ได้อนุมัติงานปรับขอบเขตการปกครองของ
จังหวัด Lai Chau igitตามนั้น จังหวัดลายเจ้า
ต้องได้แบ่งเป็น 2 จังหวัดคือ Lai Chau ใหม่ และ
Điện Biên

ช่วงศตวรรษ ที่ 11-12 คนไทดำมาจาก
เมืองโอม เมืองอ่าย กระจายลงมายึดเมืองลอ
(เมืองโละ) และจากเมืองในเวลาหลังนั้น ชมนนี้
ได้ตามหัวหน้าชุมชนของตน หรือผู้ใหญ่บ้าน (Pú
Lạng Chuợng - ผู้ล่าเงื่อ)เพื่อแพร่ผ่าน ทาน
เอื้อย- Than Uyên วันบาย - Văn Bàn และ
ที่สุดก็ยึดครองเป็นเจ้าของทั่วทั้งเขตจากเมือง
ลอ (Nghĩa Lộ-เหงัยโละ) เมืองหลา (Sơn La)
จนเทืองแ่ง (Điện Biên - เดียนเบียน)

สมัยขึ้นกับเหนือ (Bắc thuộc) เดียนเบียน
ขึ้นกับอำเภอเลิมไตตำบลเตินฮิง ในยุคสี่ แผ่นแผ่น
ดินเดียนเบียนนอนในใจกลางอำเภอเลิมไต - Lâm
Tây ในยุคจีนเวียดนาม มีทางหลวง 15 สาย
เดียนเบียนขึ้นกับทางหลวงดายาง - Đà Giang
ท้ายยุคจีน เดียนเบียนเป็นตัวเมืองเทียนฮิง ใน
ยุคมิง ถูกแบ่งเป็นสองเมือง ได้แก่ ย่าฮิง - Gia
Hung และ กวีฮวา-Quy Hoá



เลยมายังศตวรรษที่ 15 (ปี 1463) เมือง
ฮึงฮัวได้รับสถาปนา (โดยรวบรวมสามจังหวัด
: กวีฮัว - Quỳ Hóa ยาฮึง - Gia Hung อานไต
- An Tây) ถึงเป็นอย่างไรก็ตาม แต่พื้นฐานคนลื้อ
ยังเป็นเจ้าของเมืองแกง แต่ปี 1466 ต่อมา เลอแก
ตั้ง - Lê Thánh Tông แบ่งเป็น 12 ส่วน ในนั้นฮึง
ฮวารวมเป็นสามจังหวัด สี่อำเภอ และสิบเจ็ด
ตำบล

เดียนเบียนเป็นจังหวัดที่อุดมมั่งมีด้วย
แหล่งท่องเที่ยว โดยเฉพาะในจังหวัดวัฒนธรรม
- ประวัติศาสตร์ มีชื่อเสียงที่สุดคือระบบ
อนุสาวรีย์ประวัติศาสตร์แห่งชัยชนะเดียนเบียนฟู
รวมมี : สถานที่หมั่นกองบัญชาการด้านรบเดียน
เบียนฟู- เมืองกั้ง (Muòng Phăng) สมรภูมิล้อม
ลาม บ้านแก้ว โกเลียบ ป้อม A1, C1, D1, E1
และเวตใจกลางสนามซ้อมรบของพวกทหาร
ฝรั่งเศส (เวตหลุมยี่สิบสี่ - Đòcát ออกเสียง
ตามภาษาฝรั่งเศส)

จำนวนสะพานอนุสาวรีย์นี้คือแหล่งข้อมูล
สุดแสนที่ล้ำค่าเพื่อการขยายตัวด้านการท่องเที่ยว
ไม่เพียงเป็นของจังหวัดเดียนเบียน หรือ
ภาคตะวันตกเท่านั้นแต่เป็นของทั้งทั่วประเทศ

เดียนเบียน ยังมีศักยภาพทางด้าน
วัฒนธรรมที่ไม่มีตัวตน ด้วย 21 ชนเผ่าร่วม
ดำรงชีวิต แต่ละชนเผ่ามีวัฒนธรรมที่เป็น
เอกลักษณ์ของตน โดยเฉพาะเผ่าไทดำ เผ่าม้ง

จังหวัดเดียนเบียนมี 21 ชนเผ่ามีประชากร
491.046 คน (2009) ส่วนใหญ่เป็นคนไทดำ
(~38%) เผ่าม้ง (~30%) และกั้ง(แกว) (~20%)

11. เมืองลายเจ้า - MUỜng Lay

MUỜng Lay : ตั้งเมืองลายเจ้า เดิม มี
พื้นที่ 68.000 ตารางกิโลเมตรประชากร
11.612 คน ในนั้นมีคนเผ่าไทดำ 4.730 คน ชื่อ
เมืองไล่ อาจปรากฏขึ้นเมื่อศตวรรษที่ 8 (หรือ
ศตวรรษที่ 10) ตอนที่เกิดการรบล่ากันระหว่าง
ทหารไทดำ กับ บรรดาทัพของชนเผ่าที่พูดภาษา
พม่า - ตีเบต บรรดานายทหารไทดำได้ยึด
ครองเขตนี้และตั้งชื่อว่าเมืองไล่ (ไล่ ในภาษาไทดำ
ตรงคำว่าไล่ ในภาษา ลาว-ไทย)

ใจกลางเมืองไล่ เรียกว่า เชียงวาย และ
กลายเป็นชื่อของตัวเมือง เมืองไล่เมื่อก่อน ได้รวม
เอาเมืองเล็กเมืองน้อยรวมเข้า มี :



- เมืองม่วน(ม่วน) - MUỜng MÙn (MỒn).

ในปี 1435 ในหนังสือบันทึกทางเขตแดน (คำ ”วางแผนกาน” ของเหง้วนเทียนตัก - lờì “cản án” của Nguyễn Thiên Tích) ได้ลงนามรับรองเมืองม่วน เป็น เลื่อนเจ้า ขึ้นกับรัฐเอียนไต - Yên Tây ในยุคแก่งฮัง - Cánh Hưंग จับให้ขึ้นกับรัฐยาฮังปี 1920 ฝรั่งเศสเอาเลื่อนเจ้าเข้ากับอำเภอตัวน่ย่าว ปัจจุบันตำบลขึ้นกับตัวน่ย่าว จังหวัดลายเจ้า

- เมืองเต้ - MUỜng Tề เมืองบูม(โบม) ภูฟาง เมืองโม ได้แยกออกจากเมืองไล่ในวันที่ 7-5-1955 เพื่อจัดตั้งเป็นอำเภอเมืองเต้ ปัจจุบันอำเภอเมืองเต้ขึ้นกับจังหวัดลายเจ้า

- เมืองจา - MUỜng Chà ปัจจุบันแบ่งเป็นสามตำบล คือ จาต้อ(จาใต้) จากาง (จากกลาง) จาเหนือ(จาเหนือ) เรียกชื่อว่า บาจ ” Ba Chà-สามจา ”

แน่นอนว่าเมืองไล่ อาจเป็นดินแดนที่ขึ้นกับเจ้าเลิมไต - châu lâm Tây ในยุคตระกูล ลี แต่เมื่อปี “ คายฮือ ” - Khai Hưn ที่ 9 ยุค เจิร์นเหยิ่นตัง - Trần Hiến Tông (1337) จึงตั้งเมืองไล่เป็นหัวเมืองนึ่งเวี่ยน - Ninh Viễn เมื่อระดู่ไบไม้พล่ ปี1432 เลล้ย - Lê Lợi จัดหัวเมืองนึ่งเวี่ยนเป็นฟุกไล่ ด้วยความหมายเป็นหัวหน้าซึ่งเมืองไล่ยอมรับนับถือ และเมื่อปี 1435 ในหนังสือ

บันทึกทางเขตแดนของเหง้วนจ้าย (คำ ” วางแผนกาน ” ของเหง้วนเทียนตัก - lờì “cản án” của Nguyễn Thiên Tích) จึงบันทึกเป็นหัวเมืองลาย (“ลาย”ออกเสียงเพี้ยนจาก “ไล่”) - T.G

วันที่ 1/1/1910 พวกล่าอาณานิคมฝรั่งเศส จัดตั้งจังหวัดลายเจ้า แต่ันมาลายเจ้ากลายเป็นชื่อของจังหวัด ส่วนเมืองไล่ยังเรียกว่า เจ้าลาย ปัจจุบันเมืองไล่ขึ้นกับจังหวัดลายเจ้า

MUỜng Lay คือหัวเมืองหนึ่งตั้งอยู่ทิศเหนือของจังหวัดเตียนเบียน ได้เปลี่ยนชื่อตามมติ 25/2005/NĐ-CP ลงวันที่ 2/3/2005 ว่าด้วยการเปลี่ยนชื่อหัวเมืองลายเจ้าเดิม เป็นหัวเมืองเมืองไล่และอำเภอมองไล่เป็นอำเภอเมืองจาทิศเหนือติดจังหวัดลายเจ้าใหม่ ทิศอื่น ๆ ติดอำเภอเมืองจา

ประวัติ : หัวเมืองนี้จัดตั้งขึ้นเมื่อวันที่ 8/10/1971 ด้วยเรียกชื่อว่า หัวเมืองลายเจ้า จากชื่อเดิมว่าหัวตำบลลายเจ้า สองตำบล : ไส่กลาง ไส่ใต้ และบ้านน้ำก่าน ขึ้นกับตำบลไล่เหนือ ทั้งหกนั้นขึ้นกับอำเภอเมืองไล่ในเมื่อนั้น



ก่อนวันที่ 18/4/1992 เป็นที่ว่าการ จังหวัดสลายเจ้าเดิม หลังแยกจังหวัดสลายเจ้าเดิม เป็นสองจังหวัดใหม่คือ จังหวัดสลายเจ้าใหม่ และ จังหวัดเตียนเบียน ซึ่งจากวันที่ 2/3/2005 มีชื่อ เรียกว่า ตัวเมืองเมืองไล่

การบริหาร : (2007) ตัวเมืองเมืองไล่มี พื้นที่ 11.403,5 เอเคอร์ ประชากรมี 14.379 คน มี สามหน่วยงานบริหารประจำสองท้องที่ และ หนึ่งตำบล : ท้องที่แม่น้ำดา-Sông Đà ท้องที่นาไล่ - Na Lay และตำบลไล่เหนือ - Lay Nua

12. เมืองแต้ - MŨỜng Tề

เมืองแต้ : พื้นที่มี 4.790,0 ตาราง กิโลเมตร ประชากร 42.791 คน ในนั้นเป็น ไทดำ 10.823 คน ปัจจุบันเมืองแต้ขึ้นกับจังหวัด สลายเจ้า

เมืองแต้ตั้งอยู่ทิศตะวันตกเฉียงเหนือ จังหวัดสลายเจ้า ติดกับแนวทรายแดนเวียดนาม กับจีน ทิศเหนือติดจังหวัดเวินนาม Vĩn Nam (ส.ป.จีน) ทิศตะวันตก และทิศใต้ของอำเภอเมือง แต้ติดอำเภอเมืองแยจังหวัดเตียนเบียน ทิศตะวันออกของเมืองแต้คืออำเภอซินโห - Sìn HỒ อำเภอเมืองแต้เป็นเมืองภูเขา ปัจจุบันมีพื้นที่ 367.883 เอเคอร์ (3.678,83 ตารางกิโลเมตร) ภูเขาภูตาโห่งสูง 2.109 เมตร ภูแดนดิ่งสูง 1.886 เมตร ภูสีสูงสูง 3.076 เมตร แม่น้ำไหลผ่าน

พื้นที่อำเภอเมืองแต้ คือ แม่น้ำดา แม่น้ำม้า แม่น้ำ กุ่ม แม่น้ำแย ขึ้นกับสองสายน้ำ คือ สายแม่น้ำแดง - sỜng HỒng และ สายแม่น้ำโจง-sỜng MỀ KỜng เขตป่าดงกลอม 90% ของอำเภอ

ประชากรอำเภอเมืองแต้มี 47.406 คน (2004) รวมจาก ชนเผ่า ไทดำ ม้ง หูฮา ยี่ สีลา กัง (Thái, Mông, Hủ, Hà Nhì, SiLa, Cống)

การบริหาร : อำเภอเมืองแต้มี 19 หน่วยงานบริการประจำตำบลต่าง ๆ : บุ่มเหนือ บุ่มใต้ หัวบุ่ม กานโห กาลัง หมู่กา เมืองโม เมืองแต้ น้ำขาว น้ำฮาง น้ำแมงป่าอู ปาอะสือ ตำบละ ต่า โห่ง ภูลุ่ม วังสาน ตัวเมืองน้ำยูน ตัวเมืองแต้ (เทศบาลอำเภอ)

ก่อนแยกจากจังหวัดสลายเจ้าเดิมเป็นสอง จังหวัดสลายเจ้าและเตียนเบียน อำเภอเมืองแต้ รวมมีตัวอำเภอเมืองแต้ และ 13 ตำบล ปัจจุบัน เริ่มที่ตำบลน้ำฮาง (ย้ายมาจากอำเภอเมืองไล่ เดิม หมายถึงเมืองจาจังหวัดเตียนเบียน - ปี 2004) และ 4 ตำบลเดิมที่เคยขึ้นกับอำเภอ คือ เมืองตอง เมืองแย จูงจ้าย สีนเถา (ตำบลเหล่านี้ ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับอำเภอเมืองแยจังหวัดเตียนเบียน) พื้นที่ของอำเภอเมืองแต้เดิมเมื่อก่อนคือ 5.042,8 ตารางกิโลเมตร นับว่าเป็นอำเภอที่ใหญ่ที่สุด



ของจังหวัดสลายเจ้าและเป็นอำเภอสุดทางตะวันตก
เวียดนาม ประชากรของเมืองแต่ 44.800 คน
(1999) วันที่ 2/1/2004 รัฐบาลส.ส.เวียดนาม
(ตามคำรัฐเลขที่ 01/2004/NĐ-CP) ตกลง
แบ่งจังหวัดสลายเจ้าเดิม อำเภอเมืองแต่ให้ขึ้นกับ
จังหวัดสลายเจ้าใหม่ และมีขนาดดังปัจจุบัน

อีก 4 เมือง ปัจจุบันขึ้นกับ ส.ป.จีน คือ
เมืองต่งฮวา(โฮวาง) - MUỜng Tung
Hoàng (hay Vang)
เมืองเต็งเมียงแวม - MUỜng Tiêng
Chiêng Khem
เมืองจูป - MUỜng Chúp
เมืองเซียงมี - MUỜng Chiêng Mi

จากที่กล่าวมาทั้งหมดทั้งปวง คงเป็น
เพียงเบื้องต้นของการเรียนรู้และความเข้าใจคน
ไทใน 12 จุไท หรือคนไทในเวียดนาม เพราะเรื่อง
ดังกล่าวมันเกิดขึ้นจากความสนใจของผู้เขียน
เองเมื่อสิบปีกว่าๆ ที่ได้มีโอกาสเดินทางอยู่แถบ
หัวเมืองไทเหล่านั้นเพื่อศึกษาและเรียนรู้กับเพื่อน
พร้องชาวไทดำ ไทด่อน ในเขตเหนือ และเขตตะวัน
ตกเฉียงเหนือและทางตอนใต้ของจีน

จะว่าไปแล้วนี่เป็นเพียงข้อมูลพื้นฐาน
ของงานสารคดีชุด “คนไทในเวียดนาม” ที่คณะ
ของเรากำลังจัดทำ ทั้งเอกสารและหนังสือสารคดี
ซึ่งคาดว่าจะสำเร็จในเร็ววันนี้ แต่อย่างไรก็
ตามในการเรียนรู้เรื่องราวเหล่านี้ สิ่งสำคัญยิ่ง
ประการหนึ่งก็คือเราคงต้องใช้เวลาและความต่อ
เนื่องในการทำงาน ต้องขอบคุณทางนักวิชาการ
ด้านชาติพันธุ์ศึกษา ของเวียดนามที่เชื่อมั่นและ
เดินทางด้วยกันอย่างสนุกสนาน และคงต้อง
ขอบคุณในโอกาสดีๆ ที่เราเข้าถึงอย่างน้อยที่สุด
นั่นก็คือความก้าวหน้าในเรื่องราวของชาติพันธุ์
ไท ในอนาคต.



ภาคผนวก

ผู้รับรางวัล แคนนาคราช

วันที่ 24 กุมภาพันธ์ 2566



ศ.ดร.อรรถ นันทจักร์



Mr.Dommano Pholsena



Mr.Bounthong Nhotmanhkhong

ผู้รับรางวัล แคนนาคราช

วันที่ 24 กุมภาพันธ์ 2566



คล้ายจันทร์ นิจจะ



พลายมาศ แสนทวีสุข



วิชัย ภัทรโสภายชัย

ผู้รับรางวัล แคนนาคราช

วันที่ 24 กุมภาพันธ์ 2566



สุทิน พิชระนาคิน



Prof. Dr. Vi Van An



พงษ์ศักดิ์ เทียบแก้ว



ผู้รับรางวัล แคนนาคราช

วันที่ 24 กุมภาพันธ์ 2566



ดร.พานุวัชร ใจมัน

“แค้นคำ”