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ABSTRACTS

Thai Women in Late Ayutthaya Style Paintings

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Women’s work as shown in murals of the Ayutthayan era is discussed. Murals in central Thailand from about 1660 to the late-eighteenth century were examined. Major findings show that women engaged in many activities including some, such as being a mahout, that are no longer considered “women’s work”. Such depictions indicate that gender relations in Ayutthayan period were not as clear-cut as many might have thought. Also shown are pictures of violence against women and latter attempts, both at monasteries themselves and in academic studies of the murals, to cover them up.

The Gardens of the Royal Palace at Ayutthaya

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The results of a geophysical survey of the garden areas of the Royal Palace at Ayutthaya are described and an interpretation is offered, combining the geophysical evidence with accounts from contemporary sources. It is suggested that in addition to an area of parkland with ponds and mature trees, enclosures, perhaps for fruit trees, can be identified. Two areas provided with small pavilions, paths, flower beds, fountains and water courses are also proposed.

Time in Transition: King Narai and the Luang Prasoet Chronicle of Ayutthaya

IAN HODGES
Military History Section of the Australian War Memorial

In 1681 King Narai ordered his Chief Royal Astrologer to write a history of Siam. The astrologer followed Narai’s instructions closely and produced a history of the kingdom unlike any that had been written before.
The Luang Prasoet Chronicle is widely recognised as the first Thai dynastic history. Although this distinction belongs to an earlier work, no other text influenced later histories to the extent that the Luang Prasoet Chronicle did. Its appearance on the Thai literary scene was the result of Narai’s own background and interests. This article outlines Narai’s role in shaping the Luang Prasoet Chronicle and traces the text’s influence on later *phongsawadan* histories.

**Forced Resettlement Campaigns in Northern Thailand During the Early Bangkok Period**

**Volker Grabowski**  
*Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster*

Forced resettlements of conquered populations constituted an important aspect of traditional warfare in underpopulated pre-colonial Southeast Asia where the control of manpower in general counted more than the conquest of land. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries the ruling elite of Chiang Mai and other Northern Thai principalities implemented the strategy of deporting significant populations from adjacent Tai-inhabited areas in eastern Burma and southern China in order to rebuild the shattered society and economy of their respective polities. This paper reconstructs the different stages of the forced resettlement campaigns, examines the rationale and discusses their impact on state and society in Thailand’s upper north, the historical region of Lan Na.

**The Image of Chiang Mai: the Making of a Beautiful City**

**Ronald D. Renard**

The image of Chiang Mai as a land of beauty developed only in the twentieth century. When Bangkok took political control of northern Thailand. As this occurred the people of Chiang Mai stopped writing their history and largely accepted a history written by Bangkok authorities with the purpose of protecting Thailand from colonization. Many local customs and practices have also been changed in accord with national-level preferences. This has seriously impeded the study of Chiang Mai’s history.

**Moving House: Migration and the Place of the Household on the Thai Periphery**

**Hjorleifur Jonsson**  
*Arizona State University*

This article examines social and ritual dynamics among upland ethnic minorities on the Thai periphery. Taking the case of a migration of Mien from the late-nineteenth century, it shows how population movements were involved in structuring relations among chiefs and commoners on the fringe of lowland kingdoms, and how political economic factors related to the shifting prominence of households and villages. The case reveals how migration and leadership have been reinterpreted in the context of national integration. Contemporary processes have undermined the previous prominence of the household in local social life, but an examination of household interiors suggests that photo-displays, like story-telling, can convey politics that assert household autonomy in spite of contemporary marginalization.
EDITORIAL

With this issue, I take over editing the Journal of the Siam Society from the able hands of Ian Glover. Only time will tell if the Society’s Council made the correct decision in asking me to be his successor. I hope that those who appreciated his erudite selection of contributions will grant me sufficient grace for whatever failings they find in Volume 87.

This, the 1999 volume, honors the 72nd anniversary of the birth of King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the Honorary Patron of the Siam Society. In his recognition, we publish a tribute in both Thai and English. The Thai tribute, Boromarachasirawat, (In Honor of His Majesty) was written in the classical chan poetic style by Dr. Saksi Yaemnadda, who, as his many students at the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University will attest, has mastered this challenging genre. Using alliteration, internal rhyme, the use of “dead” (kham tai) and “live” (kham pen) syllables, and other techniques according to a strict regimen, Dr. Saksi extols His Majesty’s long reign and productive life as exemplifying the four qualities of an enlightened monarch. Dr. Saksi enlivens his tribute with various references including one, Philai, that just might be to President Bilaibhan Sampatisiri.

The remainder of the tribute to His Majesty includes pictures of some of his visits to the Society and excerpts from an article on his “New Theory” which emphasizes self-reliance, initiative, and sustainability. The implications of this approach extend far beyond the self-sufficiency His Majesty wants to bring to small farmers in the country’s rural areas.

The articles in this issue represent both innovative approaches to traditional subjects and the exploration of new ideas and concepts. Much new scholarship on Thailand’s culture is being undertaken by younger scholars and by others using new tools. It is appropriate that the articles in the Journal reflect this.

The cover article by Napat Sirisambhand and Alec Gordon explores what mural paintings from the Ayutthayan period (ca. 1300 to 1767) tell about gender roles of that time. The cover picture shows a woman atop an elephant in the mahout’s position; just outside of camera range are two other such figures. The article contends, although some traditionalist scholars might hold different interpretations, that the murals prove that women’s roles were different at that time than many today believe. Nevertheless, there are other traditional mural paintings of women mahouts, such as the picture preceding the editorial. Although this picture from Wat Phumin in Nan Province was probably drawn in the early-nineteenth century (and thus after the Ayutthayan Period) this picture provides evidence supporting the thesis proposed in this article. The authors also point to a kind of reverse “cover up” by recent observers of the murals who found aspects of them distasteful.

In another innovative look at Ayutthayan life, Keith Branigan and Colin Merrony use scientific techniques new to Thai studies to study the gardens of the Ayutthayan palaces. The integrate their findings with contemporary descriptions of the royal palace in the seventeenth century.

Ian Hodge explores the most authoritative of the traditional Thai histories, the Luang Prasoet Chronicle. Hodge examines how the Chronicle deals with one of the best known but least understood of the Ayutthayan rulers, King Narai. In doing so, Hodge makes this important chronicle much more accessible and understandable to all scholars and better known to those who cannot read Thai.

Volker Grabowsky uses his exhaustive knowledge of the literature of Lan Na (the
Editorial

traditional northern Thai kingdom) to review forced resettlement campaigns in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. This was a period of epochal change in the north especially when it is remembered that, as a Burmese vassalage, Chiang Mai sent thousands of soldiers to participate in the Burmese attacks that sacked Ayutthaya in 1767. The campaigns to bring new residents to the Chiang Mai area changed the demography of the north in profound ways which are reviewed in this article.

At the same time, Bangkok attitudes towards Chiang Mai were negative. They only began changing in the early-1900s following a visit of King Chulalongkorn to Paris where he saw Madame Butterfly. My paper explores how this was translated to a change in the image of Chiang Mai that made it a popular tourist destination with attractions ranging from a quaint dialect, fascinating handicrafts, and intriguing customs, to women who are seen as prettier than those elsewhere in the country.

The article by Iceland’s contribution to Southeast Asian studies, Hjorleifur Jonsson, uses a wide conceptual focus to study the Mien (one of the Yao groups of the upper-Salween-Mekong region). Writing so complex contemporary anthropological discourses are accessible to the lay person, Jonsson examines social structure, migration, and the role of chance encounters with anthropologists (in this case, himself) in terms of local identity. In so doing he challenges traditional approaches to studying hill people and other minorities.

Also recognized in this issue are a number of recent Thai-language works of importance. This represents a revival of the section in the JSS which old Siamese hands will recall as “Recent Siamese Publications”. Because Thai literature is many times vaster than it was in the 1950s and 1960s, this section concentrates on publications not in the regular book trade such as academic works, temple histories, cremation volumes, and ephemera. This issue notes works from central and northern Thailand.

Thus are the highlights of the 1999 issue of the Journal. As the premier English-language cultural journal in Mainland Southeast Asia, the JSS has an audience beyond the borders of Thailand. Efforts are being made by various members of the Council to attract contributions by authors in the countries surrounding Thailand, particularly Myanmar (Burma), Laos, Cambodia, as well as on Tai areas of southern China and Vietnam.

Since the editorship of the Journal lives and dies with the Council to which he or she belongs, and since the present Council’s term ends this year, I am in no position to speak authoritatively about the future of the JSS. But I certainly thank all Council members who made my life easier, including President Bilaibhan, Mrs. Monita Singhakowin, Mr. François Lagirarde, and Mr. Peter Skilling. I also owe the Advisory Committee and Editorial Board members, in particular to Khun Euayporn Kerdchouay and Khun Kanitha Kasina-ubol. Special thanks must go to the typesetter, Mr. Edward M. Stauffer, Mr. Geoffrey Goddard, who proofread the manuscript, and the new editorial assistant, Khun Achara Sangruji. By volunteering her time to the Society in quite a busy year for herself personally, she used her many personal and professional skills to make sure that, despite my frequent travels resulting in absences, sometime without leave from Journal business, the editorial and publication process stayed on course.
A tribute to

His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej

on the completion of his sixth cycle

Their Majesties the King and Queen visited the Siam Society for the 50th anniversary dinner on 10 March 1954
บรมราชานคร

คารุธูบลกิจวิชิตนันท์

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กรุงเทพศึกษาไทย

° เจดีย์สกสวิศะพุทธาราม

อังกฤษ

° ทรายไทยที่คนให้และนิยมบริหาร

ข้ามแสงกลาง

° แทนป้องกันบัญชาทหารและการและทาย

อังกฤษ

° จึงตระกูลพระองค์พระที่สงค์พิพิธธิ

จารึก

° ใครซึ่งใครคิดและสายส่วน

แสดงข้อกั้นท่าน

° บันดาลตลอดจนพิษมัย

บรรจุใน

° ข้าวใหญ่บุญล่ำและธรรมทูปดีพิเศษ

เป็นนั้น

° เป็นผู้ที่มีชัย

ใหญ่

° เป็นผู้ช่วยกู้ภัย

ยัง

° ชอบทางเข้ารุ่งเรืองพัฒนาสิ่ง

ทาย

° ชอบทางเข้ารุ่งเรืองพัฒนาสิ่ง

กุสุภัย

° เข้าทายความภักดี ณ ดวงทาย

แทนพัฒนากิจไชย

ประเทศไทย

ด้วยกล้าตัวบารมีพระ

ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ศาสตราจารย์ ดร.สิกสิตอิศ แซ่เมย์นิตา

จัดพิมพ์สำนักบัณฑิต

ในแบบสมัยสมัย

One of His Majesty’s most important Royal Initiatives is to enable the farmers to become self-sufficient. Activities carried out in many locales and provinces share the goal of building self-sufficiency.

In many vocational and agricultural development activities designed to help Thai farmers, His Majesty’s demonstrations in social and community development are like footprints in which the people can follow assuredly. One of His Majesty’s principles in community development is to “help develop rural self-sufficiency.”

The increased ability of rural farmers to be self-reliant is a result of many of His Majesty’s Rural Initiatives.

His Majesty’s Methodology

1. Do not tell the people how to act because this may well not help them to be self-reliant. As His Majesty has observed,

“Advising is not ordering but presenting the theory of the activity for people to hear and to consider. If they like it they will do it but if not then never mind.”

2. Stress self-reliance and self-sufficiency. His Majesty acts to motivate farmers to see the way to solve their own problems and to be self-sufficient without compulsion. Looking for ways to introduce cooperation by outside agencies is only a last resort. As His Majesty has observed:

“All people, whether city folk or rural folk, with much or little education have a free will. Their thoughts and satisfactions are their own. People do not like to be forced. In addition, they have their own ways and customs and act in their own unique ways.”

3. Stress people’s participation. This important principle for Royal initiatives has been long emphasised by His Majesty in project implementation. On 31 December 1958, His Majesty spoke on this subject to the Thai people:

“Duties in successful administration include loving one’s country, personal honesty, and harmonious cooperation of all the country’s people. We hope that you will all try to make your contribution with a pure heart for the common good. This will lead to a people full of happiness which is the ultimate goal of us all.”

4. Use democratic principles. When visiting rural people, His Majesty hears of the difficulties they face, such as in implementing Royal Initiatives. If the responsible officials cite technical difficulties, His Majesty listens impartially. If the officials who are in agreement feel that results might not be worth the money invested, His Majesty suggests changes to the project. This philosophy is shown clearly in his address at a Development Study Centre.

“This is a place where development workers can do what is called ‘experimentation’. When this experimentation has been completed, others who are not specialists in that field can learn how they work and what they do.”

His Majesty later added:

"Therefore, if anything fails at these Development Study centres, there will be no punishment. We will just learn that this activity is not productive".

The above statements go to the heart of His Majesty's philosophy. He listens and considers impartially in all of his activities.

5 Act in a locally-appropriate way. Projects should be environmentally, geographically, and culturally sensitive for every region of the country. Doing so accords with His Majesty's guideline that abrupt changes can seriously affect values or endanger familiar ways of making a living by the local people. In His Majesty's words:

Dedevelopment must meet with local geographical conditions and local cultural conditions. Local cultural conditions mean the attitudes of the people cannot be forced; go in and see what they really want and explain to them the principles of our development. This will be the most beneficial".

6 Revitalise the community by building a structure based on essential production principles which lead to long term self-sufficiency. One such structure is water sources because they enable farmers mainly dependant on rainfed agriculture to produce crops the entire year. By so enabling the people to grow crops to live on the whole year, the community can get on its feet so that other basic projects can be implemented. Then, in a step by step process, they will be able to raise their standard of living, such as through building transportation routes. This gradual process of entering into dealings with the outside world can be called "an explosion from within". On this, His Majesty said the following:

"National development must go in stages. The basics must first be provided, that is, having enough, enough to eat and to use, for the majority of the people. Ways and materials that, although inexpensive, must be used in a technically correct fashion. Once the basics are in place, the standard of living can be increased higher and higher".

The development method of building self-sufficiency to which His Majesty refers moves slowly but surely. Development should not be rushed because damage may result. His Majesty referred to this in a speech to Chulalongkorn University students on 11 July 1980.

"In creating prosperity, you should above all work slowly and cautiously. Work, check your work, and then correct it. Do not hurry out of a hunger to build something new for the sake of novelty. There is in fact nothing really new. Everything new arises out of the old and will itself become old later on".

His Majesty spoke on the same topic to the graduates of Thammasat University on 26 July 1984, as follows:

"When the basics are firmly in place, more development work can be done. Do your work and then correct it, continually."

7 Provide means to obtain and create information for rural people. His Majesty stresses that people should know more about making a living, such as through appropriate agricultural technology. His Majesty notes that rural people must have "examples of success" to be self-sufficient. He wants rural people to see and to learn about success stories. Then they can be spread throughout the country so that the people can observe examples of modern technology themselves. His Majesty made these remarks on this topic:

"Using modern technology, in theory, should yield productive results in terms of efficiency, economizing, and labour use. However, other aspects should be considered. In our country, problems can arise when farmers and labourers use technology on a large or sophisticated scale to make a living. These can include high investment requirements, unnecessary waste, or
serious unemployment. The results do not meet the established goals and are unacceptable over the long-term. Technology must be used cautiously and at an appropriate level for conditions in our country so that the people can make a living effectively and truly economically”.

8 Introduce appropriate agricultural technology for rural people to use systematically. The aim should be to introduce technological methods similar to what the people are using to produce their food so that this technology can be adopted and used effectively.

In doing this, His Majesty selects many different technological methods to achieve his goals. Of these, here are some examples.

a Organizing groups to solve problems of rural communities is an important basis for developing self-reliance. Cooperatives, for example, have been organised in all the areas His Majesty visits. Projects arising out of these initiatives stress the need to motivate group organisation. Such groups facilitate solving community problems through joint action or enable the community to make a better living. Many successful cooperatives in Royal Initiatives have had their start in small-scale people’s groups. One such case is the Hup Krapong Cooperative which evolved out of a little vegetable growers community there.

b Helping motivate community leaders to be development leaders is another of His Majesty’s methods. As appropriate, community leaders are selected because of their high ethical standards, their morality, compassion, and devotion to the local area. Through the practice of mutual support, a characteristic of Thai society, leaders of sufficient means are motivated to help create projects in ways that the poorer neighbours can participate. In the end, this benefits the entire community. As His Majesty has stated:

“In doing all this work, everybody must be truly determined, energetic, diligent, empathetic, obliging, kind, and seeing the best in each other. Be fair and ethical as well as honest in thought and action. Make the common good and mutual security your foremost goal”.

c Promoting the development of self-reliance must be done step by step. Progress does not come out of hurried actions. An important theme in His Majesty’s speeches is that communities must first achieve self-sufficiency in food production. Then other development work can be implemented such as producing food crops for commercial sales. His Majesty has spoken on the needs for marketing goods, particularly about the basic knowledge needed for doing simple agricultural business accounting. His Majesty gave a talk to the Royal Development Projects Board on 26 August 1988 at Sala Dusidalai, observing that:

“There is one area never considered in development, namely how village officials do the accounts regarding crop cultivation. If, after villagers grow crops and sell some for income, and use that income to buy necessities and goods for their making a living — this is an area about which nothing has been studied. After production and after sales, in the accounting of the income that must follow, villagers sometimes cannot do it so accurately”.

A member of the Society for many years and honorary member since 1984, William J. Gedney died on November 14, 1999. Gedney, a man greatly admired by his colleagues and deeply respected by his students, spent his seven cycles of life in vigorous pursuit of knowledge and understanding.

Gedney, perhaps more than any other scholar, built the field of Thai linguistics in the U.S. by his research and by his teaching. His expertise, moreover, extended to the Tai family of languages and his published collections and works over a half century can be said to have opened significant areas of the study of Tai to the scholarly world.

With an undergraduate degree from Whitman College (1935) he began his professional career as a secondary school teacher. During World War II he was one of the draftees who were assigned to duty with the U.S. Army language unit in New York. It was there that he began his study of Thai and undertook additional academic work that led to his doctorate from Yale University (1947). Gedney made the first of his numerous visits to Thailand in 1947, staying for seven years during which time he immersed himself in Thai culture and the Thai language, working as a translator and studying with Thai experts and scholars. Gedney held appointments at the State University of New York in New Paltz and subsequently at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. At the time of his death he was a University of Michigan Professor Emeritus.

The impact of William Gedney on Thai studies in the U.S. can perhaps be measured best in the lives of the many students who learned from him. He taught undergraduate students and graduate students in linguistics, he oversaw early U.S. Peace Corps training programs for volunteers to Thailand, and his publications on Tai languages ranging from Thailand to China, Laos, and Vietnam reached countless others who never met him, but nevertheless learned from him. Gedney’s disciples are found in many fields of endeavor and the students he trained are working throughout the world, demonstrating the analytical skills he inculcated in them and the cultural sensitivity he modeled for them. His is a legacy that is rich with the acumen and insights that he himself embodied.

In addition to his enormous research output and his extensive teaching for nearly three decades, Gedney served his profession ably, as an active member and participant in the Linguistic Society of America, the Association for Asian Studies, the Southeast Asian Linguistic Society, the American Oriental Society of which he was vice president and president, and the Siam Society. He was, in addition, chairman of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Michigan in the mid-1970’s.

As mentor and exemplar Gedney and his wife, the late Choy Manachip Gedney, are remembered with great admiration and affection for their hospitality and generosity. Together the Gedneys imparted values and wisdom that have assured their places in the memories of countless people with whom their lives intersected. A fund in William Gedney’s memory has been established at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies in Ann Arbor, Michigan to recognize student accomplishment in the area of Thai studies.
Woman mahouts, Wat Phumin, Nan
Aims and Methods

Aims
Our aim is very simple. It is to use historical temple paintings as evidence for gender relations or the position of women as they existed or developed in the past in Thailand (Siam). This is less simple to implement. However, to present and analyse what is shown of the life of Thai women in historical temple mural paintings is a necessary task on account of the lack of written evidence about women in Thai history.

To date, the writing of such an important task has been impossible because there is virtually no contemporary written evidence, the standard raw material for history, concerning the life and situation of Thai women prior to the late 19th Century. We concentrate here on murals of the Ayutthaya style as the earliest historical epoch for which relevant paintings have survived. We cover therefore from about 1660 to around 1800 and include Ayutthaya style paintings from times rather later than the actual end of the “political” Ayutthaya Period in 1767. Ours appears to be the first sustained attempt to use historical temple paintings as evidence for Thai social histories.

It is widely accepted that the position of women in Southeast Asian societies including Thailand was relatively high. One forceful expression of this viewpoint runs:

Relations between the sexes represented one aspect of the social system in which a distinctive Southeast Asian pattern was especially evident. Even the gradual strengthening of the influence of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Confucianism in their respective spheres over the last four centuries has by no means eliminated a common pattern of relatively high female autonomy and economic importance.

(Reid, 1988: 146)

History and Women
It is a notorious fact that women are hidden from history. (And not just in Thailand) Not only have they been subject to the bias of male history writers, but like ordinary people in general, women figure little in the great chronicles of the captains and the kings. Where the high accounts deign to notice the short and simple annals of the poor, gender relations remain in the shadows. Moreover, tropical climates are notoriously unkind to documents and have destroyed countless numbers of them. The prevalence of public buildings made of wood rendered libraries more prone to damage or destruction by fire. To the effect of natural disasters has to be added destruction by humans whether deliberate or accidental. In these respects, Thailand perhaps suffered more than most. The centralisation of records in the City of Ayutthaya rendered them susceptible to a

once-and-for-all disaster that might affect all the official records. The great and terrible event there was the destruction of almost all the surviving documents when the city was captured and destroyed in 1767. Thus for Thailand, even the records of the high and mighty are scanty before the Rattanakosin period in 1782.

Fortunately, mounting dissatisfaction with the older documentation-based methodology that had tended to concentrate on the political deeds of elites has led to a search for other forms of evidence.

Ayutthaya, Social History and Women

For Ayutthaya, the chronicles, or the parts that have survived, covered little beyond presenting events that concerned the ruler or auspicious supernatural happenings. The observation by Van Vliet made in 1640 is usually accepted by historians today as indicative of the situation for many centuries,

> Of the antiquities of their country they [the Siamese] have few descriptions, thus their principal descriptions consist in the laws of the country, the fundamentals of their religion, the lives, deeds and praise of some dead kings..., and these descriptions are mostly committed to the care of priests.... Thus amongst the nobility, the rich or civil populations, not many chronicles or historical records are known, with the exception of those which are reported verbally.

(Van Vliet, 1975: 99)

Even before the final destruction of Ayutthaya, there are accounts that fires had destroyed libraries. Furthermore, on occasion there was the deliberate destruction of certain records by rulers themselves as in the case of Khun Chinarat (Frankfurter, 1954: 98) and he was only one of several usurpers of the throne in the history of Ayutthaya. In short, with the possible exception of the “Luang Prasoet version”, other non-fragmentary versions of the Ayutthaya chronicles were written in the Bangkok period...

Since parts of the old chronicles were already missing since the 16th century, the Bangkok period compilers would have to fill in the missing parts with hearsay and their imagination.

(Piriya, 1992: 39, 41)

Only about one tenth of the legal manuscripts survived the destruction of Ayutthaya and even many of these were destroyed after they had been consulted in the process of drawing up the new legal code early in the 19th century by Rama I (Wenk, 1968: 123). The Laws of the Three Seals themselves, as they are not an exercise in legal history but the result of an enterprise to set up new legal rules for the new state, cannot be taken as a reliable guide to the legal or social system of the Ayutthaya period. (Cf Lingat, 1954; Nidhi, 1978; Reid 1994; Reynolds, 1972; Vickery, 1984; Wyatt, 1982.)

Even the contents of the early Bangkok chronicles, which are extensive, provoke the comment from a notable writer,

> ... information about the general social life of the country is lacking... One would like to know a great deal more: for example, one would be glad to have some information about economic, legal and social conditions of the population but the chroniclers show no interest.

(Wenk, 1968: 35)

A source of information are the observations made by foreign visitors to Ayutthaya. They often noted things that were so familiar to Thai observers that the latter did not trouble to mention them. Certainly, Chinese, Dutch, French, British and Persian commentators (cf Ma, 1451/1970:103–104); De La Loubère, 1693/1985, 50, 76; Schouten, 1636/1969, 145; Hamilton, 1727/1930, 96; and Ibn Muhammed, 1685/1972, 119, 134) remarked on the comparative freedom that Thai women had, and recorded their opinions as to how industrious and skilled at business the women were. Nevertheless, valuable as they are, these remarks remain tantalisingly fragmentary.

Principally for that reason we turn to another form of evidence, namely visual evidence in the shape of temple murals.

Thai Murals and Women’s History

The glories of Thai mural paintings in temples are well known. Their stunning beauty and
liveliness impress all who see them. Moreover, to their wonderful aesthetic qualities may be added the fact that they can be used as evidence on the history of ordinary people for over 300 years. Whilst this potential has been recognised frequently (e. g. Sone, 1986; Sombat, 1985) no sustained work on the subject appears to have been undertaken even concerning social history in general let alone women. This article explores that potential for composing a basis for the history women and gender relations in Thailand.

This is one field in which Thailand may rival the store of historical evidence in Europe as well as rivalling it in aesthetic quality. And that European legacy is rich indeed. One merely has to recollect illustrated manuscripts like the famous 15th century Book of Hours of the Duke of Berry with its marvellous pictures of men and women at work and play through the seasons. An excellent example of what might be done to use this type of Western visual historical evidence is the beautiful little collection by Fox (1985). This not only displays some of the riches of pictorial evidence but by its pictures of women in "unexpected" jobs serves to correct certain erroneous modern notions of gender division of labour in the past. The Thai mural counterparts of those European historical pictures are not mere daubs or graffiti. They are mature and sophisticated works of art. Although the first relevant paintings date back to the 17th Century their painters were heirs to a tradition stretching back at least 300 years earlier.

Evidence, not Illustration

We are looking for pictorial evidence that will form a basis for composing such a history. Here a distinction must be drawn between pictorial evidence and pictorial illustration. For example, take the interesting collection of pictures from the turn of the previous century in Postcards of Old Siam. (Davis, 1987) This does not offer evidence so much as it illustrates an existing history. The very term "Old Siam" implies that we already know "Old Siam" and what its history is. Yet, in our search there is no written history of Thai women to illustrate. Contemporary written evidence so far discovered has been inadequate to construct such a history. We are hoping to construct a scientific beginning by using the murals as evidence. Clearly this is a different enterprise from assembling illustrations.

Our attempted concentration on scenes of people at work forms the main part of our search for evidence about the gender division of labour in Thailand's past. However, we do not believe that mere presence at work is necessarily an indicator of status. As a pioneering study pointed out of Europe during the 19th century, "there was little relationship between women's political rights and women's work." (Scott & Tilly, 1975)

In the current literature much is assumed about women's work on the basis of remarkably little written evidence. This may explain why different currents in Thai women's studies can hold totally opposing views about women's work in the 19th century. One claims that women did all the fieldwork whilst the other finds that they did none! (respectively, Siriphon, 1985 and National Commission on Women's Affairs, 1983) At least one of those viewpoints must be wrong. For our part, more modestly, we hope to identify a series of portrayals of what women actually did. Possibly, and more ambitiously, since the relevant pictures go back as far as the Ayutthaya period, we hope to identify changes over time. Gender relations, however, are not limited to the division of labour. Other daily life scenes showing men and women together not at work are also important. These most often are scenes of the street or market or fairground. It is perhaps fitting to quote some lines from the epic poem Inao where the author, King Rama II, presents a scene such as we are dealing with. In translation they run,

People wander about in groups with their children at the fair. Some carry a stool to be able to sit and watch the play. Good-looking girls behave attractively, chewing betel and applying wax to their lips, glancing at the young men out of the corner of their eyes. Young lads become courageous after a drink and begin to court the young ladies.

(Wat Thong Thammachat. 1982: 31–32)

Written some time after the Ayutthaya Period, those words apply to many scenes typical of Thai mural painting. In addition, we would
include more private scenes indoors and out, portraying often a one-to-one relationship between the sexes that cover courting and occasionally sexual relations.

**Phap Kak (“Dregs”) as Autonomous Evidence**

The term, *phap kak* or “the dregs”, is a technical term in description or criticism of Thai murals. (E.g. by Chulathart, No Na Paknam, Silpchai, and Wanippa). It refers to the genre part of the mural painting that contains portrayals of ordinary people and their lives as distinct from the scenes of deities and rulers. It is used by experts apparently without derogatory connotation towards ordinary people. However, it must be said that the word contains its own meaning. Dregs are after all found at the bottom. And this has never been a prestigious position. It is also the usual location of ordinary people in the paintings. Physically, the pictures of deities are usually at the top, royals in the middle and common people at the bottom. It is hard to avoid regarding this as symbolic of their status in society. Ironically, because the *phap kak* are located at the bottom of the picture, they suffer the worst damage from damp and flooding and vandalism.

Curiously, the term *phap kak* appears not to figure prominently if at all in the better known writings of foreign critics (e.g. Boisselier, Wenk, Wyatt, Lyons, Matiks or Ringis). Possibly this is because they are little interested in that portion of the paintings.

In using the paintings for social history precedents exist. The paintings have been widely utilised to identify styles of Thai architecture in certain periods. It is a commonplace to ascertain past styles of clothing by reference to murals. Ceremonies both courtly and common are studied as they are shown in the murals. And even today professional dancers are taught correct postures for classical dancing by reference to the historical portrayals. Consequently, our endeavour though new in itself follows a well established path.

Nevertheless, if we believe that the murals and everything in them express immanently religious meaning and instruction, we must still remember there are different ways of interpreting that statement. For example, some writers, in insisting that even the scenes of daily life must have a religious meaning, take a functionalist position. For them, by definition everything in the painting equally serves religion. This definition denies the possibility for autonomy of the parts of the picture or that they may differ from each other in intent or may even contradict each other. According to this view, representations of daily life can have no function or meaning other than to display some aspect (usually unspecified) of religious teaching. Now if this were true, our attempt to use the pictures of daily life as direct evidence would fail because they could not display independently real life at all since they are utterly controlled by and subservient to the painting’s overall ideological message of religious and/or political morality. In that case a picture of, say, a couple making love ought to have a deeper significance according to this approach and its real meaning transcends what the eye can see.

The last example is possible in specific cases but in general the approach has to be rejected. In the first place, it is based solely on assumptions then develops merely through assertions derived from those assumptions. There is no room for argument or reasoning. Everything depends on the functionalist assumption that every part of the whole, in this case a painting, must serve to benefit and support the functioning of the whole. Secondly, this approach can be advanced without even seeing the painting! It exists with superior status outside the painting. (Or even before the picture was painted). Accordingly we know the meaning of a painting before we see it since we know in advance what it must be. This has to be considered an erroneous and indeed a ridiculous approach.

However, it still seems reasonable to suppose that a painting will convey the ideological message of the time to a greater or lesser extent. If the portrayals of women portrayed women as they were supposed to be according to then current male dominated social prescriptions rather than as they were—then they may not form a basis for real direct evidence. The weight of ideology cannot easily be avoided given the teaching, moralising intent of murals. Moreover, since precepts about proper behaviour involve social conduct there is inevitably an infusion of ruling class ideology. In many cases the figures
in the celestial and princely scenes are meant to be associated with the actual rulers.

And, of course, the dregs are portrayed as their “belters” think fit. The main characters are of royalty or the nobility and are shown in incidents of appropriate behaviour to each other in the princely sphere as well as receiving the respect, deference, adoration, services and tribute from their followers and from the common people. Social and political hierarchy is well displayed and supported. The idealistic “princely” scenes seek to show what is proper and what the ruling ideology thinks ought to be rather than what might actually have been the case. This does not render them invalid as evidence. However, it introduces a layer of mediation which, if present in the daily life scenes, would create problems for our project to use them as direct evidence. This is one reason why we rarely refer to the princely scenes. We argue that the daily life scenes lie mainly outside the ideological spheres of the celestial and princely portions. We remain confident that the scenes with which we are dealing, such as two farmers courting or a woman drawing water or a peasant smoking do not form part of the panoply of power. It might be argued that they form the sugar coating to the pill of elite ideology to help ordinary people swallow the claims of the power holders made else where in the murals. Even so, they remain distinct and separate in their identity. The function as well as the actual personnel of the daily life scenes reduces their ideological content. Earlier, we deliberately used the phrase “more or less ideological”. The daily life scenes are where the “less ideological” applies. There is no religious reason for their being there at all. They were meant to entertain rather than to instruct or to moralise. This does perform a role in relation to the message of the whole. The daily life scenes provide a relief from the serious, solemn, dignified, sometime terrifying and possibly occasionally boring scenes elsewhere in the mural. After all many of the real life scenes are funny indeed. This induced relaxation on the part of the viewer which may help the eye more easily to return to the serious parts. However, the process it permits requires that the high ideal norms be relaxed or neglected in the sphere of the real life parts. Boisselier appears to have conceded this when he remarked that, the artistic rules,

require that no divine being, no prince should conduct himself/herself like the ordinary beings. . . . In the last analysis, for everyone a clear class distinction holds. Some obey a whole ensemble of very strict rules of conduct, the others [ordinary people] show themselves according to their true nature.

(Boisselier, 1976: 74)

Reference to the paintings themselves, the obvious but too often neglected procedure, should clarify matters. Let us consider a bay in Wat Chong Nonsi (17th century). It illustrates an episode from the Vidharapandita Jataka where the virtuous sage Vidhura is bidding farewell to his family as the ogre Punnaka dismounts to drag him off. Here, the emphasis is not on the supposed theme at all. Not merely do we have a rice pounding/crude courting scene with “dregs” prominent in the left lower foreground, we also see in the upper foreground what might well be described as to be a small sex orgy. The bay will be discussed below but it seems to us clear that these two activities constitute the real theme of the picture which has nothing to do with the moral lesson.

Whilst we may accept that the overall intent of the individual mural or series around the temple walls is religious, we must be aware that paintings ostensibly religious are not necessarily so. Here it may not strain comparison too much if we recall in Western Europe the supposedly religious art form of the Book of Hours also strayed from the path of worship. The manuscript illustrations are the most outstanding of this genre but the head Curator of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris says,

. . . they relegate the pious original of the Books of Hours to a very secondary role . . . even further removed from the spiritual tranquility which they are supposed to inspire. One is moved deeply and intensely but not with religious emotion as such. The sentiment aroused by this work is essentially one of aesthetic enjoyment. . . . Here, despite the nature of the subject-matter the reader can scarcely escape the conclusion that God was the last thing the artists were thinking about.

(E. Pognon, 1987: 10)
It seems unwise to neglect the opinion of King Rama V when considering the choices for the murals to be painted in Wat Benchamabophit,

\[\ldots\] one is a drawing that includes principles of Dharma.\ldots The other kind will be based on Jataka.\ldots This kind of drawing tends to be beautifully artistic but fruitless and unrealistic.\ldots Of these two kinds of drawings, please choose the latter and focus on how to make it beautiful rather than convey the principles of Dharma.

(in Plainoi 1985: 1–2)

In summary, the parts of a painting are conceived of as a whole by the artists and basically this is designed to present instruction concerning morality according to certain conventions. However, this does not exclude the possibility that the parts of the painting may make different or contradictory contributions to the whole. In other words, the artistic rules of composition of the parts (celestial, princely and dregs) are different from and autonomous from each other.

We conclude this section with a judgement on the matter by a famous expert,

Thai art, therefore, has two distinct styles: one corresponding to the aesthetic inspired by religion and the other style corresponds to the inward feelings of the people.

(Silpa Birasri, 1960: 13)

Classification and Analysis of the Murals

Gender Division of Labour

We identified 31 work tasks in the paintings. Women are depicted as doing 18 of them and men doing 25 (or 23 not counting non-Thai men). Women only are shown doing 6 tasks (or 8 if men who are not Thai are discounted) whilst tasks performed only by men numbered as many as 13. Tasks done by either sex numbered 13 (or 11 discounting non-Thai men). Only two tasks (dancing and rice pounding) were shown being done by man and woman together. Most work tasks portrayed are being performed in or around the household. Only, boating, digging, fishing, hunting, vending and wagon driving are definitely work outside the household. Four are shown to be done exclusively by males (climbing fruit trees is marginal in this respect for it might easily have been done in a house garden or in a distant orchard or forest.)

Unexpected tasks

Mahout of Elephant

Amongst initial surprises perhaps, are the women shown as mahouts, elephant drivers, a task that is generally regarded as an exclusive male task and nowadays is such. The close retinue of queens or princesses at times had to be composed of females and consequently female mahouts here should not be entirely unexpected. However, in other pictures men are also shown as mahouts to princesses. While murals such as a panel in Wat Ko Kaeo (Phetchaburi) has woman driver, the most clearly visible evidence of women mahout is to be found in the khoi manuscript paintings. One volume has no fewer than six paintings with female mahouts including one dated to the reign of King Prasat Thong (1629–1656 AD). (Somphop, 1977) Other samut khoi examples of Ayutthaya

Female mahout, at bottom, Wat Ko Kaeo, 1670/1730
female mahouts are illustrated in the standard work on Ayutthaya paintings (Wannipa, 1993: 4).

Given the number of war and working elephants as distinct from "court" elephants that must have existed, it may be supposed that being a mahout was predominantly a male task. Nevertheless, the presence of female mahouts in the paintings is important. From their postures in the pictures they appear to have been drawn from life and show that women could undertake the task. When excluded from the task the cause is not women’s biological make up or their inability, mental or otherwise. Rather that task inclusion/exclusion is gender determined.

This may indicate less clearly defined gender roles amongst the lower classes. In the murals the rice pounders are ordinary people in the phap kak. Princely characters do not work, they perform functions. These functions are distinguished well enough between male and female roles. However, where there is work that has to be done the dregs seem less concerned about gender division of labour than their betters.

**Rice pounding... plus!**

An intriguing mystery in a complex painting is the picture of a man pounding rice with a woman c1670. Whilst this is normally regarded as a female task, (as shown in the Wat Chong Nonsi sequence), similar pictures of joint labour in this task also occur frequently in murals after the Ayutthaya Period. Is this evidence that gender roles were less fixed than usually thought or in this case misrepresented by modern writers? This need not necessarily be so on the sole basis of this picture because this scene seems to be as much a humorous courting scene as a portrayal of work. The man has to pound the rice in order to approach this woman. But he is about to get a nasty shock when the mischievous boys snare his genitals in a noose! Nevertheless, the man looks as if he has pounded rice before. Also, there is another Ayutthaya period rice pounding scene showing a couple working together without dalliance on the lacquered wall of Wang Suan Pakkat which would reinforce the view that men undertook this task fairly regularly.

**Pottery**

Another interesting picture of work is of a woman potter. True, the story line requires Sujata to be reborn in this situation as a punishment. (She was penalised for not helping her princely mistress when work had to be done.) Nevertheless, the painting is obviously drawn from life and indicates that around the end of the 18th century there were women potters, an activity not always associated with females in Thailand but common enough else where in Southeast Asia.

**Other**

The palanquins of the princely characters had to be carried by someone. Women are shown carrying that of Prince Siddhattha’s bride-to-be. Such a job is considered to be “heavy” work and indicates their ability to do it although it is not a particularly desirable task. It hints at the probability that Thai women did a lot of heavy jobs that have not been readily associated with them.

This role that does not leap at one immediately on viewing a painting. It tends to emerge after reflection. It becomes clear that in organising hospitality in the household women play an important role. In preparing for a feast the individuals have their roles but their organisation and their efforts are shown to be undertaken by women. Other tasks of management are undertaken by men. Both types of management are found in the one painting on
the walls of what had been the private residence of Rama I before assuming the throne. Here the managing of the building is undertaken by a man and the management of the women of the household by his wife to provide meals for the workers exist side by side.

**Expected Tasks**

**Vending**

Vending in the street, market or other open spot, principally of foodstuffs, has long been a woman’s task in Thailand. Occasionally in the pictures, a man appears as a vendor but they are Chinese men and their presence is not indicative of Thai gender relations. Their equipment seems more elaborate than that of the Thai women vendors and may indicate a higher level of prosperity. These pictures are lively and merge imperceptibly with illustrations of our categories of child minding, women in public and personal relations.

One of the most striking is from the second half of the 17th century at Wat Ko Kaeo and shows one woman vendor in a boat whilst another on land is sitting by one of the city gates with her child and is attending to a woman customer. These are still common scenes today.

Pictures later in date show women selling bananas to Chinese men. In another, a male Chinese vendor molested by a dog is getting help from the vendors’ male children who are being looked after by their mothers (or sisters). Some children are at work too after a fashion, herding a disorderly flock of goats whilst playing.

**Musicians and Dancers**

Women figure prominently as court musicians in some of the most beautiful pictures of all. The presence of all-female orchestras is well known. Men are shown playing the same instruments in some cases. A women’s group and a men’s are artistically paired on opposite sides of a monarch in one painting in Buddhaisawan throne room. They are supposed to be angels or minor deities but are clearly representations of actual people. There seems to be a tendency for men to play percussion instruments. Dancing for religious or for entertainment purposes has been associated with women the world over. There is a beautiful and
idealistic rendering of such an entertainment for a prince. Another picture from Wat Ko Kaeo shows male and female actors on the stage as well as male dancers and male (but not female) acrobats.

**Childcare and Midwifery**
This was (and remains) primarily a female task. Beautiful renderings of this whilst mourning the death of Lord Buddha are shown. However, childcare is shown in the murals with some male participation. As noted above women frequently combine childcare with their other tasks particularly food vending as may be seen in several illustrations. This still can be seen in the streets of Bangkok and other towns in Thailand today.

Midwifery has historically been regarded as a woman's task. Thai painters use the historical birth of Buddha to compose a whole narrative around the birth itself. It is a comment on the realism of the painters that since the Buddha's birth is supposed to have been semi-miraculous, artists have frequently painted in loving details that would have accompanied a birth in a noble family.

**Cooking and Food Preparation**
We may distinguish between cooking in the household and cooking away from the household. The first is either a family chore or as the majority of murals portray a royal task. (Buddha's last meal in this world is a favourite theme.) This is shown exclusively as a woman's set of tasks with male lookers-on.

Meals outside the household are different and less common. Perhaps a more marginal case is the preparation and delivery of a meal by women to men who are constructing a pavilion for the use of travellers. Whilst this site is undoubtedly physically outside the household/palace compound, the man/woman power is from the same household. Minor wives and servants prepare food under the supervision of the principal wife/princess whilst the pavilion is being built by male slaves and followers under the instructions of the prince. (The story is of Makhmanop) Only men undertake the construction whilst only women are preparing the meal. Given the number of food preparation tasks and the number of servants carrying them out, supervision really goes well beyond mere cooking and attains the role of management.

**Men at Work**
A discussion of the work roles of women calls for mention of tasks done by men. Other than the possible exceptions of rice pounding and child care, the male tasks found fall into the category of the "expected" and call for little further comment. These pictures of the following tasks show men only undertaking them and may be taken as reasonable proof that they were indeed male preserves except possibly in circumstances when no adult females were around. Pictures of men at work showed acrobats, caravan drivers, a cattle herder, dancers, fishermen, men digging and tree climbers. Male house builders are also seen in a most detailed and lively scene that displays skills and male division of labour.

The great set piece of Victory over Mara usually to be found on the east wall of bot or wiwan facing the image always displays men soldiering in battle and often in a most realistic fashion that is in keeping with our aims.

**Missing Tasks and Urban Bias**
A distortion of the distribution of tasks is that the murals show "urban bias"! Most of the scenes of princes or of ordinary people take place in or around city or palace streets or gates as determined by the story. Thus Thai rural people, by far the greater part of the population, who live neither in the jungle nor in the city are not well represented. Precisely there our research provided one major irony. We had hoped to be able to settle the argument about whether women did all the field work or none of it. To judge from the murals, it seems no one did any fieldwork at all! This observation would appear to apply to Rattanakosin murals too. We may reasonably believe that they did so work but the murals offer neither support nor opposition to our beliefs. In our experience only one picture of rice planting exists—an excellent one showing gender division of labour beautifully. This is in a Lan Na style painting of around 1890 in Wat Pa Daet, Mae Chaem District, Chiang Mai. It is true that this represents King Suddhodana, the father of the Buddha, conducting the royal ploughing
ceremony but it is a realistic portrayal of an actual ploughing.

Other Gender Relations

Women in Public (City Gate/Sala Scenes)

Foreign visitors to Ayutthaya often noted the comparative freedom of movement and behaviour that Thai women had in public. These observations are amply confirmed by the Ayutthaya murals and constitute indigenous evidence of the relatively unconfined position of Thai women of that period. The public thoroughfare in historical Ayutthaya as in historical Bangkok was not so much a road or street as in Europe or China but a waterway and its footpath. In the murals the favourite public scene setting was the outside of the gate(s) in the city wall and leading to the canal or stream and almost always showing a sala that may be variously occupied by vendors, doctors, passers-by or male loungers. The obvious freedom of women to move around needs no comment. The illustrations show them strolling or at work, accompanied or unaccompanied, on the lookout for fun and always dressed comfortably. (Or “without their veils or any modesty” as one prudish Persian from his country’s Embassy put it. (Ibn Muhammed, 119) Some Europeans claimed to be equally shocked “... the women here are not ashamed to go naked to the middle, where with a fine transparent cobweb-lawn they are so covered, that by a base device is made to open as they go...”. Herbert, 1638/1968: 317)

In fact these City Gate/Sala scenes are the richest in everyday life settings and provide sketches of buying and selling ashore and afloat, childcare, courting, goat herding, medical care, and theatrical performances whilst horses and elephants move by. Such images demonstrate the freedom out of doors enjoyed by Thai women of high and low degree in the Ayutthaya Period.

The illustration from Wat Ko Kaeo, Phetchaburi, dated around 1670 or the early 18th century, shows female vendors, passers-by male and female, on foot, in palanquins and in boats outside the city wall. The close-up shows elephants, exiting from a special elephant gate for a bath with their male mahouts, passing by the female vendor. From yet another gate a male horseman (possibly Persian) rides out and will pass the vendors who clearly occupy a strategic position for their business. Later pictures, from Wat Maithepniwit, shows a varied
Thai Women in Late Ayutthaya Style Paintings

A scene set between the palace wall and outer walls. Streets and houses are filled with activities. The close up shows a (faded) scene where a woman vendor falls down (or is knocked over) in partial undress. Females and one male look on whilst another male acts but whether to help her up or knock her over cannot now be ascertained.

There are very fine portrayals of women walking about the street. One (from Wat Dusidaram) shows a Chinese man and Thai woman talking together and an elderly lady with her young daughters and/or servants out for a stroll. The young ones are taking the opportunity to flirt with young men. Likewise, in the second scene (from Wat Wang, Phatthalung) two young women on their way to offer food to Lord Buddha stop for a chat with the male attendant of a young nobleman. The others show the lively activities taking place in and around the sala at the city gates.

One indistinct scenes appears to show one woman (possibly a medical specialist) massaging another.

**Love and Sex**

**Affection**

Affection need not always be displayed by love making. And sexual intercourse may or may not be a sign of affection. However, they can be distinguished and there are murals where affection is uppermost. One is striking in that the couple, who are members of the evil Mara’s hosts being swept away by the flood that engulfs all, are nevertheless still clinging to each other and helping each other to stay afloat. Amongst the other figures of terror, ferocity and despair they are strikingly human in their tenderness. (Wat Khongkharam) Another mural in the same wat shows a couple at home affectionately caressing. True, the woman is Mon not a Thai but is part of Ayutthaya society. Other pictures show a couple embracing and another couple strolling intimately hand-in-hand.

**Sex and the Erotic**

While Bhasit’s article entitled, “Sex—the Lifeblood of Art and Culture.” (1990: 96) does not specifically refer to murals but to song, dance, poetry and drama. Its message would seem to apply to the murals too for there as in real life, sexual relations are presented as natural and recurrent events. They appear as scenes of everyday life, most often though not always humorous, in portrayals of erotic scenes but seem rarely if ever pornographic. The sexual scenes are not always in accordance with the solemn episode that is the ostensible theme of the picture. They harmonise unaffectionately as a fitting part of the life scene, usually in the phap kak but not also in the princely scenes too and even in the Victory over Mara and the Traibhumri (The Three Words). Indeed, as in the paintings of many other countries, sexual relations appear so fitting a part of the scene no more emphasis is given than if it were say, cooking.

Yet some authorities on murals avoid such simple treatment. The massive and magnificent tome by Wenk covers everything else in great detail with barely a mention of sex. Ringis concentrates largely on the exclusively theoretical, religious aspects. Boisselier in his otherwise fine book dismisses their presence by claiming that an erotic scene in one Rattanakosin painting at Wat Na Phra That (Pak Thong Chai, Nakhon Ratchasima) is “a very uncommon eroticism, because Thai art and literature do not bring up problems dealing with sexuality except in a most discreet manner.” (Boisellier, op cit: 114). We wonder where he has been looking.

Other works on Ayutthaya (Santi & Kamol; Wannippa) straightforwardly show sexual scenes in their illustrations but do so without comment. This, unfortunately, does not correct the earlier misrepresentation. One paper (Sone, 1971) does discuss the erotic as such but is quite short and in a non-scholarly publication.

The distorted representation of the erotic or sex is important for not merely does it obscure different types of sexual relations such as flirting, courting, and having sex, but it prevents identification of the stigma applied to certain forms of sex that entail discriminatory attitudes towards and punishment for women. Whilst many of those scenes are tucked in corners, others are conspicuous such as large pictures of women in the residence of the then Supreme Patriarch at Wat Buddhaisawan, Ayutthaya.

Let us consider the prominent example in the Ayutthaya murals at Wat Chong Nonsi referred to earlier. Although the ostensible main
Sexual activity, also from Vidhura Pandita Jataka. Wat Chong Nonsi. 1670

theme is of Vidurapandita being taken away by the ogre Punnaka, at least equal prominence is given to two sexual scenes. The lower part of the scene, where the rice pounding by man and woman together is a courting preliminary and is a very funny portrayal. The fun is earthy but it shows the budding sexual relationship as joyful and affectionate even though outside forces are about to disrupt it in humorous fashion. The scene above is different in tone. Sex there has no joy. It may be showing the end of a small sex orgy. Assorted couples appear to be still at it, resting or looking on whilst one woman, exhausted and downcast, staggers partly clad and dishevelled from another room. Two neatly dressed women are pointing at her in disapproval. There is no sign of her male bedfellow(s).

One richly illustrated publication on Wat Chong Nonsi discusses this scene largely as a contribution to our understanding of Ayutthayan architecture. It only minimally and reluctantly concedes the existence of erotic scenes in a rather shamefaced fashion. (The front cover excludes both erotic scenes while another picture dismembers the upper scene. [p.75]) It then hastens to say (1) that other countries do it too, and (2) that it is so common as to need no further comment! (Wat Chong Nonsi, 1982: 30, 73, 74). If the subject is ignored or suppressed, however the consequences of certain sexual acts cannot be recognised and what appears to be institutionalised victimisation of women in the Ayutthaya Period will be overlooked.

Discrimination and Punishment
Discrimination against women in terms of disparity of punishment of sexual misde­meanours is well established as a fact. Hence a curious painting at Wat Khongkharam (partly re-painted later) merits close attention. Ostensibly the scene is part of the Mahosadha Jataka, and if so would flow on from the famous episode of the attack on the city by King Culani. The foreground, though much deteriorated or removed, probably does follow on as it seems to be the remains of the scene where the family of Culani are in the tunnel. By far the greater part of the scene, however, appears to have no connection with this.

We see a narrative of two, or possibly more court ladies (but not princesses) who are eventually hoisted up in the air in a basket. We cannot accept the interpretation in No Na Paknam’s remarkably brief commentary in the large and well illustrated volume on the wat which finds that “two soldiers are teasing court ladies” and that they are “drawing some ladies out of the palace” (No Na Paknam, 1994: 3) Instead, the sequence in four stages in the painting is clearly:

(1) Four soldiers are forcibly carrying off ladies from the palace. The ladies are unwilling.

Abduction of court ladies, Wat Kongkharam
(2) In a quiet corner by the city wall, the abduction is being followed up by sexual intercourse involving two ladies and four soldiers. This scene is quite explicit. Although not mentioned by No Na Paknam, visitors to or inmates of the wat have marked it carefully by trying to scrape off parts of this particular scene where offending sexual organs were painted.

(3) Then the two ladies are led off by armed soldiers and

(4) Finally, the two ladies are hoisted in the air in a basket (or chak sarak) attached to the roof of the palace.

The above would seem to be an example of chak sarak, an old punishment for disgraced women found to be offending against sexual mores. It applies to women but not to their male partners in sexual “crime”. The phrase, chak sarak forms part of an old saying that lingered until recently in the vocabulary of abuse of some court ladies. Its latter day connotation is a refined insult to a lazy woman who acts (or rather fails to do anything) as if she were hoisted up in a basket well out of the way of the world of work below. (Oral information from the late Khun Sawing Pradithsama.) It may be traced back to the earlier function of the actual hoisting in a basket for shameful public display. This form of discrimination is shown in the mural for it is the male partners who are actually carrying out the punishment on the women. The monk who was the authors’ guide when viewing the murals explained that this was a scene showing the punishments awaiting those who had transgressed sexually. This seems a fully appropriate and indeed obvious answer. Such a scene of punishment might even be considered to be necessary by some in order restore a propriety and (male) morality that might otherwise be undermined by the fact that this wat’s murals are particularly rich in sexual innuendoes, often humorous. They are too numerous for us to illustrate but the reader may find some of them displayed (without comment) in the aforementioned publication by No Na Paknam (1994: 47, 75, 83, 87). There is no disguising the fact that some writers’ squamishness results in avoiding implications of the erotic in the murals. This creates an inability to realise and analyse a discriminatory social stigma against women resulting in reproach and disgrace that is clearly apparent in some of the paintings.

Women as Property of Men
An issue concerning gender morality and social relations that involve gender property rights is indirectly illustrated frequently in the murals although it must also be emphasised that this arises from the Jataka text itself rather than being an autonomous statement by the painting. In the last life of Lord Buddha related in the Vessantara Jataka before his historical life, Prince Vessantara gives away all his worldly possessions. When requested by the disreputable old Brahmin Chutchak, he gives away his children who are abused by Chutchak as servants. Then Vessantara gives away his wife Maddi to a passer-by. Fortunately, that personage is the god Indra in disguise making sure that Maddi will come to no harm and in the end virtue is rewarded and all are safely and happily re-united.
However, the point must be made that it displays women as property disposable by males. (Also children are shown as disposable property of the male head of the household although in this case the mother had a right to protest against their disposal.) Using this right of disposal is shown in both story and picture not merely as a fact but as a laudable example. The fact that it was repeated in the Ayutthaya period indicates that it was most likely accepted and practised as morality and custom in Ayutthaya society over two thousand years after the events of the composition of the story. It is of course true that the story remains popular even today. And it may be that the events in the story are now interpreted as showing how women too can accumulate merit by helping men or by subordinating their wishes to those of men. The ways by which a woman may gain merit are more limited than those open to a man and the story may show women how to make the best of their junior situation. However, this is beginning to go beyond what we can find out by using the murals themselves as evidence. Whether the giving away of Maddi is nowadays regarded as disposal of property or a painful personal sacrifice or in some other light falls outside our scope. The sole point we wish to make is that women as the property of men is shown in the painting as acceptable and current in Ayutthaya society.

This princely/religious morality finds a kind of plebeian counterpoint in the humorous sub-plot. The old Brahmin Chutchak is able to acquire a pretty young woman, Amitada, as a domestic and body servant or wife because of the indebtedness of her parents. Her parents sell her as a child rather than as a woman. It is Chutchak the "purchaser" who wants a woman and this is portrayed as apparently socially acceptable in Ayudhya. Would it have been the same if a woman had wanted to acquire a man this way?

Note, however, that Chutchak's male rights to Amitada's services are not unlimited. She is teased and bullied by the village women to change her too subservient behaviour. Not only is she mocked by the other village women for her sexual misfortune in being married to an old man but they object to her behaviour as an over-dutiful wife who is excessively compliant to her husband-owner according to their standards. They object to her doing too much work. This is of course a favourite scene of Thai muralists and in the present example is a hilarious depiction of a near-riot when Amitada is drawing water from the village well. One lady is so vigorous in her protest against Amitada's antisocial behaviour that she is tumbling head first down the steps of the front porch. This village peer pressure makes Amitada go on strike from domestic work and she obliges Chutchak to get additional household help. This is how he becomes involved in the main plot as he requests and gets the children of Maddi and Vessantara free of charge. Amitada is saved thereby from doing chores that are ruled to be out of order by the mores and women power in that village. That lessens her burdens but does not alter her situation as the property of a male.

Conclusions

The research shows many aspects of the relationship between men and women in the Ayutthaya period. The pictures showed 31 tasks including 18 tasks done by Thai women, 23 by Thai men; women only did 8 tasks and Thai men only, 9 tasks; and 11 tasks done by either sex. This was in addition to illustrating important aspects of personal gender relations, and the activity of women in public. These should form the start of a data base on the historical position of women in Thailand.

The pictures cast some doubt on certain current stereotypes of what the gender relations "traditionally" have been. For example, the presence of female mahouts, although not a group of numerical importance, is unexpected and suggests that other surprises may exist and that a task normally thought to be physically impossible for a woman could expertly be carried out by one.

Rice pounding is generally considered to have been a female task and an important one. We found two surviving illustrations of man and woman pounding together. This suggests that the gender division of labour may have been less rigid than usually thought. Rice pounding is of course carried out by slaves, servants or phap kak. The flexibility of gender division of labour here possibly contrasts with a more rigid differentiation of roles amongst the upper classes. In other words more attention
should be paid to the class or status of the characters involved in the activities before conclusions are drawn. Of considerable interest is the presence of pictures depicting violence against women. No less interesting is the attempt to "cover up" these scenes by rubbing off the paint showing them.

Unfortunately, the number of mural paintings surviving from the Ayutthaya Period is not sufficient to draw conclusions about change in women's status.

Paradoxically, one of our leading "findings" has been to raise new questions. For example, how to find out the real reasons why work in the field, e.g. rice growing, the main economic activity of most families, is so rarely shown in Thai murals, and not at all in the surviving Ayutthaya murals.

Finally, we are unable to avoid commenting on the desperate need for more conservation of the surviving Ayutthaya Period buildings and murals.

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Notes

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2 Thailand became the official name of the country formerly known as Siam in 1947. This paper uses Thailand throughout.

3 *bot*, from Pali *uposatha-ghara*, is the assembly hall for monks in a monastery, while *wihan* is the Thai pronunciation of Pali, *vihara*, which in Thailand is the structure of a monastery in which the Buddha images are located.
THE GARDENS OF THE ROYAL PALACE AT AYUTTHAYA

This report describes archaeological investigations in the area of the gardens of the royal palace at Ayutthaya. The work was undertaken by the authors, accompanied by Dr H. Smith and Ms A. Badcock, at the invitation of Khun Bowornwet Rungrujee of the Ayutthaya Ancient City Project. Funding was provided by The British Council, the University of Sheffield, and the Fine Arts Department. Fieldwork took place in March 1997, when the team were assisted by Ms. S. Prakittipoom of the Fine Arts Department.

The project: objectives and methodology

The project was suggested by Khun Ronarit Dhankoses in the Division of Archaeology. He proposed that, as part of the Ancient City Project, a non-invasive investigation of the garden area of the royal palace should be undertaken, the objective of which would be to better understand the nature and the layout of this area prior to Ayutthaya's destruction in AD 1767.

The methodology adopted by the team comprised two principal elements. Geophysical survey would be used to identify buried structural remains and garden features, and palaeobotanical investigations (mainly pollen analysis) would be used to provide a general impression of vegetation in the garden area in the 18th century. In addition, a survey was undertaken of all visible structural remains, the present vegetation of the garden area was recorded, and relevant evidence from 17th and 18th century historical sources was collected and analysed.

A detailed technical report, complete with print-outs of all geophysical plots, was submitted to the Ayutthaya Ancient City Project in October 1997 (Branigan, Merrony and Smith 1997), whilst a report on the palaeobotanical investigations is in preparation and will be submitted to the JSS shortly. This report is concerned with the geophysical investigations, the historical evidence for the gardens, and the interpretation of the general layout of the garden areas.

The evidence of historical sources

Amongst the plethora of descriptions of Ayutthaya from the late 17th century, inspired by the French diplomatic initiative at that time,
at least five sources make some brief reference to the palace gardens. These are the accounts of Chaumont (1686), Choisy (1687), Gervaise (1688), la Loubère (1693), and Tachard (1688); to these may, be added the description and simplistic sketch of the palace and its surroundings published by Kaempfer in 1727. These various sources together provide insights into three aspects of the gardens - their general layout, the plants that may have grown in them, and their water supply.

All the sources seem to agree that the area to the east of the king’s apartments and the audience hall was occupied by various courtyards, with official buildings (e.g. stores, secretariat and the armoury). Tachard (1981,165) records that 100 paces south of the palace itself was a great walled park, and Kaempfer (1987, fig. 8) shows this area with rows of large trees. It is presumably here that Chaumont was “dined in the palace garden under great trees” (Chaumont and de Choisy 1997,53).

But there was clearly another area of gardens of a different nature. Choisy (1993,170) describes how he and his companions were taken into a secret area, normally closed to foreigners: “It was a very pleasant garden divided by canals and fine walks”. Gervaise (1989,39) is surely describing the same or a very similar area when he speaks of “large well-tended gardens. The walks are intersected by little streams which make everything fresh”. According to Gervaise, gardens of this sort were overlooked by both the King’s and the Queen’s apartments. Given that the women’s quarters were in a separate walled enclosure on the west side of the palace precinct, it seems likely that there were two gardens with paths and water channels rather than one. Kaempfer’s plan shows the women’s enclosure but it is completely empty, because he, like all other male visitors, would never have been allowed to see inside it. Similarly, Gervaise and Choisy were presumably both describing what they had seen adjacent to the King’s quarters.

None of the accounts describe the plants growing in the gardens of the palace, but several refer to trees, shrubs and flowers found growing in Thailand at this time. Gervaise (1989, 19) mentions roses, carnations and tuberoses, as well as “some flowers that are not found in Europe”, the commonest of which are the mungery (jasmine?) and the pousonne (gardenia?). La Loube (1986, 20-1) confirms that tuberoses, tricolours and amaranthi were plentiful, and gillyflowers and roses were also to be found, but says that the jasmine was so scarce “tis said there are none but at the king’s house”. Otherwise, says la Loube “most of the plants which adorn our gardens are unknown to them”. Gervaise, la Loube and others note the abundance and variety of fruit trees available in Siam.

Apart from the mention of canals and streams in the gardens by Choisy and Gervaise, there are no direct references to water courses and water supply to the palace gardens at Ayutthaya, although Choisy (1993, 165) describes how the French ambassador’s residence was being embellished with “a sparkling fountain; they are working night and day on a small reservoir to hold the water”. Several fountains decorated the garden of the house provided for Chaumont at Lopburi (Chaumont and Choisy 1997,59) and Choisy (1993,194) mentions walks and canals in the King’s gardens here. Gervaise’s (1989, 44-7) description of King Narai’s palace at Lopburi has much to say, about the use of water. A pavilion in the gardens is said to be surrounded by numerous fountains, and in the king’s apartment is a further fountain which supplies water to four corner bathing tanks. In the outer court is “a large tank which supplies the whole palace with water. It is the work of a Frenchman and an Italian”.

Gervaise describes further features of the gardens at Lopburi, which were of course contemporary with those of Ayutthaya. He mentions pavilions, groves of trees, evergreen shrubs, innumerable flowers, and a bed “filled with the rarest and most beautiful flowers in the Indies”. Beyond these flower gardens and pavilions was a large garden filled with orange, lemon and other native trees, and walks bordered by low brick walls. At intervals along the walls were “spaces containing lanterns of gilded copper” and “in the space between the lanterns is a kind of hearth or altar” where aromatic woods were burned. Choisy (1993,194) specifically mentions fig trees as growing in the gardens here and says that the gardener at Lopburi was a Frenchman.
This brings us to the foreign influences which may have been at work in the design, embellishment and stocking of the royal gardens at both Lopburi and Ayutthaya. Given the intensity of the French diplomatic initiative in the 1680’s Gervaise’s mention of a French hydraulics expert and Choisy’s of a French gardener may come as no surprise. On the other hand, the French involvement in Siam before the 1680s was low key (Hutchinson 1985, 42-67) and it is unlikely they would have been influential in the formative years of Narai’s gardens.

The Dutch on the other hand were well established at Ayutthaya and we have contemporary evidence that Dutch traders, and the Dutch East India Company in particular, constructed gardens in their trading stations. On his journey to Siam, Tachard saw and admired the Dutch gardens at both the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia, present day Jakarta, (1989, 51, 110). Those at the Cape appear to have been not dissimilar to part of the gardens at Lopburi, with walks fringed by orange and lemon trees, and square plots containing fruit trees and flowers. Significantly, however, Tachard writes “the beauty of it consists not as in France, in compartments, beds of flowers, nor water-works”, even though a natural stream ran through the garden.

Other European influences are unlikely; the Portuguese were also well established at Ayutthaya but not a dominant force, and the English activities there were half-hearted and intermittent.

There is one further potential source of influence, however, and that was the Japanese. They had been the first foreign nation to establish a settlement at Ayutthaya soon after 1605, and it has been pointed out by Beckett (1909, 26) that in Narai’s reign a small group remained at Ayutthaya and provided assistance to the King “in building, architecture and gardening”.

The evidence for the palace gardens provided by contemporary written sources may be summarised as follows. The area to the east of the king’s apartments was occupied by courtyards given over to various official functions. To the south of the palace was an enclosed area of parkland planted with many large trees. Close to the palace and audience chamber, and also to the west in the women quarters, were more formal gardens. Details of these are vague, probably because foreigners were able to see little or nothing of them. But it is probably legitimate to use the evidence from the contemporary gardens at Lopburi to fill out the picture. We should expect the pathways described by Gervaise and Choisy to run between miniature walls, flower plots, avenues of fruit trees, shrubs and small pavilions, and the water courses to feed fountains. The extent to which these gardens reflected foreign influence is open to question, but the most likely sources of inspiration were the Dutch, possibly the Japanese, and for hydrological engineering, the French.

The geophysical survey—background and method

Ayutthaya lies on an island, of approximately 7.5 square kilometres, formed from alluvial silts at the confluence of the Chao Praya, Lopburi and Pasak rivers. The survey area is virtually level except for several open ponds which are cut down below the current ground surface. At the time of this geophysical survey the water level in the ponds (and by assumption the water table under the survey area) was between 2 and 2.5 metres below the general level of the current ground surface.

The most substantial buildings (e.g. palace and temple buildings) within and around the City Island were built of a brick core with mortar rendering to produce ornate exteriors. A small amount of a conglomerate stone was also used. Other buildings in the city were largely constructed of wood. These buildings, along with associated features such as paths and roads, sit directly on the fine silts that make up the matrix of the city island and adjacent to the many canals that crossed through the city and lakes and ponds within its boundary.

A total of nine areas were surveyed comprising 37,600 square metres which sampled all the available areas of the Royal Palace Garden. The whole of this total was surveyed using Magnetometry, while 3,800 square metres was also surveyed using Resistivity. The current ground cover is short (generally mown) grass with mature trees. By using both magnetometry and resistivity it was hoped that not only would
the foundations of built structures be identifiable, but also that features clear of building material (such as planting beds and water channels) would become apparent.

There are two main mechanisms by which archaeological deposits become able to possess a magnetic field and therefore become detectable by magnetometer survey. The first of these is Thermoremanent Magnetisation. This results when a material containing iron oxide particles (i.e. virtually any soil or subsoil, as well as materials such as clays used for brick making) is heated up to above the Curie point of the iron oxide particles it contains (650 degrees Centigrade or more). On heating the iron oxide particles effectively demagnetise. When the material cools down again the iron oxide particles remagnetise preferentially aligned with the earth’s magnetic field. This alignment of the magnetic fields of the iron oxide particles produces an effectively fixed permanent magnetic field for the material as a whole. This magnetic field can be detected by a magnetometer survey. The second mechanism is that of Magnetic Susceptibility, which is the ability of a material to become magnetised when placed in a magnetic field. Iron oxides are highly Magnetically Susceptible, although the precise level of this depends on the form of the oxide. A deposit may be made more Magnetically Susceptible by increasing the concentration of iron oxide within it or by changing the form of the iron oxide particles it contains (Fassbinder et al, 1990). The form of iron oxide particles can be changed in such a way as to make them more Magnetically Susceptible by heating them (any temperature above approximately 100 degrees Centigrade will have an effect) or if they are in an originally highly organic deposit where some or all of the organic material has been broken down by the action of bacteria and other soil organisms (for example a ditch fill which is not permanently waterlogged). If this deposit with enhanced Magnetic Susceptibility is placed within a magnetic field it will become more highly magnetised than it would originally have been. Provided the deposit is within a magnetic field at the time of the survey this increased magnetic field can be detected by a magnetometer survey. Fortunately all archaeological deposits, along with everything else on the Earth, are within the Earth’s Magnetic Field at all times and the resulting magnetic fields of archaeological deposits can be detected by a magnetometer survey.

The instrument used to conduct this survey was a Geoscan FM18 which is a Flux-gate Gradiometer that utilises two sensors to measure external magnetic fields. The upper sensor is positioned to detect the earth’s magnetic field, while the lower sensor detects the earth’s magnetic field plus any other magnetic field resulting from below ground features. The two measurements are compared so that the component of the readings that represents the direct measurement of the earth’s magnetic field can be removed. The strength of any other magnetic field present is then recorded.

During the Magnetometer survey readings were taken with a 1 metre spacing. The spacing was chosen in order to allow a reasonably fast coverage of the area, while still collecting data closely spaced enough to allow definition of most garden features (such as paths, beds, water channels, ponds, the bases of above ground structures and so on). Magnetometry was the obvious first choice in this situation as most features would have been constructed of fired bricks, a potentially good material for detection by its magnetic properties (Clark, 1996). In addition it was hoped that channels and ponds, now filled in, would produce magnetic responses as a result of their enhanced magnetic susceptibility.

What was not known, however, was how strongly magnetic the underlying silts were, how much brick and other burnt material was spread across the garden area either during the sacking of the city by the Burmese or subsequently during demolition, renovation and construction of the various buildings on the site and how much modern build up of material there has been (particularly strongly magnetic material such as discarded iron).

Inspection of recently excavated structures within the site revealed that there was very little build up of deposits over the level of the Ayutthaya period buildings. In some places there was as much as 1 metre, but in most places it appeared that the current ground surface was very close to the 18th century level. However, it
Fig. 1 The palace precincts at Ayutthaya showing areas of magnetometer survey

Fig. 2 The palace precincts at Ayutthaya showing areas of resistivity survey
did appear that substantial amounts of brick rubble were spread across the area. Surface inspection revealed some modern discarded metal on the ground surface, however, amounts of this did appear to be very low.

Unfortunately it would appear that the underlying silts making up the City Island have a significant iron content and are fairly magnetically susceptible. The genesis of this high level of magnetic susceptibility has not been investigated here (it may be natural soil processes, the inclusion of occupation material, or it may be the incorporation of burnt material during and subsequent to the sacking, or it may be a combination of all these). As is discussed below the Magnetometer survey was conducted with generally ‘magnetically noisy’ background conditions.

The only other potential problem for Magnetometry was the presence of overhead electricity cables. In fact experience showed that these did not make any significant difference to the results (except around the poles that support the cables due to supporting metal cables attached to ground anchorages). One must presume that these cables are conducting a fairly small current for a local supply, otherwise one would have expected them to create linear magnetic anomalies.

Many parts of the survey area were also surveyed using Resistivity. The spacing between readings was either 1 metre or 0.5 metres depending on time available. The use of closer spacing in some areas was intended to assist in the precise definition of small features in possible formal garden areas.

The resistance to the passage of an electric current through a soil, sediment or archaeological deposit is primarily related to moisture content. Electric current passes more easily through moist deposits than through dry. Consequently a resistivity survey is particularly suited to the definition of buried archaeological remains that are the result of past human actions that have altered the ability of those deposits to hold moisture. The foundations of a stone wall hold considerably less moisture than the organic-rich fill of a ditch or pit. Consequently the resistance values of a pit or ditch may be expected to be significantly lower than those of a stone wall. Complete waterlogging or desiccation of soils and sediments can cause these differences to become (temporarily) undetectable and so weather conditions and general soil moisture levels must be noted.

The instrument used to conduct this Resistivity Survey was a Geoscan. In order to pass the electric current through the ground and measure how easily it passes four electrodes are employed; two probes pass the electric current through the ground and two probes are used to measure the resistance to the passage of that current. In this survey these four electrodes were arranged in a Twin-Probe array. In the Twin-Probe array the electrodes are split into two pairs, each containing one of the probes passing the current and one of the probes measuring the resistance. One of the pairs remains in a fixed position whilst the other pair is moved across the survey grid. The Twin-Probe array as used in this survey has a depth penetration of approximately 0.75 metre, although the nature of the overburden, underlying geology and soil moisture levels will cause variations in this figure.

Initially it was uncertain as to how effective Resistivity surveying would be in the climatic conditions found here. There is a long history of the failure of Resistivity as a technique in areas with hot climates (Clark, 1996: 34). This is primarily due to the depth to which the soil dries out during dry periods or seasons. This survey was conducted during part of the dry period of the year in Thailand and temperatures were consistently above 35° Centigrade. However, as has already been mentioned the water table was as little as 2 metres below the current ground surface. In addition to this the soil and subsoil in the survey area are derived from very fine-grained alluvial silts, which it was thought may well act to draw water up from the water table through the soil profile. In fact the ground surface was extremely dry and it was not possible to get an adequate electrical contact between the survey probes and the soil. However it was found that by watering the surface of the ground the evening before surveying a good contact between probes and soil was easily obtained. It is possible that the results were further enhanced by the addition of water at the ground surface, which may have increased the Osmotic Potential in the soil profile overnight and allowed more moisture to be drawn up into the upper part of the soil. We had
no method of investigating the processes at work during this survey, however quite clearly as long as the Resistivity survey was conducted while adequate moisture was still at the ground surface very good results were obtained. Unfortunately the results in some areas are complicated by the presence of dry patches which probably either increased the Contact Resistance present or resulted in no contact being possible and so no reading taken. In future Resistivity survey will be very suitable at Ayutthaya as long as it is integrated with a systematic watering campaign. The problem is the slowness of Resistivity surveying combined with the drying out of the ground surface during the survey. However, this could potentially be overcome easily by covering the ground to be surveyed with some kind of sheeting each morning (after wetting it the evening before) and gradually exposing the ground surface as the survey progresses, thus ensuring as far as possible consistent surface moisture content across any one area.

The only other real difficulty that affected the results was the presence in some areas of mature trees. This was compounded in some areas by the local habit of piling up surface rubbish, spoilheaps from excavations and so on around the boles of mature trees thus creating large mounds around the trees which succeed in increasing the area masked and resulting in some gaps several metres across (or at least areas in which the readings are likely to be unrepresentative of buried features). Obviously a complicating factor that we cannot define is how the growth and removal of trees in the period since 1767 has disturbed the archaeological deposits.

Overall it was possible to apply both techniques at Ayutthaya and successfully obtain data, even though both techniques had some difficulties. Methods were quickly established that facilitated the collection of data. However, in future closer spacing between readings may allow some refinement of definition of Magnetometry data, and the use of automatic data logging and a more strict watering programme should allow Resistivity surveying to be speeded up. This would allow larger areas to be covered by Resistivity which would assist interpretation.

The geophysical survey—results

Area 1: Magnetometer Survey

This area is in the north-west corner of the Palace Garden and covers a total of 6,400m² which was surveyed by magnetometry. There are small to medium sized trees spread approximately evenly across area 1. However, readings were taken for all points as none of the trees had very large trunks, nor did they have the mounds of modern material common to so many of the larger trees within the Palace Garden area.

This survey was dominated by strong magnetic anomalies consistent with ferrous material on or near the ground surface. Apart from this there are no other significant anomalous readings that could be interpreted as relating to building structures or the layout of a formal garden. This does not prove that this area was not laid out as a formal geometric garden area as the features forming such a garden may result in very relatively slight changes in the magnetic properties of the deposits. As we have already noted this area is magnetically ‘noisy’ and this could mask slight features. However, the results are entirely, consistent with a relatively open area of lawn or parkland which had been simply levelled and then maintained.

Area 2: Magnetometer and Resistivity Survey

This area is to the south of Area I and north of the moat and the survey covered 1600m² with magnetometry. In addition to the magnetometry 3 parts of Area 2 were sampled with resistivity taking readings at 0.5m. intervals. Transect 1 was 100m², transect 2 was 200m² and transect 3 was 150m². There are many medium sized trees spread across the survey area. In addition previous excavation has revealed structural remains, in the form of walls and a broad path, which remain visible on the surface.

The magnetometer survey revealed a number of linear anomalies. Some, but not all, of these are related to features which are visible on the ground. However they are shown extending further to the east than is visible on the ground. There is, however, an additional major linear anomaly running from the eastern margin of the survey area (and by extrapolation perhaps from
the reservoir) westwards for 40m. It may continue westwards from here towards the City Wall but if it does then it is as a much less clear feature. This feature appears to be a brick built feature, but whether a wall, water conduit or path cannot be determined.

The plot of the resistivity survey shows a number of features. Firstly to the north of the path (in transect 2,1) is an anomaly which could be the end of a small rectangular structure, but as this lies on the margin of the survey area this cannot be proven. Transect 2,2 was oriented so that its long axis was east west (i.e. approximately, parallel to the axis of the path and walls). This area revealed a number of anomalies (figure 3). The wall is clearly visible both as a high resistance anomaly A (where brickwork still survives) and as a low resistance anomaly B (where the brickwork has been removed). To the north of the wall are three small (c. 2m. square) high resistance anomalies C, D, E, apparently built between the wall and path. These are spaced approximately 7m. apart and may represent either regularly spaced brick pillars or perhaps platforms upon which some garden feature or structure stood. Near the centre of transect 2,2 is a large high resistance anomaly which must be either a dump of building material in a pit or other cut into the ground, or the base of a structure adjacent to this wall, perhaps a small building. To the west of this is a north-south linear low resistance anomaly. The most likely explanation for this is a ditch or slot filled with rubble-free, clean topsoil. Transect 3 lies towards the eastern margin of the survey area, beyond the visible end of the path and wall. This continues the suggestion of a series of regularly spaced high resistance anomalies running between the path and wall, however, here they are also mirrored to the south of the wall.

Area 3: Magnetometer and Resistivity Survey

Area 3 lies to the south of the moat and north of one of the main Palace walls—‘Kamphaeng Kao’. 1,600m² were surveyed by magnetometry and the southern 800m² of this area was also surveyed using resistivity. Both of these methods employed a sampling frequency of 1 m. This area had a ‘noisy’ magnetic background. However, three weak linear anomalies were defined, although their insubstantial nature makes interpretation difficult. The strongest runs
Keith Branigan and Colin Merrony

almost north-south just east of the centre of the survey area. Comparison with areas 2 and 6 suggests that this feature may be strong enough to represent a built structure (presumably of brick). The second anomaly runs from the centre of the eastern half of the southern margin of the survey area approximately north-north-east clearly for about 12m. possibly continuing beyond that. This is a weak feature and may be the result of a channel once filled with organic-rich debris rather than a built structure. Similarly weak is the third feature which meanders approximately north-westwards from close to the centre of the western half of the southern margin of the survey area.

These weak anomalies may well relate to garden features or infrastructure but do not allow firm interpretations. In an attempt to clarify this a resistivity survey was conducted. The resistivity plots are dominated by north-south linear anomalies. The strongest is a high resistance anomaly which runs from approximately the centre of the southern margin of the plot northwards. Close to the centre of the resistivity survey area there is a break in the anomaly, then it ‘continues’ northwards curving slightly to the east. It seems most likely this anomaly relates to a wall or path with a break/entrance in it. However, it should be remembered that this survey area is quite small and we may be seeing parts of different features and falsely associating them together. East of this is an anomaly which appears as a double linear high resistance, the two lines of which merge to form a single linear high resistance anomaly approximately half way across the resistivity survey area. Again one assumes this is a built structure of some kind. This anomaly appears to be in the correct position to correspond with the strongest anomaly in the magnetometer survey. The difference between the resistivity plot and the magnetometer plot may be the result of the very ‘noisy background’ of the magnetometer survey. The resistivity survey has a much quieter, cleaner background which allows subtle variations to be discerned.

Area 4: Magnetometer Survey

Area 4 lies immediately to the south of the wall ‘Kamphaeng Kao’ and comprised a 20m. wide strip running parallel to the wall and totalling 2,400m². This area was surveyed with the magnetometer using a sampling frequency, of 1m. The area includes a number of mature trees. These were less frequent towards the eastern end of the survey area. It should be noted that area 5 adjoins area 4 towards its eastern end. A number of significant anomalies were revealed in this survey, generally running parallel to the nearby wall although as the survey area is quite narrow the precise function of these features remains uncertain. If this area is on the edge of an area of parkland type garden then it is surprisingly large complex. However, the results could represent something like a pavilion and associated features on the edge of a parkland area, but this interpretation could only be proven by excavation.

Area 5: Magnetometer Survey

Area 5 runs southwards from the eastern end of area 4 and covered a total area of 1,600m² and was surveyed by magnetometer. This area is virtually clear of trees. However many mature trees stand in the area around. This area runs between two of the existing ponds. The most interesting anomaly in this area is a linear anomaly that runs across the plot between the two ponds. This may represent a channel which once ran between the two ponds.

Area 6a and 6b: Magnetometer and Resistivity Survey

This is the largest single area covered in this survey totalling 12,800m² of magnetometry. In addition to the magnetometer survey 2,550m², in the northern part of this area, was also covered with a resistivity survey, (at 1m. spacing). The area is covered by, frequent trees many of which are fairly, large, mature specimens. This area lies south of the White Pavilion but north of the wall ‘Kamphaeng Kao’.

The magnetometer survey revealed a number of features that may be related to the palace gardens. Two of these features are visible on the ground as excavated/reconstructed structures. The first of these is a broad path running approximately north-south through a gateway in the second anomaly, which is a substantial
The Gardens of the Royal Palace at Ayutthaya

wall. The path seems to have its southern terminus approximately half way between the wall and another substantial east-west anomaly which probably represents a wall, as it runs parallel to the first wall and the wall 'Kamphaeng Kao'. In fact this anomaly divides the area between the first wall 'Kamphaeng Kao' into two roughly equal halves (each approximately 40m. across north-south). The southernmost of these areas is split by a further linear anomaly (this running north-south) which most probably represents a path or wall. From this a further linear anomaly runs eastwards. Its eastern terminus may however be obscured by the strong anomaly which has been produced by metal debris from a recent bonfire.

The area to the north of the first wall and east of the path shows greater complexity than the areas to the south. There are suggestions of linear features and other small anomalies. This matches the complexity of the walls visible in the parts of this area that have been excavated. While it is not possible using this magnetometer data to reconstruct a precise plan of this part of area 6, there is a strong suggestion that this area has a series of walls, paths and other structures compatible with a complex (possibly geometric) formal garden area. The simplicity of the response of the area further to the south would suggest that these may well have been laid out in a less complex manner, perhaps compatible with a parkland, lawn or orchard area.

The resistivity survey focused on two sample areas within what may have been a complex formal garden. In the area to the south of the White Pavilion a path runs north-south but according to the recovered resistivity data it does not appear to continue as a buried feature to the north of its exposed length. It does appear to bounded, on its eastern side, by a linear high resistance anomaly, particularly clear at its southern end. While it is less clear in the northern part of this sample area it does still appear to be at present set approximately 1 metre away from the visible path. The results from these transects also suggest a number of rectangular features which are consistent with planting beds and other minor structures. The transect to the west of the White Pavilion revealed no anomalies that may have been related to earlier structures within the garden.

Area 7: Magnetometer Survey

This area lay south of the wall 'Kamphaeng Kao' and north of one of the extant ponds. Within the area lay what currently appears to be a brick wall containing a raised earth platform. This feature is variously described in the Ayutthaya Historic City Project records as a 'pond' or a 'pavilion'. A total area of 4,800m² was surveyed with the magnetometer. The area had only a few large, mature trees within it. However, it did overlap (on its southern side) with the beginning of the slope down to a large pond.

This area is quite 'noisy' magnetically and there are no strong, clear anomalies visible within the data. There are, however, some weak anomalies which are discernible against this background. One anomaly runs northwards out of the approximate centre of the raised platform. In addition to this and running a little more towards the north-east out of the north-east corner of the raised platform is another weak linear anomaly. If the raised platform area had once been a pond then it might be suggested that these two linear anomalies were related to pipes or conduits taking water to or from this pond. There is nothing in the data recovered to suggest the survival of any remains of a complex or geometric formal garden laid out in this area. This may be because this was an informal parkland or orchard area.

Area 8: Magnetometer Survey

A small area of just 800m² between the two areas of recent machine excavated archaeological trenches which lie between the two ponds closest to Wat Phra Si Sanphet. It was hoped that this area may throw further light on any possible connecting channel between these two ponds. It is clear from data recovered that this area proved to have a generally high variability in its magnetic response. Unfortunately no clear magnetic features are visible against this background. Whether or not this is because the noisy background masks any archaeological features cannot be defined from this data.

Area 9: Magnetometer Survey

This is the easternmost area surveyed, totalling 5,600m² covered by magnetometer. This area
was covered by a large number of small to medium sized trees, although these were more common in the north of this area. Some of the anomalies defined are the result of modern activities: the main east-west linear anomaly is the result of a wall now excavated and partly reconstructed. There are three linear anomalies which run north-west to south-east in the northern part of the survey area. At least one appears to cross the wall, which perhaps suggests that this (and perhaps the others) are relatively modern features, perhaps buried cables or pipes, although this is by no means certain.

In the southern part of this area there is the suggestion of a linear anomaly running eastwards from the western margin. This anomaly is aligned with some visible surface features which strongly suggest that this may be related to a path or wall that was part of the layout of gardens during the Ayutthaya period.

Summary of results of the fieldwork and their interpretation

To facilitate discussion of the results of the nine areas of magnetometer survey and eight resistivity transects we have divided the palace area into 6 zones, labelled A to F on figure 4. The correlation of zones, areas and transects is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Magnetometer Area</th>
<th>Resistivity Area/Transect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>2 and 3</td>
<td>2,1-3; 3,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>6A</td>
<td>6,1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>6B</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>4,5,7 and 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Across the whole area occupied by the palace and its gardens there is a general spread of brick rubble debris. It apparently results from the deliberate levelling of the destruction debris of AD 1767. Together with the significant iron content of the silts which make up the 'natural' soils at Ayutthaya, this spread undoubtedly obscures much that would otherwise be revealed by magnetometer surveys. Only in some areas did the magnetometer survey clearly reveal buried features that were probably
contemporary with the later phases of the palace’s occupation. In contrast the resistivity survey produced some excellent results, particularly in zone B, area 2.

From the comments made on the individual areas of magnetometer and resistivity survey we can make the following more general observations about the use of open spaces in the area of the palace. Due both to the scarcity of clear anomalies in the magnetometer survey and to the probable nature of the areas themselves, several zones need little comment.

Zone F is in the area of the forecourts to the palace. The geophysical survey revealed no significant features except for a brick path or wall foundation running east-west across the area towards its southern end. This confirms the impression of the historical accounts that the spaces and enclosures which stand to the east of the palace buildings were largely open courts and yards rather than garden areas.

Zone A appears to have remained an area without substantial structures but the high background 'noise' may have obscured some smaller magnetic anomalies associated with gardens. On present evidence we believe zone A was an open area without significant structures and most likely was planted with scattered trees rather than provided with a formal garden layout.

Zone D is separated from zone C by a wall with two gateways. The area is, however, further divided in two by an east-west wall which has been traced across the whole area by the magnetometer survey. From this wall a second can be seen on the magnetometer readings to run at right angles southwards to join the major wall known as Kamphaeng Kao, and there may be a further east-west wall returning eastwards from the north-south wall. In other words zone D appears to be divided up into a series of rectilinear enclosures. On present evidence there is no reason to think that these were areas of laid-out gardens, but the series of relatively small walled areas might have been planted with fruit trees like the lemon, orange and fig trees in the palace gardens at Lopburi.

Zone E, immediately south of zone D, currently contains three ponds and a built rectangular structure variously described as a pavilion and a pond. Magnetometer survey suggested the line of two possible water conduits running into this structure from the west. In area 4, close to the great enclosing wall Kamphaeng Kao, there were clear suggestions of a paved path running alongside the wall. A large anomaly immediately east of the path might indicate the location of a pavilion, perhaps with a water conduit leading into it from the north, but this is a speculative interpretation. The greater part of zone E shows no evidence of structures related to a laid out garden, and the historical evidence suggests that this area was parkland with ponds and probably a variety of mature tree cover.

Zone C, in which the modern pavilion stands, is enclosed by a wall on four sides and was entered by two gateways in the south wall and gates at the north end of the east and west walls. About half of the area south of the pavilion has been excavated down to the tops of brick structures at some time in the past, most probably between 20 and 30 years ago. We surveyed the patchy, visible and partly overgrown remains along with the magnetometer and resistivity surveys in this area.

We believe that this was an area of garden which included pathed walks, small (probably timber) pavilions with brick floors, water conduits, and other features. The resistivity survey identified a rectangular structure 8m wide and probably about 15m long near the eastern edge of the area which might be a pavilion, artificial pond, or enclosed plant bed. A second squarer structure is identified by surface traces and resistivity anomalies, nearer the centre of the area. There are also anomalies suggestive of smaller brick platforms to the east and west of the western path, and traces both on the surface and in the resistivity survey of water conduits flanking this path, so that the platforms could have been the location of small fountains.

Zone B reveals interesting anomalies in both the magnetometer and resistivity survey in area 2 which we believe are elements in a formal garden layout. The area investigated runs parallel to the major wall which encloses the south side of zone A.

There appears to have been at least two water conduits running from the reservoir westwards through the area, and one or both of these seem likely to have been used to supply water to the gardens in this area. Taken together
with the traces of a path and walls visible on the surface the resistivity survey, particularly in transect 2, suggests an area of garden here which included the following elements:

1. A broad brick path running east-west parallel to the wall.
2. Between the wall and the path a cultivated soil - flower beds?
3. At least one (brick?) platform, about 1.5 m square, is situated in this cultivated area.
4. A similar cultivated soil south of the path - flower beds?
5. South of this bed runs a covered water conduit.
6. At intervals of c. 7m small (brick?) platforms c. 2m. square project from the north side of the conduit into the cultivated area.
7. At least one substantial brick platform, approx. 5 x 3m adjoins this conduit on the south side.
8. South of the conduit there may be bedding pits for shrubs.
9. At least one rectangular walled plot, probably about 2.5m square, stood in this area.

This evidence suggests an area of garden with features similar to those described at Lopburi. The small platforms to the north of the conduit (6) might be stands for ornamental vases or lanterns, whilst the bigger platform (3) might be an altar for burning aromatic wood. Platform 7 is clearly a far more substantial structure, and flanking the water conduit as it does it may well be a fountain. It is possible that the path and flanking flower beds, running parallel to the main enclosure wall, were partly protected from the sun by a wooden superstructure whose uprights rested on the enclosure wall and the covered conduit. It may have been a structure of this sort which Choisy had in mind when he referred (1993, 170) to the ambassador's attendants remaining "in the covered walks" of the garden.

Excavation would of course be needed to confirm these features, clarify their nature and purpose, and provide additional detail and evidence.

The evidence from area 3 is much more difficult to interpret, mainly due to the degree of background 'noise' in the magnetometer survey, although there are clearly some buried features here. There is certainly nothing to suggest the existence of substantial buildings in the area and on present evidence we think it likely that some formal garden features may exist here.

It is not surprising to find the areas of formal garden in zones B and C. These are the areas which either fell within the womens' quarters or within the private areas of the king's palace. Furthermore they are close to the great brick water tower which must have supplied water to the foundations and water courses in the gardens. This tower has been studied in some detail by Prateep Pengtako (1989). This reservoir was constructed under the direction of the Abbe d'Argolis and some French missionaries c-1682-1684 (Pengtako 1989, 21-22), and it was surely the same team that Gervaise (1989, 44) mentions as responsible for the palace reservoir at Lopburi. There, the reservoir supplied water to the palace, and presumably to the fountains and water courses in the gardens which according to Gervaise were only "30 paces" from it.

We carried out a brief examination of the structure, and also surveyed the levels of the course from the reservoir to the moat and the 'water-bridge' at the north-west corner of the palace enclave. The tower, approximately 20m square, appears to have been divided into two main tanks by a thick N-S partition, with their floor at a height of 5m above the surrounding area. The surviving height of the tank is 2.65m, although the wall plaster survives to only a height of 1.65m.

One can calculate the minimum volume of water that could be stored as approximately 500m³. How much higher the tanks rose, and how much greater the original storage capacity was is uncertain. Pairs of vertical pipes are found embedded in the west, south and east sides of the tower. If one follows the proposition that water was pumped into the tower from the moat or river (Pengtako 1989) then the pipes on the south side would be bringing water into the tower from the direction of the 'water-bridge'. Because of the flat topography of Ayuthaya, if water was piped into the reservoir, then it would have to have been force pumped to raise it not
only 6-9m above its point of origin, but also 75m horizontally. We remain unconvinced that the tower was supplied from the moat or river. There is certainly no recorded trace of a pumping installation at or near the ‘water-bridge’. The alternative would have been the collection and storage of monsoon rains and if necessary topping up by hand-carried water jars - an immense labour-intensive task, but labour was no doubt freely available to the king.

The location of the vertical pipes on the south, east and west sides of the tower supports our interpretation of the geophysical surveys in zones A, B and C. We have suggested that zone A, to the north of the tower, remained an area of parkland with scattered trees, and this would accord with the absence of any water supply from the tower to this zone. Zones B and C on the other hand we believe were areas with formal gardens including flower beds, water courses and fountains, and the pipes on the south and west sides of the tower could supply these directly. The pipes on the east side presumably were for supplying piped water to the palace itself, 200m away from the tower.

Summary

We believe we have identified two areas of the palace gardens where there were formal garden features in the late Ayutthaya period. These are in zones B and C. Zone B probably featured a paved walkway flanked by flower beds with a series of regular brick platforms to carry large vases or altars, and by a water conduit which may have led to one or more fountains or small built ponds. Beyond these were shrubs or small trees. Zone C had paved walkways too but also contained small pavilions and perhaps ponds, fed by a water conduit.

On present evidence zones A and D were enclosed areas with few if any built garden features, whilst zone E was parkland garden with ponds and free cover. Zone F was probably occupied with enclosed courtyards rather than gardens.

Bibliography

TIME IN TRANSITION:
KING NARAI AND THE LUANG PRASOET CHRONICLE OF
AYUTTHAYA

In January 1907 an Ayutthayan chronicle, found in a private house, was presented to the National Library of Thailand by Luang Prasoet Aksomit. The Luang Prasoet Chronicle (LPC), as it is now known, was written 226 years before, in 1681, by Siam’s Chief Royal Astrologer (the Phra Horathibodi) at the behest of King Narai (r. 1656–1688). Widely recognised by students of the Thai past as the first text in the phong sawadan (dynastic) chronicle tradition, the LPC, strongly influenced the way history was written in Siam for the next two centuries.¹

Extant versions of the LPC are believed to be based on an eighteenth-century copy of the original (Vickery 1979: 129). Unlike previous Thai chronicles, it uses lunar dates to measure the passage of time and contextualise events.² Thus as a source of chronological information it is a valuable artefact. Historians have employed the LPC for the dating of events in Siam between 1324 and 1605 and believe it is particularly accurate from the 16th century onwards.³ Its lack of narrative continuity, however, means that the LPC is of little practical value for a historian trying to develop a picture of the Thai past.

The LPC’s chronological accuracy and reliance on lunar dates relate directly to its close association with the records of Siam’s court astrologers and it is in this, rather than its having been widely accepted as Siam’s first dynastic history, that the chronicle’s true importance lies. By directing his Phra Horathibodi to write Siam’s history, King Narai blended an astrological concept of time with a notion of historical chronicle’s, in which humans were central, to form a new style of historical writing. Siam’s kings had begun to assume a central role in the kingdom’s historical literature before Narai’s reign, but the LPC is recognised as the earliest of an important series of chronicles within the phong sawadan tradition written between the seventeenth century and King Mongkut’s reign (r. 1851–1868) in the nineteenth century (Vickery 1979: 133).

Though the LPC, a historical text written by an astrologer, occupies a unique place in Thai historiography, it has parallels in both Europe and Asia. In format it is reminiscent of The annals of St Gall, a list of events that occurred in Gaul between the 8th and 10th centuries (White 1987: 6ff.), or the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, that begin in the year of Christ’s birth (Savage 1982). Closer to Siam, in 1661, the Burmese appear to have added a series of entries to an indigenous dynastic history, the Nidana Arambhakatha, most of which was

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compiled in 1538, that closely resemble those in the LPC (Shorto 1961: 71).

The closest foreign parallels to the LPC, however, can be found in China where the links between astrological and historical writing were particularly strong. Joseph Needham's attempt to provide an English rendering of the Thai Shih Kung rank illustrates the point. He suggests several possibilities including 'Astrologer-Royal', 'Historiographer-Royal' and 'Chronologer-Royal' (1965: 10). The original meaning of the Chinese character for historian, shih, has been linked to astronomical affairs, particularly the selection of auspicious and inauspicious days for undertaking important activities. One result of these close links between astrology and history was the emergence of texts such as the Spring and Autumn Annals (Ch'un-ch'iu) which describe the period 722-481 BC. As lacking in narrative continuity as the LPC, and following a very similar format, the Spring and Autumn Annals were believed by Astrologers to be a useful aid in divination (Kierman 1962: 49).

Historians have painted the Han period, beginning in the third century BC, as a time of revolution in Chinese historical writing, exemplified by the emergence of texts such as the Shi chi. The Shi chi, written in the first century BC, came to be known in the second century AD as the 'Records of the historian', but its original title was T'ai-shih kung shu (The writings of his honour the Grand Astrologer) (Hulsewé 1961: 34-35). Astrology and history shared a close and long-standing relationship in China producing a rich historiographical tradition that survived for many centuries.

In Siam, the combination of astrological and historical writing also resulted in an important tradition. But while the phongsawadan texts have been subjected to thorough scholarly scrutiny, little attention has been paid to the genre's origins or the role of Narai, one of Ayutthaya's most well documented monarchs, in its development. Narai's contact with the world beyond Siam and his love of learning left their mark on the LPC, but his interest in astronomy and astrology was particularly influential. This article suggests why Narai assigned the writing of the kingdom's history to the Phra Horathibodi and traces the influence of astrologer's records through the development of later phongsawadan texts.

II

When Narai ordered the Phra Horathibodi to compile Ayutthaya's history he laid down specific instructions. These appear in the LPC's preamble.

'His Majesty was pleased to give orders to produce the records formerly written by Phra (Hora) and such other records as could be found in the Library and also the Phongsavadan and to incorporate all in this "History" and to copy and arrange them according to dates up to the present time.' (Frankfurter 1909: 3)

Though ordered to use such other records as could be found, the Phra Horathibodi clearly based most of his text on astrologers' records (chotmaihet hon), the source with which he would have been most familiar. The chotmaihet hon were compiled by Siam's court astrologers throughout the Ayutthaya period; those that have survived leave little doubt about the extent to which they influenced the LPC.4

As the records of astrologers, the chotmaihet hon display an overriding interest in the movements of the planets, and in significant, as well as unusual or unpredictable celestial and earthly events. Entries in the chotmaihet hon are always preceded by a set of numbers indicating the day, lunar date and year of occurrence. The regular motions of the planets were used by the astrologers to establish a system of time-keeping that has been regarded as Siam's most sophisticated form of temporal measurement. Those responsible for the crafting of the chotmaihet hon were the inheritors and custodians of this complex system. Reflecting their concern with the timing of events, the chotmaihet hon have been known as both calendars and as diaries of the Court Astrologers (Cook 1989: 9).

The importance of astrological prediction to court life and ritual, and to the kingdom more generally, ensured that the chotmaihet hon were highly regarded for their temporal accuracy. In this respect their historical utility is obvious.
Unfortunately, copyists’ errors over the centuries have compromised the accuracy of existing chotmaihet hon to the point where the dating of even well-known events is open to question. The LPC, however, at no more than a slight remove from the original, retained a greater degree of accuracy (Vickery 1979: 133, 140–41).

Seventeenth-century Thai dynastic historical writing

Between the fifteenth century and the seventeenth century, before the phongsawadan emerged, Tamnan historical writing was the dominant form in Siam. Barbara Tuchman’s description of certain European texts occupying the “shadowed region between legend and history” (1986: 6), could equally be applied to the tamnan. These texts, written by Buddhist monks, span thousands of years blending Buddhist history with fantastic tales of the supernatural. In the Tamnan the Buddha travels through time and across continents to make possible the future spread of his religion. The temporal distance that separates the modern reader from events described in the tamnan; the lack of contemporary accounts; and the fact that they did not rely upon the dating of events to place the narrative in a chronological framework has created problems for present day scholars trying to understand the early period of Thai history.

The growth of the phongsawadan tradition in the seventeenth century, at the expense of the tamnan, reflected a changing view of the past as secular affairs came to dominate the consciousness of Ayutthaya’s historians. Buddhism continued to feature in Thai historical writing but the life of the kingdom had become the focus (Charnvit 1976: 150). As texts dealing with the affairs of a large kingdom written by court officials the phongsawadan differed considerably from the religiously based tamnan. King Chulalongkorn (r. 1868–1910) reputedly referred to the phongsawadan as tales of dynasties and battles, an observation that neatly describes much of the their content. While the tamnan were based entirely on a Buddhist view of the historical process, the phongsawadan, emphasised the deeds of humans, particularly those with political power.

A well known European work, The short history of the kings of Siam, written in 1640 by a Dutch trader, Jeremias van Vliet, contains the earliest evidence of Thai dynastic historical writing. Van Vliet’s was one among many accounts of Siam written by foreign visitors to the kingdom in the seventeenth century. The title of his work reveals its focus, and its origins reveal an interest in dynastic history that predates Narai’s reign by several decades. It was an amalgam of many sources. The sections of the Short history dealing with the pre-Ayutthaya period appear to derive from Ayutthayan folklore, while descriptions of the years immediately prior to its writing come from van Vliet’s own experience and knowledge of recent events (Vickery 1976: 219, 233). He appears also to have drawn on tamnan texts. Wyatt, for example, cites some similarities between parts of van Vliet’s history and the Tamnan Nakhon Si Thammarat (1975: 65).

Vickery, however, concludes that the single major source on which van Vliet relied was a text in the Sangkhitiyavamsa tradition (1976: 207–236, 1979: 134). While much of the Sangkhitiyavamsa has been placed in the same tradition as antecedents of the Thai tamnan, chapter seven is recognised as an early recension of the dynastic annals of Ayutthaya (Reynolds 1979: 96). Unlike its later counterparts this recension did not list events by date; the few dates that do appear are widely believed to have been a later addition. In the original chapter seven, time’s passage was measured purely in regnal lengths. Much of the information in both this chapter of the Sangkhitiyavamsa and van Vliet’s Short History is biographical. A picture of Ayutthaya’s history emerges almost incidentally as the texts follow the lives of succeeding rulers.

We do not know what the source for this chapter of the Sangkhitiyavamsa was nor do we know its author. Neither, however, played a significant role in influencing Narai’s dynastic history. In the LPC astrology’s influence dominates, reflecting both Narai’s personality and the times in which he ruled.

Narai’s Siam and the writing of the LPC

In 1569, only a little more than a century before the LPC was compiled, Ayutthaya was captured.
by the Burmese after decades of warfare. Burmese rule continued for another 15 years and it was not until 1605 that Siam emerged from years of protracted conflict into a period of relative peace. With peace came the opportunity for increased trade and Ayutthaya’s power grew under a succession of kings. When Narai was crowned in 1656 he inherited a large and powerful kingdom in the centre of mainland South-East Asia. His realm reached south to the kingdoms of Pattani, Ligor, Phattalung and Songkhla; in the east Cambodia had acknowledged Ayutthaya’s suzerainty, and in the west the port of Tenasserim on the Bay of Bengal was under Thai control. Narai’s Ayutthaya was a cosmopolitan city frequented by foreigners from as far afield as northern Europe, the Islamic sultanates of west Asia, the Indonesian archipelago, India and north Asia. Some were directly employed by Narai or lived in the kingdom as missionaries and merchants. Other visitors; traders and diplomats, formed a more transient foreign population that occasionally came into contact with the royal court (Ieosiwong 1980: 29-36).

Aged in his mid-twenties when he became king, Narai immediately challenged tradition by refusing to move into the king’s palace after his coronation. He also took the unorthodox step of spending a large part of each year in Lopburi, fifty kilometres to Ayutthaya’s north, removing himself from the royal capital that was the symbolic centre of his power. Nithi writes that Lopburi, not Ayutthaya, was the real seat of power during Narai’s reign, and it was here that many foreigners were granted audiences with the king (1980: 25). 7

Like his predecessors, Narai realised the value of cultivating ties with foreigners for the trade they could bring to the kingdom. He increased the Crown’s participation in the maritime trade with China and Japan as well as the Indian Ocean region, and continued Thai involvement with the Indonesian archipelago. Not content to simply maintain previously established commercial relations with the Dutch and Portuguese, Narai sought also to establish trading links with other European powers (Na Pombejra 1984: 41). Even as a youth Narai had formed alliances with foreigners. He was particularly close to the Dutch, with whom he shared the enmity of rival princes. After Narai became king, members of Ayutthaya’s Dutch community drank the water of allegiance believing that they were held in high regard by Siam’s royal court. Many high-ranking Siamese officials were friendly towards the Dutch and Narai sent valuable gifts to their Governor General (Na Pombejra 1984: 255-6, 258). Within a few years of Narai’s becoming king, however, relations had soured to the point where he feared a Dutch attack on Siam. To counter the threat, he sought to establish stronger relations with other European powers. His approaches to the English having met with little success, Narai turned to the French who, hoping to both convert the Thai to Catholicism and establish Ayutthaya as a regional trading base, seized the opportunity to establish a presence in Siam. (Love 1999: 19).

Whatever its implications for Siam’s foreign policy and internal political situation, Narai’s contact with foreigners also contributed to his education. His reign coincided with European advances in the sciences associated with navigation, astronomy and horology. He lived in an age when humans were first beginning to grasp the nature and extent of the cosmos and his exulted position afforded him access to both news of scientific discoveries in Europe and to some of the most modern scientific and astronomical instruments then available. From the beginning of their involvement in Siam the Dutch had provided gifts for reigning kings. Narai’s broad interests demanded a more varied selection than the traditional range of cloth, spices and jewellery sent to his predecessors and he specifically ordered many of the gifts himself, including “luxury goods such as clocks, telescopes (and) military materiel such as cannons and munitions” (Smith 1974: 132, 290, Na Pombejra 1984: 256).

By the 1680s Narai was adding French scientific equipment to his collection. King Louis XIV sent him globes depicting the heavens and earth along with a model showing the relative motions of the sun, the moon and the planets. The Siamese ambassador to France requested maps of the heavens for Narai. And, during the 1680s two observatories were built at Narai’s behest, one in Ayutthaya the other in Lopburi, to assist Jesuit astronomers in their observations.
of the heavens. On many occasions Narai himself was present when important astronomical observations were taking place.⁸

Narai’s willingness to challenge tradition, his exposure to foreigners and an openness to new knowledge all influenced the LPC. Other aspects of Narai’s personality that may account for his breaking with traditional forms of historical writing are also suggested in works about seventeenth-century Siam. His life-long interest in learning, for example, provided the intellectual atmosphere in which the LPC was compiled. Narai received an education typical of that provided to the children of Ayutthaya’s elite in the seventeenth century. European visitors reported that it was common practice for Siamese boys to obtain their education in Buddhist temples, the centre of all learning. Students were taught art, law and philosophy by Buddhist monks while other subjects including astrology, mathematics and medicine were taught by lay experts (Wyatt 1969: 9, Yupho 1979: 11). The more gifted beneficiaries of this specialist education were then recruited by the royal court.

One such person was Narai’s teacher and the LPC’s author, the Phra Horathibodi, who came to Ayutthaya from Phichit to complete his studies before rising to the position of Chief Royal Astrologer (Schouten 1636: 15, Wyatt 1969: 10, 17).

His intelligence enabled Narai to profit from his privileged education. He made his palace a haven for poets and writers who gathered to compose works and participate in literary competitions, and he provided prominent members of Ayutthaya’s literati, including the Phra Horathibodi, with food and lodgings. He became an accomplished poet himself and is recognised as one of the three authors of the Samut Khat Khamchan. Narai’s reign was a time of significant literary achievement and the authors of some of the better known works of this period were his teachers.⁹

Not surprisingly Narai was also an avid reader, or rather listener. Nicolas Gervaise wrote that after 4.00 p.m. each day the King’s personal reader was called to duty. This unenviable task was described thus:

‘There is no employment in the royal palace more exhausting than that of the reader. He must often spend three or four hours reading prostrate on the ground and leaning on his elbows, hardly daring to breathe and unable to adopt a more comfortable position.’ (Gervaise 1989, 209)

La Loubère also made note of Narai’s love of reading, describing him as “curious to the highest degree.” (de La Loubère 1969: 99)

Here we see a king with a love of literature and art who encouraged those gifted in these areas and it is easy to imagine why one of this group was assigned the task of writing the Kingdom’s history. That it was the Phra Horathibodi is not surprising. As a youth Narai had been taught by the astrologer and he knew his teacher to be both capable and worthy of respect. The Phra Horathibodi’s reputation for accuracy in his forecasts carried over into his other endeavours. Records which he compiled reflect this concern for chronological accuracy and the LPC is still recognised today as among the most reliable of Thai historical texts for the dating of historical events.

The development of historical writing around a temporal system based on astrological knowledge and the movements of the planets coincided with the reign of a king who had a strong interest in the study of the heavens as well as access to the latest scientific equipment from Europe. Ultimately, though it was indigenous astrology, rather than European technology, that most profoundly influenced the LPC.

III

The chotmai het hon were a product of Brahmanism, a specialised branch of Hindu knowledge that served Sukhothai’s kings and remained a powerful force in Ayutthaya. Brahmans were esteemed by the Siamese court for the ritual functions they performed, some of which persisted into the twentieth century.¹⁰

Siam’s court astrologers were traditionally drawn from the ranks of court Brahmans who, as practitioners of a privileged science, held a powerful position in Ayutthaya. Every important ceremonial or civil function, including the casting of calendars, the founding of cities, coronations, funerals and the launching of military expeditions had to begin at the most
auspicious moment as determined by the astrologers. To aid in their prognostications, they kept records of the timing of past events, the *chotmaihet hon*. For Siam’s royal court, astrology, in essence a scientifically based system of calculating the rotations of the sun, the moon and the planets, provided a means to interpret the universe (Winnichakul 1994: 58).

**Buddhist time in the *tamnan***

For centuries before the LPC was compiled, astrology’s elaborate horological system and the *tamnan* had existed together, neither form of knowledge conflicting with the other. Astrology’s precise calculations stood in contrast to the more abstract sense of time reflected in the Buddhist histories. The *tamnan* typically begin with an explicit statement establishing the lives of the Buddha as the measure of time’s passing before proceeding to describe Buddhism’s growth and spread across Asia. This relates to a central construct in both the Pali chronicles of Sri Lanka and the *tamnan*: the idea of destiny. The future and past were inextricably linked as previous deeds led to future outcomes. Ayutthaya, for example, became the centre of the Thai world as it

‘was chosen by history to fulfil the prophecy of the Buddha, who had at an earlier time flown from India to the central Menam Basin where he left his footprint and a shadow to indicate the location of the capital of a future kingdom, which was to be the centre of his religion.’ (Kasetsiri 1976: 70)

Similarly, the perception that astrologers could predict the future based on their understanding of the past underpinned the writing of the *chotmaihet hon*.

In the *chotmaihet hon* the moment of an event’s occurrence was of central importance and the record of days and dates provided a system by which time could be accurately measured. In the Buddhist histories no such system was employed. The goal of the Buddha’s successive lives was Nirvana; a state of spiritual attainment transcending time. Thus the *tamnan* were the product of a philosophy that aspires to achieve a state in which the passage and shape of time become irrelevant. This understanding of time’s cycles had a great influence on the way Buddhists wrote history, leading some to ponder the paradox of a religion that aims to transcend time and the historical process itself producing a rich tradition of historical writing known from Japan to the Gulf of Arabia.¹¹

As histories of a religion already ancient by the time it reached the Thai speaking people, the *tamnan* are concerned with a far greater timespan than the *phongsawadan*. *Tamnan* describe millenia while even the longest *phongsawadan* cover only centuries.

**The *phongsawadan*—*chotmaihet hon* to narrative history**

Though they are not concerned with prophecy, the earliest *phongsawadan* entries follow exactly the *chotmaihet hon* format. Events were dated to give them a context within the kingdom’s history, astrological time lent the *phongsawadan* the means by which this could be done. Even as later *phongsawadan* ceased to bear a close resemblance to their antecedents, they retained the method of dating important events inherited from the *chotmaihet hon*.

As astrological records, the *chotmaihet hon* typically describe single isolated events. Its close association with the *chotmaihet hon* means that the LPC largely follows a similar format. Later *phongsawadan*, however, quickly came to exhibit a degree of continuity not apparent in their forebears. In the LPC we can see the beginnings of this transition towards a more narrative style of historical writing.

Astrological time, as it was was employed in the *phongsawadan*, was a useful temporal device for those writing the history of a large kingdom, but historical events could not continue to be recorded as if they were of interest solely to astrologers. Indeed, the notion underpinning the *chotmaihet hon*, that celestial influences are the agents of historical causality, quickly became redundant in the *phongsawadan*. The way in which events were recorded in time, and in relation to one another, in these texts soon moved away from the *chotmaihet hon* format. After the *Phra Horathibodi*, Siam’s chroniclers were drawn from among servants of the court other than astrologers. They began to tell the kingdom’s story in more detail than the strictly formatted astrologers’ records would allow.
The transition from the *chatmaihet hon* format to more narrative historical writing becomes evident early in the *phongsawadan* texts written after the LPC. Descriptions of King Ramesuan’s reign include phrases such as “after a full seven days” and “they were there for three days and then attacked and defeated the city”, while an entry beginning in 1387 describes the events of fourteen years. No single entries in the *chatmaihet hon* record time’s passage in such a fashion. In the astrologers’ records events are recorded as isolated occurrences confined to single years, in the *phongsawadan*, however, the narrative allows for events to be placed in time, as well as being followed through time. Thus as the *phongsawadan* moved away from the *chatmaihet hon* format, the temporal context of events also changed. Differing descriptions of the 1569 capture of Ayutthaya by the Burmese in the *chatmaihet hon*, the LPC and the *phongsawadan* illustrate this point.13

Ayutthaya’s fall was, up to that time, the most devastating defeat suffered by the Thai at the hands of the Burmese. Only one of the *chatmaihet hon*, the text known as *Chotmaihet Hon*, contains entries reaching back to this date. It describes the fall of Ayutthaya in the following way:

“In 930 the year of the dragon in the 12th month the King of Pegu proceeded from Pegu. . . When this became known to Somdet Phra Mahindra­dhiraj, he did not trust this Prince, and so he made him prisoner and had him executed at Wat Phra Ram.

From that time on the defence of the capital got weaker and on Sunday the 11th of the 9th waxing moon in 931, the year of the snake, at about 6 o’clock Ayuddhya fell into the hands of the King of Pegu.’ (Frankfurter 1909: 14) 15

This passage, in which a clearly noted year change is incorporated into the narrative, marks the first instance in which the depiction of time’s passing in the LPC differs from that in the *chatmaihet hon*.

In the later *phongsawadan* the fall of Ayutthaya is treated in essentially the same way as it is in the LPC though at much greater length. The date of the event in these texts is also included as part of the narrative:

“the sound of the guns made the earth quake, the armies of Phra Maha Thammaracha and Phra Maha Uparacha were beaten . . . They . . . retreated to meet [the Burmese] at Tambol Na Wat Kho and Wat Krabue. They were defeated again and then regrouped at Tambol Wat Phao Khao. After that they were routed and separated, they could not regroup and the enemy were able to enter the city.

When Ayutthaya fell to the King of Burma on Saturday the sixth day of the waxing moon in the eleventh month of the year of the Dragon eighth year of the decade, at nine a.m. the *Phramaha Uparat* and King Maha Thammarachathirat went and stood at the side of the throne.’ (Phonnarat 1970: 119).

In this passage the build up to the Siamese defeat and the events that followed are linked over several clearly listed years.

Both the LPC and the *phongsawadan* make a clear move away from the *chatmaihet hon* treatment of events in their description of Ayutthaya’s fall. Even the *Phra Horathibodi* appears to have felt that associating the fall of Ayutthaya exclusively with its moment of occurrence, as he would have done in a *chatmaihet hon*, was inappropriate for a text that was commissioned as a history.
Though the *phongsawadan* retained the temporal system inherited from the *chotmaihet hon* throughout their existence, the genre also evolved some important modifications. For example, when the *phongsawadan* describe a war between Siam and Burma that began in the 952nd year of the *chulasakarat* era (1590) time is portrayed in a novel way. At this point the years run as follows; CS 952, 953, 954, 955, 953, 954, 955, 956 (Phonnarat 1970: 302). This type of sequencing constitutes a break in the *phongsawadan*’s treatment of time as significant as the above descriptions of Ayutthaya’s capture. It is explained in the *phongsawadan* at the beginning of the second listing for CS 953. Here the reader is told that the author wished to describe the war from the Thai point of view before returning to the beginning to tell the Burmese story of the conflict (Phonnarat 1970: 319).

This repetition of a series of years to describe an event from two sides is unusual in the *phongsawadan*. From CS 1047 (1685) they resume an unbroken chronological order, but the presence of such sequences in the *phongsawadan* is of greater significance than their frequency implies. These examples represent a conceptualisation of time and history on the part of the *phongsawadan*’s authors that was not expressed in either the *chotmaihet hon* or the LPC. It is, nonetheless, equally significant that in their treatment of time, the post seventeenth century *phongsawadan* retain many traces of the *chotmaihet hon*.

The astrolgers’ system of measuring time set a temporal framework for the *phongsawadan*. However, the need for these dynastic histories to develop a narrative and follow the events they record through time rendered the *chotmaihet hon* format inappropriate. Thus, rather than being the summary of a more detailed work, as Vickery (1979: 132) suggests, the LPC is, in fact, a slightly embellished version of one or several *chotmaihet hon*. In so far as events in the LPC bear little causal relationship to each other, it resembles far more an astrolgers’ record than it does the post seventeenth-century *phongsawadan*. However, the *phongsawadan* genre quickly came to reflect both a view of history in which human actions, rather than the heavens, were the driving force behind events and in which narrative continuity enabled the development of a coherent story.

Narai’s *Phra Horathibodi* may have been as familiar with the plans and intrigues of the royal court as any subsequent *phongsawadan* author, but his writing was informed by years of seeking causality in the stars and planets. Later authors, while readily continuing to base the temporality of their work around celestial cycles, were far less inclined to attribute historical occurrences to these causes. The development of narrative continuity in the *phongsawadan* led to some changes in the way the passage of time was portrayed but the overall temporal framework of these texts can be wholly traced to astrolgers’ records and King Narai’s *Phra Horathibodi*.

**IV**

**Conclusion**

Despite being widely regarded as the first *phongsawadan*, the LPC, in fact, has far more in common with the *chotmaihet hon* than it does with later dynastic histories. Chapter seven of van Vliet’s *Short History* provides clear evidence that histories in which the Siamese kingdom was the focus existed in Siam before the LPC. None, however, relied on the lunar calendar to measure time’s passage, nor were any compiled by the *Phra Horathibodi*. And although no subsequent history was written by the Chief Royal Astrologer, all relied on the lunar calendar to provide temporal context.

Like any other historical text, the LPC reflects the time in which it was written as well as the attitudes and beliefs of those who wrote it. Narai was an intelligent individual who, like many of his predecessors, studied cosmology and astrology, but his scientific interests were matched also by his love of literature and history. He was possessed of a curiosity that led him to become familiar with European history, foreign dynasties and the latest scientific equipment from the west. Much of this equipment was designed to assist navigation and so was designed to measure time and distance using mathematical principles that were broadly similar to those used by Siam’s astrolgers in their development of calendars.

All of these factors combined to influence Narai’s appointment of the *Phra Horathibodi*.
to compile a history of the kingdom. The Phra Horathibodi was an accomplished scribe and Siam’s senior astrologer; he had been Narai’s trusted teacher and later became a member of the exclusive literary circle under the king’s patronage. Narai knew that the Phra Horathibodi would be able to write a history in which a particular system of dating provided the temporal context. The result was a chronicle that bore all the hallmarks of a chotmaihet hon. Later texts, whose origins can be traced to the LPC but whose authors were not themselves astrologers, however, quickly developed a more narrative form in which humans were the principle agents of historical causality.

As in those other parts of the world where histories similar in style to the LPC were produced, historical writing in Siam continued to evolve and change. The phongsawadan remained the dominant form until late in the nineteenth century. But like the tamnan, the phongsawadan also came to be eclipsed as a new understanding of the historical process, based on more western forms, came into vogue.

Notes

1 The Luang Prasoet Chronicle is formally known as the Phrarataphongswadan Krng Si Ayuthaya chabap Luang Prasoet Aksonit. Phra Horathibodi was the title given to the King’s Chief Royal Astrologer rather than the name of a particular individual.

2 The chronicles referred to here include texts in the tamnan tradition such as; the Chamthewivamsa, the Jinakalamali, the Tamnan Mulasasana and the Tamnan Muang Nakhon Si Thammarat.

3 For published versions of the LPC see Phrachat Phongsawadan (1963: 128–146) and Khamhaikan Chao Krng Kao, Khamhaikan Khun Luang Ha Wat lae Phrarataphongswadan Krng Kao chabap Luang Prasoet Aksonit (1964). An English translation by O. Frankfurter appeared in the Journal of the Siam Society in 1909, only two years after it was donated to the National Library.

4 Several chotmaihet hon have been published and two unpublished texts are located in the National Library of Thailand. The published chotmaihet hon are: Chotmaihet hon kong Chamun Kongsin (1965: 146–208) and Chotmaihet Hon chabap Phraya Pramun Thanurak (1920). The unpublished chotmaihet hon are both listed under National Library catalogue no. 159. One, covering the years 1758–1826, is untitled and the other, covering 1782–1895, is known as Phraya Horathibodi’s Chotmaihet Hon.

5 See van Vliet (1640). Other examples of European accounts of Siam include; Ravensway (1910: 1–105), de La Loubère (1969) and Tachard (1981).

6 Reynolds wrote that the the Sangkhitiyavansa belongs to a genre of religious historical writing that has its roots in the Sri Lankan Mahavamsa. The genre is represented in Thailand by the Mulasasana, the Chamthewivamsa, the Ratanabimbavamsa and the chronicle of the Emerald Buddha (1976: 92–93).

7 It is believed that Narai was either 24 or 25 years old at the time of his accession. Yupho (1979: 1, 5) places Narai’s birth in 1632 and notes that he was aged 25 at the time of his coronation. See also leowsriwong (1980: 18). There is some debate as to the amount of time Narai spent in Lopburi but it is generally believed to have averaged between five and nine months a year. See for instance, Thavornthanasan (1986: 134–135).

8 Narai’s interest in astronomy comes through in a number of works, see for example, Wirabut (1987: 25–27) and Mu’anwong (1987: 65). Narai participated in some French observations of lunar eclipses in the second half of the 1680s. These provided the subject of some of the better known drawings of the King from this time, see for instance Tachard (1981: 230) and Wirabut (1987: 21–23). One of these drawings also graced the cover of Wyatt (1984).

9 On the Samut Khot Khamchan see Wanakhdi Samai Ayuthaya (1987: 4). This lengthy verse, written over one hundred and ninety-three years is reputed to be one of the best examples of the chan form. In addition to the Samut Khot Khamchan Narai compiled another well known work, the Khlong Pasit. For a list of Narai’s other works see Yupho (1979: 22). The LPC was, of course, written by Narai’s teacher, the Phra Horathibodi, who also wrote the first educational book in the Thai language, the Chindamani. Among other works written during Narai’s reign were the Su’a Khokhamchan, by Phra Maharachakkru, another of Narai’s teachers.

10 On Brahmanism in early Ayutthaya see Terwiel (1975: 15), Winnichakul (1994: 20) and Quaritch Wales (1931). On the Brahmans’ role in Sukhothai
see, Griswold and Na Nagara (1973: 61, 75 and 1975: 44, 48–49) and Coedes (1964: 221).


12 See descriptions of King Ramesuan’s reign under the years CS746 and 749. The quotations come from Phraratchaphongsawadan Krung Si Ayuthaya chabap Somdet Phra Phonnarat, 6, 8. CS is an abbreviation for the chulasakarat era which came into use in Siam during the thirteenth century but begins its reckoning from 638 AD, see Eade (1989: 11–12).

13 There are acknowledged discrepancies in the dating of events between the LPC and later phongsawadan. This does not, however, affect the following discussion. Other examples are also forthcoming from the various texts in question, see for instance the various descriptions of King Yotfa’s reign in the chotmaihet hon, the LPC and the phongsawadan.

14 This text incorrectly dates the fall of Ayutthaya in CS 918, the correct year, given in the LPC, was CS 931.

15 The LPC records this event as having occurred at 9.00 o’clock.

16 An explanation of the chulasakarat era appears at footnote 11.

17 Its second occurrence begins with the entry for CS 1019 (1567) after which the years are listed in the following order; 1020, 1021, 1122, 1019, 1124, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1044 (For CS 1019 and 1024 only the name of the animal year is recorded. The text suggests that for the two years CS 1122 and 1124 both numbers are misprints and should be CS 1022 and 1024). Listed out of chronological sequence, the second account of CS 1019, which records extensive contact with Europeans, causes some confusion. Here the continuity of narrative takes precedence over chronological order in the phongsawadan. Having related one series of events to their conclusion the authors move back through time to follow separate but concurrent events which in this case involved the Siamese embassy to Paris.

There remains a further instance of years being listed out of chronological sequence immediately following the above example. In this case the years are listed thus; CS 1044, 1046, 1045, 1047, 1048. CS 1045’s entry is prefaced with the words: “During CS 1045 the year of the Pig... which had already passed the king began the ceremonies for his coronation.” The reason for this break in the chronological sequence appears similar to those in the above examples. Rather than interrupt the narrative’s continuity as the passage of a particular event is followed the authors have manipulated the shape of time in the text. A concurrent event that does not fit into the narrative is thus recorded out of the chronological sequence to which the text subsequently returns.

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FORCED RESETTLEMENT CAMPAIGNS IN NORTHERN THAILAND DURING THE EARLY BANGKOK PERIOD *

1. Introduction

In pre-colonial indianized Southeast Asia the control of manpower, not the conquest of land, was the crucial factor for establishing, consolidating and strengthening state power. Thai, Burmese and Cambodian chronicles provide ample evidence of how Southeast Asian rulers launched successful attacks against weaker neighbours in order to seize large parts of the population and to resettle the war captives in their own realm. At the same time, the victorious side was very often content to establish a loose tributary relationship with the former enemy whose resources of manpower had been reduced.

The victors derived many benefits from this kind of traditional warfare in demographic, political, economical and cultural terms. The losers, on the other hand, suffered severely from massive depopulations resulting in the devastation of cities and rural areas and, in consequence, a decrease in agricultural production. Sometimes it took centuries until population losses and its concomitants, such as the devastation of rural areas and the decrease in agricultural production, could be overcome. The rulers of the Burmese Konbaung dynasty, for example, used systematically large-scale deportations of war captives as an underlying means of strengthening and expanding state power. In 1757, King Alaungpaya defeated the resurgent Mon kingdom of Pegu. Numerous Mon were resettled in Upper Burma, others fled across the Salween into Tenasserim province (Martaban) or even sought shelter in Siamese territory. Fifteen years later, Burmese maltreatment of the Mon provoked a new exodus to

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Siam. Lower Burma began to recover from the ravages caused by warfare, forced resettlements and voluntary emigration only in the second quarter of the 19th century.¹

The structural backwardness of Laos can at least partially be explained by the drastic measures taken by the Siamese in suppressing the rebellion of King (cao,OCUS) Anu of Vientiane. The ruthless victors not only destroyed the Lao capital completely; in numerous mopping-up operations Siamese troops depopulated Vientiane and its hinterland. Furthermore, they raided Central Laos between the Kading river and Savannakhet. The massive resettlements of Lao populations across the Mekong to the Khorat Plateau and even to the Central Plain (e.g., Lopburi, Suphanburi, Chachoengsao, Prachinburi) continued until the early 1850s.² Within a few decades after the suppression of the Cao Anu rebellion the demographic centre of gravity of the Lao country had moved from the trans-Mekong territories (i.e. present-day Laos) to the Khorat Plateau. "In the 30 years after the Cao Anu rebellion more than 100,000 people were deported from the left bank. The present fivefold disparity between the populations of Laos and Thailand’s Isan region is a result of the deportations in the aftermath of the Cao Anu rebellion."³

The Siamese campaigns in Laos, as well as in neighbouring Cambodia, during the 1830s and 1840s were primarily directed against Vietnamese political expansion. As Kennon Breazeale has pointed out, “Thai notions behind the restructuring of human resettlement to suit political ends rather than local geography were based in the time of Rama III on the idea that a depopulated region would serve as a physical barrier against enemy attack.” However, the Vietnamese did not engage in the same sort of depopulation efforts as the Thai did. Huế was primarily concerned with acknowledgements of suzerainty by Lao rulers and did not envisage a depopulation campaign either practical or desirable. Generally speaking, “there was never any question of rounding up villagers and resettling them in Annam.”⁴ Conditions in the densely populated Red River basin and the central Vietnamese coastal zones did not favour an eastward flow of people from the Mekong basin. During the short-lived conquest of Cambodia by Huế (1834–47) considerable numbers of Vietnamese settlers were sent into the new province of Tran Tay Thanh, as Cambodia was renamed by Emperor Minh Mang. This attitude was in sharp contrast to the Siamese strategy of raiding Cambodia to assemble manpower.

The esteem in which a strong population base (“manpower”) was held and the relatively minor importance of land, with the notable exception of Vietnam, can certainly be explained by the chronic underpopulation of Southeast Asian river basins since ancient times. The control of land was apparently not the decisive factor for state power. The political status of a Thai miiang (.Trace) depended on the patrimonial ties of the population living in that territory. For example, the district of Phan, now a part of Chiang Rai province, was until the beginning of the 20th century an enclave of Lamphun. Settlers from that miiang founded Miiang Phan in the 1840s but maintained their allegiance to their old overlord, the cao muang (مرض) of Lamphun. Old patrimonial bonds clearly proved to be stronger than geographic or economic considerations, which would have favoured political relations to Chiang Mai rather than to Lamphun.⁵

The primacy of manpower can be best exemplified by the following conflict between Nan, a Northern Thai tributary state of Siam, and Chiang Khaeng, a small miiang in Sipsong Panna, which became a part of French Laos in 1896. In 1866, the ruler of the small Lü principality of Chiang Khaeng sent some of his subjects to neighbouring Miiang Sing, at that time virtually unpopulated and covered with deep forests. Nan regarded Miiang Sing as a dependency, because it had once deported the inhabitants of Miiang Sing. When the ruler of Chiang Khaeng claimed his exclusive rights to exploit Sing’s rich natural resources, the ruler of Nan threatened his rival that he would launch a punitive campaign and deport the illegal settlers to Nan.⁶ Chiang Khaeng complied with Nan’s demand, at least temporarily. Two decades later, in 1884, Cao Fa Salì Nò, the then ruler of Chiang Khaeng, made a second, this time successful, attempt. More than 1,000 settlers were moved from Miiang Yu, the provisional capital of Chiang Khaeng situated northeast of
Miiang Yong on the right bank of the Mekong, to settle permanently in the fertile plain of Miiang Sing that was situated on the east bank.7

Forced resettlement campaigns were an important aspect or even the main rationale of wars in traditional Thailand and Laos and have considerably shaped the linguistic and ethnographic map of these countries. Khmer villages in Ratchaburi, Phuan settlements in Lopburi and Lao enclaves in Saraburi originate from deportations of war captives during the Thonburi and early Bangkok periods. Suffice is to say that the existence in the Siamese heartland of large non-Siamese ethnic groups, though partially assimilated today, are of relevance for political scientists and social anthropologist doing fieldwork in those areas. In this paper I examine the impacts of forced resettlements on state and society by using Thailand’s upper north, the historical region of Lan Na, as a case in point.

Kep phak sai sa kep kha sai miiang, (คำพักใส่สะ kepขาใส่เมือง) is an old Northern Thai (Yuan) saying, rendered by the late Kraisri Nimmanhaeminda as “Put Vegetables into Baskets, put People into Towns.”8 This saying refers to one of the most extensive deportations in Thai history. The two centuries of Bunnese domination was interspersed with various Lan Na rebellions and short periods of autonomy. Large parts of the Ping-Kuang basin, the agricultural heartland of the country, were laid waste. The population had either been deported to Burma or had fled into the jungles to escape the hardships of war. The liberator of Chiang Mai, Phaya (King) Kawila (r. 1782–1816) launched numerous campaigns against various petty Shan states to the North deporting large parts of their populations and resettling them in Chiang Mai, Lamphun, and Lampang. Kawila’s policy of kep phak sai sa kep kha sai miiang contributed to the political, economic and cultural revival of these three Northern Thai principalties. Each was a tributary state (miiang prathetsarat มีเมืองพระทัยราช) of Siam, but Chiang Mai played the leading role. Nan and Phrae, two other Northern Thai tributary states, were ruled by their own dynasties and launched resettlement campaigns likewise, partially in coordination with Chiang Mai, partially on their own account. In this study I will use the following questions for the sake of conceptual clarity: First, can we determine the geographical and ethnic background of the war captives? Second, is it possible to quantify the extent of the forced resettlements? Third, where were the deportees resettled in their new homesteads? Lastly, what were the political, demographic and economic implications on Lan Na society as the whole?

2. Sources

To reconstruct the history of Lan Na, especially the period of its restoration under Kawila, the historian has to make use of a wide range of different source materials. They can be classified into four categories:

1. Local chronicles (tamnan, ตำนาน) written in Dharma script (tua tham, ตัวธาม or tua miiang, ตัวเมือง) and kept in the numerous monastery libraries of the region;
2. royal chronicles (phra-ratcha phongsawadan, พระราชาภูงศาวดายน) and reports of the Siamese government (cotmaihet, ขุนนำเขท) on relations with its Northern Thai principalities;
3. contemporay reports of British officials about their visits to Northern Thailand;
4. interviews with knowledgeable informants in communities of Lù, Khùn or Tai Yai (Shan) background.

Among the different sorts of source materials, the research into the local chronicles seems to be the most promising and useful. However, in cases of direct Siamese involvement Siamese sources are often more precise and reliable.9 During recent decades when public and scholarly interest in Thai local history has grown dramatically, many of the most important tamnan have been transliterated into modern Thai script.

The Chiang Mai Chronicle (CMC) is regarded as one of the key sources of Northern Thai history. The surviving copies of that chronicle, in general, comprise seven or eight fascicles of palm-leaves. In 1971, one copy consisting of eight fascicles was published by the Prime Minister’s Office (samnak nayok ratthamontri, สำนักนายกรัฐมนตรี) in Siamese transliteration under the title Tamnan phûn miiang chiang mai (ตำนานพื้นเมืองเชียงใหม่ TPCM).
Thereafter, this version (TPCM-SN) became the most widely-used original source of Lan Na history among Thai historians. Before that, non-readers of Dharma script had to consult Camille Notton’s French translation, published in 1932, which is rather reliable but based on a copy of only seven fascicles carrying the record up to 1805/06.

Well aware of the fact that the TPCM-SN version contained many transliteration and other errors, the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, began publishing another version of the CMC based on a seven-fascicle manuscript from Wat Methangkharawat in Phrae. This manuscript had the title Tamnan sip ha ratchawong (เทมนันซิปเขาราชาวงศ์ TSHR). Finally, on the occasion of the 700-year celebrations of Chiang Mai (1996), two further versions of the CMC were brought to the public. First, David K. Wyatt and Aroonrut Wichienkeo translated into English a manuscript of eight fascicles that was provided to them by Hans Penth (CMC-HP). The manuscript is said to have come from Chiang Saen and probably dates from 1926. Wyatt regards it as “more complete, more legible, and [having] fewer mistakes than the others.10 The second version is an eight-fascicle manuscript from Wat Phra Ngam (Chiang Mai) that is now kept in the Thai National Library. Udom Rungruangsi used this manuscript, dated C.S. 1216 [A.D. 1854/55], to reconstruct the “archetype” of the CMC by comparing it with nine other versions including CMC-HP.11

The Yonok Chronicle [Phongsawadan yonok, พงศาวดารโยนก – PY], written in 1898/99 by Phraya Prachakitkôracak, a high-ranking Siamese official in Monthon Phayap, makes extensive use of various Northern Thai chronicles including the CMC. Since PY was first published in 1907, long before any Northern Thai chronicle had been transliterated into modern Thai, many Thai scholars used it as an authoritative source on Northern Thai history. Although PY’s account of developments in Chiang Mai during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries follows TPCM very closely, there are several errors or misunderstandings of the Chiang Mai Chronicle. PY is, however, a useful secondary source, though one which should be taken with caution.

The authorship of the CMC is unknown. Wyatt believes that the eight-fascicle versions derive from a manuscript written not long after the last recorded event (1828). Northern Thai experts, however, are convinced that more than one author was involved in the composition of the chronicle, which may have been revised and rewritten several times over the centuries. Saraswadee Ongsakul suggests that the first part of the chronicle was composed not long after the reign of Phaya Tilok (r. 1441/42–1487), for starting with the reign of Tilok’s predecessor, Sam Fang Kaen (r. 1402–1441), TPCM contains an increasing amount of detailed material on political events. Unlike the religious tamnan of the early 16th century, such as the Jinakàamällaparamanam (จิน낙ามัลลปรากรม) and Càmâdevâvamsa (จำ.ravelัชมงคล), the author of the CMC might not have been a monk but a member of the king’s entourage. Starting with events in the mid-1550s, the chronicle changes style and scope. The two centuries of Burmese rule are dealt with only in a cursory manner. There are large gaps, especially for the first quarter of the 17th century. The condensed style of writing resembles that of an astrological calendar emphasizing the exact years of events.12 As for the late 18th century, when the anti-Burmese struggle gained momentum, the style changes again. The liberation of Lan Na and its restoration under Kawila and his brothers is described in remarkable detail. It seems that this final part of the CMC was written by a person who was in the service either of Kawila himself or of his younger brother Thammalangka, and became, as uparat, directly involved in the resettlement campaigns. We may assume that this knowledgeable person compiled the Chiang Mai Chronicle by using a wide range of older texts and adding the record of those events he himself had witnessed.

The various versions of the CMC glorify Kawila’s policies and give no space for the victims’ point of view. Therefore, I will make much use of the Yöng Chronicle [Tamnan mıang yöng, เทมนันมิย่อง – TMY], which Thawi Sawangpanyangkun transliterated into modern Thai script. The version of TMY used by Thawi describes the resettlements of people from Miąng Yöng and Chiang Tung during the early 19th century. The name of the chronicle is a
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little misleading, for TMY deals more with events in Chiang Tung than in Miiang Yong itself; it is thus also a good supplement to the Jengtung State Chronicle. Obviously written by survivors of the deportations, it describes with empathy events from the victims’ perspective. Thus, I was able to use TMY and the CMC for obtaining both corroborating and complementary evidence.

Apart from transliterated editions of Northern Thai chronicles, there are numerous manuscripts still unpublished and awaiting scholarly attention. So far I have made only limited use of this rich and promising material. Thus, in some instances, my conclusions might be revised after a thoroughgoing analysis of all materials available. In 1826, after the first Anglo-Burmese war, Tenasserim fell under British rule. Three years later, the British colonial office in Moulmein sent Dr. David Richardson, a high-ranking official, to explore the state of politics, society and economics in Lan Na and the Shan states further to the north. The main intention of the British was to establish cattle trade with Chiang Mai and, further, to explore trade routes leading to southern China. Two years later, W.C. McLeod, assistant to the governor of Tenasserim, made another tour to Chiang Mai and other parts of Lan Na. The reports of the two Englishmen provide much insight into the society of Lan Na during the early 19th century. Moreover, Richardson and McLeod make interesting observations about the size and ethnic origin of the population in various miiang, observations that are missing elsewhere.

The use of oral history as a further category of source materials needs a brief explanation. As the events I am dealing with occurred 150–200 years ago, it was not surprising that even old villagers of Lü or Khün origin could seldom give any clear account of resettlements that had taken place five to seven generations ago, all the more so since no village records have been kept from that early period. However, as an additional source to improve my general understanding of the geographic and social environment the interviews were helpful. In a few monasteries, such as Wat Phraphutthabat Tak Pha (Pa Sang district, Lamphun), the abbots were able to provide valuable details on the history of communities founded by former war captives. On the whole, interviews were used to gather additional information and for conceptualizing purposes rather than to fill gaps in the chroniclular evidence.

3. Anti-Burmese Resistance Efforts in Lan Na

In 1558, Chiang Mai capitulated to Burmese troops without offering any serious resistance. King Bayinnaung of Burma regarded Lan Na as a rear-base where manpower and provisions of food and ammunition could be assembled for the approaching attack on Ayutthaya. Although the Burmese eventually had to retreat from Ayutthaya and the Siamese heartland which they dominated for about 15 years (1569–1584), they were determined to integrate Lan Na into an outer belt of vassal states. According Dr Aye Gyaw (formerly Rangoon University), the Burmese kings thought Chiang Mai was strategically more essential to their survival than Ayutthaya because it gave them access to all those Tai peoples north and east of the Ping valley. The Burmese pursued a policy of “divide and rule” in Lan Na. After the death of Phranang (Queen) Witsutthathewi in 1578, Chiang Mai and other important miiang were mostly ruled by Burmese noblemen. The rulers of former dependencies of Chiang Mai, such as Nan and Chiang Rai, were directly appointed by the Burmese kings. The Northern Thai (Yuan) elite were strictly controlled by Burmese or Mon civilian and military officials. By rotating the high state positions in Lan Na frequently, the political power of the old nobility was further reduced. This aggravated rivalries among the Yuan elite along regional lines, eventually resulting in the political fragmentation of Lan Na. None of the Burmese-dominated and mutually suspicious Yuan miiang was able to regain independence for long. Some miiang, such as Chiang Rai, in 1600, succeeded in throwing off the Burmese yoke for a couple of years when Burma, facing a challenge by a resurgent Siam under King Naresuan, had fallen into chaos. But Anauk-hpet-lun (r. 1606–1628) not only restored Burmese rule over Lan Na, he and his immediate successor, Talun-min (r. 1628–1648), easily suppressed further revolts in Nan (1625), Chiang Mai (1631) and Fang
(1632), for the rebels were inferior in arms and did not coordinate their actions. 16

Burmese retaliatory measures had always been decisive and harsh. Campaigns were followed by mass deportations to Burma. In 1615, after having won a military victory against Chiang Mai the year before, Burmese king Anauk-hpet-lun (Yuan: "Mangthara") deported numerous inhabitants of Chiang Mai to Lower Burma. We know details of this event from the "Poem on Mangthara’s War against Chiang Mai" (Khlong riiang mangthara rop chiang mai, โคลงเรียงมังทาระรบเชียงมา่ – KMCM), 17

The large-scale deportations of Yuan to Pegu were obviously a response to heavy population losses in Lower Burma during the late 16th century. According to Victor Lieberman. “Anauk-hpet-lun may have settled Tai prisoners around Pegu between 1616 and 1624, but these deportations could hardly compensate for the losses of the late sixteenth century.” 18 However, deportations were not always the lot of the entire population. It appears that some groups of people, such as commoners who were already attached to monasteries for life (phrai wat, พระวัต), were able to escape forced resettlement. This seems to be evident from two documents found at Wat Ratchawisuttharam in the village of Ban Pae (Cöm Thòng district, Chiang Mai Province). The first document is engraved on two thin silver-plates bearing the seal of Phranang Wisutthathewi. The queen vested to the villagers of three hamlets, which make up present-day Ban Pae, the right to stay permanently in their settlements. They had to pay an annual ground-rent of 500 baht; in exchange, the villagers were exempted from corvée labour and military service. 19 When some 60 years later the Burmese king, Tha-lun ordered a campaign against recalcitrant Chiang Mai, he tried to deport the inhabitants of Ban Pae to Ava. The villagers, already rounded up, submitted, but when the Burmese generals were shown the silver-plates, the villagers were finally allowed to stay. 20

Tha-lun’s campaign against Chiang Mai is briefly mentioned by the Chiang Mai Chronicle. TPCM states that the Burmese took prisoner the cao miiang of Chiang Mai, bringing him to Pegu in 1631. One year later, Fang was retaken by Burmese troops. 21 The chronicle, which discusses events of the 17th century only cursorily, fails to mention the large-scale deportations of Northern Thai (Yuan) populations to Burma, but Burmese sources confirm the resettlement of Tai-speaking peoples, including Yuan, in Lower Burma between 1616 and 1632 and in Upper Burma after 1635. 22 In 1635, King Tha-lun transferred the royal capital from Pegu to Ava. Preparations for this transfer had begun in 1627/29, as Victor Lieberman convincingly demonstrates. 23 In 1628, the Burmese centre of power in Lan Na shifted from Chiang Mai to Chiang Saen. I believe that the growing importance of Chiang Saen has to be seen in connection with the transfer of the Burmese capital. Communication between Pegu and Chiang Mai was comparatively easy when the route described in KMCM was taken. Seen from Ava, situated in the heartland of Upper Burma, routes of communication to Lan Na were shortest via the eastern Shan states and Chiang Saen. Moreover, the transfer of the Burmese capital was motivated by a shift from maritime to overland trade in Burma and neighbouring regions. The new trade-routes favoured not only Ava, but also Chiang Saen, which controlled the trans-Mekong trade deep into present-day Laos. During the second half of the 17th century Burmese rule in Chiang Mai and other parts appeared to have been relatively stable, although the Siamese under King Narai managed to conquer Chiang Mai for a short period (1661–1663). Occasional Siamese raids, such as the assault on Tak in 1677, which resulted in the deportation of some of its inhabitants, 24 do not alter this assessment.

In 1701, Chiang Saen was separated administratively from Chiang Mai and put under the direct control of Ava. Twenty-six years later, a popular uprising in Chiang Mai under Thep Sing, a “man possessing magical powers” (phu wiset, ผู้มีสิ่ง), occurred. The Burmese garrison was expelled, and Chiang Mai regained its independence for three decades. Because they had lost Chiang Mai, the Burmese decided to turn Chiang Saen into their military, political and economic base in Lan Na. In 1733/34, all the important miiang in the north and east of Lan Na were placed under the direct supervision of Chiang Saen: Phayao, Chiang Rai, Chiang
Không, Fang, Thoeng, Phrae, Nan and Sat. Thus, by the mid-18th century Lan Na had split into two contending spheres of influence: a Burmese controlled zone with Chiang Saen as its centre and a “Free Lan Na” around Chiang Mai and Lampang.\textsuperscript{25}

The temporary Burmese withdrawal from the Ping-Kuang basin resulted from a severe power crisis in Burma during the second quarter of the 18th century. To the north the state of Mogaung had gained independence with help from Manipur in 1734/35. Some years later, the Mon in Lower Burma revived their own state and dared to challenge even the Burmese heartland around Ava. The Burmese Kon-baung-zet Chronicle explains the precarious situation of that time as follows: “Day by day and month by month, the great tributary states that made up the empire—the crowned swabwas and [Thai] myo-zas—broke away and deserted the king. Each withdrew and fortified himself within his own principality.”\textsuperscript{26}

After his decisive victory against Pegu in 1757, Alaung-hpaya, the founder of the Kon-baung dynasty, tried to win back Chiang Mai and other former vassals. In 1762, nine Burmese armies laid siege to Chiang Mai. After one year the city fell, together with Lamphun, into Burmese hands. The victors did not only deport the urban élite, but also large parts of the rural population to Ava.\textsuperscript{27} \textit{PY} puts the situation in the following words: “The Burmese controlled all communes of Lan Na. The oppression of the population caused much suffering all over the country. Some people fled into the jungle. Others flocked together and formed gangs killing each other. The country had no ruler.”\textsuperscript{28} However, like two centuries before, Chiang Mai was once again not the ultimate target of Burmese war strategy. The seizure of Chiang Mai paved the way for encircling Ayutthaya from the north.

When, after the victories of Tak Sin in 1767/68, the fortunes of war turned in favour of the Siamese again, troops of the Siamese king hurried northwards. The signal for a general uprising against the Burmese was given. But in the forthcoming struggle the surviving members of Lan Na’s old élite no longer played the leading role. The initiative was taken by the ruling family of Lampang. In 1732, a hunter (\textit{phran pa}, ภราญ) called Thip Chang expelled the despotic ruler of Lampang. He did so with broad popular support, including the moral encouragement of the local Saṅgha. Thip Chang who ascended the throne under the title Phraya Sulawalūchāi (r. 1732–1759) tried to maintain good relations to Ava by accepting Burmese suzerainty. His policy of maintaining relations with the superior regional power was supported by his son Chai Kaeo (r. 1759–1774). Lampang seemed to have been spared the devastations and mass deportations Chiang Mai suffered in 1763. Chai Kaeo’s eldest son, Kawila (*1742/43), helped his father in the day-to-day administration and also proved to be an able military commander.\textsuperscript{29}

The conciliatory attitude towards Burma began to change when the Burmese were taking drastic measures to assimilate the Yuan culturally. \textit{PY} reports that in 1770, “the Burmese issued an order that in all parts [of Lan Na] males had to tattoo their legs black and females to pierce their ears and insert a rolled palm leaf, according to Burmese fashion.”\textsuperscript{30} It seems probable that, as Saraswadee and Penth suggest, this change in Burmese cultural policy was due to the gruff and uncompromising character of (Po) Moyakhamani, the new Burmese governor in Chiang Mai.\textsuperscript{31} Moyakhamani, also called “General Whitehead” (\textit{po hua khao}, พ่อหัวขาว)\textsuperscript{32} by the Yuan, had succeeded the relatively humane general Aphaikhamani a year before.

A few years later, Kawila secretly plotted with Ca Ban, the Yuan ruler of Chiang Mai, against the Burmese occupiers. Ca Ban was appointed by the Burmese king and had as his trusted attendant organized stiff resistance against the troops of Tak Sin (in 1770/71). But evidently in direct response to the arbitrariness of the Burmese forces, which was becoming increasingly unbearable, Kawila and Ca Ban secretly plotted against the Burmese. Realizing their own forces were too weak to launch a successful war of liberation, they changed their loyalty to the Siamese side. By a ruse, Ca Ban escaped with his followers from Chiang Mai and finally joined Siamese troops south of Thoen.\textsuperscript{33} Kawila, for his part, attacked the poorly guarded Burmese garrison in Lamphang causing carnage among the Burmese and Tai Yai troops stationed there.\textsuperscript{34}

The events that led to the defeat of the Burmese troops and their withdrawal from
Chiang Mai within three years are described by TPCM in detail. The Chiang Mai Chronicle emphasizes the prominent role of Kawila in the liberation of the city. According to TPCM, Kawila commanded a small, but audacious, army. Possessing great tactical skills, Kawila contributed decisively to the victory of the main Siamese army under the command of Phraya Chakri, later King Rama I.32 Siamese sources do not agree. In his pioneering work on the wars between Siam and Burma [Thai rop phama, บริณู(module) Prince Damrong Rachanuphap portrays the liberation of Chiang Mai as the work of Phraya Chakri with the support of Ca Ban and 5,000 volunteers from the Chiang Mai region. Damrong’s appraisal of events is corroborated by a palm-leaf manuscript from Wat Phummin in Nan which reports on “Historical Events in [Lan Na], A.D. 1728–1854.” The text written in the form of a cotmaihet states: “On the 14th day of the waxing moon in the fourth month of C.S. 1136 [Sunday, 15 January 1775] the ‘people from the South’ [chao tai, ส่วนใต้, i.e. the Siamese] conquered Chiang Mai. The Burmese under General (Po) Hua Khao fled. [Later] General Tò Maeng Khi raised troops and laid siege to Chiang Mai from the fifth until the eleventh or twelfth month [February—August/September]. Many people died of famine. But Phraya Ca Ban resisted the Burmese and with the support of the people of Chiang Mai he repulsed them.”33 The major role of Kawila is not mentioned in this Northern Thai source. By contrast TPCM tends to eulogize Kawila’s later achievements in the restoration of Lan Na; it does not seem to reflect adequately his subordinate role in 1774/75.

The marriage between Kawila’s younger sister, Si Anocha, and Phraya Surasi, younger brother of Phraya Chakri paved the way for Kawila’s career. When in 1782 Phraya Chakri ascended to the Siamese throne, Phraya Surasi became vice-king (uparat, ผู้ราช), and Kawila was appointed to the high-ranking position of cao phraya (sao phraya, ตระกูล) ruling Chiang Mai as a vassal of Bangkok. The decisive role of Si Anocha in suppressing the so-called Phraya San rebellion, which had led to Tak Sin’s assassination,38 should have smoothed Kawila’s rise to power. Moreover, there was no real alternative to Kawila, since after a Burmese counter-attack on Chiang Mai later in 1775,39 Ca Ban had finally retreated with most of the city’s inhabitants to areas in the present-day province of Lamphun. There he probably placed himself and his followers under Kawila’s protection.40


Though in 1782 King Rama I had bestowed on Kawila the honorific title of “Phraya Mangra Wachiraprakan Cao Müang Chiang Mai”, Kawila’s effective sphere of power barely reached beyond Lampang. Chiang Saen and the müang in the northern and eastern areas of Lan Na were still under Burmese rule. Chiang Mai, the symbolic importance of which as Lan Na’s political and cultural centre had survived the vicissitudes of the preceding two centuries, was in complete desolation, as is described by TSHR: “At that time Chiang Mai was depopulated and had become a jungle overgrown by climbing plants, it turned into a place where rhinoceroses, elephants, tigers and bears were living. There were few people living in groups. Everything was overgrown leaving out the eaves of the houses and the roads to facilitate communication with each other, as there were no opportunities for clearing [the jungle].”41

Under these circumstances an early return to Chiang Mai, a virtually uninhabited city surrounded by a devastated countryside without any viable rural infrastructure, could hardly have been realized. Kawila therefore decided to establish his headquarters at Pa Sang, a community situated at the confluence of the Ping and Li rivers and roughly 40 km to the South of Chiang Mai. Together with 300 soldiers and other able-bodied men from Lampang, Kawila made Pa Sang into a fortified and moated settlement (wiang,  đình). 700 other able-bodied men from the vicinity of Pa Sang settled in Kawila’s new headquarters.42 The choice for Pa Sang as provisional capital may have been motivated by the following considerations:

1. Pa Sang was situated halfway between Lampang and Chiang Mai. In the event of a Burmese attack from Chiang Saen, prompt support from Lampang could be brought. If Kawila was menaced by
a large-scale invasion, he could devise an orderly retreat to Lampang.

2. Pa Sang was situated in the centre of the Ping-Kuang river basin, a potentially fertile rice-land. The surrounding countryside could support a large population.

3. Unlike nearby Lamphun, which had been destroyed after 1763, Pa Sang had direct access to the Ping River that linked Lan Na with Siam. The favourable geostrategic situation of Pa Sang may also have inclined Kawila to make this wiang, not just the temporary, but the permanent political centre of the Chiang Mai-Lampang region. But this theoretical option was not taken into consideration, for the complete liberation of Lan Na had not yet been achieved, and Chiang Mai was, in the long run, a better base for controlling the areas further to the north. But the decisive argument in favour of Pa Sang as only a temporary administrative centre was probably a question of legitimacy. Kawila and his family \( (trakun cao cet ton, ตรากูน ชาว เจ้าที่) \) were commoners, they could not trace their origin back to any line of the Mangrai dynasty that had ruled Chiang Mai and Lan Na until 1578. The chronicles do not tell us whether members of the old ruling house of Chiang Mai had survived. As Kawila obviously had in mind a revitalization of the pre-Burmese state tradition, he decided to rebuild Chiang Mai, its monasteries, city walls and compartments. The official ceremony marking the reestablishment of the reconstructed capital took place on an auspicious day of the year 1796/97. On Thursday, 9 March 1797, 500 years after its founding by Mangrai, Kawila ceremoniously re-entered the city.\(^{44}\)

At the beginning of Kawila’s reign, the weak population base was the biggest obstacle to the final expulsion of the Burmese from Lan Na and the reconstruction of Chiang Mai as the country’s political and cultural centre. However, little by little people were returning from their jungle hideouts to their former villages in the deserted basins of the Ping, Kuang and Wang rivers. Kawila also persuaded a group of former Chiang Mai residents who had fled to Müang Yuam (Mae Sariang) in the early 1760s to come back.\(^{45}\) Furthermore, the chronicle reports that in early 1785 natives of Rahaeng (Tak) and Thoen, who had sought shelter in Siam some twenty years before, were given permission by the King to return to their places of origin.\(^{46}\)

King Rama I made Tak and Thoen dependencies \( (miiang khün, มิ่งขัน) \) of Chiang Mai.\(^{47}\) However, the severe losses of population caused by war, famine and epidemics could hardly be compensated for by voluntary immigration and natural increases.

Between 1782 (foundation of Pa Sang) and 1816 (Kawila’s death) the ruler of Chiang Mai led a number of small and large raids and resettled war captives in his realm. There were at least three important waves of resettlement campaigns. The first wave began shortly after the building of Pa Sang and was designed to increase the manpower at Kawila’s disposal for the reestablishment of Chiang Mai. The second, in which more people were captured than in the first wave, started in 1798 and culminated in the conquest of Chiang Saen in 1804. The last wave, around 1808-10, finally secured Kawila’s goals.

1. Even before the founding of Pa Sang, a campaign was carried out that resulted in a significant number of war captives. When in May 1780 troops from Lampang won a victory near the confluence of the Kok and Mekong rivers \( (sop kok, สป.โคก) \) a decision was made not to advance further in what would have been a futile attack against Chiang Saen. Instead, the victorious troops retreated to Lampang carrying with them 1,767 inhabitants of the surrounding countryside.\(^{48}\)

In 1783, Kawila sent Sam Lan, his trusted assistant, to several Red Karen villages (Yuan: Nyang Daeng) in the territory of the present-day Burmese Kayah State. The Karen were given as presents various consumer goods, left their homes and settled in Pa Sang.\(^{49}\) In the same year, Kawila raided villages on the western bank of the Salween. The chronicles designate the attacked settlements as miiang, but it seems that most of them were rather small and unimportant. Their inhabitants were forced to march to Pa Sang.\(^{50}\)

In 1784, a Burmese army 40,000 men strong approached Lampang. This was the last large-scale Burmese invasion of Lan Na. Kawila was only able to repel the invaders with Siamese military support.\(^{51}\) On the Burmese side auxiliary
troops from several Shan states, including Mūiang Cuat, were involved in the fighting. Before the ruler of Mūiang Cuat and his defeated soldiers arrived home, Thammalangka, the uparat of Chiang Mai, was able to launch a lightning attack against the defenceless mūiang of Cuat and Naen. When the ruler of Mūiang Cuat saw his county depopulated, he hurried to join his family and people in Pa Sang, where he submitted himself to Kawila.52

A further influx of immigrants into the areas around Pa Sang and Lampang occurred in 1786/87. Encouraged by Kawila, the rulers of Chiang Rai, Mūiang Yong, Mūiang Sat, Fang and Phrao raised an insurrection against the weakened Burmese garrison of Chiang Saen. After initial successes and the capture of the Burmese governor, Arprakarmani [Aphaikhamani], who was sent to Lampang and from there to Bangkok53 the insurrection crumbled, and its leaders fled with their followers to the south, finally reaching Lampang.54 In the same year also the rulers of Nan and Phrae who had joined the insurrection, placed themselves under Siamese protection.55

In 1788 Kawila launched an attack against Chiang Saen in retaliation for a Burmese attack on Lampang the previous year. In both campaigns there was evidently only a small number of troops involved. Kawila, for his part, tried to raid areas to the northwest of Chiang Saen to cut Burmese supply lines to their last base in Lan Na. The ruler of Chiang Mai attacked the Shan state of Mūiang Pan and its dependency Tōng Kai, where many prisoners of war were taken.56 Kawila’s desire for manpower, however, was not yet quenched. Two years later, troops from Chiang Mai under the uparat’s command again raided areas west of the Salween. The chronicles mention “numerous war captives” from the villages (ban, ḫwā) of Om Chit, Satōi, Sōi Rai, Wang Lung and Wang Kat.57

After these initial successes in applying his forced resettlement policy, in 1791, Kawila tried to rebuild Chiang Mai. The king of Siam had urged him to do so in order to strengthen the city’s defences against Burma. After only one month Kawila returned to Pa Sang, because he controlled “too small a number of people. They were not enough to build a large city.”58 Only in 1796, after two years of intensive preparations, did Kawila dare to move from Pa Sang to Chiang Mai.

2. After the transfer of his capital to Chiang Mai, Kawila engaged in several resettlement campaigns against various Tai Yai mūiang, most of them situated on the western bank of the Salween. In 1798, troops from Chiang Mai attacked Mūiang Sat. Over the following two years several other settlements in the Salween region were raided, too.59 The continuous influx of war captives strengthened Kawila’s resources of manpower so that by 1802 he could begin to organize his campaign to expel the Burmese from Chiang Saen. It should be noted, however, that Kawila did so not solely on his own account, but with the encouragement and active support of his Siamese overlord.60 The campaign was carried out in two stages.

Stage I [1802]. Thammalangka, the uparat of Chiang Mai, campaigned against Mūiang Sat, Chiang Tung (Kengtung), Mūiang Pan and Mūiang Pu in the western and northwestern hinterland of Chiang Saen. Mūiang Sat and Chiang Tung were of vital importance for the survival of Chiang Saen, for two main supply routes to this Burmese stronghold passed through Mūiang Sat and Chiang Tung respectively. Moreover, the Burmese had fortified Mūiang Sat into a military base for attacking Chiang Mai via Fang. In 1798 or 1799, shortly after the raid of Mūiang Sat by troops from Chiang Mai, the Burmese king had sent Cöm Hong, a former high official in Chiang Saen, to assemble manpower in order to rebuild the devastated mūiang.61 As Mūiang Sat was situated in a fertile valley, the Burmese expected that two or three good harvests would suffice to stockpile enough provisions to launch a full-scale attack on Chiang Mai and Lampang.62 Bodaw-hpaya, the king of Ava, obviously intended to regain the lost mūiang of Lan Na very soon and regarded Cöm Hong as a key figure in that struggle. The Northern Thai chronicles report that in September 1801 Bodaw-hpaya appointed Cöm Hong ruler of the 57 mūiang of Lan Na.”63 More explicitly, Cöm Hong was seen as a “rival king”, ready to replace Kawila on the throne in Chiang Mai.64 Siamese overlordship of Lan Na would also, of course, be replaced by Burmese overlordship, with Cöm Hong as Ava’s figurehead. In 1801/02, Cöm Hong (“Phaya Sat”) underscored his
claim to full power. He raided Nan and took prisoners of war to Müang Sat. 

However, if we follow TMY, Bodaw-hpaya did not make a good decision when he chose Côm Hong as Ava’s representative for Lan Na, for when, in 1802, Kawila’s younger brother Thammalangka launched a preemptive strike and took Côm Hong prisoner, the ruler of Müang Sat was eager to join the Chiang Mai camp and, in expectation of a high position in Chiang Mai, to help Kawila fight the Burmese. “If Chiang Mai wants to become a great and prosperous miiang, it needs a large population. But it has [still] a very small population, not enough to be a powerful force in the future.” Aware that the lack of manpower might cause Chiang Mai much trouble in the long run, Côm Hong urged Kawila to resettle yet more people in the Chiang Mai-Lampang core area. He recommended Chiang Tung as an ideal target for a raid, because the population there was suffering under Burmese oppression and would readily surrender to Chiang Mai.

According to the Jengtung State Chronicle (JSC), “in the year Tausec; Sakkaraja 1164, Month Seven waxing 3rd night, citizens of Jenghmai brought up an army and attacked Jengtung and captured the person of the prince, members of the royal family, and subjects of the prince and took them all down to Jenghmai, with the exception of Prince Dongsaeng, the younger brother, that is, Prince Mahakhanan, who escaped to stay with his subjects at Sip-ec;l Sip-ha Ban where, with his family, he took refuge at Pang-keng. Having collected together his followers and subjects who had not been taken away, he [Mahâkhanan] led them to establish themselves at Monghl6y and Mongyang.” TPY gives a very detailed, but slightly different account, agreeing that the date of the conquest and depopulation of Chiang Tung was in “the seventh month in the year tau set [May 1802].” However, there are doubts whether Kawila’s victory against Chiang Tung was that decisive. PPRJ emphasizes the complete success of the campaign against Sat, whereas Chiang Tung is only incidentally mentioned. The CMC is even more distinct and says that the ruler of Chiang Tung, Sirichai, anticipating an attack by the Chiang Mai troops via Müang Sat and fearful of Burmese reprisals, evacuated his capital in time. Thammalangka thus seized a virtually empty city. The split between Mahâkhanan and the rest of the Chiang Tung royalty is pointed out by the CMC, but put into the context of the second, more successful attack on Chiang Tung that was undertaken in 1804/05, after Chiang Saen had been liberated.

It is difficult to decide which of the two different accounts one should follow. Kawila’s military campaigns in 1802 were, on the whole, a success, both with regard to the number of people captured for resettlement (6,000) and the geo-strategic goals achieved. In recognition of these achievements Rama I gave Kawila the title of cao phraya, the highest rank for a ruler of a Siamese vassal state. Nevertheless, I am inclined to follow the Chiang Mai Chronicle for contextual reasons. Why should a chronicle of Chiang Mai, written in praise of its ruling house, conceal the victory against Chiang Tung, or why should it mention the failure to capture the ruler and the people of Chiang Tung, an inglorious end to an otherwise successful campaign, if this was not the truth? Furthermore, JSC and TMY indicate that, at the time of Kawila’s campaigns against Müang Sat and Chiang Tung the Burmese had already been forced out of Chiang Saen. That is not possible, for all sources agree that Chiang Saen fell two years later, in 1804.

Stage 2 [1804]. After one year of preparations, the united armies of Chiang Mai/Lampang, Vientiane, Nan, and Bangkok marched on Chiang Saen and laid siege to the city. Chiang Saen fell following a four-pronged attack. Its fortifications were torn down and its population deported.

Thiphakorawong’s PPRJ describes the “fall” of Chiang Saen, the beleaguered city’s will to resist being broken after seven months of siege:

“The Lao [Yuan] in Chiang Saen suffered from hunger. They killed buffaloes, elephants and horses until they were consumed, too. The Lao inhabitants [of Chiang Saen] left the city and surrendered to the troops from Müang Lao [i.e. Chiang Mai, Nan, Vientiane]. When the army of Krommaluang Thep Harirak had already withdrawn, the Burmese commander-in-chief, Po Mayu-nguan, saw the citizens hurrying in the
direction of the Lao troops. They were too large in numbers than to be stopped. Thereupon, Po Mayu-nguan fled with his army. The Lao troops pursued the fleeing Burmese army, and Po Mayu-nguan was fatally hit on the battlefield. The Na Khwa, whom the Burmese had installed as ruler (cao miiang) of Chiang Saen, fled with his family across the Mekong into Burmese territory.

The armies of Bangkok and its “Lao” allies captured 23,000 people, destroyed the city wall and burnt down the whole city of Chiang Saen. Then they divided the families into five groups. One group was deported to Chiang Mai, another one to Lampang, others to Nan and Vientiane. The last group was handed over to Bangkok and resettled in Saraburi and Ratchaburi.74

The conquest of Chiang Saen was followed by military campaigns against Burmese vassals in the regions to the north and northwest of Chiang Saen, the so-called miiang fai niua (ม้งไฟนิว่า), which, like Chiang Khaeng, Chiang Khong and Miiang Yong had supported the Burmese in the battle of Chiang Saen.75 However, the war of 1804 was very different from previous resettlement campaigns. It is revealing that the Chiang Mai Chronicle fails to mention any participation of troops from Nan, Vientiane and Bangkok, but instead portrays the seizure of Chiang Saen and the military operations in its aftermath as the work of Kawila. However, the Nan Chronicle (NC) corroborates the description of the royal chronicle. According to these sources, 20,000 troops from Siam, Vientiane and Chiang Mai, including also 1,000 soldiers from Nan, besieged Chiang Saen, but failed to take the city. The Burmese stronghold could only be taken when Nan, Chiang Mai and Lampang sent additional troops of 1,000 men each.76 It seems that the surrender of the Yuan inhabitants of Chiang Saen to these (Yuan) troops from Lan Na was at least as decisive as the purely military operations. On the whole, we can draw the conclusion that Bangkok masteredminded the war, mobilizing its own troops and those of various “Lao” vassals. Therefore, Rama I was able to put restraints on Kawila’s population policy of kep phak sai sa kep kha sai miiang.

The largest influx of manpower to Lan Na resulted from the conquest of Miiang Yong which had surrendered in 1805 to Thammalangka’s troops without notable resistance. Kawila persuaded the ruler of Miiang Yong to resettle in Lamphun with “more than 10,000 people.”77 Chiang Tung was also raided, and the bulk of its population was deported to Chiang Mai as well. But the other campaigns of pacification, directed against numerous smaller miiang in Sipsong Panna and areas east of the Mekong (in present-day Laos), were obviously not a success for Kawila as far as assembling a large number of war captives was concerned. PPRJ reports that the campaign against “eleven or twelve small and large miiang” in Sipsong Panna was carried out by troops from Nan and Chiang Mai: “40,000–50,000 men and women, old and young people” were captured. Attacks on the “40 small and large miiang” east of the Mekong resulted in 60,000–70,000 captured people.78 One should not be puzzled by these large numbers of war captives. The figures probably represent the total population then living in the subjugated territories, and thus indicate the potential, rather than the actual number, of prisoners of war. King Rama I, the royal chronicle goes on, demonstrated his mercy and broad-mindedness when the rulers of these miiang came personally to Bangkok bringing with them the golden and silver trees as tokens of their submission. Rama I recognized that it was not possible to defend the subjugated territories with military support from Siam, because of their proximity to China and Burma and their relative distance from the Siamese heartland. He suggested a strategy of self-defence and concluded that it would be neither reasonable nor just to depopulate these areas and resettle the population in Siamese territory, for “they have not committed any crime, but surrendered without resistance. Therefore, [to resettle them] would be a serious crime and not justifiable.”79 Had the choice been left to Kawila, one may speculate, as to whether he would have made a similar decision. But, Siamese archival evidence suggests that Rama I ordered Kawila to send 300 soldiers to persuade “displaced persons” (phu khon rasam rasai, เผ่าคนย้ายถิ่น) in Sipsong Panna “to return to their original homes.”80 However, in 1807/08, troops from Lampang led by the Cao Wang Na attacked Sipsong Panna again and deported a number of...
Lü families from that region to Lampang and Chiang Mai. 81

3. After the fall of Chiang Saen there were no longer any problems regarding security. The Burmese had lost their ability to regain even partially their lost positions in Lan Na. Burma at that time was in a state of social disruption and, moreover, was affected by a great famine which began in 1802, reached its peak by 1809/10 and gradually subsided after 1812. 82 The eastern and southern Shan states had lost large parts of their population owing to Kawila’s ruthless resettlement campaigns. They were not completely depopulated, but the people who took refuge in forest areas were too unorganized to maintain important irrigation networks in the valleys. Although the local chronicles do not explicitly mention widespread famine in the early years of the 19th century, there are some clear hints indicating disruption of agricultural production. TMY reports that the reservoir in Chiang Tung (น้ํองตุง, น้ํองเตง) had fallen into disrepair by 1804/05; its water could not be used any longer. 83 The desolation of the town, similar to that of Chiang Mai before 1796, is mystically portrayed by TMY: “In all the monasteries tears were running down from Buddha statues, and the Phrabat Mai Si Mahapho relic was emitting smoke. Wild animals—pigs, bears, rhinoceroses, elephants and deer—were entering the มูง. Barking deer (fan, แฝน) came barking in the outskirts of the town. Forest-chickens were living in the ruler’s palace (หอ คาม, หอคาม).” 84

Social chaos and political anarchy prevailed in many มูง of the Lü, Khün and Tai Yai. It should have been in Kawila’s self-interest to prevent the political destabilization of the northern border regions of Chiang Mai which were depopulated, such as Chiang Saen (in 1804), or from which the local population had partially fled, such as Chiang Rai and Phayao (in 1787). But by the end of Kawila’s long and eventful reign memories of the “Burmese menace” were still fresh, and the ruling circles of Chiang Mai and Lampang still deemed it necessary to strengthen the population in the Ping-Kuang and Wang river basins. In 1809, Kawila used the discontent in the Shan states, caused by intolerably high Burmese tax collections, to launch another expedition. The forces from Chiang Mai came to “rescue” a large number of inhabitants of Múang Yong and Chiang Tung who had decided to leave their deserted homesteads. In 1809/10, with the consent of King Rama II, they were resettled in Chiang Mai and Lamphun, where many of their fellow countrymen, including the rulers of both มูง, had already been living since 1805. 85

After 1810, there is no chronicular evidence of any further resettlement campaign initiated by Phaya Kawila. By the time of his death in January 1816, 86 the policy of kep phak sai sa kep kha sai มูง had come to an end. This does not mean that Kawila’s immediate successors completely abstained from raiding neighbouring territories in search of manpower. Small-scale raids against Karen territories west of Mae Hong Són occurred occasionally during the 1820s and 1830s. A Northern Thai source reports such a raid that probably occurred not long after Thammalangka ascended to the throne in Chiang Mai:

“The uparat [Thammalangka] became the new ruler of Chiang Mai. He ordered Phaya Phan, who had the highest rank, and Thao Sili to gather more than 100 troops in order to attack the village of Chiang Koe on the west bank of the Salween (Khong River). They won and carried away families and weapons. The king [of Bangkok] was asked to hand them over to Múang [Chiang Mai].

One day the ruler of Chiang Mai ordered Nai Kham Mun and [Nai] Kao Múang to gather 200 troops in order to attack the Burmese at Tha Sop Pu. Three or four persons were captured. Nai Kham Mun returned, crossed the Salween and seized Ban Tông Kai but captured only few families. Thus he returned, crossed [the river at] Tha Pha Daeng and captured five further persons whom he handed over to the king.

The ruler of Chiang Mai ordered Nai Nôi Kawila and Nai Phom to gather more than 100 troops in order to attack the Suai Kabang 87 and to take them captive. They [the Suai Kabang] were handed over to the King who gave permission to resettle them in Múang [Chiang Mai].” 88

In 1823, a raid was launched even into Mon areas north of Martaban. 89 However, more important with regard to captured manpower was an assault on Múang Tuan, Múang Pu, and

Mūang Sat in 1838/39. Nearly 2,000 persons went to Chiang Mai as captives. Of the 1,868 prisoners Chiang Mai reported to Bangkok 1,000 were distributed among troop commanders. The Siamese king who was offered the remaining 868 captives thanked Chiang Mai but allowed it to use the people to strengthen its population base. K.W. Melchers convincingly argues that the successful raid against Mūang Sat not only bolstered the courage and self-confidence of the Chiang Mai leaders but also made them and their superiors in Bangkok believe "that a more formal invasion into the heartland of Kengtung [Chiang Tung] state would result in many more captives." 

In fact, during the first war against Chiang Tung in 1850, the Yuan invaders were mainly occupied to gather war captives in Mūang Phayak, Mūang Len, Mūang Yong and—in Mūang Mūang Sat to resettle the captured population in the Ping-Kuang basin. Up to 5,000 captives were forced to march to Chiang Mai. As all these mūang combined had, in 1853, a total population of probably less than 15,000 inhabitants (or 2,100 households), according to contemporary Siamese sources, the deportations caused a serious drain on manpower for the affected region.

The last deportation to Chiang Mai I have been able to trace so far occurred in 1869 under Kawilorot (r. 1856–1870). Mōk Mai was attacked after its ruler, Fa Kolan, refused to resettle his mūang voluntarily in Phrao in Chiang Mai territory. These "post-Kawila" raids were motivated by considerations of security along the country's western border, not by a search for manpower. However, one speaks easily of Chiang Mai as pars pro toto for the whole of Lan Na, overlooking the principalities of Phrae and Nan which were not ruled by members of the Kawila clan. Of these two mūang, Nan was the larger and was able to conceive its own population policy.

5. The View of the Victim

The hardships concomitant with forced resettlement campaigns remain unmentioned in the Northern Thai chronicles. The CMC eulogizes Kawila's political and military skills, but fails to record the pain and suffering of the war captives. Written by those who escaped deportation, TMY does not report details on how the deportations were planned and executed. One can imagine that the displacement of people over large distances caused physical hardships and psychological traumata, especially if no proper preparations were made to provide the deportees with sufficient food and decent shelter on the way. There is a unique report of a British witness of deportations of Phuan from Chiang Khwang (Plain of Jars) to Central Thailand. The report is cited in the private correspondence of a British official in Chiang Mai in 1876:

"The captives were hurried mercilessly along, many weighted by burdens strapped to their backs, the men, who had no wives or children with them and were therefore capable of attempting escape, were tied together by a rope pursed through a sort of wooden collar. Those men who had their families with them were allowed the free use of their limbs. Great numbers died from sickness, starvation and exhaustion on the road. The sick, when they became too weak to struggle on, were left behind. If a house happened to be near, the sick man or woman was left with the people in the house. If no house was at hand which must have been oftener the case in the wild country they were traversing, the sufferer was flung down to die miserably in the jungle. Any of his or her companions attempting to stop to assist the poor creatures were driven on with blows ... Fever and dysentery were still at work among them and many more will probably die. Already, I was told, more than half of the original 5,700 so treacherously seized are dead." 

Perhaps, the conditions of those captured by Kawila were relatively more "tolerable." However, the choice of "resistance or submission" was not an easy one for those being raided. TMY describes discussions among members of the ruling house of Chiang Tung and other high-ranking noblemen about how to negotiate with Thammalangka, who had laid siege to the city in 1805. Should they surrender to the uparat of Chiang Mai or fight the enemy until the end? The arguments ran as follows:

"Cao Môme Luang and his three [younger brothers], being altogether four brothers, were the leaders of
the nobility. They all came together. [Cao Môm Luang] said: As soon as we side with the Burmese, the 'southern people' [chao tai; here: Yuan] will come and defeat us. As soon as we side with the 'southern people', the Burmese will come and defeat us. The 'southern people' are now approaching. If we stay in the Burmese camp, we will be destroyed very soon. If we go over to the 'southern people', they will seize and carry us away. What shall we do?" The younger brothers (cao nong, ḫāng) responded: 'If we side with the Burmese, Kawila would come again [to bother us], every year and every month. . . . As long as we remain Burmese servants, we will be surpressed by the Burmese and have to pay them cowrie shells, silver and gold. Our people will suffer enormously. Up to now, Kawila has not yet seized and carried us away, but he will try to do so again and again. We should become [servants of the] 'southern people' and go to their country [i.e. Chiang Mai], abandoning our country."96

In reality, the noblemen of Chiang Tung could have exchanged arguments just in the way the chronicle describes. They appear plausible and would further explain why a relatively small force of 300 soldiers from Chiang Mai could "conquer" Chiang Tung, which is quite well protected by high mountains surrounding the city. Consider, some forty years later, that much superior forces from Bangkok and the various Yuan principalities failed several times to take Chiang Tung.97

Cao Mahākhanān, a younger brother of Sirichai, at that time only 24 years old, did not join the exodus to Chiang Mai. He fled to Miąang Yang, situated north of the old, now deserted capital of Chiang Tung, and led protracted wars against the Burmese. Finally, he and his followers withdrew to Chiang Saen without surrendering to Chiang Mai.98 However, some "pro-Burmese" noblemen thought it would be better to accept Burmese overlordship, since it was the lesser evil. They argued:

"When they [Kawila’s troops] gained victory our people were deported and our country was devastated again. We are all ready to submit now and ask the mighty King [of Ava] to become his servants. The reason is that whenever the Burmese came, they never deported us to their own country. We could stay in our homeland and continue a normal life. We did not lose our homesteads, our monasteries, and our religion. So long as we do not enter their camp, the Burmese will be displeased and will attack us again and again, every year. Thus, there is no chance left to restore our country. Water [peace] is distant, fire [danger] is near. Therefore, we should be ready to surrender to them, and the future will certainly be bright."99

Burmese emissaries were sent out to persuade Mahākhanān to return home and accept vassalage to Burma. As TMY tells it, Mahākhanān realized that without a legitimate ruler the remaining population would become subject to a vicious cycle of further raids and yet more destruction.100 In 1813, Mahākhanān was invested with the full insignia of a vassal by the king of Ava.101 Six years later, in 1819, Mahākhanān refounded the devastated town of Chiang Tung. “The work was finished three years later, and its completion was celebrated by a great festival, at which offerings were made to the monasteries and sacrifices offered to the guardian spirits.”102 Mahākhanān ruled Chiang Tung for more than forty years until he died in 1857. During his long reign the Khūn principality gradually recovered both politically and economically. However, this recovery could hardly be forseen in 1813 when Mahākhanān had made his bold decision to resist the Chiang Mai forces. In the final consequence, the unpleasant dependence on Burma appeared less forbidding than the destructive raids by the Yuan troops.

Yet even the best organized campaigns of forced relocation hardly depopulated the raided territories completely. By fleeing into the jungles and mountainous areas or retreating to safe enclaves, large parts of the population could escape. For this reason, the armies sent out to raid a miang had to apply a politico-military strategy that concentrated on capturing its ruling families. If the ruler (cao miang) and his relatives consented to resettlement, sooner or later this subjects would follow them. Many inhabitants of Chiang Saen who escaped captivity in 1804 returned thereafter to their destroyed miang. But they failed to revive agriculture. Several consecutive bad harvests
persuaded them that by the deportation of its ruler Chiang Saen had become an ill-fated place in which to live. Thus the returnees decided to give up Chiang Saen and to follow their ruler to Chiang Mai.\textsuperscript{103}

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In conclusion, the influx of immigrants from the Shan states and Sipsong Panna to Lan Na during the late 18th and early 19th centuries resulted from forced deportations as well as from more or less voluntary migrations of those who had managed to escape. Even some of the forced resettlements could only be carried out with the consent of the captives who sometimes accepted deportation as the lesser evil. The willingness of the Lü and Khün to cooperate constructively with the invading forces from Chiang Mai and Lampang may be explained in at least two ways:

1. \textit{Escape from continuous warfare}. Throughout the second half of the 18th century political turmoil caused by Burmese attacks, Yuan raids and civil war was endemic in all the major eastern Shan states, including Chiang Tung and Miăng Yong. In 1748–50, when Ava’s influence over the Shan states had been reduced, Chiang Tung experienced a murderous civil war. Several years later, a Chinese invasion shocked the Khün state. In 1765/66 Chiang Tung “could not cultivate rice. The following year . . . there was a great famine.”\textsuperscript{104}

Around 1769/70 Chinese (Hò) troops raided first the principalities of Nan, then Chiang Tung and Upper Burma. Political uncertainty remained even after the Burmese restored their rule over Chiang Tung, Miăng Yong and Chiang Rung, the capital of Sipsong Panna. In 1775 the Burmese raised an army of roughly 40,000 soldiers from Burma proper and various Tai Yai, Khün and Lü miăng (such as Chiang Khaeng, Miăng Sat, Miăng Len and Miăng Yong) to attack Phitsanulok. 1,500 soldiers from Miăng Yong participated in this attack, but it failed and they retreated with severe losses via Chiang Saen. The people of Chiang Tung and Miăng Yong increasingly felt Burmese rule to be oppressive.\textsuperscript{105} But unlike their brethren further south, in Chiang Mai, Lampang and Nan, they did not succeed in expelling the Burmese troops of occupation. In 1805, when shortly after the fall of Chiang Saen the army of Thammalangka approached Chiang Tung and Miăng Yong, the population and ruling classes of these towns probably now hoped to break the vicious circle of uprisings, conquest and suppression. Therefore, the alternative of resettling in Lan Na appeared to them to be not a bad one.

2. \textit{Search for land}. Compared to the relatively small valleys of the Khün and Yong rivers, the Ping-Kuang river basin was very fertile and comprised large tracts of arable rice-land. Whereas the areas under rice cultivation expanded in Chiang Mai after 1796, the Shan states and the Burmese heartland around Ava faced a severe drought from 1802/03. The year 1805 marked the beginning of a great famine in those areas. “The problem was further aggravated by starving tigers who made it unsafe to work in the fields. The general lack of food caused growing outbreaks of banditry and disorder, as villages fought each other for what little was still available. Tens of thousands starved to death, others fell prey to the tigers or bandits, and the remainder sought refuge in the larger towns and cities.”\textsuperscript{106} Thus one can understand that the prospect of resettlement in the comparatively fertile and politically stable region of Chiang Mai, Lamphun and Lampang looked promising. It helped break the fighting spirit of the Lü and Khün people to resist Thammalangka’s troops.

\section*{6. The War Captives and Their New Homelands}

The chronicles give hardly any information concerning the ethnic and social background of the war captives. We can guess from modern ethnographic data that most of the deportees were Lü (Miăng Yong, Sipsong Panna), Khün (Chiang Tung) and Tai Yai (Miăng Sat, Miăng Pan, Miăng Pu). However, those who were deported from Chiang Saen and surrounding areas or who fled from Miăng Yuan (Mae Sariang), are likely to have been of Yuan origin. That there was a massive exodus of Yuan from Mae Sariang is indirectly confirmed by palm-leaf manuscripts discovered some twenty years ago in the famous Red Cliff Cave (Tham Pha Daeng, ทับลานแดง) near Mae Sariang. The most
recent of the Red Cliff manuscripts written in the Yuan language are dated 1792/93. After that year there is no trace in the area of any Yuan settlement. In the second half of the 19th century Tai Yai and Karen began settling in the depopulated valley of the Yuam River, where to this day they constitute the dominant population.\textsuperscript{107}

The Khün and Lü resettled by Kawila in territories within the present borders of Thailand were seen by the Yuan not at all as foreigners but as people belonging to a greater Lan Na cultural zone. Yuan, Khün and Lü speak mutually understandable dialects, and they use, with minor regional variations, the same "Dharma script." Moreover, the majority of the cis-Salween müang raided by the Yuan forces, such as Chiang Tung, Müang Yöng and Müang Sat, were vassals of Lan Na (Chiang Mai) during most of the pre-Burmese period. As Kawila placed himself in the tradition of the great kings of independent Lan Na, he likely saw the relocation of people from those müang as a legitimate internal affair within the Yuan-Khün-Lü cultural zone.\textsuperscript{108}

There were also no small numbers of Karen, especially Kayah (Nyang Daeng, นากด้ง), and Lawa among the war captives. The chronicles mention Kha (ไห่, "slaves") captured in the campaign of 1804/05.\textsuperscript{109} These Kha living in the uplands of the Shan states, Sipsong Panna and Laos were obviously various hilltribes speaking Mon-Khmer related languages. They were called Kha in Laos, Wa in Burma and Lawa or Lua in Thailand. Perhaps, some Karen were also among these Kha, for it is reported that, around 1804, Kawila established several villages settled by (Pwo) Karen war captives from the "Zwei Kabin Hills."\textsuperscript{110}

As to the areas of resettlement, the chronicles rarely mention any place-names. Specifications like "Müang Lamphun", "Müang Chiang Mai" or "Müang Nan" are very vague, for the complex term müang, in the Western literature often wrongly translated as "city", not only referred to the walled administrative centre—the wiang—but the outlying dependencies as well. Sometimes a large müang could comprise dozens of satellite müang (müang khün, มุ่งคืน, or müang bōriwan, มุ่งบอริวาน) and hundreds of villages. Müang Chiang Mai, seen in this wider sense, comprised in the early 19th century a larger area than the present-day province of Chiang Mai.\textsuperscript{111} More important than the geographic extension of a müang was, however, its population.\textsuperscript{112}

\section*{6.1. Areas of Resettlement}

In which areas of Northern Thailand had the captive populations settled down immediately after their arrival, and how did their settlements spread in the course of the 19th century? To give convincing answers to these challenging questions is not easy and presents serious obstacles. First, unlike neighbouring Burma, the Siamese and Yuan have not kept reliable censuses which distinguish between social and ethnic backgrounds of a counted population. Second, source materials which might provide important clues have not been subjected to close examination by Thai scholars. As far as I know, local (Tai) dialects of Northern Thailand have not yet been systematically mapped, nor have village names been analyzed in depth with regard to any geographical or ethnic link with the Shan states or Sipsong Panna. The research needed would involve cooperation among specialists of various disciplines: linguists, historians, geographers and anthropologists.

As a non-linguist, I will refrain from "creating" my own empirical data; but at this juncture I want to make an observation from a historian's point of view. Persons dislocated in large groups very often give their new dwelling-places names that remind them of their native country. This is a well-known phenomenon in the European world.\textsuperscript{113}

We can hunt up these phenomena in Northern Thailand, too. In the districts of San Sai and Dōi Saket (Chiang Mai) there are Khün villages (ban), such as Müang Wa, Müang Luang, Müang Phayak and Müang Khün, all named after communities in the Chiang Tung region.\textsuperscript{114} The Lü of Müang Yöng settled mostly in present-day Lamphun Province where they founded villages such as Wiang Yöng, Thi, Yu, and Luai, likewise bearing the names of larger settlements in the Müang Yöng region.\textsuperscript{115} According to oral tradition, in 1805 the ruler of Müang Yöng was promised fertile land around Chiang Mai in which to resettle when he
surrendered—without fighting—to Kawila’s forces. Since areas in the vicinity of Chiang Mai had already been occupied by other groups of war captives, the people of Müang Yong were asked to clear the paddy fields around Lamphun which were still laid waste at that time. After a first survey the ruler of Müang Yong and his advisors expressed their delight at the prospective areas of resettlement. Soil in Lamphun was of good quality, but more importantly, the geographical environment resembled that of Müang Yong in many aspects. The course of the rivers and the location of the nearby mountain slopes was very much the same in Müang Yong as in Lamphun. Thus the ruler of Müang Yong decided to settle with his subjects on the eastern banks of the Kuang River, just opposite the still deserted city (wiang) of Lamphun. He named his chief village “Wiang Yong”, whereas smaller settlements nearby were named after former satellite müang of Müang Yong. The villages of (Ban) Yu and (Ban) Luai were built on opposite sides of the Kuang River, corresponding exactly to the original locations of Müang Yu and Müang Luai.116

When the people from Müang Yong (ethnic Lü) founded their first communes in present-day Lamphun, the areas occupied were not completely unpopulated as the chronicles suggest. However, the Yuan hamlets around Wiang Yong were small and isolated. The Lü settlers formed the large majority of the population and very soon assimilated the old inhabitants of Wiang Yong. As very few Lü from areas other than Müang Yong settled in Lamphun, the people still called themselves chao yong, "people of Müang Yong." Starting from Wiang Yong, Lü settlements spread to Pa Sang,117 only 12 km further to the southwest of Lamphun city, and later, to the districts of Ban Hong and Mae Tha.118 New waves of Lü settlers from Müang Yong arrived in Lamphun in 1810, after Kawila’s last expedition against Mahakanan of Chiang Tung, and contributed to the rapid extension of Lü settlements in Lamphun. The largest Lü speaking area of Lamphun not settled by Yong people was Ban Thi. It seems that the Lü villages in the semi-district of Ban Thi are of the same origin as the Lü settlements in neighbouring San Kamphaeng (Chiang Mai).119 Local informants estimate that more than 80% of the population in present-day Lamphun Province are of Lü-Yong origin.120 Most of them still speak the language of their ancestors, are in fact trilingual (Lü, Yuan, Siamese), although in the last twenty years assimilation has accelerated. My own observations confirm these rough estimates. Apart from the city of Lamphun, which had been resettled by people from Lampang and Chiang Mai (in 1806 or 1814),121 some villages along the main road linking Lamphun with Saraphi (Chiang Mai) and the district of Li in the south,122 which was regarded as a relatively “safe area” during the 18th century, the whole province seems to be inhabited by people of Lü-Yong descent.

Lampang was another area which had been spared the worst of the destructions caused by war, pillage and mass deportations. Burmese influence was obviously much weaker than in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun area. During the last quarter of the 18th century numerous Yuan from other müang of Lan Na fled from the Burmese troops to unoccupied Lampang. When the anti-Burmese uprising of 1787 ended in failure, the rulers and inhabitants of Chiang Rai, Ngao and Phayao feared retaliation and sought refuge in Lampang. The refugees from Phayao settled, according to oral tradition, on the right (western) bank of the Wang River, while Wat Chiang Rai (in Lampang city) was built by former residents of Chiang Rai. Although these resettlements were related to Kawila’s policy of kep phak sai sa khep kha sai müang, the ethnic Yuan from Chiang Rai or Phayao did not come to Lampang as war captives, but as people seeking temporary refuge. In fact, they stayed until 1843/44, when King Rama III ordered them to rebuild their deserted home towns. Most refugees obeyed the royal decree and returned, others stayed.123

With regard to the resettlement of war captives in the present-day provinces of Chiang Mai and Lampang, I have collected only a small amount of data from oral history, barely sufficient to draw any definite conclusion as to where the war captives were resettled. A recent anthropological field-report, however, indicates a large concentration of Lü from Müang Yong in the southern section of the müang district of Lampang. These communities (Ban Phae, Ban Klui Klang etc.) were founded by a group of
Lű-Yòng war captives who did not go to Lamphun in 1805/06, but separated from the main group in Chiang Rai. From there they marched to Lampang where Duang Thip, the ruler of the miiang, settled them on wasteland near the capital after ascertaining their loyalty.\textsuperscript{124} One would expect some more resettlement areas in Lampang, for at least a part of the some 6,000 (ethnic Tai Yai) war captives from the Miiang Sat, Miiang Pu and Miiang Pan were resettled in Lampang.\textsuperscript{125} But unlike the Lű-Yòng in Lamphun, there seems to have been no single non-Yuan ethnic group in Lampang and Chiang Mai which settled in a large coherent territory. Their closeness to Yuan villages, both spatially and culturally, helps explain why they were assimilated more rapidly than the Lű-Yòng in Lamphun. This makes it difficult to reconstruct resettlement areas in these provinces mainly by using methods of oral history.

At this juncture I would like to point to a rather rare phapsa manuscript written in Yuan script and language with the title “List of Monasteries and Religious Groups in Chiang Mai” (Rai chū wat lae nikai song boran nai miiang chiang mai, วัดละนิกายสังข์บุรานในเมืองเชียงใหม่).\textsuperscript{126} In his study on “Ethnic Pluralism in the Northern Thai City of Chiangmai”, Michael Vatikiotis used this document to locate settlements of non-Yuan origin within the city walls.\textsuperscript{127} One has to acknowledge his efforts to bring to scholarly attention the importance of an ostensibly “religious” document as an historical source with regard to ethnicity and population in traditional Lan Na society. However, Vatikiotis did not make full use of the document, as he overlooked its important statistical aspects. Furthermore, he did not investigate areas outside the city of Chiang Mai that was beyond the scope of his study.

The original manuscript found in Wat Cedi Luang was first transliterated by Aroonrut Wichienkeeo and edited by Sommai Premchit in 1975.\textsuperscript{128} Twenty years later, Sanan Thammathip presented a revised and more readable transliteration that differs slightly from the previous one.\textsuperscript{129} The phapsa manuscript is dated the “tenth day of the waxing moon in the fourth month, year of the cock, the ninth year of the decade, cunlasakkarat 1259 [1 January 1898].”\textsuperscript{130} According to the colophon, it is a detailed report on the organization of the Chiang Mai Sangha written by Cao Nan Unmiiang, a high clerical official in Chiang Mai. “Cao Nan Unmiiang . . . invited the five members of the Sangha council and all monks were praying for three days . . . because His Royal Highness, the king of Bangkok, will visit Miiang [Chiang Mai].” It seems that the reason for writing this “List of Monasteries” was an official visit of King Chulalongkorn to Chiang Mai. Perhaps, on that occasion the highest Sangha authorities in Bangkok asked their counterparts in Chiang Mai for data on the size and organizational structure of the Buddhist order in the Upper North, a region which had only recently been integrated into the kingdom of Siam. The copy of the report by Cao Nan Unmiiang was presumably sent to the Supreme Patriarch (sangkharat, สังฆคาร) in Bangkok. Name, location, and number of monks and novices of each monastery are listed.

The analysis of the document that follows here is a joint effort by Aroonrut and myself. The document lists the names of 340 monasteries (hua wat, วัด) belonging to 23 clerical districts (muat ubosot, มหาอุโบสถ). Of these, four clerical districts (nos. 1–4; 55 monasteries) were situated inside the inner, rectangular, city wall, two others (nos. 5+6; 23 monasteries) covered the space between the inner and the outer (circular) city walls. The clerical district of Wat Kao Tū (no. 7: region of Wiang Suan Dök; 13 monasteries) extended from the Wat Suan Dök Gate as far as Dōi Suthep to the west of Chiang Mai. There are 15 clerical districts (nos. 8–22; 235 monasteries) covering fertile rice-growing areas outside the present-day municipality of Chiang Mai. The last clerical district mentioned in the document (no. 23; 14 monasteries) comprised monasteries of both rural and municipal communities. Altogether 97 monasteries were situated in urban areas, i.e. inside or very close to the city walls, whereas 243 monasteries covered areas outside the town (nök wiang, นอกวัด).

As in Thailand each monastery marks either one compartment (in urban areas) or one village/large hamlet (in rural areas), the number of monasteries should represent roughly the number of major settlements in the city of Chiang Mai and the surrounding countryside by the end of
the nineteenth century. For various reasons it is difficult to determine the exact location of each monastery, especially in rural areas. Firstly, in Lan Na as in other parts of Thailand, names of monasteries and villages have frequently been changed over the last 100 years. Sometimes the old and the new names are completely different. Secondly, in times of famine villages were occasionally abandoned by their inhabitants, moving from rice-deficient to more fertile regions. However, we were able to locate with certainty the centres of all clerical districts, most of the urban monasteries and at least 77 rural monasteries, or almost one third of the total. As the monasteries under the supervision of a certain clerical district cover contiguous areas, we were able to map major settlements in Chiang Mai based on the “List of Monasteries” under discussion (see maps 2 and 3).

The monasteries covered the present-day districts (amphoe, อำเภอ) of Míang, Saraphí, Hang Dong, San Pa Tông, San Kamphaeng, San Sai and Dói Saket. These districts are fertile, densely populated rice-growing zones situated within a radius of 40 km from the city of Chiang Mai. As to the more distant districts of Cóm Thòn, Mae Rim and Mae Taeng, only very few monasteries are included. Outlying districts such as Hót (southwest), Samoeng (west) as well as Chiang Dao, Phrao and Fang (north), it seems, were completely left out.

I believe that the reasons for this default were demographic as well as administrative. It is true that by the end of the nineteenth century the “new frontier zones” to the north and west were still sparsely populated. Phrao and Fang, for example, were resettled in 1870 and 1880 respectively. The majority of people in the frontier zones apparently lived in small dispersed hamlets comprising, perhaps, not more than a few houses each. Communities of that size lacked the economic resources necessary to sustain monasteries and to support monks or novices.

Apart from geographical remoteness and low population density, the outlying districts of Chiang Mai were also of marginal importance with regard to political integration. It seems that about the turn of the twentieth century the control exercised over the frontier zones by the secular and religious authorities in the capital was of only limited effectiveness. The Chiang Mai Sangha was well established in the city and the surrounding countryside. As to the intermediate districts such as Cóm Thòn, Mae Rim and Mae Taeng, which belonged neither to the core area nor to the frontier zone, only the largest and most important monasteries, like Wat Míang Win (no. 338; western, mountainous part of San Pa Tông) and Wat Míang Không (no. 340; southwest corner of Cóm Thòn), were part of the Sangha organization. The “List of Monasteries” mentions them as monasteries under the supervision of Wat Si Phummin (muat ubosot no. 23) which is situated in the fertile rice-growing region of Mae Taeng (Míang Kaen) where large tracts of rice-land had been reclaimed during the Fifth Reign.

The manuscript mentions not only the names of monasteries, but also the affiliation of their abbots (cao athikan, เจ้าที่วัด) and vice-abbots (ròng athikan, รองที่วัด) to a certain nikai. However, the common translation of nikai (นิกาย, Skt./Pāli: nikāya) as “religious sect” is misleading in the context of this particular document, for “Nikai Chiang Mai”, “Nikai Khùn”, “Nikai Lua”, “Nikai Yöng” or “Nikai Chiang Saen” hardly reflects any sectarian disputes on religious issues. The names of the various nikai rather indicate different ethnic and descent groups. As the monks and novices had always to be supported by the local population, one would expect them to perform Buddhist ceremonies in accordance with local traditions that might have varied slightly in the different regions of Lan Na. Therefore, the religious affiliation (nikai) of the abbot of a monastery can be transferred to the geographic/ethnic origin (chúa sai, ชีวาศัย, “descent”) of the respective village. “Nikai Khùn”, for example, would mean that the village or compartment to which the monastery belonged was founded by people from Chiang Tung. However, the meaning of the label “Nikai Chiang Mai” is still unclear. I suggest that it probably indicates have settlements either of ethnic Yuan or of a mixed ethnic population.

I tried to map the monasteries and their respective communities with regard also to ethnicity (see maps 2 and 3). The geographical distribution of settlements of the different ethnic groups reflects the situation in the late 19th century. As for the early decades of that century,
one can presume that, owing to assimilation into the Yuan (Khon Miuang) society, the relative size of captive communities was somewhat larger than in the 1890s. However, their geographical distribution was probably not much different. The maps show in detail:

1. Of the 56 monasteries situated inside the square (brick) city wall (1,400 m wide and 1,810 long), 54 monasteries were affiliated with Nikai Chiang Mai. Therefore, the large majority of people in the inner city were Yuan, descendants of the original population of Lan Na. As for the southern and southeastern suburbs, i.e., those compartments which were protected by an outer earthen wall (kamphaeng din, ดาบชำเฝ่ย), the Yuan constituted only a small minority. 18 of 23 monasteries (almost 80%) in these “suburbs” belonged to nikai other than Nikai Chiang Mai. War captives from Chiang Saen were resettled in areas to the east and southeast (close to the Tha Phae Gate), in this area we also find two Mon settlements. The southern and southwestern suburbs were mostly inhabited by ethnic Khun, Lu, and Tai Yai. Michael Vatikiotis observes that the orientation of these suburbs “does, in fact, coincide with the two least auspicious corners [southeast, southwest] of the city. The land in this area was, and still is, subject to flooding, and was said to be inhabited by bad spirits. . . . The apparent location of these captive settlements both outside and at the least auspicious corner of the city walls [southeast], indicates the likelihood that they were settled by the Prince-ruler [Kawila].”112 In 1837, McLeod observed: “The outer fort is not in some parts inhabited, being swampy; it is the residence principally of the Kiang Tung, Kiang Then [Chiang Saen], and other Tsobuas [cao miuang], with their followers.”113

2. Concerning the rice-growing regions outside the city walls, the spatial pattern seems far more complex. The general picture appears to be that the rural areas in the immediate neighbourhood of the city (present Miuang district) were inhabited by a native Yuan population. There are no captive settlements recorded for that zone. The rice-growing areas to the south and southwest (Saraphi, Hang Dong and San Pa Tong) were predominantly settled by Yuan as well. With the exception of two Mon monasteries/communities in Saraphi, we have not found any reference to major captive settlements there. However, we know from oral tradition that today there are still a few Khun and Lu-Yong villages in the districts of San Pa Tong and Hang Dong.134 The “List of Monasteries” does not mention them, at least not under the label of their respective nikai. Furthermore, the concentration of Lua (Lawa) in Hang Dong district, a (wet-)rice-cultivating zone just to the west and southwest of Chiang Mai city, is surprising, because at present, one century later, the Lua are regarded as “upland people” who have survived only in two small mountainous areas of Hot district (Chiang Mai) and Mae Hong Son Province. From pre-Mangrai times the region around Doi Suthep (including Hang Dong) was an old Lua stronghold, and still today, the Yuan consider the Lua to be the original people of Chiang Mai. Until the early Bangkok period the Lua played an important role in the state ritual of Chiang Mai. They also held a strong economic position by controlling, for instance, the cattle trade. An inscription in Ban Kuan (Hang Dong district), dated “the fifth waning of the sixth month, C.S. 1192” (3 March 1831) specifies that Phuthawong, the then ruler of Chiang Mai, exempted the Lua from corvee.135 And remember that after their temporary retreat from Chiang Mai, in 1775/76, the Yuan leaders heavily relied on food requisitions “from the Lua and the mountain people.”136 However, it is not clear whether all of the Lua in Hang Dong were natives or whether some groups came from other areas, too. Numerous Lua villages are dispersed in the hilly areas surrounding the valley of Chiang Tung; it is possible that from there and other areas in the Shan states, some Lua villages were uprooted and deported to Chiang Mai by Kawila’s forces.137

3. The fertile, irrigated rice-growing zones to the east and northeast of Chiang Mai (San Kamphaeng, Doi Saket, San Sai) were obviously the most densely populated areas in Chiang Mai. More than two thirds of all rural monasteries/communities were situated in that region. Of that number roughly 20% had a non-Yuan background. Khun settlements were scattered over all three districts. One finds Tai Yai villages in Doi Saket and Lui communities in Doi Saket and San Kamphaeng. The largest
concentration of war captives was in the southern part of San Kamphaeng where six monasteries of Nikai Yong are reported. But nowhere did captives inhabit large coherent areas. Their villages were always interspersed among Yuan settlements.

6.2. The Numerical Strength of the Captive Population

How many war captives were deported to Lan Na during the era of kep phak sai sa kep kha sai miiang? How large was this population in absolute and relative numbers by the mid 19th century? The Northern Thai chronicles report in detail the numerical strength of various armies, but do not generally provide any figures on the people deported and resettled by these armies. Siamese sources are more precise here. The overall figures I collected for the various campaigns of forced resettlement (1782–1838/39) indicate that 50,000–70,000 war captives were deported during the late 18th and early 19th centuries to present-day Northern Thailand (appendix table 2). Furthermore, at least some 3,000 ethnic Mon fled after the last great Mon uprising in Burma (1814/15) to Chiang Mai, where they were settled in the eastern outskirts of the city and in Saraphi.138 Since the forced resettlements were often followed by the more or less voluntary immigration of those who were left behind, and if a natural annual increase of 0.5% for the “Pre-Bowring Period” is a reasonable supposition, the captive population would have doubled by 1840, eventually reaching a total between 100,000 and 150,000 persons. Taking the census results of 1919/20 and assuming an annual increase of 1.5% between 1840 and 1919/20 (including migration), I calculated the total population of Northern Thailand at roughly 0.4 million people. That means that by 1840, roughly 25–40% of the population in the five Yuan principalities of Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae and Nan were war captives or their descendants.

Contemporary British sources, however, indicate a far higher percentage of war captives than that derived from my own calculations. After his three journeys in 1829–35 to Chiang Mai, Lamphun and Lampang, David Richardson estimated that “of the original inhabitants of this country but a very small portion now obtains, perhaps not above one third of the whole.”141 In his diary of a journey five years later he wrote about the “captives of whom 3/4 of the people are composed.”142 Richardson explained the low numbers of native Yuan by the frequent deportations of the local population to Burma during the 16th to 18th centuries. W.C. McLeod, who visited Chiang Mai and Lamphun on his journey to Chiang Tung in 1837, agrees with Richardson that the large majority of the population were war captives from the “different states tributary to Ava.” McLeod estimates: “More than two-thirds of Zimmê [Chiang Mai], Labong [Lamphun] and Lagon [Lampang] are Talién [Mon] refugees, or persons from the Burman provinces to the northward, who had either voluntarily settled under the Siamese Shans [Yuan], having been inveigled to do so by specious promises, which were never kept, or seized and brought away during their former constant incursions into these provinces, chiefly Kiang Tùng [Chiang Tung] and Muang Niong [Yong].”143

Should these figures, obtained by foreigners, be taken at face value? One has to be careful for the following reasons: Firstly, judging from the routes Richardson and McLeod were travelling in the 1830s, it seems that they really did pass through areas with a high proportion of war captives: Lamphun (nearly completely populated by Lii-Yong) as well as the eastern and southwestern parts of Chiang Mai (large concentrations of Khun). It is from observations in these regions that their conclusions were drawn. As for Lampang, visited by Richardson (in 1835) but not by McLeod, neither explicitly mentions any captive group. Lampang apparently suffered from the wars with Burma less than Chiang Mai and Lamphun, and was, therefore, not so seriously depopulated. Compared to Chiang Mai, the capital, Lampang was of minor strategic importance vis-à-vis the Burmese. Lastly, the Wang river basin was a traditional rice-deficit zone. Therefore, I tentatively conclude that Lampang received a considerably smaller number of war captives than the Chiang Mai-Lamphun region. Secondly, Richardson and McLeod do not give any information about Phrae and Nan, regions
they obviously never visited. There were large numbers of people resettled in Nan province during the first decades of the 19th century, either as war captives or voluntary immigrants. But neighbouring Phrae is virtually left out by the chroniclers and other contemporary sources. Perhaps this principality was too small to be worth mentioning. Or, perhaps Phrae had been far less destroyed during the 18th century than Nan or Chiang Mai and, was therefore not so eager to be engaged in the resettlement campaigns of the latter.

Finally, the British diplomats were probably excessively aware of the non-Yuan population, because they did not expect so many alien elements in Chiang Mai. Certainly, the increase of population in Lan Na during the late 18th and early 19th centuries was only partly due to the influx of war captives. The return of former residents from jungle and mountainous areas was important, too. An inscription of Wat Phrabôrommathat Si Côm Thông (Chiang Mai) mentions 21 families who had served the monastery as phrai wat (phrai wat) then fled from the Burmese armies into the jungle and finally returned in 1779 to the monastery. Various smaller valleys situated far off the major invasion routes were not abandoned by their inhabitants, but, on the contrary, provided shelter for refugees from areas ravaged by war. The district of Li in the far south of Lamphun, for instance, remained relatively untouched by the events of the 1760s and 1770s. Many Yuan people from Mae Hông Sôn sought refuge in Li during that time.

There is, however, little doubt that the war captives and their descendants formed a major part of the mid-19th century population of Lan Na. The results of a detailed analysis of the “List of Monasteries” (appendix, table 1) show: At the end of the 19th century the descendants of war captives comprised roughly 20% of the total population of Chiang Mai, 30–35% in the city and 15–20% in the countryside. But these figures represent only the minimum margin, when the figures for half a century earlier are taken into consideration. There had certainly been more interaction among various ethnic groups during the 19th century than most Western observers tended to believe. For the “List of Monasteries” mentions at least a dozen villages with “Nikai Chiang Mai” affiliation whose names indicate, however, a non-Yuan background. Some captive groups, such as the Karen, were animists, not Buddhists; their villages are not represented by the “List of Monasteries.” Moreover, one important group of war captives, some 8,000 residents of Mûang Sat (ethnic Tai Yai), were not conceded their own nikai. Their settlements, such as Ban Mûang Sat Nôi and Ban Mûang Sat Luang (near Chiang Mai city), were obviously included in the category of “Nikai Chiang Mai.” On the other hand, Yuan villages in the sparsely populated northern section of Chiang Mai (Fang, Phrao, Chiang Dao), are not included in the “List of Monasteries.” At a very rough estimate, I would guess that by 1840 perhaps up to one third of the population in Chiang Mai (whole province) was of captive origin, and probably between one third and two fifths in the whole of Lan Na.

6.3. Social and Political Status of War Captives in Lan Na

Nearly everywhere in the Yuan principalities, war captives and their descendants constituted so large a group, in some areas even the bulk of the populace, that their general enslavement as “second-class citizens” was not feasible. Moreover, the Khûn, Lû, and Tai Yai (in this order) shared language, beliefs, customs, and basic way of life with the Yuan and with each other. From a historical point of view, Chiang Tung, Mûang Sat and Mûang Yong were at least as strongly connected to Chiang Mai as Phrae or Nan used to be. All these mûang belonged to the Yuan-Khûn-Lû cultural zone, i.e. Lan Na. To sum up, there were no attitudes of any racial or cultural superiority by the Yuan (Chiang Mai) élite towards most of the war captives. In this respect the situation in Central Thailand, where many tens of thousands Lao and Khmer war captives were often badly treated, was fundamentally different. The captive villages in Siam were organized in special labour units (kông, nikai) under the supervision of Siamese lords (nai kông, wûn nai). Although in most cases they were not slaves (thai, nai) but commoners (phrai, phrai), these non-Siamese populations were considered culturally inferior.
In the Yuan principalities the captive population lived in settlements under the control of their traditional village leaders. Sometimes the ruler of a captured mɯāng agreed to follow his subjects to the south and was allowed to maintain his high status. Thus, nearly all the members of the ruling family of Chiang Tung settled in Chiang Mai city (1805), and Kawila regarded them as his “younger brothers.” Intermarriage between the Kawila dynasty and the Chiang Tung dynasty (both its Sirichai and Mahâkhanân lines) occurred frequently during the 19th century.\(^{153}\)

Likewise, cordial relations developed between the ruling families of Miiang Yǒng and Lamphun after the principality of Lamphun was restored in 1806/14. The ruler of Miiang Yǒng settled in Wiang Yǒng, opposite the city of Lamphun, on the eastern bank of the Kuang river. As was discussed earlier, Wiang Yǒng and the surrounding villages were replicas of the old Miiang Yǒng in a geographic-ecological dimension. No less fascinating, however, is how the new settlements reflected and reinforced political authority of Miiang Yong’s former rulers in Lamphun. His important position within the leadership of Lamphun is evident from the following incident: On the ninth waning of the second month, C.S. 1173 [9 November 1811], the king of Chiang Mai, Kawila, announced that the ruler of Lamphun and his deputy, the cao upalat hû na (คำโปรทเล็กหน้า), should rule together in harmony. In case of dispute, the councillors (khûn sanam, ขุนสนาม) of Lamphun should be consulted first. If their mediation was unsuccessful the former ruler of Miiang Yǒng was asked to act as arbitrator before a final appeal would be brought to Chiang Mai. Holding the third highest rank in the political hierarchy of Lamphun and possessing the loyalty of its numerous Lûi-Yǒng population, the Cao Miiang Yǒng was badly needed to secure the stability and prosperity of the principality of Lamphun.\(^{155}\)

While the noble families from Miiang Yǒng obviously lived in the main village of Wiang Yǒng, architects and construction workers settled the adjacent village of (Ban) Tông. The people of Ban Tông are famous for their skills in constructing religious buildings such as vihâra (วิหาร) in the traditional Yuan-Lûi style.\(^{156}\) The villages of (Ban) Luai und (Ban) Yu were widely known for their specialization in cloth-weaving and poetry, respectively. Outside this cluster of four occupationally specialized villages, lived the bulk of the rice-growing peasants.\(^{157}\) Both rulers in Lamphun, the cao miiang in the city and his junior counterpart in Wiang Yǒng, profitted from this “cellular” organization of society.

This pattern of settlement, based on strict status and occupational divisions, was yet more distinct in Chiang Mai, where the various ethnic groups living in the outskirts of the city were highly specialized craftsmen. The Khûn, settling south of the “Pratu Chiang Mai”, were well-known bell-founders and producers of lacquerware (still called in Chiang Mai khriàng khoen, เหล็กเผา). Compartments occupied by ethnic Lûi and Tai Yai were famous for silversmith’s work and tanning, respectively.\(^{158}\) The community of Ban Chang Khong, situated inside the outer city wall along the banks of the Mae Kha waterway, was inhabited by descendants of Yuan war captives from Chiang Saen. They were highly specialized drum and gong makers (chang không, ทรงเครื่อง). Outside Chiang Mai City lived the peasant population, made up of various ethnic background, both native and captive.

Although the war captives were in general given fair treatment by the Yuan rulers, one would expect them to resent the loss of heimat. As paddy fields to cultivate were abundant, the new settlers did not fear for their material wellbeing; but the psychological effects of deportation were much more difficult to overcome, at least for the first and second generations. Richardson reports on an encounter with the last ruler of Miiang Yǒng, whom he met in 1834: “The rightfull Tsobwa of Mein Neaung stayed with me a great part of the day. He is a prisoner who was carried off by the
present Chow Tschee Weet [cao chiwit, คำชีวิต] about 30 years ago, the year after he re-established this town [Lamphun]. He complained with little reserve of this situation here. He said he ate and drank and slept like other people. His natural part was here, but his spirit cit was in his own country.”

Richardson’s report is corroborated by McLeod, who, a few years later, had a similar encounter with the former ruler of Miiang Yong. The British official, having been instructed by his superiors to avoid sensitive political issues during his fact-finding mission, describes an even stronger dissatisfaction with an unpleasant situation. “The Mein Neaung chief . . . said, he hoped the British would interfere and have him and his countrymen released, either to return to their own country or to settle under us in the Tenasserim Provinces; that they, with the people of Kiang Tung and other places to the northward were sorely oppressed; that to the known benevolence and humanity of the English all their hearts were turned.” It seems, however, that this alleged statement by the “Miiang Yong chief” reflected McLeod’s own wishful thinking (of British intervention in the future) rather than real expectations by the Miiang Yong chief. As if to dissipate such surmise, McLeod emphasized a sentence later: “I, however, gave him [the former ruler of Miiang Yong] no hopes of our interfering as they were not our subjects, and had voluntarily placed themselves under the Siamese Shans.”

The sentiments expressed in encounters with foreigners certainly did not reflect any intolerably severe grief or feelings of hatred against the Yuan rulers. McLeod’s conclusion that the war captives were “disgusted with the treatment they receive” and “ripe for revolt”, is, to say the least, an exaggeration. Richardson’s diary includes a brief but moving account of a discussion with a Lü-Yong woman in Pa Sang, a sister of “the rightfull Tsobwa of Mein Neuang”, in whose house the British diplomat had stayed one night. Richardson was told that the war captives were allowed “to live as much together as possible.” As they amounted to 3,000 people in Pa Sang, the Yuan authorities of Lamphun did not “trust them together.” Therefore, “they were distributed in small numbers about the different villages in this principality which the Birmans had then only recently left and which was thinly peopled, they never made an attempt to escape.” It seems that the fear of the Yuan rulers that their captive subjects might try to escape to their native country put restraints on exploitation and misuse of power.

7. Concluding Remarks

However, communication between the war captives and their original home-lands was never completely cut. On the contrary, the war captives seemed to have played a vital role not only in the revival of agriculture and of handicrafts in Lan Na, but certainly in the trade network, both intra- and inter-regional, as well. By the time of McLeod’s visit to Chiang Mai (1837) this trade was already flourishing. The British diplomat observed that dried fish and meat were brought from Chiang Tung. “Quantities of betel nut, with which these territories [Chiang Mai/ Lamphun] abound, are smuggled for sale to Keng Tung, where there is none, and the consumption great.” The re-establishment of Chiang Rai and Phayao as dependencies of Chiang Mai and Lampang respectively (1844), accelerated the contacts between Lan Na and the regions further to the north. These contacts were only briefly interrupted by the Chiang Tung Wars (1850–1854). The war captives and their descendents contributed to the forging of close relations, based on ethnic and cultural bonds, between Chiang Mai and the Chiang Tung-Miüang Yong-Chiang Rung region. This development was only interrupted after World War II as a result of developments in China and Burma.

The forced resettlement campaigns in Northern Thailand during the early Bangkok period gave rise to significant demographic changes including the ethnic composition and the regional distribution of the population. By 1840, the principal settlement areas of the Yuan principalities had contracted to the core areas in the south. The concentration of the bulk of the population near the seats of princely power and surrounding rice-growing area created the conditions for the accumulation of economic resources that were necessary to restore viable polities in Lan Na. The temporary depopulation of extensive, but now peripheral, settlement areas
in the north, particularly in the Kok-Ing basin, was accepted.

After a period of political, social and demographic consolidation, Bangkok and the Yuan rulers encouraged an influx of settlers back to the depopulated areas of the north. This remigration gained momentum in the 1840s when Chiang Khong (1841/42), Chiang Rai, Ngao and Phayao (1843/44) were refounded. A second wave started in c. 1870 and led to the repopulation of deserted towns like Fang, Chiang Dao, Mae Sariang, and, finally, Chiang Saen.

The latter movement was, at least partially, a reaction to the challenges by European colonial powers Siam was facing during the last quarter of the 19th century. The old “Southeast Asian” idea of overlapping border zones, based on the primacy of manpower, was abandoned in favour of the “European” concept of a territorial state with clearly defined border lines. However, this would have to be the starting point of a separate study focussing on the population history of Lan Na during the second half of the 19th and the first quarter of the 20th centuries.

Abbreviations

C.S. Cūlasakarāja (“Little Era” = Christian Era minus 638)
CH Cotmaihet
CHLN Cotmaihet Ian na
CMC Chiang Mai Chronicle
HP Hans Penth version
JSC Jengtung State Chronicle
KMCM Khlong rūiąng mangthara rop chiang mai
N Notton version
NL National Library
PLN Prawattisat Ian na
PMN Phongsawadan mūiąng nan
PPRI Phra-ratcha phongsawadan krung rattanakosin ratchakan thi 1
PCMLL Phongsawadan mūiąng nakhon chiang mai nakhon mūiąng lampang mūiąng lamphunchai
PY Phongsawadan yonok
SN Sammak nayok ratthamontri version
SRI Social Research Institute
TMY Tamnan mūiąng yòng
tCTC Tamnan cao cet ton
TPCM Tamnan phūn mūiąng chiang mai
TSHR Tamnan sip ha ratchawong
U Udom Rungruangsi version

Notes

1 On the events in Burma see Koenig 1990:14–17.
2 A good general description of the Siamese policy of forced resettlements in the Lao mūiąng is given by Snit and Breazeale 1988:9–22; on the deportations of Lao war captives to Central Thai provinces see Bangon 1986. Up to 50,000 Lao had been resettled in Central Thailand by the mid 19th century. In Prachinburi, for instance, the Lao still outnumbered the Siamese at the turn of the century. Compare Bangon 1986:99.
3 Chalón 1986:149.
4 Snit and Breazeale 1988:21.
5 For details of Mūiąng Phan see Hō cotmaihet haengchat,รายงานเมืองสำหรับคน ตก 112 (pp. 10–12 and 21–22), R.5 n.58/187.
6 Hō samut haengchat, จดหมายเหตุวิชาการ 4, ฉบ. 1170, เลขที่ 31.
7 Somsak 1986:69. The principality of Chiang Khaeng comprised territories on both sides of the Mekong. Its original capital of the same name was situated directly on the left bank of the Mekong and it at present the seat of a sub-district in Luang Nam Tha province (Lao P.D.R.). The principality’s population consisted mainly of Lū and Tai Nūa, living in the lowlands, and various hill-tribes such as Akha and Lahu. For details on the history of Chiang Khaeng see Grabowsky 1999.
8 Kraisri 1965 and 1978. Kraisri does not provide any written evidence for the saying. However, in the Nan Chronicle there is a passage that comes close to its wording. The chronicle states that in the early 18th century the Burmese king ordered the governor of Nan “to gather people and put them into villages and towns” (keep hóm phái tai sai ban sai mūiąng เก็บ หมู่ไฟใส่บ้านใส่เมือง). Quoted from Social Research Institute, พิพิธภัณฑ์ภูพิภัณฑ์ ฯ . . . (SRI, 82.107.05. 043-043), ¶ 122/4–5. English translation in NC, Wyatt 1994:75.
9 See e.g. PPRI, Thiphakorawong 1988. Prince Damrong Rachenuphap’s famous book “ไทรกุลล์” (1977) is largely based on the royal chronicles of Ayutthaya and Bangkok.
Aroonrut 1995:126. Probably a high-ranking poem into modern Thai script and also published a from Chiang Mai to Hongsawadi on a long, difficult journey. The poem’s author was of Thai and among the most important pieces of Lan Na literature. Singkha Wannasai (1979) transliterated the translation into the Siamese language. Wyatt and Aroonrut 1995:125-126. The ruler of Ava decided to reestablish it as a Burmese vassal state. See Hō samut haengchāt,จ่นมหามณีภูริทัตที่ 4, จ.ต. 1228, เล่มที่ 126.

11 Udom (TPCM-U 1995) uses a method developed by the German classical philologist Paul Maas for the archetype, i.e. a text closest to the first perhaps lost—original manuscript by examining all available surviving manuscripts called “witnesses” of the original. Udom obviously believes that there exists just one original text of the Chiang Mai Chronicle from which all present-day versions derive. The Wat Phra Ngam-National Library manuscript is regarded by him as the least contaminated of all surviving manuscripts.

12 Saraswadee Ongsakul, personal communication (Chiang Mai, 8 March 1993).

13 Richardson, “Journal of Missions” (British Library, Western Manuscript Department; “A Journal kept by Captain W.C. McLeod” (British Library, India Office & Oriental Collections). These sources are cited hereafter as “Richardson’s Journal” and “McLeod’s Journal” respectively. McLeod’s Journal of 1837 is due to be published and edited by Andrew Turton and the present author.

14 I am grateful to Dr Ronald Renard for this information.

15 For the most comprehensive and detailed analysis of the impact of Burmese rule on the Lan Na polity see Saraswadee 1996:228-258.


17 This poem, comprising more than 300 stanzas, is one of the oldest travel poems (นิรัต, ฉ่วย) of the Thai and among the most important pieces of Lan Na literature. Singkhawannasai (1979) transliterated the poem into modern Thai script and also published a translation into the Siamese language. KMCM describes the deportation of the Yuan war captives from Chiang Mai to Hongsawadi (Pegu). Able-bodied men, women, old people and children had to set out on a long, difficult journey. The poem’s author was probably a high-ranking Yuan officer whose task was to personally accompany a princess of Chiang Mai (cao ying, ชาวpery) to Pegu. An in-depth analysis of KMCM is made by Chormom lan na khadi chiang mai 1990.

18 Lieberman 1984:59; see also Lieberman 1980.

19 Chormom lanna khadi chiang mai 1990:15.

20 Chormom lanna khadi chiang mai 1990:16-23.


22 Lieberman 1984:59, 97-98.

23 See Lieberman 1980.

24 Sommai 1975a:37.

25 TPCM-SN:82-83; TPCM-U:101-102; see also PY, Prachakitköracak 1973:408-411.

26 Quoted from Lieberman 1984.

27 3,000 inhabitants of Chiang Mai were obviously deported and resettled in the Shan State of Mok Mai. The mǔng of Mok Mai was at that time depopulated. The ruler of Ava decided to reestablish it as a Burmese vassal state. See Hō samut haengchāt,จ่นมหามณีภูริทัตที่ 4, จ.ต. 1228, เล่มที่ 126.


29 TPCM-SN:92; TPCM-U:112-113; TSHR-SRI:16


32 He was so named because he used to wear a white cloth around his head; this was not unusual for Burmese officers. See Penth 1993:116.


34 TCCT, Sanguan 1968:21-22; TSHR-SRI:16-17; see also PY, Prachakitköracak 1973:441.


37 ตําปานแม่เชียงแสน,ปูนทิพย์สงครามประวัติศาสตร์ พ.ศ. 2271-2397, ผิว 11, in: Saraswadee 1993:20. This document is available on microfilm in the archives of the Social Research Institute (SRI), Chiang Mai University (CMU) under the code SRI 82 107 05 048-048.

38 TCCT, Sanguan 1968:35.

39 A Siamese army repelled the Burmese, who besieged Chiang Mai for eight months. During that time the inhabitants of the city faced starvation. One Northern Thai chronicle even reports cases of cannibalism in the beleaguered city. The victims were captured Burmese soldiers. See TCCT, Sanguan 1968:28.


41 TSHR-SRI:20.

42 TPCM-SN:98; TPCM-U:120; TSHR-SRI:25. PY, Prachakitköracak 1973:452 gives only 200 able-bodied men from the vicinity of Pa Sang. This could be the result of a misreading, for the ciphers 2 and 7 have a similar shape in Northern Thai script (here: ลекhora, ละอริยา). However, according to TPCM and TSHR, Pa Sang had around 1,000 able-bodied men or, including family members, roughly 5,000 inhabitants in 1782.
of Lamphun was still situated along the Ping River. At some time after 1558, the Ping changed its course, probably as a result of a great flood. Thereafter, the new course of the Ping was c. 5 km to the east.

At some time after 1558, the Ping changed its course, probably as a result of a great flood. Thereafter, the new course of the Ping was c. 5 km to the east. See TPCM-SN:106; TPCM-U:129; TSHR-SRI:35; CMC-N, Notton 1932:226.


Tak was ruled by Chiang Mai until the reign of Rama III, when it was handed back to Siam. Tak (Rahaeng) was until the end of the 19th century predominantly inhabited by Yuan. Holt (Rahaeng) was until the end of the 19th century predominantly inhabited by Yuan. Holt S. Hallett writes: “The province of Rahaeng is mainly occupied by descendants of the Zimmé Shans [Yuan], owing to its having formerly been part of the kingdom of Zimmé. Even in the the city, more than half the people are Zimmé Shans and Pegovans [Mon].” Lilian Curtis 1903:58 makes a similar observation: “The city is made up of a native huts, crowded with people. The latter form a most interesting study, for the population here is about half and half Siamese and Lao.” Compare also Penth 1973.

Both TSHR-SRI:27 and TPCM-U:122 mention the village of Ban Tha Fang on the west bank of the Salween as the main target of Kawila’s forces. After the conquest of Ban Tha, the leaders (pho, vin, “father”) of Múang Yan and Múang Thu (TSRH-SRI Thuk) surrendered, too. TPCM-U records the village of Kiti as a further target of forced relocation.

Following the successive Burmese defeats of 1784-86, Burmese offensive capacities dwindled. “The scale of the conflict was much reduced”, Koenig 1990:20 concludes.

The Northern Thai sources are not explicit on the events leading to the popular uprising in Chiang Saen and its brief occupation by Yuan forces (see TPCM-U 124; TSHR-SRI 29). One may speculate that the Chiang Mai centred chronicles were not inclined to report the seizure, even if only temporary, of Chiang Saen by forces other than Kawila’s. But the Siamese royal chronicles do report the events in detail. See PPR1, Thiphakôrowong 1988:48; compare Damrong 1977:628–629. The Siamese sources are largely based on the testimony of the captured Burmese general who confessed: “I had spent a year with 10,000 men [?], cultivating the paddy fields at Cheingsen [Chiang Saen] when Pya (governor) Prê [Phrae] and Phya Yong marched a Siamese force [Yuan force] against us. I slipped out of the town and surrendered to Phya Chiangrai, who sent me to the Siamese forces [Yuan forces] at Lakon [Lampang]. The governor of Lakon sent me on to Ayuthia [Bangkok] where I have been maintained until now.” Quoted from Phraison Salarak, Phra and Thien Subindu (U Aung Thien) 1957: 53.

See “Riawng sang tong cao prathetsarat krong rattanakosin ratchakan thi 1 1971:33–38.”

According to other Northern Thai sources, Côm Hong fell already two years earlier, in 1796, into Burmese hands. See Cotmaihef lan na . . ., f. 20, in: Saraswadee 1993:23.

Hô samut haengchat, Khách việt của chế độ 1, n.ş. 1165, số 1.

See Arronrut 1995:153-154. Among the raided settlements were Múang Caet, Múang King and Múang Kun, all dependencies of the Burmese stronghold of Múang Sat.

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The Northern Thai chronicles call the ruler of Müang Sat "Racha [King] Cöm Hong" (ราชามั่งคลา). Tamnan mangrai chiang mai chiang tung (1993) records: “สุนันท์มาลย์สิ้นทวีปปิย์ได้ 1163 ขวบ ปริวัฒน์ ภูมิลักษณ์ ออกไปณเก้ายะนิลขันธ์ ...” Cöm Hong’s attack on Nan is not mentioned by neither the Nan Chronicle nor the Chiang Mai Chronicle.

66 Thawi, Thawi 1984:57 (original: f 69).
67 Thawi, Thawi 1984:57 (original: f 70).
68 Saimoeng Mangrai 1981:258.
72 Hô samut haengchat, записная книжка 1, в. 1164, лист 1.
75 See TPCM-SN:112; TPCM-U:136; TSHR-SRI:43.
77 Thiphakorawong 1988:97; see also TPCM-SN:114–115; TPCM-U:139–140; CMC-HP, Wyatt and Aroonrut 1995:173; PY, Prachakitkôrâcak 1973:472. Thammalangka, the uparat, used Miiang Yong as his main base for further military operations.
78 Thiphakorawong 1988:98.
80 Hô samut haengchat, записная книжка 1, в. 1170, лист 1.
82 This date is confirmed by other Northern Thai sources. See, e.g., Tambuddhiphulat . . . , f 29, in: Saraswadee 1993:26, ประวัติศาสตร์สิงห์ (SRI, 80.047.05.028-028), f 22. However, most historians of Lan Na have so far followed the dating of PY (Prachakitkôrâcak 1973:481), a secondary source, and accepted the year C.S. 1175 (A.D. 1813/14) as the year of Kawila’s death. But as all sources agree that Thammalangka’s accession to the throne took place in A.D. 1816, one would have to explain the long and quite unprobable–interregnum of three years.
83 Suai Kabang is an ethnonym that probably refers to the Pwo-Karen. See Renard 1980:160.
84 For a Thai chronicular account see PCMLL: 102–103.
85 The deportations from Miiang Sat are analyzed by D. Richardson, who visited Chiang Mai shortly afterwards (in 1839). He wrote in his report to E.A. Blundell, British Commissioner of Tenasserim, that he had been told by “the son of a man who is himself prisoner here, who took the account of captured property” that “there were 1,815 miserable captives of all ages, from a few days up to 70 or 80 years old, and about 500 cattle. He also stated that some 30 years ago, about the time his father was made prisoner, the Zimmay people had destroyed these towns in the same way they had done now.” Quoted from “Extract from the Journal relative to the invasion of the Birman frontier towns by the Laos people”, The Burney Papers 1971:46.
86 For details concerning the resettlement campaigns that were undertaken by the rulers of Nan during the Early Bangkok Period, see Grabowsky 1996:260–266.
87 Tamnan mangrai chiang mai chiang tung n.d.:99. The population estimate includes Miiang Phayak, Miiang Sat, and Miiang Yong as well as seven other miiang but excludes Miiang Len.
tradition says: that State. The invaders stormed through the 15th century wall constructed by Alaungpaya, and sacked [of Chiang Tung] in
forced to settle at Cheinshen [Chiang Saen] in
included that of the chiefs were carried away and
The chief Sao Kawng Tai had died in
realized they were on the route of the Burmese armies.
was the only one to escape.
would have evacuated their villages when they
People's Daily
some of the Yuan subjects living along the Salween
correctness in the line of succession, recognized him
made good his escape by wearing a monk's robe.
maintained himself gallantly amid[s]t vicissitudes for
the area, having decided to escape from the threat
was in utter chaos, Maha Khanan went north to
commander of the town garrison sent by Bodawpaya
He wiped out a force sent to capture him and
maintained himself gallantly amid[s]t vicissitudes for
some years. In 1813, he was called to the capital
Sayanong area and made a plan to regain his state.
refused to accomodate Maha Khanan: The country
was in utter chaos, Maha Khanan went north to
Maha Khanan, younger brother of the chief,
made his escape by wearing a monk's robe.
would have evacuated their villages when they
Some of the Yuan subjects living along the Salween
responsible for the end of the production of the
handicrafts.”
It can be seen, for instance, in numerous village and street names in West Germany which are of
Silesian or Pomeranian origin. If geography allows, immigrants/ refugees tend to build their new
settlements in a geographical and ecological environment similar to that of their original home.
Sometimes even the spatial relationship of one locality to another is preserved. In the former autonomous
German Volga Republic, dissolved by Stalin in 1941, one finds the small towns of Basel and Schaffhausen
situated a short distance from each other on the right bank of the Volga. If we substitute the Rhine for the
Volga, we get a duplicate of northern Switzerland, the native country of these German settlers. See map in
For details see Sanguan 1972:166; see also Kraisri 1978:55.
Sangwörayanprayut 1990; interview with Phrakhru Wicitpanyakon (Wat Ban Tong, Lamphun),
The population of Pa Sang had been transferred to Chiang Mai in 1776. The spread of Lü-Yông settlements in Pa Sang markedly increased after 1820. The wooden inscription of Wat Chang K.hao Noi Nua, dated 1828, is a hint of that process. See Sawaeng 1991.
See Sangwörayanprayut 1990.
Interview with Phrakhru Wicitpanyakon (Wat Ban Tong, Lamphun), 8 March 1992.
According to Cao Vimalatissa, abbot of Wat Phra Phutthhabat Tak Pha, who claims that Lü-Yông make up even 95% of the population in their stronghold Pa Sang. Interview, 17 April 1992.

99 TMY, Thawi 1984:63 (original f 83).
100 TMY, Thawi 1984:63–64 (original: f 84–85).
101 See JSC, Saimoeng Mangrai 1981:259. The Khün tradition says: “Sao Kawng Tai was the 33rd chief [of Chiang Tung] in 1802, when the Siamese invaded that State. The invaders stormed through the 15th century wall constructed by Alaungpaya, and sacked the city. The country was laid waste. Families including that of the chiefs were carried away and forced to settle at Cheinshen [Chiang Saen] in Northern Siam. Of the chief's family thus carried away, Maha Khanan, younger brother of the chief, was the only one to escape. One version says that he made good his escape by wearing a monk's robe. The chief Sao Kawng Tai had died in 1804 and the commander of the town garrison sent by Bodawpaya refused to accomodate Maha Khanan: The country was in utter chaos, Maha Khanan went north to Mongyang area and made a plan to regain his state.
102 Scott 1901:408.
103 Nithi 1991:270.
106 Koenig 1990:34.
107 Keyes 1970:232 concludes: “... it is reasonable to assume that the Burmese-Yuan wars were responsible for the end of the production of the manuscripts in the area. It would seem probable that some of the Yuan subjects living along the Salween would have evacuated their villages when they realized they were on the route of the Burmese armies. Once could well conjecture, further, that villagers in the area, having decided to escape from the threat posed by the Burmese attacks, had collected all of their religious texts and stored them in the cave pending their return.”
109 TPCM-SN:115; TSUR-SRI:48; see also PY, Prachakitkóracac 1973:472.
109 TPCM-SN:115; TSUR-SRI:48; see also PY, Prachakitkóracac 1973:472.
111 The province (cangwat, คำว่า) of Chiang Mai comprises an area of 22,800 km².
112 Wyatt 1984:7 describes the ambiguous meaning of miäng as follows: “Miąng is a term that defies translation, for it denotes as much personal as spatial relationship... We can imagine that such miàng originally arose out of a set of political, economic, and social interrelationships. Under dangerous circumstances... Tai villages banded together for mutual defence under the leadership of the most powerful village or family, whose resources might enable it to arm and supply troops. In return for such protection, participating villages rendered labor service to their chao or paid them quantities of local produce or handicrafts.”
113 It can be seen, for instance, in numerous village and street names in West Germany which are of Silesian or Pomeranian origin. If geography allows, immigrants/ refugees tend to build their new settlements in a geographical and ecological environment similar to that of their original home. Sometimes even the spatial relationship of one locality to another is preserved. In the former autonomous German Volga Republic, dissolved by Stalin in 1941, one finds the small towns of Basel and Schaffhausen situated a short distance from each other on the right bank of the Volga. If we substitute the Rhine for the Volga, we get a duplicate of northern Switzerland, the native country of these German settlers. See map in Süddeutsche Zeitung (Munich), 11/12 July 1992, p. 7.
114 For details see Sanguan 1972:166; see also Kraisri 1978:55.
117 The population of Pa Sang had been transferred to Chiang Mai in 1776. The spread of Lü-Yông settlements in Pa Sang markedly increased after 1820. The wooden inscription of Wat Chang K.hao Noi Nua, dated 1828, is a hint of that process. See Sawaeng 1991.
118 See Sangworayanprayut 1990.
119 Interview with Phrakhru Wicitpanyakon (Wat Ban Tong, Lamphun), 8 March 1992.
120 According to Cao Vimalatissa, abbot of Wat Phra Phutthhabat Tak Pha, who claims that Lü-Yông make up even 95% of the population in their stronghold Pa Sang. Interview, 17 April 1992.
121 In 1814, Rama II ordered the restoration of Lamphun as a principality formally independent of Chiang Mai and Lampang. Kawila’s younger brother, Luang Kham Fan, was appointed ruler of Lamphun. See Damrong 1990:99. TPCM-U:143 reports that the re-establishment of Lamphun took place on Thursday, 27 March 1806. According to TPCM-U, “five-hundred” (i.e., in the language of the chronicle, a sufficiently large number of) people from Lampang and Chiang Mai each were settled inside the city walls. Perhaps the formal appointment of Lamphun as a self-governing polity by Bangkok occurred several years later. That may explain the gap of 11 years that exists between the Siamese and the Northern Thai accounts.

122 Li (ลี) means “to hide” (from perils). The location of Li on the periphery of Lamphun, some distance to the main invasion routes, would explain why the Yuan population of Li had probably not left their villages like people in other areas.


125 Hồ samut haengchat, จดหมายเหตุ ปีที่ 1, ง.ศ. 1164, เล่ม 1. Many people from Miiang Pu and Miiang Sat founded villages not far from Lampang city, such as Ban Wat Miiang Sat. See Srisakara 1984:128.

126 Sommai 1975b and Sanan 1996.


128 Sommai 1975b.

129 Sanan 1996. Dr M.R. Rujaya Abhakorn planned to republish the text based on Sanan’s new transliteration but it never happened. On several occasions over the past years I searched for the original manuscript in order to check both transliterations. However, investigators both at Wat Chedi Luang and at Dr M.R. Rujaya’s office remained unsuccessful. It seems now that this valuable manuscript has disappeared which is highly regrettable as a complete verification of the text may no longer possible.

130 The dating probably follows the Northern Thai (Yuan) style calendar which is two months in advance over the Siamese calendar. According to the Siamese style calendar, the date would be 1 March 1898.

131 For details concerning the (late 19th century) population of Chiang Dao, Fang and Phrao see Hallett 1988:334–352.

132 Vatikiotis 1984:54–55 [Explanations are added in brackets].

133 McLeod’s Journal:36 [23.1.1837].

134 Sanguan Chotisukharat 1972:167 reports that the inhabitants from Ban Wualai and Ban Tông Kai in Hang Dong district are descendants of war captives from Mường Ngualai and Mường Tông Kai in the Shan States (dependencies of Chiang Tung). They were most probably ethnic Khun.


137 There are still a large number of villages of Lua origin in the districts of San Pa Tông and Côm Thống. Te Yuan people of Mae Caem speak with a Lua accent and wear theirpha sin with a Lua fold. See Kritsana 1988. As to the role of the Lua in Northern Thai society see Chonthira 1987.

138 จำนวนผู้ดันภูเขา... 17.2.1835. Other sources give the numbers of Mon refugees as high as 5,000 (e.g., TPCM-SN:125). Concerning the mass exodus of Mon from Burma see Damrong 1990:106–107. More than 40,000 Mon fled to Siam, where most of them were resettled in areas around Bangkok. The Mon village Nông Du in Pa Sang district (Lamphun) was also founded in c. 1815 or later, and not, as the present villagers—80% still speaking Mon—claim, by descendants of the Haripunchai (pre-13th century) Mon. Interview with Phrakhru Wichansatsanakhun, Wat Nông Du, 14 March 1992.

139 Natural increase = birth-rate minus death-rate.

140 According to the census of 1919/20, more than 1,342,000 persons lived in Monthon Phayap. For details see le May 1986:85.

141 Blundell 1836:602.

142 Richardson’s Journal:143 [17.2.1835].

143 McLeod 1837:991.


145 See Nông không kao chao ban phuang 1993.

146 To calculate the proportion of non-Yuan ethnic groups in Chiang Mai, I took the number of monasteries affiliated to different ethnic nikai as an indicator. First, I assumed that the size of each community was about the same. That is, of course, a simplification, as the number of monks and novices supported by each monastery varied in size. Therefore, I used the number of all ordained persons in religious service (banphachit, บรรพชี), i.e. monks and novices, as a better indicator by assuming that the population of a community and the number of religious people supported by that community would be proportional (table 1). However, it can be argued that monks were not necessarily local people, but novices were. Perhaps, the size of the local population should be determined only by the number of novices.
The "List of Monasteries" provides the number of monks for two successive years, i.e. 1896/97 and 1897/98. Concerning the number of novices, figures are given only for 1897/98 and not for the previous year. The figures indicate an overall increase of monks of roughly 10% within a period of twelve months. At the village level the fluctuations were even greater because local (economic) conditions could vary considerably from one year to another. Moreover, one may also assume differences in the monastic discipline of various nikai influencing the ratio of banphachit to laypersons. However, I don't believe that these differences were significant.

147 Holt S. Hallett wrote in 1890: "In Bangkok the inhabitants of the different quarters have gradually become amalgamated; but not far from the capital the colonies of former captives of war still retain their language and customs, and keep little intercourse with their conquerors. In the northern country [Lan Na] the separation is as complete, and the town of Chiengmai (Zimmé), for instance, is divided into numerous quarters, inhabited exclusively by people of a different race; and many of the villages in the provinces are also colonies of refugees or captives." (Hallett 1988:352).

148 From the campaigns in 1798, 1802 and 1838/39.

149 Personal communication with Aroonrut Wichienkeeo (22 April 1993). Furthermore, war captives from Miiang Ton and Ban Saen Kantha (San Pa Tong district) where Anan (1984:44-45) made extensive field-studies.

150 Although the miiang in the northern part of Lan Na, such as Fang, Phrao, Chiang Rai and Phayao were considered as "depopulated" and "waste" (rang, ฟัง), at least until the early 1840s, the area was by no means totally uninhabited. On his journey from Chiang Mai to Chiang Tung in early 1837, McLeod passed regularly through villages in the Lao river basin (until reaching Pak Pong, south of Chiang Rai, called "a border village of Siam"). However, the areas north of Chiang Rai seemed to have been deserted. See McLeod's Journal:44-49.

151 Northern Thai as well as Burmese sources (from the 18th and early 19th centuries) often speak about the "57 miiang of Lan Na", including Chiang Tung, Miiang Yung, Miiang Sat and even Chiang Rung in Sipsong Panna.

152 The discrimination against Lao war captives ended after the French established a Lao protectorate on the east bank of the Mekong in 1893. The Siamese authorities feared the French might claim control over Lao "subjects" resettled in central and northeastern Thailand as well. "The very existence of captive labour villages became an acute embarrassment. It was imperative that their identity be officially suppressed and their existence denied. An obvious first step was the abandonment of the 'captive labour' caste designation within the Thai legal system. It mattered little that the villages themselves remained intact and identifiable. It was important only that they became 'Thai' villages and that all traces of alien distinction be swept away. A second step was the formulation of a Thai nationality law in order to establish a legal definition for Thai citizens. The old habit of indicating ethnic origins in official papers was dropped." Quoted from Snit and Breazeale 1988:128.

153 For a useful and readable discussion of political relations between Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung in the 19th century see Ratanaporn 1988.

154 The Pali-derived names of the four guardian spirits are surana, pitthiya, lakkhana, thewada. The monastery founded by the Lü-Yòng in 1805/06 was Wat Hua Nguang. Later in the 19th century the people left the old monastery and built Wat Hua Khua 200m distant. The small hall containing the guardian spirits had not been moved. It is situated just outside the compound of the new monastery. The elephant stone figures are still in good physical condition. The local population, however, no longer seems to take notice of the spirit hall.

155 For details see Sangworayanprayut 1990:2.

156 For a useful and readable discussion of political relations between Chiang Mai and Chiang Tung in the 19th century see Ratanaporn 1988.


158 For details see Sangworayanprayut 1990:2.

159 Richardson's Journal:58 [1.4.1834].

160 E.A. Blundell, Commissioner in Tenasserim Province, admonished his assistant "to make inquiries on the present state of cattle trade, and ascertain as far as practicable the probable continuance of supplies", but to "cautiously avoid all political subjects in your conversation with the chiefs, and if introduced by them, you will state at once that your object is solely that of extending trade, and that you are not
authorized in any way whatever to discuss other subjects with them.” Quoted from McLeod’s Journal: 8.

161 McLeod’s Journal: 22 [8.1.1837].
162 McLeod’s Journal: 33 [21.1.1837].
163 Richardson’s Journal: 59 [1.4.1834].
164 Richardson’s Journal: 142 [17.2.1835].
165 McLeod’s Journal: 36 [23.1.1837].

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1.5 Public Record Office (London/Kew)

1.6 Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, สาขาวิชานิเวศน์: หนังสือรับรองช่างมอญใหม่
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Map I: Lan Na and neighbouring regions

Approximate scale

KM 0 50 100 200 300 500
Map 2: Ethnic groups in Chiang Mai City

Map based on data provided by Aroonrut 1996:112-115.

Map 3: Ethnic groups in Mùang Chiang Mai (outside the city walls)

Map drawn from an outline made by Aroonrut in July 1993.
Appendix

**List of “Nikai” in Chiang Mai**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nikai Chiang Mai</th>
<th>Yuan (in Chiang Mai)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Chiang Saen</td>
<td>Yuan (from Chiang Saen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Nan</td>
<td>Yuan (from Nan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Phrae</td>
<td>Yuan (from Phrae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Len</td>
<td>Lü (from Len)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Yong</td>
<td>Lü (from Yong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Luang</td>
<td>Lü (from Luang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Luai</td>
<td>Lü (from Luai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Ngualai</td>
<td>Khün (from Ngualai/Wualai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Khün</td>
<td>Khün (from Chiang Tung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Ngiao</td>
<td>Tai Yai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Khong</td>
<td>Tai Yai (from the Salween)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Mae Pa</td>
<td>Tai Yai (from Pa river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Tai</td>
<td>Tai Yai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Man</td>
<td>Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Mon</td>
<td>Mon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai Lua</td>
<td>Lua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ethnic Groups**
Table 1: Number of Monks and Novices in Miiang Chiang Mai in C.S. 1259 (A.D. 1897/98)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of nikai</th>
<th>Inside the city</th>
<th>Outside the city</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>absolute</td>
<td>in %</td>
<td>absolute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang Mai</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>2637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang Saen</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrae</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Len</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yòng</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luang</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luai</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngualai</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khün</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngiao</td>
<td>35+</td>
<td>3.9+</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khong</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mae Pa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tai</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lua</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>65+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Table adapted from Sommai 1975b and Sanan 1996.)

+) Numbers incomplete
Table 2: Resettlement of War Captives from the Shan states, Sipsong Panna and other Areas to Lan Na (1780-1840)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of campaign</th>
<th>Area of target</th>
<th>Area of resettlement</th>
<th>Number of war captives</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Chiang Saen</td>
<td>Chiang Mai, Lampang</td>
<td>1,700-1,800</td>
<td>CHLN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>Kayah State</td>
<td>Chiang Mai</td>
<td>&lt; 1,000*</td>
<td>TPCM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>M. Cuat</td>
<td>Chiang Mai, Lampang</td>
<td>1,000-2,000*</td>
<td>TPCM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788–</td>
<td>Salween region</td>
<td>Chiang Mai, (Lampang)</td>
<td>2,000–4,000*</td>
<td>TPCM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>M. Yong</td>
<td>Nan</td>
<td>2,500–3,500 (505 families)</td>
<td>PMN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Chiang Khong</td>
<td>Nan</td>
<td>3,000–4,000 (585 families)</td>
<td>PMN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>M. Sat</td>
<td>Chiang Mai</td>
<td>1,000–2,000*</td>
<td>TPCM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>M. Sat, M. Pu, M. Pan,</td>
<td>Chiang Mai, Lampang</td>
<td>&gt; 6,000</td>
<td>NL-CHR1 1/1164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chiang Tung</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Chiang Saen</td>
<td>Chiang Mai, Nan, Lampang</td>
<td>c. 15,000</td>
<td>PPR1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
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<td>Lamphun, Lampang</td>
<td>10,000–20,000</td>
<td>PPR1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Chiang Mai</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Lamphun, Chiang Mai</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>M. Yong, Chiang Tung</td>
<td>Chiang Mai, Lamphun</td>
<td>2,000–4,000*</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Salween/Tenasserim</td>
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<td>?</td>
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<td>region</td>
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<td>M. Sat</td>
<td>Chiang Mai</td>
<td>1,800–1,900</td>
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*) rough estimate
Chiang Mai conjures up images of pretty girls, flowers, pleasing customs, striking scenery, and gracious manners. Thais from elsewhere in the country popularly contend that the local language spoken in Chiang Mai is more melodious than the national Thai language. To many in Thailand, Chiang Mai is all things good about Thai culture, the epitome of the Thai way of life.

So pervasively has Chiang Mai been extolled that persons around the world envision the city in the same way. Even such a presumably unromanticizable observer as the American Presbyterian missionary, Margaretta Wells, begins her 1963 guidebook to Chiang Mai with the statement that the city was “an altogether enchanting place”. [1963 p. 1] Later guidebooks were even more eloquent. One written in 1989 evoked visions of Shangrila.

northern Thailand retains a charm that is hard to express in words and indeed must be experienced first hand before one can understand the enthusiasm that the region engenders to its visitors. Is it the cool hazy air of sunny winter days or the happy countenance of its graceful people or perhaps that special feeling that places of an old and enduring culture empart upon the landscapes that make it such a special place? [Tettoni 1989, p. 9]

No less a forum than the Workshop on “AIDS Impact on Ageing Society” organized by the Asia Training Centre on Ageing and Care International in Thailand and sponsored by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau, could avoid such preconceptions. At its 1995 workshop, a handout entitled, “Useful Information About Chiang Mai”, told “Many lowland Thais regard the city . . . as being a national Shangrila thanks to beautiful women, distinctive festivals. . .”. [Asia Training Centre 1995, p. 6]

Such views contrast markedly with those of the nineteenth century, when Bangkok Thai disdained Chiang Mai. To the people of the capital, Chiang Mai was a place of homely women who smoked heavily, chewed betel to excess, and ate so much pa ha (fermented fish) that they fouled the air. Moreover, these women of high odor were, if the description in old central Thai classics like Khun Chang Khun Phaen of Chiang Mai’s lady, Nang Soi Fa, can be believed, were none too intelligent. Confident in this belief, some Bangkok parents of old lulled children to bed with airs mocking simpleminded Chiang Mai women.

Despite these preconceptions, relations between central Thai men and Chiang Mai women existed. Some northern women, even those of high rank, married men from in and around Bangkok. These had started at least as early as the 1770s when the sister of Kawila married one of King Taksin’s commanders sent
to help wrest Chiang Mai from the hold of Burmese overlords. [Penth 1992, p. 46] Nevertheless, the image of northern women remained negative at the end of the nineteenth century as the treatment accorded Princess Dara in the Bangkok palace attests.

Some early Western travellers to Chiang Mai held similarly negative attitudes. Daniel McGilvary, a Presbyterian missionary and among the first group of Americans to come to Chiang Mai, found the place dirty, "demon" ridden, and governed by arbitrary and often unjust rulers”. [McGilvay 1912]

One daughter of Chiang Mai’s ruler Prince Inthawichayanon, born to Princess Thipkeson in 1873, was named Dara Ratsami. After receiving an education in northern Thai and Siamese Thai, she accompanied her father to Bangkok in 1886 where he paid obeisance to King Chulalongkorn. On meeting the King, she was invited, at the young age of fifteen, to become one of his wives. Quite a few of his wives were daughters of important regional leaders and heads of tributary states over whom the Bangkok government wanted to maintain control. Having a daughter among the wives was seen as an effective way of controlling her home state. From this time on until 1911 when the king died, Prince Dara lived in Bangkok as one his wives.

Initially she stayed in the Grand Palace but later the king had the Suan Farang Kangsai Palace built for her (close to present-day Chitralada Palace). She served as a proponent of northern Thai customs by always wearing northern style dresses and costumes and speaking the Chiang Mai language. She had northern foods served continually and chewed miang (fermented tea) as the finale to most meals. Such practices were resented by many in Bangkok’s royal circles who denigrated her affection for this and other northern specialties such as pa ha as well as her propensity for smoking tobacco. As a result, her palace came to be known somewhat derisively as “Tamnak Chao Lao” (The Palace of the Lao Princess).

But she did take interest in the ways of Bangkok. She invited the noted blind musician, Choi Suntharawathin, to teach her and her palace staff central Thai music. She collected musical instruments from the north and central Thailand. She pursued other interests, some from overseas such as photography, and some from Bangkok so that she came to understand different cultures while in the palace. [Nongyao 1990, pp. 47-49] Through this learning and subsequent adaptations made by her, she helped overcome the condescension with which many people in Bangkok viewed Chiang Mai.

Also helping to reverse the preconceptions of Chiang Mai were the many influences encountered by Thai leadership at the time. King Chulalongkorn, for example, travelled throughout Asia and then later to Europe where he learned much about the rest of the world. He and members of his entourages helped popularize much that was new to Thailand, some of which were to change the image of Chiang Mai.

He studied practical items, such as the telegraph, telephone, and railroads, as well as cultural artifacts such as regional and Western musical instruments, themes from Western stories and operas, new foods, law codes, and commercial practices. These often blended with Thai ways to create new cultural mixes and modified traditions.

This openness to different practices provided Princess Dara the chance to introduce some aspects of Chiang Mai culture in the capital. One example was the Thaiization of miang into Miang Lao, in which cabbage was substituted for tea leaves, which were hard to find in Bangkok. Miang then diversified into new forms such as miang pla tu, made with mackerel and miang kung (shrimp miang) until most Thais have forgotten the Chiang Mai connection [Liulalong Bunnag 1989]

These few changes were insufficient to reverse, the condescension given to things northern by the Bangkok elite. When Crown Prince Vajiravudh (the future King Rama VI) made a tour of the north in Chiang Mai in 1906, he suggested that the Lao had to be “tamed” (fuk hai chuang) in order to become good citizens “agreeable to the Thai” in the new Thai nation (chat Thai'). Except for some references to flowers, however, he had nothing to say about anything beautiful in Chiang Mai.

The Bangkok Recension of Chiang Mai History

Attitudes such as these came to be incorporated in new histories of Thailand being written as
Bangkok took over Chiang Mai. Such writings came to replace accounts of the north written by the people of Lan Na.

Chiang Mai has a literary heritage of hundreds if not thousands of texts. From a so-called Golden Era in the fifteenth century when major historical and Buddhist texts were written, Lan Na literature ebbed following the takeover in 1558 by King Bayinnaung of Burma. Although a brief revival occurred in the early-nineteenth century, when some new writing occurred, including an updating of the major version of the Chiang Mai Chronicle around 1827, literature in Lan Na was in decline. Individual pockets of literary creativity have persisted but the inspiration to write major historical accounts was lost. No major history of Chiang Mai was to be written by a northern Thai for over a century and a half.

Into this void stepped central Thai authors. Among the first was Chaem Bunnag, member of a powerful family of Bangkok nobility, with the title Phraya Prachakitkorachak. Born in 1864, a member of several expeditions to the north in 1880s and 1890s, he had a modern education and became interested in Chiang Mai history. He and others of his generation were proud of the growing Thai kingdom expanding even in the face of Western imperialism. Their reports, poems, and songs became important determinants of the new image Chiang Mai was to assume for the central Thai.

To this literature he contributed Phongsawadan Yonok. First entitled Prawat Lao Chiang (History of the Lao Chiang) it appeared in the journal of the Thai National Library, the Vachirayan from 1898-1899. Its final form as Phongsawadan Yonok (Chronicle of Yonok, i.e. Chiang Mai and the region around it) appeared in 1907 and fell within the nationalistic writing of the formative Thai state. The introduction tells, "This account of Yonok, a chronicle of the Thai north, is thus relevant to the origins of the royal chronicles of Siam." [Prachakitkorachak 1935, p. 5]

The author used all the available sources he could in an effort to learn as much about Chiang Mai as he could. In his account, for example, of the takeover of Chiang Mai by Prince Kawila of Lampang in the 1770s following centuries of Burmese overlordship, the author largely adheres to the telling of it in the Chiang Mai Chronicle which extols the efforts of Kawila.

Later central Thai accounts of Lan Na, however, downplay the importance of Kawila and his associates. Prince Damrong Raja-nubhap's Thai Rop Phama, (Thai Wars with Burma), [Bangkok 1971] which details over 44 wars from 1538 until 1854. Regarding the period of time from 1771 until 1791 when Burmese overlords of Chiang Mai were expelled to be replaced by those from Bangkok, Damrong barely mentions Kawila and the other northern leaders. Instead, Damrong credits Chaophraya Chakri (later King Rama I), for directing the campaign.

Later accounts carried even fewer references to the city, its founding in 1296 by King Mang Rai, the flourishing of Buddhism and literature under later kings in the sixteenth century, or the kingdom's centuries-long and often successful struggles with Ayutthaya, Lao, and Burman kingdoms. When mentioned at all, Chiang Mai is discussed as one of the tributary states of Ayutthaya or the site where Ayutthayan kings, such as Naresuan, travelled to defend the kingdom.

When he took the throne in 1910, King Vajiravudh felt that establishing schools would bring the northern Thai into the formative Thai nation. [Vachara 1988, pp. 9596] The new history being written for use in these schools projected a unified Thai state far back into time despite the lack of historical data supporting such a past. According to the "Nanchao Theory" which seems to have been first proposed by Europeans, the Thai race was said to have originated in Nanchao, a kingdom seated in what is now Dali in Yunnan Province of China. According to this theory, a Mongol invasion of 1253 defeated Nanchao resulting in a mass migration of the Thai southward where the kingdom of Sukhothai soon became preeminent. Afterwards, according to the history based on this theory, the chief Thai kingdoms were Ayutthaya until 1767, Thonburi until 1782, and Bangkok until the present.

In 1940, at the height of Thai nationalistic spirit during the premiership of Field Marshall Pibul Songkhram, another prominent Thai leader, the future premier, Pridi Banomyong, expressed the extreme patriotic spirit of the time.

in his romantic novel, *The King of the White Elephant*. Even though Pridi's political orientation was more leftist than that of Pibul, they shared the Thai nationalism common to many modern Thais. In the excerpt below, Pridi extols the glories of Sukhothai's past to the exclusion of that of Chiang Mai.

The Kingdom of the "Free People" is what *The Kingdom of The "Thai"* means. They had migrated, these keen apostles of individual and national liberty, from the far off mountains of Yunnan, driven, probably, by the Chinese invasions which spread gradually from North to South. They remained for a century at Sukhoday, then advanced again towards the Gulf of Thailand which forms the southern border of the Indo-China Peninsula. [Pridi, 1940, p. 5]

Similarly, a history of Sukhothai written in 1945 by a national historical commission headed by the esteemed scholar, Phraya Anuman Rajadhon, makes scant reference to Chiang Mai and the other Lan Na states in the main text. [Thai National Historical Commission 1955] More sophisticated was a history of Thai diplomacy written at that time [Thailand Office of the Prime Minister 1945] which tells that the alliance between the king of Sukhothai, Mang Rai of Chiang Mai, and Ngam Muang of Phayao was bonded by shared Thainess which enabled Sukhothai to control the north.

Such centerist historiographies are found in other Southeast Asian countries where the ethnic group dominating a capital city directs the national culture of neo-colonial states. Javanese, Burman, and Kinh ("ethnic Vietnamese") culture all dominate their particular countries. Scholars studying Indonesia have in particular examined how the postcolonial state has introduced conceptions of hierarchy and potency into its national administration but it is no less present in other states. [Anderson 1972, Dove 1985] Taylor's *The State in Burma* [1987], focusing on the center, and Hickey's writings dealing with the Central Highlanders of Vietnam [1982a and 1982b] demonstrate how in different settings a single culture came to be pre-eminent.

In Thailand, leaders of the reformulated bureaucratic state of late-nineteenth century Thailand decided that the country must appear unified culturally in order to escape being colonized. To justify Thai sovereignty, Prince Damrong and the other architects of the new Thai history agreed that it had to emphasize national unity. Old centers of power such as Chiang Mai, Vientiane, and Nakhon Si Thammarat, were peripheral to this purpose and accounts of them were omitted.

Although this new Thai history emphasized ethnic unity, the rulers of the country had to deal with a variety of different groups in their domain. Even among the ethnic Tai, there were many subdivisions. Seidenfaden's *The Thai Peoples*, written decades later, [1967] lists as many Tai (which he calls Thai) groups, such as Thai Siamese ("Thais of the Menam Plains"), Thai Yuan, Thai Khorat, Lao Kao, Lao Wieng, and Lao Song Dam (Black Thai) in the country as the non-Thais which included Khmers, Chinese, Malays, and the different hill tribes. Maintaining control over these groups and keeping them from falling to the French or British was so difficult that Thai kings sometimes resorted to exceptional techniques, including the forcible tattooing of Kayahs living in the border province of Mae Hong Son in about 1890.3

While the history of Chiang Mai's accession by Bangkok has been amply recorded, the social implications arising from it have not. Through astute administration and a fortuitous geographical position between French Indochina and British Burma, Thailand was able to retain much of its territory, with the notable exception of the present-day Lao PDR the bulk of which the French took in 1893. When local rebellions in Thailand occurred, such as the 1902 Shan Rebellion in Phrae, they were quickly suppressed. Even the memory of some has been lost. There was another uprising in Mae Chaem (then called Sut Chaem) District of Chiang Mai that resulted in one or two district officials being killed. In this little-known incident, six ringleaders were captured, brought to Chiang Mai, incarcerated in a makeshift jail at the palace of Chao Burirat, and executed. [Thailand Department of Corrections. 1982, pp. 310-311]. Nonetheless, such rebellions were few; when they arose they were quickly suppressed.

In assuming direct political control over the various ethnic groups in the country, the rulers
of Bangkok assumed some attributes of the imperial rulers they sought to escape. From the perspective of the Chiang Mai people, they viewed their new Thai rulers as often domineering and insensitive to local ways. Many would have agreed with the observation of Gayatri Spivak, a Third World scholar, who stated “pluralist aesthetes of the First World are, willy-nilly, participants in the production of an exploitative society.” [1987, p. 179]

Not quite lost in the oral traditions of Chiang Mai are accounts of unscrupulous central officials seeking to take advantage of the people of the north. A famous story of the young women named Buaban, deceived by a flirtatious central Thai, and who then jumped to her death off a waterfall on Doi Suthep is still told in song.

Through this process of exerting control over the north and changing its image, the leaders in Bangkok took on many of the attributes of First World colonial administrators as they dealt with areas outside of central Thailand. Their perception of Chiang Mai and its people began to change, especially once the threat of rebellion by the northerners had disappeared.

As the northerners lost control of their kingdom and the writing of its history they became both politically harmless and culturally intriguing. Their image in the eyes of the people of Bangkok changed from one of uncouth people from the kingdom’s fringe to one having quaint and picturesque customs as well as beautiful women. What the people of Bangkok saw as a land of potential dangerous renegades came to be viewed as a place of harmless beauty.

Chiang Mai’s Madame Butterfly

This process had been underway since before the turn of the century even before the trip of Vajiravudh to the north. The historian, Nidhi Aeusrivongse, suggests [1986, pp. 4245] that a Thai version of the opera Madame Butterfly was soon to be playing a major role in redefining Chiang Mai’s image.

According to Nidhi, one of King Chulalongkorn’s half-brothers, Prince Naradhip Praphanpong, a prolific playwright and director in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, heard of Madame Butterfly from the king after he had seen it in Paris in 1907. Prince Naradhip, who had already written a historical drama set in the north with his adaptation of the Thai classic, Phra Law, was intrigued by Madame Butterfly.

Prince Naradhip’s conception of the north may well already have been influenced by Lilit Phongsawadan Nua (Poetic Account of the Chronicle of the North), written in 1880 by one of his uncles, Prince Pawaret Wariyalongkon. Although not dealing with Lan Na specifically, Prince Pawaret’s poem describes northern areas such as Chiang Saen, located to the northeast of Chiang Mai on the Mekong. The poem admires the area’s forests while the peoples there were neither disparaged nor made to look inferior. [Pawaret 1967]

Yet another influence on Prince Naradhip was the incorporation of many peoples into the Thai state. Together with other forward-looking members of royalty who were influenced by Western learning, he was intrigued by the diverse lands and groups surrounding the Chao Phraya basin.

The Prince may well have also been affected by the emerging field of ethnography which studied and classified small ethnic groups. Not part of the outlook by chroniclers of Southeast Asian kingdoms, interest in small groups opened new vistas to the young outward-looking modern generation of Thai royalty.

The customs, ways of life, and music of diverse peoples inspired many of the new dramas then being written at a time when old Lakhon Nai (Court Drama) were being performed outside the palace for the first time. Thai music thus developed Lao (referring to both the northern Thai and those peoples living in the lowlands of what is now northeastern Thailand and Laos), Khmer, and other musical styles.

These groups were encountered by the Bangkok officials who began travelling north increasingly starting in 1884 after the Anglo-Thai Second Chiang Mai Treaty that resulted in Bangkok gaining more control over Chiang Mai. With the posting of a viceroy (kha luang) from Bangkok in Chiang Mai, many members of Bangkok royalty and their assistants going to Chiang Mai came to appreciate the life there. They seemed to have been caught up in the exuberance of a growing state, the bringing of “progress” to formerly remote areas, and the
integration of the old kingdom of Chiang Mai into Thailand.

Not only did Prince Naradhip and his royal and playwright contemporaries gain inspiration from the peoples of the periphery, but they intended that their plays reach a wider audience. In order to appeal to those not familiar with court drama, which the writers apparently felt many would find too restrained, they devised a sung dance drama, known as Lakhon Rong. Prince Naradhip pioneered the use of realistic costumes, makeup, and set design, often receiving ideas from opera. [Mattani 1993, pp. 102, 144–145, 234–237]

King Chulalongkorn was strongly impressed by Puccini's opera, Madame Butterfly, which he saw on a 1907 visit to Paris [Chulalongkorn 1973 II, pp. 642–646]. After returning to Thailand, he told the story of the opera to Prince Naradhip who then wrote up a Thai version of the story. Instead of Cho Cho San being Japanese, she becomes Sao Khrua Fa, ("Heavenly Girl"). The American naval officer, Lieutenant Pinkerton, was made to be the young Bangkok man Sub-lieutenant Phrom.

Sub-Lieutenant Prom is posted to Chiang Mai where he finds the lovely Sao Khrua Fa. She falls in love with him and while he is attracted to her, he sees their relationship as only a temporary romance. Broken-hearted when he leaves her behind, Sao Khrua Fa commits suicide.

Another feature of the play was its reference to ethnic groups in the north. He refers to a variety of Lao groups (different Tai-speaking peoples), Khmer, Vietnamese, Khaek (in this case probably Indian), hilltribes, as well as "red-faced farang." 7

Furthermore, the flowers and elegant customs associated with Japan in the opera were transferred by Prince Naradhip to Chiang Mai, a shift that began to evoke a new conception of Chiang Mai among the people who viewed the play. Among the most interested observers was Princess Dara, with whom Prince Naradhip had consulted in writing the story.

The great popularity of the play spread this new image of Chiang Mai throughout Bangkok and beyond. King Chulalongkorn commented to Princess Dara that people preferred this play to all others. He so enjoyed watching one actress portray Sao Khrua Fa that he rewarded her the very substantial sum at that time of 100 baht for how she acted the scene in which she slit her throat in the finale. [Mattani 1993, p. 141]

Members of royalty sponsored theatrical troupes that competed for popularity. Themes introduced through these plays, such as the beauty of Chiang Mai, spread quickly because of the performances' wide appeal. In their own way, these plays were the popular media of their time, the shapers of social values that inspired the younger generation of the time.

One such person was a younger son of King Chulalongkorn, Prince Penphatanaphong who belonged to the country's intelligentsia. Having just returned from England where he had studied agricultural science, the 21-year old prince (Phraong Chao) became the Director of the Sericulture Department, in the Ministry of Agriculture. His work often took him from Bangkok to the northeastern provinces of Khorat and Buriram where, with Japanese experts and old Thai weavers, he endeavored to improve the quality of Thai silk and make it an exportable item.

One can only speculate what influence Sao Khrua Fa had over him, but he was to be smitten during a trip to Chiang Mai in about 1890 in a way that eventually led to a new expression of northern beauty in Thailand's mass media.

Lao Duang Duan of Chiang Mai and Other Influences

The source of his infatuation was a lass with a round white face, a traditional mark of beauty to the Thai of Bangkok. He immediately fell for the fair-skinned 16-year-old Lamphun princess, Chao Chomchun, doubtless delighting in the sight of her fair cheeks which reddened when she blushed. The poise she no doubt had developed from having welcomed other princes from Bangkok also must have impressed him. The fact that she had been to Bangkok as well where she had learned to speak central Thai added to her allure for the Prince who could not speak the language of Chiang Mai. [Prani 1963 1: pp. 126-135]

On the next day, the Prince asked the Thai viceroy in Chiang Mai to request permission to marry Chao Chomchun. Chao Ratsamphan-
thawong did not object outright but said that since the princess was so young, the Prince should wait until she was 18 when she knew more about what she wanted in life. He also said that King Chulalongkorn should be consulted. Chao Inthawororot surely knew that the King had in 1874 issued an edict forbidding officials from Bangkok marrying northern women [Rujaya 1988, p. 92] and he remembered cases of other Bangkok princes taking northern princess for wives but leaving them later on. To all of this Prince Penphatanaphong had no recourse but to return to Bangkok where he found that the King forbade the prince from wedding Chao Chomchun.

The King had issued this edict because he was aware of the antagonism caused in the north by central Thai officials taking northern women as minor wives or temporary lovers. [Phraraatcha Bannyat Samrap Khaliuang Chamra Khiram Hua Muang (Laws for Special Judges in the Provinces) 29 November 1874, p. 1] Although this stricture was relaxed after Princess Dara became one of King Chulalongkorn’s wives in 1887, the king nevertheless believed that if the prince took the teenage Chao Chomchun as a wife, rulers in the north would be offended.

When it became clear that he would never be able to live with Chao Chomchun, the prince sought to forget his troubles in music. He frequented concerts and composed his own music. Of all his songs, the best known is now called Lao Duangduan, which he composed not long before his untimely death at the age of 27 in 1909. As for Chao Chomchun, she married a distant cousin, gave birth to one son, and then also died early, at the age of 23.

The song shows the love of Prince Penphatanaphong for the fair-skinned round faced Chao Chomchun. Comparing the face of a young girl to the full moon (duangduan) is a popular means of praising the girl’s beauty. [translation from Seni Pramoj 1973 p.71]

O-la-nor, pale moon-light, here to show my love of
Pray thee guide me to my only love
As dawn draws nigh, so I must leave.
Great is my grief, oh pale moon above.
O-la-nor, my moon gold.

Besides being a love song, Lao Duangduan shows that members of the Bangkok elite were now intrigued by the attractions of Chiang Mai and their changing image of the city. Chiang Mai in this way took on a romantic appeal to many in Bangkok as Tahiti and the South Seas did for many in France.

It was not just the association of broken love with Chiang Mai that gave the city a its new appeal. Because of Chiang Mai’s somewhat cooler climate, the flora of its different environment brought new flowers to the attention of the people in Bangkok.

Important in changing the image of Chiang Mai among the people of Bangkok was Princess Dara. As the consort of King Chulalongkorn she had been exposed to influences from the rest of Thailand and overseas as she witnessed the impact of the West on the court. Fascinated, she introduced new themes to the arts of Chiang Mai where she returned after King Chulalongkorn’s death. Through these she was to influence the image of Chiang Mai in ways no one could have guessed.

Princess Dara in Chiang Mai

After studying with Thai musical masters, such as Choi, Princess Dara became an accomplished musician who organized a string ensemble in her Bangkok palace. On her return to Chiang Mai she used her musical talent to transform the performing arts of Chiang Mai.

Not only did she introduce central Thai plays such as Sao Khrua Fa and Phra Law to the north, but she brought Thai musical instruments which led to the pioneering of new musical arrangements, and dance choreography in the troupes she maintained in her Chiang Mai palaces. On special occasions she organized musical presentations. When King Rama VII, Chulalongkorn’s son, visited Chiang Mai in 1927, Princess Dara entertained the king with a dance program portraying the presentation of a white elephant to an early Thai king. [Praphaiphat & Narongsak 1995, pp. 81–86]
The princess also contributed to the association of Chiang Mai with flowers. She introduced a fragrant rose to the north that the king may have taken back to Thailand from France. Having a large bloom and no thorns this rose was then given the name “Chulalongkorn” when she brought it to Chiang Mai. [Suthon 1993, p. 23]9

Not surprisingly the news of this rose in the capital added to the positive image of Chiang Mai.

Yet another cultural import from Bangkok she promoted was brocaded silk10. Called yok dok (raised pattern), this warp fibers of this material is raised into design over the flat weft, a technique that actually has Chinese and English antecedents. Princess Dara taught the technique at her palace in Chiang Mai where the tradition endures to this day with new designs created continually. One difference between the northern and Bangkok brocade was that the former came to include indigenous patterns that gave it a distinctive yet familiar (and all the more popular) style to the people of both northern and central Thailand. Ironically, thus, this example of “northern tradition” was not only an overseas import but has been modified through new designs to the present day. The production of silk and cotton textiles was, nonetheless, to become one of the “characteristics” of early-twentieth century northern Thai life.

The Movement North

Princess Dara was not the only person heading north in the early-twentieth century to make an impact on Chiang Mai. Others were of Chinese ancestry. From the 1840s on, economic opportunity in the Bangkok area attracted many from southern coastal regions of China such as Swatow to work in Thailand as laborers. Although many earned enough money to return to home and buy land, quite a few settled in Thailand where as soon as possible they went into business themselves.

From the time of Bangkok’s taking greater control of Chiang Mai with the two Chiang Mai treaties in the late-nineteenth century, would-be Chinese merchants moved to the city en masse. They flair for trade and industriousness as well as their ties with other Chinese merchants in the rest of Thailand enabled them to set up shops and start forming regional commercial networks. As they did so, since were most young men, they married into Chiang Mai society. They often linked up with women entrepreneurs who had controlled much of Chiang Mai’s market centers until this time. Their Thaiized descendants built these advantages into control over much of Chiang Mai’s economy. Ownership of the city’s central market for example was reportedly lost by the Chiang Mai royal family in an evening of gambling.

Muslims came, both from Yunnan in China and from Bengal (there are four mosques in Chiang Mai city). Yunnan merchants had been plying trade routes from distant points on the Silk Road from Central Asia to Yunnan. When the British traveller and official Dr. D. Richardson first came to Chiang Mai in 1829, he learned much from the Muslim merchants.

Thai policy also brought a new military presence in Chiang Mai. Troops from Bangkok were initially posted at the Krom Thahan (Military Department) base (now Kawila Camp) on the east bank of the Ping just south of the Navarat Bridge. Later a new and much larger base was set up to the north of town along the base of Doi Suthep reaching all the way to Mae Rim. To the south of town, the Thai air force established an airbase including land on which the Chiang Mai International Airport is located. In both places, entire villages, their temples, and rice fields were displaced. One known as Wat Pa Kluai was replaced by an airport runway. [Sommai 1975, p. 12]

Stationed at these bases were soldiers mainly from elsewhere in the country. Together with central Thai civil servants posted in the north there now were more Thais from outside the region living in Chiang Mai than ever before.

Tourism

Together with this movement north and the changing image of Chiang Mai, tourism to the north grew. It was not until after 1920 when the rail line to Chiang Mai was completed that this became feasible on a popular level.

Chiang Mai was advocated as a tourist attraction starting in the 1920s. As in England and North America during the previous decades,
railways were the first promoters of tourism in the country. Following the State Railways completion of the line to Chiang Mai on 2 January 1920 and the starting of express service the following year [State Railway of Thailand 1932, pp. 12-13], the railway set up a publicity department to provide receptions for visitors and facilities for their travel arrangements. Where there had been sleeping quarters along the routes for use primarily by officials, resthouses for tourists were soon built “for the greater comfort for passengers during their travel” on the northern line in Lampang and Chiang Mai.

Railway policymakers observed that in Chiang Mai “the scenery was beautiful, many important sites existed, there were a variety of delightful ancient traditions, the population was polite and mild-mannered, all of which made the place appropriate for tourists to visit”. Soon thereafter the Chiang Mai resthouse was made into a hotel. [State Railway of Thailand, 1964, p. 23]

Thai officials also recognized that motion pictures could promote tourism. The first feature film made in Thailand was produced by Hollywood’s Universal Company in 1923-1924. Directed by the American, Henry Macray, the story, Nangsao Suwan (or Suvarna of Siam?) portrayed the struggles of a young couple to succeed. In the melodramatic closing, the (presumably attractive) heroine rides by train from Hua Hin (where there was another Railway Hotel) to Chiang Mai to save the hero from execution. Enroute, many sites of the country were shown as well as various ceremonies and customs in an effort to attract tourists. [Mattani 1993: p. 186]

Tourist promotion continued into the 1930s. As in Europe and North America, railroads encouraged tourism. Railway executives publicized various destinations to increase revenue, with Chiang Mai among the most supported. In 1933, the railway organized a promotional tour of the Songkran festival. According to the railway, “The city of Chiang Mai is one of the most beautiful and compelling cities to visit in the Kingdom of Siam: the city has a beautiful natural environment, ancient ruins, and girls. Everything about it is beautiful.” Even simple earthenware water jugs were praised as elegant. [Khloi 1933, pp. 1206-1207]

During this trip, the author’s group visited Lamphun and probably Pa Sang, where they met “chatty”, “sweet-eyed” girls in the shops. On the way to Doi Suthep, they visited Princess Dara in her lush flower and orchid garden. They saw dancing at the Chedi Luang Monastery to music that caused his “heart to beat faster”. [Khloi 1933].

The railway published a guidebook to Bangkok with information on the rest of Siam in 1932. Chiang Mai’s attractions were described as including temples, forests, and hilltribes. [Seidenfaden 1932, pp. 286-287] A few years later, an English-language guidebook to Chiang Mai was compiled by Reginald le May.

Within the decade, however, reports similar to the Thai language accounts of beautiful Chiang Mai were appearing in English language publications. Clearly showing the change in perception Bangkok people held towards Chiang Mai, Rabil Bunnag (in the same old noble family as the author of Phongsawadan Yonok), wrote, “To the dwellers of the flat central plain of Thailand, the North is a land of magic, poetry and romance.” [Rabil 1941, p. 11]

The Promotion of Tourism and Handicrafts

The romance of this land did not escape consumerism. Following World War II, in a gradual process beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, the attractions of the region were “developed” for the benefit of the tourist industry. This included modifying old festivals and traditional handicrafts as well as the emergence of different facilities.

Traditional ceremonies, such as Songkran were changed to encourage tourism. In about 1960, the provincial government introduced a procession on the first day of the Songkran festival whereby the revered Sihing image was taken around the town and followed by musical and other groups. The Loi Krathong festival was similarly modified. From a simple festival at the end of the rainy season during which small floats were released in waterways to atone for one’s wrongdoings, the festival became a two-day celebration. Loi Krathong Yai (the Big Loi Krathong), featuring a procession of large floats through town was added to the traditional day which became known as Loi Krathong Lek (Little Loi Krathong). A beauty contest was also introduced by central authorities at both Songkran and Loi Krathong.
Not only did these popularizing efforts secularize the traditional nature of the festival, but they injected a central Thai influence into the old northern events. While this was comparable to the mixed music and dance popularized by Princess Dara, the promoters of these new Chiang Mai “customs” were not from Chiang Mai and the activities were not developed for the benefit of the local people.

Chiang Mai handicrafts such as silk and cotton cloth, silverware, teak woodcarvings, lacquerware, umbrellas, and ceramics also were popularized. Although it would take decades for all of these items to gain popularity, the process was underway by the 1930s.

Pioneers such as Chiang Shinawatra in the development of cotton and silk-weaving, as well as Mrs. North in celadon manufacture were to adapt traditional crafts and modernize them for a new market. Much of this production was for people outside of Chiang Mai. New designs were created and new purposes for the goods produced were devised.

As Chiang Mai has become part of modern Thailand, the north has lost much that was its own including control of its destiny. In recent years, however, the central Thai government has recognized the loss of local autonomy and culture that occurred in the early part of the twentieth century and sought to decentralize authority. Economically, Chiang Mai has grown as the regional center of the north. The airport in Chiang Mai has direct international connections, educational institutions attract tens of thousands, and the marketplace is the biggest in Thailand outside of Bangkok. Although the new histories of the north that have begun to be written have left many basic issues untouched, this still represents the beginnings of new ways of thinking.

Prominent Chiang Mai University social scientist and historian, Anan Ganjanapan, has often stated that Chiang Mai historians, instead of dealing with important issues, only write about the superficial. As the process of decentralization occurs, it remains to be seen to what extent local authorities can respond to the new opportunities for writing their own history and incorporating within it the voice of the Chiang Mai people that has been all but lost amid its romanticized beauty.

Notes

1 Chat is derived from the Indic term, jati, meaning “birth.” Although the term can be found in writing prior to the reign of King Vajiravudh, its use to mean “Thai nation” seems to date from this time. [Attachak 1993]

2 Phraya Prachakitkorachak wrote that Lao Chiang was an early Tai group whose descendants comprised part of the Tais who founded Chiang Mai.

3 Names of 500 individuals, apparently representing household heads (and a total population of about 2,500) are in a register kept in the Thai National Archives records [1890] This list is incomplete; perhaps another 100 were tattooed.

4 In particular, Romanticism found nature and “primitive” peoples of special interest.


6 Puccini was not in fact the originator of the story which seems ultimately to have been based on Pierre Loti’s novel written in 1871, Madame Chrysantheme, about his life with a Japanese entertainer. Also drawing inspiration from John Luther Long’s Madame Butterfly, the theme of the two formed the basis for David Belasco’s Broadway play, Madame Butterfly which opened on Broadway in 1900. Puccini’s contribution was to make the story an opera which opened at La Scala in 1904. Although the opera initially flopped, Puccini revised it with the new version opening at the Brescia Theater to much acclaim. The theme of the story recently became the basis of the popular play Miss Saigon. [Boublil: 1993 rev ed., p. 5]

7 Khaek refers to Thai to peoples from the Middle East (including Jews and Christians there), South India, and the Malay regions of Southeast Asia. In a...
general sense it correlate with “Moor” as Farang does to “Frank.”

There is a good chance that this princess was part Karen. Her brother, Chao Koson, later married a Karen himself and spent many years in the Karen village of Huai La in Ban Hong District of Lamphun. According to persons who lived in the old Lan Na courts [i.e. Buakham Singhanet], “many Karen girls” married to the chao, who were noted for their fair skin and round faces. Karen stories, supporting these accounts, recall Karen girls fleeing at the site of Chiang Mai royalty so as not to be taken to a lowland palace. Some Karens add that the Chiang Mai people are fair-skinned because of considerable intermarriage with the Karen. There were some sources in Lamphun in the mid-1970s who thought that Chao Koson’s mother was Karen which, if so, would mean Chao Chomchun was also half-Karen.

There were roses native to Chiang Mai, such as Rosa gigantea, that although growing at about 2,000 meters in elevation on Doi Inthanon, were known to textiles. However, so many are the techniques for growing at about 2,000 meters in elevation on Doi Inthanon, were known to consciousness about roses in Chiang Mai.

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References


This article addresses the significance of population migration in the upland areas that ethnically and otherwise constitute a periphery of Thailand. The case draws on my fieldwork with Mien (Yao) people in Phayao Province during 1992-1994. In the course of my research, I learned of a sojourn that had brought the ancestors of this Mien population from southern China to the (then kingdom of) Nan during the 1870s and ’80s. As I was learning this history, it became apparent that migrations can bring about various transformations. Rather than being solely the move of a group from one place to another, migrations also can radically alter social, cultural, and other dynamics. The events that the Mien people experienced on the sojourn from China to Nan, and the conditions of their settlement there, influenced aspects of their society, religion, and economy, in ways that make them unlike some other groups of Mien in Thailand. One point of this examination is that various factors of local histories can influence aspects of culture, society, and identity. The Mien case also shows how people revise their history, giving the past new kinds of significance in light of present concerns and realities. Studying how people relate to history and society suggests a need to rethink issues of representing migration. The ways that lowlanders commonly represent migrations by uplanders more often represent the imagination of the modern state than the actual movement undertaken.

In recent years lowlanders in Thailand have conceptualized uplanders’ settlement migrations in two ways. One, exemplified by a map in Paul and Elaine Lewis’ (1984:8) Peoples of the Golden Triangle, shows with colored arrows where each of the tribes entered Thailand. The other, exemplified by a Government survey done in 1965 concerning the frequency of migrations, gives the rate of household movement over a ten-year period for each of the ethnic groups. According to this survey, 92.1 per cent of Miao (Hmong) households had moved, about 75 per cent each of Lahu, Lisu, and Yao (Mien) households, 46.2 per cent of Akha households, and 24.4 per cent of Karen households (Geddes 1976:42). These two conceptualizations of migration both assume that the key issue concerns the movement of ethnic groups, both as a matter of entering Thailand and as an indication of the frequent mobility that lowlanders assume characterizes such groups.

These conceptualizations are based on two premises. One, discussed by Thongchai (1994) in his examination of how mapping created a bounded entity through which ideas of Thainess were defined, concerns the notion of upland groups as aliens on Thai soil. From this perspective, it makes sense to portray on a map the “main immigration routes” (Lewis and Lewis...
of each of the upland groups into Thailand. The second premise is that these groups of “non-Thai” uplanders have varying degrees of unruliness that can be ameliorated if they become more like the implicit definition of Thai, such as in becoming sedentary.

In other words, the two ways of depicting settlement migration among uplanders both concern elements of the construction of Thailand and Thai-ness. Both of these ways of understanding migration were entangled in definitions of uplanders as a national problem. One important point in this regard is that information of maps and censuses is not a measure of ethnographic fact. Rather, they are formulations of a national territory involving problems of defining who belongs and how, and what issues need to be brought under control. Fixing people in place is part of the “civilizing mission” of modern states in general, an effort that they share with its colonial precursor both in Southeast Asia and elsewhere. From the perspective of surveyors and administrators in the modern state, outlawing migration brings order to “unruly” populations. However, from another perspective, one assuming that these migrations were not manifestations of unruliness, could just as plausibly present these efforts of sedentarization as having deprived people of a freedom they had for centuries regarding their own livelihood.

But what was involved in such migrations? Was there anything more to this exercise than what may to an outsider look like either unruliness or freedom? Posing this question attempts to sidestep simplistic ethnographic stereotypes about the state and its ethnic Other. These stereotypes take different shapes. State administrators can frame local agency as unruliness while social scientists can, from an assumed upland perspective, frame “the overwhelming power of the state” (Radley 1986:78) and similar allegorical notions (see Clifford 1986; Ortner 1995; Taussig 1992). In discussing issues of migration outside these interpretive frameworks of control versus freedom, one issue concerns how both lowlanders and social scientists assume the importance of an ethnic dimension in social life. This raises the question of whether mobility by households occurs along an ethnic pattern so that the behavior of the households provides a microcosmic rendering of an ethnic group. Both the survey and the map referred to above assume that the mobility of households adds up to the proportionate mobility of ethnic groups. Each presents an aspect of the behavior of ethnic groups as if there were a direct link between the household and an ethnic collectivity. Such is also the perspective that Peter and Sally Kunstadter (1992) adopt for their examination of environmental changes in northern Thailand, where they contrast the land-use practices and the associated household- and settlement mobility of Lua’, Karen, and Hmong. They analyze settlement patterns among Lua’, Karen, and Hmong in northern Thailand in ecological terms.

I argue that, rather than indicating the ecological adaptation of different ethnic groups, the relative stability of social arrangements is rooted not in ethnic but in historical factors, such as uneven connections with courts. For example, in Lua’ villages, access to swidden lands was controlled by members of a founder lineage. Members of other lineages paid tribute to the chief priest, whose lineage was traced to one of the Lua’ princes or the last Lua’ king, who ruled Chiang Mai before the Tai takeover of the lowlands (sometime between the 7th and the 13th centuries). In contrast, Hmong settlements were ad hoc collections of households that moved about with shifts in soil fertility. Karen villages fall between these two cases, being more mobile than Lua’, while having more of a village structure than Hmong.

Lua’ have a long history of relations with Tai courts and some Tai state founder myths provide accounts of the expulsion of the Lua’ (Condominas 1990; Jonsson 1996a; Sweare and Premchit 1998). When Karen entered northern Thai domains in the 19th century, to the extent that they had dealings with lowland courts, they were sometimes placed under Lua’ chiefs. In contrast, Hmong entered Thai domains largely after that period and thus stood outside these tributary arrangements. Such tributary arrangements benefited some ethnic groups more than others. These arrangements helped shape ethnic encounters on the fringe of the lowland domains, both in the sense of affirming particular ethnic labels and in affecting how particular political
and economic interests have been played out. In promoting the interests of Lua' chiefs, northern Thai rulers affected the relative position of Lua' commoners and constrained the arena for Karen political action to such an extent that the rise of Karen chiefs became impossible (Jonsson 1998a).

The ideology of customs is related to social pressures on patterns in the mobilization of people's labor, resources, and attentions. The difference among Lua', Karen, and Hmong shows how historical interactions in the region promote different interests simultaneously and how rituals reaffirm particular social visions. For these Lua', founder lineages construct their prominence through their ritual privileges and tribute relations and through stories of princely lines, which other Lua' can then place themselves within or opt to stand outside. Accounts of some Karen villages in the 1960s show how the leaders of a village expected a satellite settlement to be ritually subordinate, drawing on the spirit of the mother-village, but the people in the offshoot village went ahead and conducted their own rituals to a village spirit, thereby declaring their autonomy. In Hmong cases from the same time, there were no village-structures that compromised the interests of households, but kinship ideologies sustained a tension among the levels of nuclear and extended households (Kunstadter 1967; Hinton 1973; Geddes 1976; Cooper 1984).

Mobile households and transient settlements, which Kunstadter and Kunstadter (1992) associate with Hmong, are related to the lack of official control over the highlands and the limited ability of upland chiefs to stabilize client populations. Migrations that were so pervasive in the northern Thai highlands from the beginning of this century and until the 1970s reflect the households' ability to strike out on their own. Villages were significantly smaller than before paß colónialis, when slave-raids and warfare made organization for defense a necessity. Nonetheless people still clustered for various reasons, such as trade, exchange of labor and spouses, and as audience and backing for rituals and feasts. It is not that people either "have" a village or not. Instead their settlements take shape from the resolution of tensions among several levels of interest, such as households, kin-groups, villages, and larger units (Jonsson 1997; 1998b).

Migration needs to be seen in this context of tension resolution among societal levels as well. Population mobility has played a part in the construction of social units and relations in the same way as ritual. Frequent moves of individual households are related to frequent rituals at the household level. Similarly, moves that involve a cluster of villages assume agency at the supra-village level. Although people cannot remain on the move indefinitely, migrations and rituals both reflect and construct particular social orderings. Migration can accommodate the interests of chiefs, as when a descendant of a chiefly lineage departs with followers to establish a domain of his own, replicating the structure of relations at the point of the move's origin. Migration can also impede such replication, such as when the followers of a chief leave his domain in protest. The populations that I discuss here fall within the category of migratory shifting cultivators, and part of my aim is to show that reference to agricultural adaptation provides only partially explains the dynamics of migration.

The pattern of social relations over time responds to tensions among societal levels, such as between chiefs and commoners, and/or competition among households regarding prominence or relative equality. There is, in other words, no inherent coherence of interests between the household and the village or the ethnic group that would contribute to stable social arrangements. From this, it follows that studies which make generalizations for ethnic groups based on information regarding household behavior, or which take information about social organization from village chiefs at face value, may be fundamentally misleading. The information such studies provide on ethnic groups may reflect more about the expectations of the researcher than the social reality supposedly being described. Most of the anthropological research conducted in the northern Thai hills has been informed by the assumptions of "classical" anthropology, that the members of an ethnic group share a culture, social organization, and a way of life. This approach has since been roundly criticized for an inability to deal with history. My account is
aimed at some of the issues of social life in history, both concerning social formations and their anthropological representation, but my aim is more descriptive than theoretical.

People's migration, as well as efforts to halt it, are ways of defining the social landscape, asserting particular positions in an ongoing debate about the composition and shape of the social universe and people's relative position within it. Presupposing clear divisions among spheres of politics, livelihood, religion, and so on, obscures the fundamental indivisibility of the world in which people live. Migrations and ritual have contributed to an ongoing recasting of relations and identities in the hinterland region that lies between China and Southeast Asia. My discussion covers some of the cultural politics that shaped the region and its history. How people assemble their villages reveals patterns in people's assumptions about the world, not only in the ethnic sense of separate groups but equally how interactions within a multi-societal region affect the ways people form social units and how they relate to larger structures (Appadurai 1996).

Leach (1954) argued that although ethnographers can find as many tribes as they care to look for, social dynamics in the Kachin highlands of northern Burma could be reduced to shifts among several ideal models: autocratic (gumsa) and democratic (gumlao) highland models, and a stratified lowland model (Shan). Showing the importance of trade, warfare, and taxation, Leach emphasized the role of ideals about kinship and ways in which ritual and myth were used to construct models of social relations that assumed particular political shape that are discernable from relations within and among villages.

Contrasting gumlao and gumsa systems, Leach noted that gumsa political domains contained a number of villages under one chief, who alone was entitled to make major sacrifices, while gumlao domains consisted of villages of equal status, each of which managed their own rituals. Within gumsa, lineages were ranked into chiefs, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves, and most people must contribute a thigh of any animal caught and labor for the chief's hillfields and the construction of his house. Within gumlao systems villagers owed their headmen no dues (Leach 1954:204–05). Chiefs have their position because they stand in a particular relationship with a spirit of the domain that brings prosperity to villagers and they alone can make offerings to this spirit (1954:172–77). This pattern of unequal relations to spirits is common for the region, in both the lowlands as well as the highlands, but with differing social ramifications.

Such complex and shifting relationships among chiefs and commoners and involving ritual and migrations seem to be common, but they have only rarely been examined. One explanation is that there is little space for analyzing such shifts within the focus on ethnic groups by state administrators and social scientists.

In order to present an alternative to these descriptive conventions, I will describe aspects of social and ritual relations among one of many Mien populations in northern Thailand. Events beginning with a group of people migrating show how ritual and social focus shifts between a chief and householders in ways that disprove the assumption that the social dynamics of households and an ethnic group mirror each other.

A group of people, mostly Mien (Yao) but also Hmong (Miao/Meo) had made their slow way from Guangxi and Guangdong to eventually settle in Nan. This migration took over a decade, ending in the 1880s. At the time of the actual migration, I assume the people were venturing into the unknown. The ability of the leader to bring his followers through such uncertain and sometimes dangerous conditions is part of what established his leadership. During a crisis situation the leader entered a relationship with the spirit of the king of the domain where they were at the time. Subsequent offerings to this spirit, which came to be known to the movers as the King's Spirit, have continued to reproduce both the social unity of the migration-group and the prominence of the leader until the present.

This King's Spirit is confined to this particular migration group and it is only the leader and his descendants who are able to maintain this relationship. There is no indication in the ethnographic record that other groups of Mien have had a relationship with this or another King's Spirit. One way to characterize this cult
is to draw parallels with other upland religious movements that rely on spirits of royalty in domains that stand outside the state. Some such cults are related to confrontations with lowland rulers or armies, while others have had a more ambivalent political position (Walker 1974; Hinton 1979; Tsing 1987; 1993; Tapp 1989; Salemink 1994). This is not to insist that religious movements can be political, but to suggest that positing such domains ("religion," "politics," and also "uplands" vs. "lowlands") as discrete and unassociated does not reflect the everyday reality of upland farmers (Kirsch 1973; Hinton 1983). This King's Spirit cult has some things in common with founder cults. In the ethnographic record, comparable cults are most often noted as pertaining to villages or village-clusters. Cults that have a broader social scope, such as the Mien cult of the King's Spirit, are both less common and less stable.

The upland areas of Southeast Asia are known for the impermanence of social arrangements, the result of both tensions in ritual life and shifting relations with lowland domains. Tensions in ritual life concern the ongoing construction of social units and their relations through offerings and feasts. These are both directly and indirectly affected by relations with lowland domains. A central factor is the creation of the upland-lowland divide that establishes the categorical opposition between forested wilderness where uplanders lives and cleared lowlands where the state made itself through the distribution of rule, rank, and relationships. Categorically speaking, the uplands are beyond the state and it was of no concern to lowland rulers how many people lived in the forest and how they went about their lives. But in practice there were various relations in spite of this division since uplanders were a source of valuable forest products, and, in some cases, they served as soldiers or border scouts. Within both Chinese and Southeast Asian domains, there are instances where such relations were reinforced with lowland titles for upland leaders (Diamond 1993; Drakard 1990; Renard 1986). These complicate the social scope of upland and lowland domains. Upland areas become satellites to lowland domains through such contracts and this can reshape processes of community formation in the uplands, for instance in the relative ability of households to act on their own.

Marching through Myth

The migration group I examine began its move from Guangxi and Guangdong of southern China in about 1860. The group went through various domains of northern Vietnam and Laos before settling down in the kingdom of Nan in the 1880s, where their leader, Tang Tsan Khwoen, received a title from the king (Jonsson 1998b:200–07). The list of domains that the people stayed in on their sojourn is preserved in chants to the King’s Spirit, which is a spirit specific to this migration group. In annual chants that maintain the relationship with this spirit, the medium lists the domains whose rulers the population has had relations with: Muang Long, Muang Siang, Muang Khwa, Muang Tsan, Muang Lai, Muang La, Muang Hun, Muang Nan. This list of domains is not common knowledge, nor is it presented as "history" or as "migration." Instead, it appears in the context of the annual renewal of a relationship with a particular spirit, and acknowledges the domain-spirits that the population has had some relations with. The Mien people I consulted with think that the Muang of Siang, Khwa, and Tsa are within Muang Long, in Guangxi. Muang Lai and La are in northern Vietnam, Muang Hun in Laos, and Muang Nan what now is Nan Province.

The migration is remembered in terms of relations with spirits, in particular how spirits preserved the well-being of their people. These accounts tell of two two important confrontations: one in which a royal spirit made the leader invulnerable during an attack by Chinese warlords and the other in which ancestors advised the people to leave a domain whose lowland inhabitants were attacking them. The two kinds of spirits, royal and ancestral, point to two important dimensions of the people’s social identity, as a unified migration group and as separate householders. The episode with the King’s Spirit made the leader of the migration into a founder of the group, in ways that correspond to Mien origin stories.

The migration group had learned of an imminent attack by an army of Chinese people.
Tsan Khwoen then made an offering to the spirit of the king of the domain. When the attack came, it was clear that the spirit had made Tsan Khwoen invulnerable. Whenever the Chinese aimed their guns at him, he was immediately transported to another location. They would re-aim, only to find Tsan Khwoen had disappeared again. The highlanders successfully fended off the attack. This episode seems to have occurred during the “Ho raids” between 1869 and 1874 (Breazeale and Snit 1988:47–9). These raids, and Bangkok’s attempts at suppression, continued into the 1880s, but official accounts do not provide information that would help to date the Mien episode.

This event established the relationship between Tsan Khwoen and the spirit of the king of the domain. He has to renew this relationship annually to avoid losing this unusual connection with the spirit world. Tsan Khwoen proved himself to his followers in the episode when he successfully made a deal with the King’s Spirit. The event, while unique, corresponds to events from Mien mythology in a way that makes it immediately comprehensible and compelling.

The most striking parallel to this account is the “Crossing the Ocean” origin story (see Lemoine 1982:17–18; Beard et al. 1995:1–9). This story relates that once upon a time in China, the Mien were living in the mountains. For three years in a row there were droughts. When, during the third year, fires destroyed their crops, the Mien left the area, going downriver in boats. On reaching a big ocean, storms overturned some boats while a big whirlpool took others. The people in one boat called on the spirit of Pien Hung to save them, promising to make regular offerings to him if he got them safely ashore. The storm calmed and the boat landed with all the people unharmed. The boat had members from each of the twelve lineages. Lombard describes this story as “the legend of the origins of the Yao clans”. They reached shore safely, and “have appeased the spirits ever since” (1968:206).

The ability to successfully make a contract confirms the relationship, between the leader of a social unit and the ruler/spirit and between the leader and the rest of the migration group. The contract helps sustain social units and relationships when social identities and the cohesion of social units grow tenuous. If the spirits and leaders do not take good care of them, people will abandon them both and enter another contract elsewhere. The underlying assumption about contracts, which applies to Mien relations with spirits and rulers, is that while both sides meet their obligations, things are well and both have a reason to continue the arrangement, but if one side does not live up to its part of the deal, then the other can revoke it.

This rescue by the King’s Spirit created obligations between Tsan Khwoen and the spirit and between members of the migration group and him as their leader. By extension this made Tsan Khwoen favorably disposed to entering into relationships with lowland kings. The first one, however, took an unfortunate turn. After the Mien had lived for some time in the Tai domain of Muang Lai, some lowlanders placed the body of a Tai man against the door of a Mien house and accused the Mien of having killed him. The Mien made an offering to the household’s ancestors and asked what offering could cancel the offense. The spirits replied that nothing would do and advised the people to leave immediately. After their rapid departure, the lowlanders destroyed everything they could find.

A few years later, after an uneventful stay in Muang Hun, the uplanders moved to Nan. The initial refusal by the king of Nan for the Mien to settle may have been a way to press for benefits from the highlanders, who would otherwise have had to continue their sojourn.

Migrations contribute to an ongoing realignment of relationships and reworkings of identities. While the migrating highlanders and the king of Nan had never met before, they had a categorical knowledge of each other, as “highlanders” and a “lowland king,” and based on such knowledge they entered a relationship. These relationships did not match the bounded, separate ethnic societies and stable social structures of classical anthropology (Leach 1954; Lehman 1963; Kirsch 1973). Nor does the account of this Mien and Hmong migration settling in Nan reaffirm the framework that lies behind the mapping of the entry of discreet ethnic groups into Thailand. Since the boundaries of Thailand had not yet been delineated in their present form, there was, for instance, no
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"Thailand" to enter at the time. A perspective more appropriate to the region at this time would characterize this region in terms of shifting networks of social units that add up to what the historian Wolters (1982:x) describes as "zone[s] of subregional histories," that overlapped and were reshaped as people moved about or new leaders offered prospective clients favorable options. It is within such an unstable environment, during a period of frequent warfare, that Tang Tsan Khwoen, the man who became Phaya Khiri, moved with his followers.

In such pre-national times, lowland rulers established their domains by constructing networks of goods and services through the distribution of rank and relationships. As this occurred, they bestowed identities, a process which extended to the uplands. Yao are "Yao" because of a particular relationship between their ancestor and a Chinese emperor. Aside from the ethnic label, this relationship shaped: the Yao lineage system; religious practices; their ability to migrate in the hinterlands of southern China without paying tribute to the court; as well as Yao leaders' ability to extract tribute from their followers and rule over various non-Yao hinterland populations (Jonsson 2000).

In principle, this relationship contributed to a high-level integration of Yao society, similar to the way Chiang Mai’s relations with a Lua' leader made one titled leader the center of that upland-lowland relationship. Notions of ethnic identity relate to parameters of social relations that add up to the scope and stability of communities and domains. Historically, the region has been generally bifurcated into forested highlands and cleared lowlands, and ethnic divisions reaffirmed this spatial divide.

All these units that are founded, fade away if they are not maintained through the mobilization of people’s attentions, labor, and/or resources. There are important historical and regional shifts in the relative prominence of the available structures such as households, villages, kin-groups, village clusters, migrations, segmentary lineage systems, and/or ethnic groups. They also differ in what can be called their visibility. The accounts of the migration fit schemes of Mien origin myths, they resonate with a historical consciousness that has privileged population groups. Mien history makes chiefs highly visible, as agency in migration groups is generally collapsed onto chiefs (on "heroic history" more generally, see Sahlins 1985, ch.2). Chiefs as agents of history appear to be a general feature of histories in upland societies.

One example is that among Lisu in the 1960s, who at the time were largely acting in terms of nuclear households, storytelling often described the killing of headmen. The telling of stories and/or history in which group histories are embedded also define in part group customs and social relations. Ethnographic accounts of Lisu indicate that the prominence of nuclear households was asserted and affirmed equally through frequent migrations, rituals at the household level, and stories of chiefs being killed (Dessaint 1971; Durrenberger 1983). Lisu rituals constitute a cult with no founder, as the Lisu actively erode supra-household claims such as on resources, labor, and/or attentions (see also Hutheesing 1990).

Founder-cults, such as Tsang Khwoen’s link to the King’s Spirit that secured his prominence in the migration group he led, also redefine local domains. Ritual offerings to the King’s Spirit reaffirm a social unit through the exchange relations between the leader and the spirit and between the followers and the leader. Tsan Khwoen, unlike chiefs among Kachin or Lua’, did not work in his fields, but like chiefs in other upland situations he received as tribute a basket of rice from each household under him. Tsan Khwoen’s relationship with this spirit stayed at the migration-level, it did not become a cult that could be activated by each village. Only the leader, and then one descendant in each generation after him, can maintain the relationship with the spirit. His great grandson, Tang Tsoi Fong, now continues the relationship.

Mien villages are ritual units, and from what I know among Mien in Thailand, households make voluntary contributions to collective offerings (Jonsson 1998b; Kandre 1991). The rhetorics of Mien villages assumes a founder, someone who “opens the forest” and invites the spirit of the most powerful local ruler, a titled lowland official in the cases I know, to become the owner spirit of the site. New Year is a time for renewing contracts with spirits, and among
the Mien I worked with each household is supposed to make an offering to its ancestors. Villagers pooled resources for the offering to the village owner spirit. The kamnan (sub-district headman) makes an offering to the King’s Spirit. Rather than constructing or reflecting the prominence of a headman or a chief, village-level rituals construct villages as voluntary assemblies of equal households and place Mien within a social universe where lowland officials rule territory. Through their leader, villagers enter a relationship with the spirit of such official. These rituals, as social statements, construct the prominence of lowland officials as powerful outsiders that are in the same category as spirits. Ritual relations can involve various inequalities and politics more generally, but there is no inherent social resonance in a ritual relationship as such (see Bloch 1986; Jonsson 1998b).

Households have been the primary ritual units among Thailand’s Mien in this century. Nonetheless, what constitutes a household and the relationships among households is not straightforward. Each household is a separate entity for rituals to ancestors and cadastral spirits, but it acts individually in the former and collectively in the latter. At weddings, the assembled act as if they belong to two households, those of hosts and guests. The roles of hosts and guests are important for the feasts that follow all rituals, except for rituals to cadastral spirits. The cadastral spirit ritual is the only one not held in household; it is usually held near the largest tree at the edge of the village and only the mediums and representatives of each participating household attend. The King’s Spirit ritual, in contrast, is always held at the house of the leader, first Tsan Khwoen, and then one individual in each subsequent generation, who inherits both his leadership position (now kamnan) and the responsibility for this relationship.

The stability of such cults depends on a number of factors, the most important ones being the expectations of the followers, the relative ability of the leaders to deliver well-being to their constituents, and the kinds of relations leaders have with lowland rulers. Although it was during the migration that Tsan Khwoen’s prominence overrode his followers’ obligations to their ancestor spirits and their exchange relationships at levels other than the migration, the dimensions of this cult were shaped in important ways by the place of these uplanders within the larger social landscape.

Religion on the Move

The group moved through a territory of frequent warfare with a leader of considerable prowess whose link to the King’s Spirit reinforced his prominence and his followers’ reliance on him. The move itself reproduced certain patterns of Mien mythology that suggest a fundamental continuity in Mien worldview and social relations. This seems the case particularly since this cult has now been maintained more than a hundred years. But more than any ritual replication of Mien tradition, this apparent continuity relies on the leaders’ immediate descendants being invested in accounts of his prominence and the institutionalization of their prominence through titles and other links to lowland authorities. This included initially the Thai government’s Royal Opium Monopoly and now the provincial administration and other such agencies that encourage national integration.

The route is far from direct. My account of Tsan Khwoen draws on a range of sources; aside from local recollections that I encountered or asked after, these are missionary accounts from early in the century, and accounts by visitors, amateur ethnologists, and a professional anthropologist (Park 1907; Callender 1915; Le May 1926; Bunchuai 1950; Blofeld 1955; 1960; Miles 1967–68; 1974; 1990; Jonsson 1996b). Tsan Khwoen received the title Phaya Inthakhiri from the King of Nan. As the highlanders’ overlord, he received tribute from his followers some of which he transmitted to the king. Tsan Khwoen’s house was the only one on stilts, in the Thai style, an architectural separation from the rest of the population that signified in part his royal connections. Tsan Khwoen appears to have been quite wealthy. He often visited the court in Nan. In the 1900s, the highlanders were allowed to grow opium for the Royal Opium Monopoly on a particular mountain (since then known as Doi Suan Ya Luang, “Royal Opium Field Mountain” — it appears the mountain was previously called Doi Chang) and officials made...
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 Aside from opium, highlanders were able to sell rice in Nan. Tsan Khwoen’s sons traded separately from their father. His sons combined their households under one roof, 12 families with a total of 86 people.

 The generational difference between Tsan Khwoen and his sons seems to correspond with a shift in the articulation of prowess. Tsan Khwoen’s house was separate from the others by its elevation and wooden construction while his sons’ house had an unusually high number of occupants. Tsan Khwoen relied on military success and his invulnerability and, subsequently, his position as the local general and tribute collector. Acting in more peaceful conditions, his sons’ prowess was articulated in terms of householding, farming, and trade (for a fuller discussion, see Jonsson n.d. a).

 Wuen Lin, Tsan Khwoen’s son who succeeded him, received the title Thao La from the King of Nan and was subsequently made a kamnan (sub-district headman) when the area was bought into the official Thai provincial administration. He had moved his household to Phulangka after his father’s death. There, he was the center of an extensive trade in locally produced opium for provincial and national agencies. For some time in the 1940s, Wuen Lin had a household of 120 people. Both he and his father are remembered as having had complete control in the highlands and as having kept the area peaceful and safe. As with leaders in other “chieflty” situations, they brought order by enforcing customs, in particular against thieving.

 People varied in how they remembered Thao La’s rule. Some said he actively made the area peaceful and safe; others that he sat in his house and mediated disputes that people brought to him; and yet others that he maintained a reign of terror, arbitrarily punishing people he did not like. I was told that Thao La had sometimes decided cases by lining up suspects and holding a spear from the king of Nan in front of him: with the help of the King’s Spirit, the spear would point to the culprit of whatever crime had been committed.

 In this way, the King’s Spirit has contributed to the prominence of the leader outside of situations of military confrontations. The spirit’s role has changed in the context of more peaceful village life. While I did my fieldwork, there were several cases of serious theft, such as a motorcycle and no one knew who was the thief. The victims offered a pig to request the King’s Spirit’s help. In the cases I know of, this led to the successful recovery of the stolen object. The spirit has, to some extent, been coopted for the general public, although the offerings can only take place at the leader’s house, in this case the grandson of Thao La. The cult of the King’s Spirit was initially connected to the invulnerability of the migration leader and, subsequently, to his and his sons’ ability to maintain law and order among their followers. Currently, people can make the offering at the house of the sub-district headman, however, this is only done when offerings to ancestor spirits are not effective. Making offerings implies the unique ritual connections of the leader household, and simultaneously, provides the opportunity for people to feast their leader at his own house. This “commoner” access to the King’s Spirit reflects in part the changing character of leadership within this Mien population, from the commanding role that Thao La is remembered for and to the more passive role of the current subdistrict-headman. Some of the difference may concern the personalities of the two men, but they are to an important degree a measure of how recent political and economic changes have curtailed local leadership.

 The cult of the King’s Spirit has to be viewed in the context of Mien social life over time. Initially, it was seen as framing a situation where agency was concentrated in a leader during a migration. The cult loses some of its resonance once the group settled in Nan, where people have articulated notions of religion and worldview in terms of farming and householding rather than migration and armed confrontations. But the leader’s prominence remained as has his focus on the King’s Spirit. The King of Nan with his ability to allow settlement, bestow titles, and facilitate the legal cultivation of opium further reinforced the leader’s position and the importance of his relationship to the King’s Spirit. Subsequently, the way Tsan Khwoen’s sons maintained a multiple family household set a new standard for householding, and led to an inflationary pressure on household production.
and ritual. But this inflationary pressure did not affect all households equally. Large multi-family households reduced the autonomy of nuclear households. Where authorities had less control over opium production and trade and over uplanders more generally, householders could strike out on their own and form small settlements or even stay in fieldhuts and not engage in village life. Wuen Lin’s (Thao La) privileged trade position was not available to everyone. Thai authorities recognized five villages that constituted the sub-district of Pha Chang Noi and only people in those villages were in a position to forge official links to opium traders. This reinforced a bifurcation in household formations, between small households in transient settlements and large, multiple household units in a few, stable, officially recognized villages.

This situation also reinforced the prominence of the founder group that maintained its link to the King’s Spirit, but it also contributed to other people’s ability to move away from the leader and the cult that assumed that the migration group was still a social entity. The prominence of the founder cult faded as people were able to strike out on their own even though unequal trade connections reaffirmed the leader’s position. The move to a multiple household reinforced the ritual affirmation of social differentiation, as a household is a ritual unit even though the people may have separate fields.

Between 1880 and the 1960s this Mien migration exhibits the same range of political and ritual orders that Peter and Sally Kunstadter (1992) identify with Lua’, Karen, and Hmong as ethnically separate adaptations to the environment that imply particular arrangements in village affairs.

I have reversed that framework by placing the main emphasis on how particular social arrangements are the outcome of the ways religious movements and political hierarchies are played out in multi-ethnic and multi-societal settings over time. The dynamics of the initial migration and subsequent moves of villages and households were dependent on a conceptual scheme that separated the uplands from the lowlands. This situation came to an end in the late 1960s as the nation state extended its control over its frontiers—through warfare, roads, schools, and other factors. One aspect of this process of change was a radical shift in what shifting cultivation signified, and thus what shifting cultivators represented. Previously, shifting cultivation marked people as outsiders, but as of the late-1950s it came to mark people as subversives to national order, who posed a threat to political and ecological stability. These changing ideas coincided with, and accelerated, the push toward integration through roads, schools, and, to some extent, military attacks.

Grounding a Founder

The issue of migrations, such as the one discussed above, might seem trivial because settlement migration in Thailand has since the 1960s become legally impossible. Nonetheless, I suggest nonetheless that these issues are worth exploring, not the least because the notions of founders and migrations are taking on new dimensions as upland peoples reinterpret their place within the bounded national space of Thailand. During my fieldwork with Mien in northern Thailand (1992–94), I lived primarily in Pangkha village, the resettled village of Phulangka that is known through Douglas Miles’ work (see references). One night, a villager hosted a party for most of the village. He had killed a cow and all of us were being fed the meat, roasted “Korean style,” vegetables, and liquor.¹³

A Thai schoolteacher in this predominantly Mien village played an electric keyboard and sang Thai pop-songs. An insurance salesman, a brother of the farmer that sponsored the feast, conducted something of a pop-quiz. He offered an apple as prize for a correct answer to his question of who had contributed most to the sub-district—Pha Chang Noi, in Pong District, Phayao Province, near Thailand’s border with Laos. Some of the assembled named the headmaster of the local school, and others the headman of the village and the sub-district. Both men were present. People clapped their hands in encouragement for each suggestion, although there was noticeably more enthusiasm for the headmaster. There is tension between the two households regarding prominence in local
affairs. The headmaster is brother to the farmer whose feast this was as is the insurance salesman, who lives in the provincial capital and had come to the village only for a short visit.

The farmer in this account is the local big man; he owns a big truck and two large tractors that he uses to work his fields and to rent out. He runs a store in the village and he is assistant to his uncle, the sub-district headman. Once he commented that when he and his cousin, the other assistant headman, went around the sub-district they acted as if they were in control, unlike the headman who had, "no vision." As befits a Thai big-man, this assistant headman owns a pistol and has a sizable entourage.

And who had contributed most to the sub-district? Not the farmer, presumably since to "contribute to a sub-district" one has to bring about things of administrative significance. But neither the headman nor the headmaster had the distinction according to the insurance salesman. The apple went to a young villagewoman for the suggestion of Phaya Khiri Srisombat (Tang Tsan Khwoen) as the person who fit the bill. At least some people clapped with relief that the tension between the headman and the headmaster was diverted in this way. I was puzzled by the solution, since Phaya Khiri had never lived in this sub-district. He had died in the 1920s, about two decades before it was formed. When I pressed some villagers for clarification the next day, they brushed aside my concern for historical accuracy as trivial. This case shows one aspect of how local people are remaking their past in terms of the present, fitting their initial leader inside the subsequent reality of contemporary administrative units.

The headmaster had plans for a statue of Phaya Khiri at the site of Phulangka village. This site, where no one lives anymore, is where the people of Pangkha lived, from the time Phaya Khiri died in the 1920s until Thai authorities moved people out of the area in 1968 to quell an insurgency which had spread there. There had been some talk of a new bridge between Thailand and Laos nearby and the headmaster hoped to bring some benefits of tourism to the area. He organized a day-long outing for an MP and his entourage that included a trip to the site of Phulangka and a waterfall nearby so the politician could see the potential for a resort development to replace upland farming that was increasingly being outlawed.

Another goal of that trip was to convey to the MP the need for agricultural assistance to Hmong villagers in the area. The Hmong, who were the main targets of attacks on suspected communist insurgents in the hills after 1967, were now threatening to draw on their connections to insurgency groups outside the country to massacre a Thai Highway Department work camp unless they received some agricultural assistance.

There is an interesting parallel between how Tsan Khwoen called on the King's Spirit to prevent a massacre of his followers from an army of warlords in a Lao domain and how Khe Kwin, his great-great-grandson and the headmaster of the Pangkha school, called on the MP to prevent a massacre of Highway Dept. workers in the area by insurgency groups at the same time as he airs the possibility of a statue to honor the founder. The match in the pattern of the two events is not mythical in the way the King's Spirit episode matches the story of Crossing of the Ocean. But the similarities also highlight the fundamental difference in cultural politics between the two events. Both events establish a relationship that brings the highlanders into lowland orbits and affects leadership and other local politics among the highlanders. But in the former, a ritual establishes a contract with the spirit of a king through the leader of a migration group. In the latter, the politician is physically brought to the area, feted, and then sent off. The agricultural assistance that arrived six months later may be likened to the results of an offering. The politician receives most of the votes from these highlanders during elections.

The difference between the two is not that the former is a ritual and the latter a "real" relationship. Both are real relationships, while they are also rituals. Looking at how they reflect and simultaneously construct social units and their relationships, within the highlands and between the highlands and the lowland political order, makes this more than an exercise in possible structural parallels and permutations.

The King's Spirit cult is informed by dynamics of ritual that draw on competitive householding in areas beyond the state's reach.
The way this householding is played out changes over time, depending on historically particular situations in the highlands and the way they affect leader-follower relations. The process of how the Thai state, or any of the other states in the area, has undermined the previous cultural autonomy of highland groups is complicated, and this is not the place to establish that history. By comparing the recent emergence of Phaya Khiri as a founder with the cult of the King’s Spirit that he initiated, I want to suggest some aspects of the contemporary transformations of culture and society in the hinterlands.

An obvious difference is that, since the 1960s, households no longer use rituals competitively to impress potential followers or members. Once the state took over the highlands and required land registration and use-right papers, uplanders could no longer sustain a labour-dependent competition among households through rituals and farming. Nor could they take off and establish new settlements. Feasting is decreasingly at the household level and increasingly at the level of the village. One example is that the pretext for inviting the MP was for him to give the opening speech at a sub-district level sports competition and fun fair (see Jonsson 1999).

Such events, which place highlanders within a context of lowland village fairs and bring them into Thai society, require coordination at the village level. Households serve as providers of labor and resources for such village level events and this context patterns interactions in particular ways. Such village fairs are ritual statements about community. The necessary patterns in mobilizing people’s labor, resources, and attentions are related to the systemic decline in household-centrality that characterized upland social formations in settings that ranged from household autonomy to chiefly situations.

Just as migration has particular social consequences, for instance in collapsing agency on the leader, so do village fairs and sub-district events. These both reinforce the social resonance of the Thai state’s administrative units just as the migration affirmed the social separation of the group from lowland domains. Villages have replaced households as the loci of action which emphasizes the visibility of such units as schools and meeting halls. School headmasters, such as in Pangkha, are in a position to impress their agendas on the social landscape in ways that used to belong only to householders.15

These dynamics draw on the motivations of individual people in particular settings. The wider context cannot account for the King’s Spirit cult any more than for the sub-district level fair. People draw on the options and constraints of a regional context to play out their specific projects. One can propose a narrow interpretation of such events as rivalries between two households or a broader one in terms of relations between upland and lowland groups or a minority and the state. My examples embrace both the narrow and broader concerns and show how particular ritual frameworks and political domains emerge from the everyday lives of people in particular situations.

It is the headmaster’s idea to erect a statue of Phaya Khiri at the site of Phulangka. Many of his projects draw on a Thai middle-class discourse on culture and social life, but cannot be reduced to this since they are simultaneously motivated by his ambitions to leadership and his desires to benefit his people. He wants the Mien leader recognized as the founder of that area and the imagery he draws on concerns recent efforts to make the nation visible and imaginable through statues in each province. Just as the King’s Spirit emerges from a generative system of spirits and social relations, the idea of the statue of Phaya Khiri draws on a national discourse of provincial and national heroes that are commemorated in provincial capitals (see Tannenbaum 2000. For Indonesian parallels, see Hoskins 1987; Cunningham 1989). Once this discourse is established, it can generate the idea of statues on other levels. What this suggests is that the idea of founders among these highlanders has been reframed in terms of the Thai nation-state.

The process does not directly reflect either state hegemony or local agency but is in between, as the articulation of nation-state structures in the hinterlands has undone the agency of households unless it is expressed through villages and other administrative units. This provides the framework for ambitious locals to act on particular levels and to activate particular subjects of action. This results in specific patterns in the units of social life and the
relationships among them that tend to privilege the village and its school as the focus of local social life and as the link to the nation (see Jonsson 1999, n.d.b).

**Domestic Focus**

When I made a brief visit to the village in 1998, I did not learn of any action regarding the statue. It could be that the recent economic troubles in the region dampened some people’s enthusiasm. There was, for instance, no indication that the idea for a new bridge linking Laos and Thailand was anything more than an idea. The only clear manifestation of Phaya Khiri’s new-found prominence I noticed was the display of his photograph. At least some people knew that Thao La’s only living son, a long-time trader in the town of Chiang Kham, had a copy. Whereas in 1994, no one seemed concerned about the photo, it has now been brought out of obscurity. I saw a print of it at the headman’s house, where it has been enlarged to dominate other photos on the wall. The others included one of Thao La and one of his three wives. This photo was not known locally before my research when I found it in Blofeld’s (1960) book, with the caption “The King and Queen of Yao.” Not recognizing them, or what to make of Blofeld’s notion that Mien here had had a “King and Queen,” I brought a photocopy to the area and subsequently learned the identity of the couple. After many descendants then asked me for a copy of the photo which then I provided, it seems that I played some role in local people’s refashioning their relations to their past.

Photographs, like statues, are productive of a past that has a social reality to the extent that it informs the present. Like ritual links, images are entangled in dynamics that produce localities through engagements with extra-local factors. The memories that are fashioned in this way are clearly local, but it does not follow that the effort is collective. While the proposed statue of Phaya Khiri was in part motivated to assert the place of Mien within Thai national space, it was one man’s idea. The headmaster of the Pangkha school wanted to counter the increasing marginalization of people’s livelihood with his plan to encourage a resort area in the hills where farmers are no longer allowed to live. Through the way he described his plans to me, local
people could benefit from jobs at the proposed resort. There is an ambiguous link between the collective position of Mien within Thailand through the proposed statue and low-paid menial jobs at a resort whose clientele would most likely be Thai. As in Indonesia (Kipp 1993), it shows how political maneuvering for the recognition of minority ethnic groups is primarily a middle-class phenomenon which suggests that the intended benefits may contribute to the processes of marginalization that they supposedly counter.

The proposed statue draws on a national framework for the recognition of administrative units. Attempting a statue at the sub-district level is not conventional, but this is the highest administrative level that Mien can make a claim to. While the statue has not materialized, the social project that it draws on relates to the waning of the household in public life and the increasing prominence of villages and sub-districts as frameworks for social life in this region. In this context, the growing role of photographic links to the past focuses attention on the household as a repository for recollections that are related to this change in the social focus of local life.

A growing number of photographs on the walls of Mien households are for one thing a manifestation of the current immobility of farming populations. As migratory swiddening has been precluded, people have refashioned the place of the household in social life. National integration and political economic change have effectively ended the prominence of the household as the focus of social dynamics through farming and feasting. These processes have supported the social prominence of administrative units, in the context of which that administrators (such as headmen and headmasters) have been able increasingly to mobilize people's labor, resources, and attention.

The household as a social unit has not disappeared, but it is increasingly existing through its links to the village. The growing importance of photographic links to the past of Thao La and Phaya Khiri at the household level can be construed as a creative response to this condition. While people are less able to assert the agency of the household, and their social life is increasingly in terms of a village and a sub-district, the household can reverse that relationship by appropriating the photographic images of Thao La and Phaya Khiri as markers of a common Mien past within the national space of Thailand. Such projects respond to marginalization that locate a collective past on a household wall, sometimes along with photos of the King and Queen of Thailand and posters of resort landscapes. These displays combine claims to a local past with a national imagery for modern households. The politics of such combinations of representations are domestic. They sidestep the issue of social marginalization through photo images that combine the household with ethnic and national imagery that blurs the lines of past and present and leaves out the reality of current administrative units. Such projects of the household are not of the same order as Lisu recollections that denied assertive headmen their ambitions through stories that killed them off, but they nonetheless deny the everyday prominence of locally-powerful people by not giving them a place on their wall.

Conclusions

The state was never absent from upland dynamics. Historically, hinterland populations situated themselves in relation to the state as a feature of the social landscape. This they did equally by farming beyond the state's reach, by establishing contracts for particular kinds of relations, and by appropriating the prowess of particular lowland rulers as spirits. The relationships that uplanders had with pre-modern states do not add up to a one-dimensional relationship, nor did villages or larger units collectively make or maintain these relationships. My case of a Mien/Hmong migration and the varying dimensions of a cult to a King's Spirit that emerged from it views complex trajectories of history at the interface of the upland-lowland divide. The continually shifting frameworks of agency and structure run counter to the often-implicit socio-centricity of classical ethnography. If founder-cults are an ethnographic category, my case suggests that they are not a structural feature that a population somehow has, but rather one of many alternative frameworks for projecting particular social
imageries in local life and simultaneously a framework for defining what constitutes the local. The King's Spirit cult among a segment of Thailand's Mien fits a more general pattern of highland religious life, where the spirit-related invulnerability of a leader attracts followers. Although this attraction weakened as these people entered a more peaceful situation, the leader's prominence was prolonged by his position as a titled official and tribute collector, and his and then his sons' position as middlemen in dealings with the Royal Opium Monopoly. The cult emphasis changed as Mien religion and social dynamics were transformed from an emphasis on prowess to successful farming and trade. This created inflationary pressure on the cult leader's household size that was reinforced by his unequal position in opium production and trade.

The King's Spirit cult never became active at the village level; it stayed centered on the leader's household and was primarily relevant in relation to the leader's role in upholding law and order. As highlanders became incorporated into the Thai state, the relevance of this cult and the prominence of this lineage of leaders has been redefined. The cult lost its prominence as national integration undermined swidden cultivation and competitive householding. In their place, the village and the school have emerged as the sites for mobilizing people for public events. This benefits a nephew and rival of the current headman, who together with his brothers are reformulating notions of leadership and have elevated Tsan Khwoen's status to that of the founder of the Mien population, worthy of a statue to commemorate this feat.

While the importance of Tsan Khwoen's link to the King's Spirit faded as the household lost its organizational prominence, the rise of the village and the school as the centers of local social life has coincided with a fundamental reworking of what frames people's social identity. In this new context, allegiance to national frameworks of culture, agriculture, and social life is simultaneously an aspect of the state's hegemony and a framework for hinterland communities' access to official assistance. New actors and agendas have gained prominence. Tsan Khwoen was once a leader and a link to the King's Spirit. Now he is becoming a posthumous founder and the link to the national space of Thailand. The case suggests ruptures as much as continuities in Mien ways of fashioning locality within larger settings. It points equally to the common predicament of populations on the margins of the modern state, and how such settings play unequally to the range of local actors and interests.

The current marginalization of the household, particularly in contrast to its social prominence during the period of "classical" ethnography in the northern Thai hills, is a fact. But the status of such facts, as those about migrations and ethnic groups, depends on the often-implicit context of their interpretation. I have attempted to show that migration was neither about an entry into Thailand nor about "ethnic" behavior more generally. Instead, and more significantly, this migration was a motivated action within particular historical and cosmological frameworks that involved and affected the relative position of chiefs and commoners, just as more recent dynamics have unevenly benefitted the interests of households, villages, and sub-districts. Because these changes suggest that the household is primarily acting through these higher levels of social integration, it is useful to study of the lack of a reflection of this reality among images on the walls of modern houses. Although domestic imagery does not reflect political relations, households can invert their otherwise-subordinate relationship to the village and sub-district. They may choose to disregard the prominence of certain administrative levels in constructions of the household and its members within national and international frames of reference.

From an obviously marginal position, contemporary Mien households contribute to definitions of history, identity, and locality that do not match those of more prominent actors. National integration of the highlands has precluded household mobility, and thus particular kinds of engagements with larger worlds, some of which (e.g. migratory farming) are central to anthropological accounts of the lifeways of particular ethnic groups. In spite of sedentarization, households continue to redefine their position toward larger realities. Through the rather innocuous assemblies of pictures on
their walls, Mien householders pose implicit challenges to conventional anthropological portrayals of highlanders' realities as grounded in a past time of ritual structures and ecological adaptation. Some pictures, such as the photos of Phaya Khiri and Thao La, avail people of a reach into their past, but this is less a sign of nostalgia than a means to a particular present through the projection of certain social visions. In this, there is a fundamental continuity with the previous and apparently dissimilar reality of migration, farming, and rituals on the fringes of the state.

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Notes

1 Mien are one of many subgroups of Yao. Yao identity, which was sanctioned by the Chinese Empire, referred to people living outside of the state in the forested hinterlands. All of Thailand's Yao are Mien. In Laos, there are both Lantien and Mien groups of Yao. There is significantly more complexity, in terms of Yao social formation, cultural forms, religious variation, and livelihood, in both Vietnam and China.  

2 They did not invent this scheme. The map, aside from the arrows across the national border, is an articulation of a map produced by the Tribal Research Institute in 1978. Earlier researchers, such as Gordon Young and Erik Seidenfaden, are important predecessors to this characterization.  

3 This paragraph is not meant to settle the historical record in the hinterlands, but rather as a starting point to addressing the regional dynamics and relationships that influenced social formations in the uplands.  

4 This refers to the forced pacification that French and British colonial takeovers involved in the regions that became Burma, Laos, and Cambodia, from the 1880s to the 1940s.  

5 In Lai Chau and Son La Provinces, respectively. Another possibility is that the Muang La in question is in Yunnan Province.  

6 “Chinese warlords” is a gloss that is not necessarily accurate. The so-called Ho warlords that were causing trouble in northern Lao domains in the 1870s and '80s were sometimes “Chinese,” but Thongchai (1994:103–04) shows that in some cases the so-called Ho were in fact rulers of Lao domains (see also Breazeale and Snit 1988:47–9) such as Muang Lai, and that the notion of Lao rulers as Ho was in part to justify their suppression.  

7 Thailand, that was Siam at the time, took its present shape as Britain and France claimed bounded territories to the west and east. According to Thongchai (1994), the Paknam Crisis of 1893 was significant for the move toward the modern mapping of the polity. The other aspect of this issue, whether there was “Siam/Thailand” to enter at the time (1880s) concerns the administrative integration of provinces. Until the Thesaphiban system, that was initiated in 1893, Nan was not dependent on Bangkok financially, and with this integration the kingdom of Nan lost the ability to tax local peasants for its own maintenance. The way these changes affected Nan are likely to have influenced the court’s dealings with the Mien leader.  

8 Kunstadter's (1967) informants refer to Khun Luang Wilangka’s defeat by Queen Jamathewi (see also Kraisri 1967) as the precursor to these relationships. Renard (1986:237) refers to a seventeenth-century agreement between Burmese rulers of Chiang Mai and Lua' populations, as reaffirming a sixteenth century contract. I suggest that similar to the case of Yao in China, these contracts established the prominence of particular leaders in the hinterlands and reaffirm particular ethnic hierarchies. This last point is important because there is some indication that there were Karen populations in “northern Thai” areas significantly before the nineteenth century. Their history disappears because official contracts were only with Lua'. I suggest that
Moving House: Migration and the Place of the Household on the Thai Periphery

the assumption that there were only Lua1 in the highlands until the nineteenth century draws on the rhetorical framework of contracts. As in the case of Yao in China, contracts assume a particular ethnic identity, that then becomes reaffirmed as people engage with courts.

9 The persons who are invited to become village owner spirits thus come from a pool of lower-order rulers, of the same administrative level that a village or a village cluster might attach itself to in social life. People refer to some of the individual officials as having been Burmese (Maan). Two villages, Pang Ma-O and Huai Feuang have the same couple, Phanya Haan and I Nya Nang, as their owner spirits. The village of Sakoen has two, Cao Long Comphu (Chao Luang Chomphu) and Cao Long Kiemkham. The village of Pangkha is said to have an owner spirit who had been a Kaw, who had the name/title Cao Long Comphu. He may be the same character as the owner spirit of Sakoen. The Kaw settlement is said to have initially been at the site of present-day Pangkha, but to have later moved to Sakoen. According to Kraisri Nimmanhaeminda (personal communication to Ronald Renard, 1980s) the Kaw were settled in the late nineteenth century in Sakoen in order to collect bat guano for the Nan ruler. The Mien settlement in Sakoen is adjacent to but independent from the Kaw village. When provincial administration was applied to this area in the 1940s, then at the border of two provinces, the Kaw village opted to continue their relationship with Nan while the Mien settlement became part of Chiang Rai.

10 It is likely that the initial contract was made with King Ananta, who died in 1891 after reigning for forty years. He was then succeeded by his son, Cao Suliyaphong Phalitidet, who reigned from his father’s death and until his own death in 1918 (Wyatt 1994: 118–28). Many of the important relationships that the Mien group had with the lowlands were forged during the latter’s reign. It is interesting that both Tsan Khwoen and his son received a title from the Nan ruler; they receive the family-name Srisombat sometime after 1914. In comparison with Chiang Mai, it appears that the ruler of Nan was able to hold on to royal prerogatives (the granting of titles, etc.) longer after the administrative integration of the northern region with Bangkok.

11 The relationship with the Royal Opium Monopoly started in 1907 and lasted to 1957 (see Jonsson 1996b, Ch.4). For this 50 year period, this Mien population had a permit for cultivation and trade. There may have been some illegal cultivation prior to or outside of this official relationship. I have not found any published information on the place of Nan in relation to opium production in Thailand, and the only public statement that I have seen, an official report to the Ministry of Finance from 1938, suggests that this production in Nan was not known in Bangkok (Jonsson 1996b:166–70). With the provincial administrative reforms, that in effect undid Nan’s autonomy, Nan lost its authority to tax its former subjects in rice, thus creating a market for rice that worked to the Mien’s advantage. See McCoy (1991) for an account of the monopoly and other opium trade.

12 This refers primarily to King Suliyaphong (r.1891–1918), the penultimate king of Nan. Tsan Khwoen (Phaya Khiri) died soon after the king, in about the mid-1920s. By the late 1920s, Wuen Lin (Thao La) had moved his settlement to Phulangka, thus outside the trade relations involving Nan. By the 1940s, authorities revoked a previous relationship and delineated the Mien area as a tambon (sub-district).

13 The non-Mien way of preparing the beef is influenced by contemporary fashion in upcountry Thai restaurants. Mien do not keep cattle, and the only other case I know of when beef was served was in 1915 when Phaya Khiri was feasting a visiting American missionary. He bought the ox from lowland Tai farmers and had the missionary’s cook prepare it (Callender 1915).

14 The attacks on Hmong and other uplanders during the late 1960s and early 70s were primarily in the adjacent highlands of Nan and Chiang Rai Provinces. The area of my fieldwork belonged at that time to the portion of Chiang Rai that became Phayao Province in 1978.

15 Schools are a novel element in village life, in the context of 1960s ethnography. One peculiarity of the area where I worked is that the headmaster and one other teacher are local Mien, which probably enables the school to contribute to local dynamics more than if all the teachers were ethnically Thai.

16 Thao La had three wives. The third wife, who is with him on the photo, was named Pung Nai Foei.

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Rui d’Avila Lourido’s article “European Trade between Macao and Siam, from its beginnings to 1663” in JSS 84/2 (1996), published June 1999, raises some interesting perspectives. There is one point though where I wish to raise a caveat. The author at p.84, citing Silva Rego, says:

From 1662 to 1668, the French achieved influence at Ayutthaya through the support of the Greek, Constantine Phaulkon, who served as the prime minister of Narai. As a consequence, Portuguese influence in Siam declined from 1662."

The French only arrived in Siam in 1662, in the form of a small party of missionaries from the Missions Etrangeres, and they were primarily concerned with the state of the soul of the Cochin-Chinese established there, not with the trade (Bourges 1666). There was no formal trading between Siam and France until the end of 1680, when Andre Deslandes-Boureau came and established the French godown of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales (as his future father-in-law, Francois Martin, makes clear in his Memoirs: 1932 11205-207).

The details of Phaulkon’s life are much disputed, but it is generally agreed that he did not come to Siam until 1678 (Van der Cruysse 1991:225), after spending some time in Bantam connected with the office of the East India Company, and being brought by Burnaby who was sent to sort out the murky affairs of the EIC outpost in Ayutthaya (Hutchinson 1940:56). Thereafter his rise was meteoric, but increasingly I doubt that he ever occupied even the functions of “prime minister”, had the post existed at the time. Only some of the French claimed this, and they (like Tachard before Pope Innocent XI in December 1688) cannot be relied upon to be truthful. He does appear to have occupied the functions of phra khlang or Barcalon, effectively minister of trade and foreign affairs, but was wise enough to keep a Siamese as the official holder of the post. As all foreigners were obliged to deal with him in this capacity, they assumed an exaggerated opinion of his writ.

The decline of Portuguese influence from 1662 cannot therefore be attributed to the presence of Phaulkon, who did not come to the country for another sixteen years. Nor can it be attributed to the presence of a handful of French Missionaries under the Bishops of Metellopolis, Louis Laneau, and Berythus, Lambert de La Motte. A close reading of the French texts for the period 1685–1688 shows that Portuguese influence remained strong in Ayutthaya, and we know that King Narai sent an embassy to Lisbon via Goa in 1684 which was unfortunately shipwrecked two years later off southern Africa. The loss of Malacca to the Dutch in 1641, then Ceylon, then Cochin in 1663, are much more likely to have led to a decline in Portuguese trade through Siam, but there was apparently a kind of residual affection for the first Western country to come to Siam, with whom relations had been good.
RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ASKING
THE MEANING OF VIENTIANE (VIENG CAN)

The oldest reference to “Vieng Can” appears in the Ram Kamhaeng’s inscription (if this really dates from the thirteenth century, but I think it does). The writing, cann, doesn’t allow us to decide whether it means candra (Skt.)/canda (P.) (moon) or candana (Skt./P.) (sandalwood). In the first Lao inscription (Den Muang 2, 1535 AD) which mentions the city, the name is written as Candapuri (the same as in the inscription of Dan Sai, Loei Province, 1563). From this we could conclude that the meaning is “city (purī) of the moon (canda)”. But it is in fact still uncertain, because “canda”, in some cases, can also mean “sandalwood” (cf. T.W. Rhys Davids, Pali-English, p. 261). The Nithan Khun Borom, an ancient Lao chronicle (first redaction in the early-16th century), leads one to think that the name Vieng Can could come from the sandalwood boundary markers (hlak maican) set up by hermits at Pak Pasak (west of the city, near the ancient wall). Based on this, some Lao scholars conclude that the real etymology is candana (there exists other literary traditions about this meaning). This spelling is also the most common in Thai writings. There are also Indian cities named Candanapuri (or -pura).

For me, I am not sure of the real etymology. But I think we can’t dissociate vieng and can. The word, vieng, is old (perhaps used in old Mon culture) and designates something circular, for example a city which is protected by a round wall. In this context, candana could make sense. The ambiguity remains...
The Siam Society is supporting the restoration of Wat Sa Bua Kaeo in Wang Khun Village, Nong Songhong District of Khon Kaen Province. Among the major attractions of this temple is murals in the traditional Isan (northeastern Thai) style, which is sometimes called Lao. Although much of the history of these murals has been lost, information on the temple and the murals is provided briefly here for the interest of members and other readers.

According to information of the Department of Religious Affairs, the temple was established on 10 March 1916. The temple received royal support in 1931. At about that time the abbot, Phrakhru Wibun, built the present ubosoth (assembly hall for monks). Phrakhru Wibun was a widely-respected religious leader at the time with a recognized ability in architecture. He used the Ban Yang temple assembly hall, located in his hometown in Borabu District, Maha Sarakham District, as a model. Wat Sa Bua Kaeo’s murals are located on the inner and outer walls of the ubosoth.

The artists first covered the walls with whitewash to which oils were applied. The colors used were yellow, indigo, earthen red, green, sky blue, and black with indigo, yellow, and green dominating. A chrome yellow was used in place of gold leaf. As typical in northeastern Thailand, scenes in the murals were divided by ribbon-like bands instead of the zigzag motifs used in central Thailand.

The murals extend from almost the bottom to the top of the outer walls. Inside the ubosoth,
the murals cover almost the entire area of the four walls.

The murals depict scenes from three stories. The inner walls show episodes from the life of the Buddha including that of the Buddha vanquishing Mara. Also shown inside the ubosoth is the story of Sangkhasinchai, a local folktale into which lessons from the Dhamma have been intertwined. On the outer wall are scenes from the northeastern recension of the Ramakian. These are of interest because they differ from how the story is told in the central Thai Ramakian as well as the Indian Ramayana, on which the Ramakians were based.

The value of these murals is manifold. They represent both the local literary genius but also the heights indigenous art can reach in depicting favorite aspects of northeastern Thai literature. The murals also provide a view of traditional life in Khon Kaen. Of special interest is a view of the activities surrounding giving birth with a male midwife attending. Another scene shows the coronation ritual of a local ruler. Also shown is the wildlife of the time including deer, crocodiles, wild boar, bees, fishes, and monkeys. Other scenes depict palaces, temples, city walls, as well as ordinary houses. Buffalo carts and royal carriages are also shown.

Unfortunately, the physical state of the murals is poor. Rainfall from storms has washed off the lower sections of the murals outside the ubosoth. Paint has flaked off of some areas while other sections are pitted or pock-marked. In places close to where the temple pillars reach the ceiling, water has oozed in and marred the paintings. The dust and grime of decades has darkened many of the murals, especially inside the ubosoth. Captions on the pictures have faded and are hard to read.
Waldon Bello, Shea Cunningham, and Li Kheng Poh

*A Siamese Tragedy: Development and Disintegration in Modern Thailand*


Written, with the assistance of two research associates, by Waldon Bello, Professor of sociology and public administration in the University of the Philippines and co-director of Focus on the Global South, a policy research institutes based in Bangkok, this book deals with the numerous perceived policy errors that resulted in the Great Crash of 2 July 1997, and outlines, much more briefly, alternatives approaches to development for the future.

With a series of eye-catching subtitles like “A second Ayutthaya?” , “Back to the Third World”, and “Financiers and realtors: Bonie and Clyde in Bangkok”, the scene is set generally, before we come to “Thailand under the IMF”. On the way, we are made aware of “the structural defects of the Thai economy”, which led to “increasing deterioration in income distribution”, and above all the “erosion of the position of agriculture”, as the government tries to keep down food prices to placate a relatively small “urban population that is experiencing mass unemployment,” while paradoxically hoping that agriculture, so dispised in the recent past, will absorb the unemployed.

Having set the gloomy scene, the authors then look more closely at different aspects of the causes contributing, as they see it, to the collapse. In the chapter on “The Failure of Industrial Deepening”, they point the basically unplanned nature of previous growth, the educational bottleneck, a failure to invest in research and development (R&D) instead of real estate (the phraseology of the text gets this accidentally wrong), and points to the over-expanded car industry which involved little technology transfer.

The chapter on labour considers the squeezing-of-the-lemon-till-the-pips- squeeks policy, the containment of union organization, using underpaid female labour in often poor conditions, ditto child labour, and importing even cheaper unskilled workers from near-by countries. Short-termism to the fore, the rural Thai unemployed were in turn exported to labour-short countries, and no attempt was made to address the problem of undereducation and skill-deficiency.

The “Los Angelizing” of the City of Angels comes in for due criticism, and concentrates on “the mass transit chaos”: “Some parts of the train structure would be only one metre away from adjacent buildings. The Central Station would be 30 metres or 10 floors above ground. . .”. Amidst all the expanding slums and infrastructural problems, only the self-reorganization of Klong Toey stands out as a sign of hope. The chapter ‘Pollution Haven’ covers all the well-known woes on the score, pointing to a lack of effective regulation.

‘The Erosion of Agriculture’ is perhaps the most substantial capter in the book. “The central policy factor has been the subordination of agriculture to the interest of the urban-industrial sector.” Instead of permanently squeezing the peasantry, “a substantial part of government revenues should have been recycled back to the agricultural sector” to upgrade famers’ technology and support land reforms: after all, agriculture still provides employment for more than 60 percent of the population which remains essentially rural. Instead of that, the rice export premium and industrial policy led to the
pauperization ("the immiserizing") of the countryside.

The number of landless peasants has increased, and the few policy initiatives have been top-down, with consequently little effect. Land reform ran into opposition from vested interests, with the result that "in over 17 years, only 43 families have received full landownership rights as a result of [the Land Reform Act of 1975], and the area covered amounts only to 795 rai." Instead of redistribution to the poor, one had "Land reform for the rich under Chuan" with the Sor Por Kor 4-01 programme.

And the problems get worse, as water shortages become perennial, especially in the northeast, containing one third of the country's population. A shift to contract farming is no answer; big firms will reap the profits. The recent (May 1999) rejection of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) programme, with its sensible proposal to tax water supplied by irrigation schemes, in favour of big business contract farming will do little to improve the lot of an impoverished peasantry. Don't count on continued rural passivity, say the authors, looking to the development of movements like the Forum of the Poor.

The related rural problems are accorded separate chapters. 'The Dynamics of Deforestation' runs through the various disaster in this area, with all the country's regions suffering. The government is seen to be part of the problem as it allows watershed areas to be logged and condones supposed 'reforestation' by eucalyptus and other commercial ventures. Out with the mangroves, in with shrimp farms, and abandon them when the going gets tough, leaving behind a terrible mess. The conclusion is depressing: there seems little chance of reversing "the country's slide into terminal deforestation, with the loss of biodiversity and other ecological disequilibria that this will bring."

The other related rural problem deals with large-scale dams and their negative effects. This is seen as the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT) v. the people. The destruction of watersheds has reduced the flow of water into the dams, which have been loaded with millions of tons of sediment. The colossal mistakes over the Pak Mun dam are well covered, with the loss of occupation and residence of thousands of families—and the provision of only enough electricity "to fuel one big Bangkok shopping mall for one day." One good result of the economic crisis is seen to be that instead of regionalizing its dam-mania, EGAT will lack the financial resources to continue large scale damming.

The penultimate chapter deals with the AIDS crisis. Here there is some hope, as, thanks to effective NGO advocacy, increasing condom use limits the negative effects of the vast sex industry. The authors consider the scale of the industry as a reflection of rural poverty and powerlessness. They avoid considerations of the long-term effects of HIV/AIDS on health and productivity among the economically active segment of population.

The conclusion points to alternative modes of development, the reversal of turning 60 percent of the population into "second-class citizens". It advocates seven measures: controls on capital flows, an Asian Emergency Regional Fund to replace the United States' controlled International Monetary Fund (IMF); limitation of foreign debt (the IMF solution is to bail out with public money big private creditors and big private debtors), using the domestic market for development stimulus, and having a progressive tax system, democratic decision-making by communities, and ecological sustainability. Something has to give, including the rich, who will of course resist redistribution of wealth. But too many have been negatively affected by "fast track capitalism" for it continue in the bad old ways.

Many of these "solutions" are pie-in-the-sky and some, notably the first two, either unnecessary or impractical. Most are but pious hopes. And then no examination of the negative economic effects of large non-productive sectors in society: the bloated and inefficient civil service, the military, etc.

The book has clearly been assembled rather hastily, with several obvious slips: ethnic minorities are said to produced opium in the northeast (p.229), the north is between 600 and 1,500 miles above sea level (p. 180), we have a eucalyptus crop supporting 45 people per square metre (p. 165), international reserves in 1995 were said to be only $7.0 billion (p. 34), Thonburi is on the east side of the Chao Phraya (p. 96) and there is a river called the Ta (p. 138).
There are several slips in sentence structure and the inevitable typos.

These errors are marginal compared with the overall value of the book, a very critical appraisal of the policies which have got the country into its current economic and financial mess. It should be required reading for politicians; they may not agree with many or even any of the conclusions, but they must realize that carrying on as before, supporting Big Business INC and damning the peasants, will not do. People count, and their votes cannot always be bought.

Michael Smithies

Charles Highman and Rachanie Thosarat

_Prehistoric Thailand—From Early Settlement To Sukhothai_


This book is an impressive achievement, both for the two authors and also for English language publishing in Thailand, for which it sets new standards in design and printing. As the title suggests the focus is narrower than the earlier well-known volumes by the senior author, “The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia” (C.U.P. 1989) and “The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia” (C.U.P. 1996) and it makes only passing reference to the archaeology of neighboring countries other than a long section in Chapter 6 (pp.191–202) on the rise of Khmer civilization and its influence in Thailand. The book is also addressed to a more general public than the volumes just mentioned and the two authors’ many technical site reports and journal articles. It is written for an educated public wishing to understand just how much the research of archaeologists over the past decades can illuminate, what to most people, is rather remote past.

After a preface and introductory ‘overview’, the basic information is set out in five chronological chapters: ‘Hunters and Gatherers,’ ‘The First Farmer,’ ‘The Bronze Age,’ ‘The Iron Age’ and ‘Early Civilizations of Thailand’ before some brief ‘Conclusions’ and it makes some sense to discuss these chapters in order.

But first some comments on the layout and presentation of the book are on order. This is thoroughly modern, incorporating the large number of excellent colour photographs with or alongside the text and eight ‘boxes’ of supplementary information on, respectively, radiocarbon dating; the ancient environment; Spirit Cave and the ‘Neolithic Revolution’ (in Thailand); the study of human remains; dating Ban Chiang; metallurgy; rock art; and inscriptions.

The preface makes proper acknowledgment of the role of the royal founders and supporters of Thai archaeology, from H.R.H. Prince Damrong, and H.S.H. Prince Subhadradis Diskul up to, and including, H.R.H. Princess Maha Chakri Srindorn who maintains an active interest and participation in the discipline. They also list the many other archaeologists who have contributed to research in the kingdom over the past fifty years.

In Chapter 1, ‘Thailand: an Overview’ the authors emphasise the dramatic changes that have taken place in the environment of Thailand since the first settlement in the Pleistocene; what is purely ‘natural’ and what is man-induced. The characteristics of the five main geographical regions of present day Thailand; the northern, central, northeastern, southeastern and peninsular zones are described, all of which have rather distinct cultural as well as environmental trajectories through the past.

Chapter 2 takes readers from the earliest human settlement in the country, perhaps 700,000 to 1 million years ago for which the evidence is little, inconclusive and disputed in detail, through to the establishment of permanent village settlements in the late 3rd millennium BC with the transition from the hunting and collecting wild foods to food production. The authors claim that this major cultural change took place much later in Thailand than was previously believed on the evidence from Spirit Cave and results from excavations at some open settlements such as Non Nok Tha and Ban Chiang. Here clear and concise summaries are given from evidence from key sites excavated by the authors such as Nong Nor and Khok Phanom Di near the eastern seaboard as well as brief discussion of Hoabinhian cave sites such as Sai Yok, Lang Rongrien, Tham Phi, Ongbah,
Reviews

Banyan and Steep Cliff and the Ban Kao sites. There is plenty of room for disagreement with some of the emphases placed here on sedentism versus cultivation but contrary data is given and fairly presented.

Chapter 3 to 5 represent the heart of the book taking us from the establishment of the first farming communities in the 3rd millennium BC, through the development of bronze metallurgy, placed here in the mid 2nd millennium BC, to the Iron Age and rise of more complex societies of the later 1st millennium BC which formed the social foundation onto which a superstructure of Indic civilization was grafted some one thousand years later.

There have been few topics in Thai archaeology more contentious over the past twenty years than dating and identifying the sources of bronze technology. Long ago archeologists and historians dated it to about 500 BC with an origin in the Shang and Zhou cultures of China. Then came Non Nok Tha and Ban Chiang with claims for a precocious and independent development of the technology in the 4th millennium BC—a position which the authors once subscribed to. But their excavations at Ban Na Di in the 1980s changed their understanding and subsequent work at Khok Phanom Di, Nong Nor and most recently at Ban Lum Khao and Non U-Loke on the Khorat Plateau, has persuaded them and, one must admit, most archaeologists working in Southeast Asia, that bronze metallurgy appeared in Thailand no earlier than the mid 2nd millennium BC with iron appearing about 1,000 years later. But whether the origins should be sought in the north, among the yet poorly understood bronze using societies of southern China as the present authors argue (p.217) or was it largely an independent growth by people exploiting local rich resources is still an open question.

A substantial section of Chapter 3 discusses the, still largely unpublished, results of the ‘Thai Archaeometallurgy Project’ (TAP) at copper mining and processing sites at Phu Lon near Mekong River in Nong Khai Province and in the Khao Wong Prachan Valley, Lopburi Province. At a number of locations, this joint Thai—University of Pennsylvania team identified ancient copper mines, ore processing and smelting sites which provides the most important and definitive data on early metallurgy in Southeast Asia. The dating evidence from these sites confirms the conclusions of the two authors of this volume that such activity started no earlier than the mid 2nd millennium BC.

There is now almost universal agreement among archaeologists that iron was adopted—some say locally invented—in Thailand sometimes around 500 BC; several hundred years after it came into use in both India and China and from this time one finds a huge increase in the number, size and wealth of settlements and cemeteries. Sites such as Non U-Loke, Ban Lum Khao, Ban Don Ta Phet, Tham Ongbah, Ban Wang Hi and later Ban Chiang testify to the increase in ascribed social status and the scope of trading contacts which range from Viet Nam to India. The data for this phase in Thailand is especially well set out in Chapter 5 since it incorporates much information and many photographs and drawings from the very recent—and still unfinished—research of the authors on the Khorat Plateau, some 25 km west of Phimai. Here, they were ostensibly seeking ‘The Origins of the Angkor Civilization’ and while there is still a gap in the archaeological record of several hundred years between the abandonment of the sites investigated and the expansion of Khmer culture from Tonle Sap region of Cambodia, they have brought to light new and spectacular find from later prehistory, especially the rich burials at Non U-Loke (figs 236–59). Now it seems that the authors are moving their research into Cambodia where ‘The Origins of Angkor’ surely lie, but the abandonment of their research in Thailand, partly on account of bureaucratic obstruction, must be a serious loss for the future of archaeological research into the country’s past.

In Chapter 6, ‘Early Civilizations of Thailand’ the story is continued through the Dvaravati, Khmer periods to the ‘Coming of the Thai’ (p.206) and the rise of Sukhothai in the 13th century. Here much of the research has been undertaken by Thai scholars and is originally published in Thai. For Foreign scholars the insights into the historic cultures of the past one thousand years given here from often quite new, historical, art historical and archaeological field research is a welcome bonus.

A final chapter of 'Conclusions' tries to summeries the rich data set out in the book and stresses many continuities from the prehistoric past into recent Thai culture. Ancient languages such as Mon and Khmer and, no doubt others we have no record of, have largely vanished or cling on like Nyah-Kur of the Chao Bon people of the Petchabun hills as reminders of this heritage. But despite the 'Coming of the Thai', a new traditions and an intrusive language gene flow from the past has dominated and the ancient Thai were not so different from the people of the kingdom today.

The authors modestly claim a short 'shelf-life' for their synthesis of Thai prehistory but there is little doubt that this book will be reprinted, and perhaps revised, for many years to come. I very much wish that I had it available when I was actively teaching Asian archaeology and have nodoubt that it will be on library shelves, and being read with profit, for many years.

Ian Glover

Craig A. Lockard

Dance of Life: Popular Music and Politics in Southeast Asia

Craig A. Lockard, a professor in the Department of Social Change and Development at the University of Wisconsin—Green Bay, has written, not a history or musically descriptive study of popular music in Southeast Asia, but one that focuses on the role of popular song lyrics within the cultural/political debates and negotiations of four Southeast Asian nations, Thailand, Malaysia (with Singapore), Indonesia, and the Philippines. Before we can appreciate the work, it is important to understand what it is not. Musicians and ethnomusicologists will find nothing about music. Proponents of cultural studies may also feel disappointment, for the author describes his work as "comparative history." From the Introduction it appears that the author sites himself more or less within tradition of modernist description, with acknowledgement of the help of many of the younger ethnomusicologists who focus on popular musical traditions.

Each of the five chapters is about equal in length, but Prof. Lockard actually specializes in Malaysia, for his 1991 book-length article, "Reflections of Change: Sociopolitical Commentary and Criticism in Malaysian Popular Music Since 1950," published as an issue of Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies (vol. 6–1) along with other works listed in the bibliography demonstrates a more specialized knowledge of Malaysia than is seen in the case of Thailand. I surmise that Prof. Lockard, not being a Thai specialist, does not know the Thai language to a great extent, and indeed, his study of Thailand seems to depend heavily on published sources. In a sense, he has brought together earlier works by both Thai and non-Thai scholars into one coherent package and culled from them the information needed to reach his goal, which is to explore "a preliminary examination of the relationship between various popular musics and political change and protest in several nations." (xvii) Because he has not attempted to work in the post-modernist cultural studies mode, both his language and concepts are perfectly understandable to readers from any background, being free of the jargon and neologisms characteristic of cultural studies.

Chapter one, "Popular Culture and Music in the Modern World," is a stand-alone study that explores "the meaning of popular culture and its relationship to modern society," as well as "the relationship between popular music and various aspects of society, history, culture, and politics." (1) With minimal references to Southeast Asia, he approaches this topic generally, including a review of both factual and theoretical literature pertaining to the topic. Throughout this chapter and the book as a whole are highlighted text boxes focusing on some particular (but not necessarily Southeast Asian) matter, such as the Vietnamese vong co, Nigerian popular music, Hawaiian music, etc. While many song texts are quoted, there are rather few (and rather small) photographs.

Because my own expertise lies in Thai music more than the others and because the majority of readers is likely interested in Thailand, I intend to focus on Chapter 4, "Thailand: Songs
for Life, Songs for Struggle.” Readers hoping for a more complete history of Thai popular music will be disappointed to learn that only those song types and performing groups which embrace challenging political lyrics are considered. Although the chapter follows the fortunes of certain groups, particularly Caravan and Carabao, into the context of 1990s politics, its focus is on the “politicized popular musics in Thailand... closely tied to the political turbulence of the early and mid-1970s.” (162) Granted, this is what the author set out to do, but this requires him to more or less omit any history that does not speak to political expression, and consequently the reader can legitimately ask, “how did we get here” as the author suddenly begins in the 1960s. That Thai popular music was born, at least in part, of the Western-oriented cultural politics of the period of Prime Minister Phibun Songkram in the 1940s along with an evident craze for Western ballroom dance music and jazz does not figure into this study, since those songs’ lyrics were apolitical.

Lockard narrows his study primarily to two types, phleng luk thung (spelled here as luk-toong and meaning literally “children of the fields”) and the phleng phuachiwit (“songs for life”) of Caravan and Carabao, the latter born out of the political turbulence of the 1960s and 1970s. Because these songs speak for the common people, express their anger and frustration, and challenge an establishment which is seen as corrupt and exploitative, they are clearly political, having characteristics of both American country music and 1960s “folk” music. The author’s emphasis is on history, individual artists, and the meanings of texts, all based on translations. Readers hoping for some understanding of the musical characteristics of these songs will be disappointed, for the author is only interested in political expression which, by the way, happens to be embeded in song.

On the one hand I appreciate the author’s straight-forward prose and avoidance of theoretically-informed obsfuscation. On the other I have a nagging feeling that much of this information and analysis is dated. In the case of Thailand, it is also mostly secondary. Perhaps because of their political implications, the phleng luk thung and phleng phuachiwit have garnered virtually all of the attention paid by scholars to Thai popular musics thus far. Lockard’s chapter on Thailand breaks no new ground here but rather summarizes previous work. It is more difficult for me to say whether this statement applies to the other countries covered, but I am reasonably assured that he speaks with greater authority in the case of Malaysia, where he is no doubt a pioneer.

Lockard has little to say about Thai classical music, but what he does write suggests a lack of experience in this area. On p. 178 he quotes David Morton, formerly of the Univ. of California, Los Angeles, as if his commentary were current. When Morton did his research in the 1960s Thai music was experiencing great hardship and was little noticed, but the music has undergone a remarkable renaissance since then and Dr. Morton has done no further work since at least 1970. Lockard asserts that in the 1990s “classical music... is confined largely to little-watch television specials and tourist hotels, ...” While it is not popular in the sense of “popular music,” Thai classical music is stronger today than at anytime probably since the 1930s, being taught and performed actively in most schools, colleges, and universities.

For scholars having a post-modernist bent, this book will be a letdown. While it explores the intersection of music and politics, it does so in a tame, descriptive fashion. The prose is not compelling, largely because it is both very detailed and describes (at least in the case of Thailand) material that is no longer very contemporary—a kind of “old news.” Lockard does not attempt to interpret or deconstruct his material in Marxist, feminist, or globalized terms. On the other hand, such interpretations can quickly go out of fashion and appear idiosyncratic a few years later. In addition (and perhaps thankfully), there is no hand-wringing about overcoming an ethnocentric “outsider” viewpoint in order to “empower” Southeast Asians to speak for themselves as “insiders.” Lockard simply does the job he set out to do, and that is to study the political implications of Southeast Asian popular song texts. With this in mind I would rate the book as at least valuable for its scope and also as an excellent summary of our knowledge of these matters to this point in time.

Terry E. Miller
Michael Vickery  
_Society, Economics, and Politics in pre-Angkor Cambodia: the 7th-8th Centuries._  

This masterful work is the fruit of over twenty years of sustained research. Its rigorous analyses and its closely-argued, often iconoclastic findings will dramatically alter the landscape of Cambodian studies.

With the exception of Helen Jacob, whose work Vickery generously acknowledges, scholars of Cambodia have seen little value in examining the 134 Khmer-language inscriptions, 43 of them dated, that have come down to us so far from seventh and eighth century Cambodia. Instead, earlier scholars tended to privilege inscriptions written in Sanskrit, viewing the Khmer language corpus as subordinate to the elitist orientation that the scholars, led by George Credes, favored. As philologists working in the high colonial era, or soon afterwards, most of these scholars had little interest in studying Cambodia's social history _per se_. They were unconcerned with economics and social issues, or with conflict-oriented explanations. Instead, most of them immersed themselves in linguistic and chronological minutae and in mapping the evolution of artistic styles.

Vickery is a skilled philologist, trained as an historian. Throughout his long career, he has been drawn toward Marxian explanatory frameworks, towards history of _la longue durée_, and toward the notion of an Asiatic Mode of Production, or AMP, first formulated by Marx himself, writing about India, in the 1850s. Twentieth century anthropologists have refined Marx's ideas; Soviet once have applied them to Angkor, and Vickery has found the AMP fruitful in explaining the interactions between Cambodian state and society, between economics and politics, and among the people of pre-Angkorean Cambodia.

In his "Introduction" (pp. 1–32) Vickery defends his approach, outlines his views about the AMP, and provides a useful "narrative summary of the history of pre-Angkor Cambodia" (17–30) that should form the temporal framework of later studies.

Chapter 2, "Pre-Angkor Cambodia: the Historiographical Situation" (33–60) makes a case for differentiating the pre-Angkorean period from the Angkorean period that followed. Vickery cites the paucity of inscriptions from the late eighth and most of the ninth centuries; linguistic differences between inscriptions from the two periods; and the shift in political power from south central to northwestern Cambodia that occurred in the ninth century.

In Chapter 3, "Pre- and Proto-Historic Background" (pp. 61–82) Vickery extends his earlier arguments, laying the ground work for a longer chapter, "The pre-Angkor Inscriptions" (pp. 88–138) which examines the principal sources for the book, linguistically (pp. 83–99) by structure (pp. 95–99) and by what Vickery perceives as eighteen distinct regional groups (pp. 99–138). He points out wide gaps among the dated inscriptions, with only one (dated AD 803) falling between AD 175 and AD 877.

The remainder of the book is an in-depth study of pre-Angkorean Cambodia. Although Vickery might not relish the compliment, his book is the most rewarding synoptic treatment of early Cambodian history since L.P. Briggs' magisterial _The Ancient Khmer Empire_, published almost fifty years ago. Vickery, to be sure, commands a wider range of sources and has a different theoretical agenda, but he shares with Briggs the virtues of independent-mindedness, patience, and a devotion to detail. These virtues pay off page after page of this engrossing book.

In Chapter 5, "The Cult Component" Vickery argues that an evolution (not the same as an "advance") took place in Cambodian religious beliefs in the pre-Angkorean era, but that strong element of continuity mitigated against the phenomenon of "Indianization. In Chapter 6, "Divisions of the Population" (pp. 155–255) Vickery provides helpful information about the connective layers of society that fell between the kings and princes on the one hand and full time dependents (wrongly translated, Vickery suggests, as "slaves") on the other (see especially p. 273, 439–440). The discussion of _pon_ and _mraten_ , cult officiants identified by Vickery in an earlier work, and other rank titles, largely ignored by earlier scholars, shows the value of...
the Khmer language inscriptions when they are excavated with empathy and care and when recent ethnographic data is used to clarify apparent but still obscure patterns of kinship, patronages and descent.

Vickery opens Chapter 7 “Social Structure and Economy” (pp. 257–320) with the assertion that Cambodia between the seventh and thirteenth centuries “appears as the prototypical inland agrarian state, an example of the Asiatic Mode of Production in a very nearly pure form”. In the book’s closing chapter, “Political Structure, Kingship and the State” (pp. 321–415) he notes that scholars of Cambodia (and of Southeast Asia generally) have shied away from discussing about early state formation, even though such questions are crucial in understanding Cambodia’s progression from a coastal trading polity (“Funan”) through inland agricultural chiefdoms (“Chenla”). The chapter attempts to straighten out the confused (and confusing) chronology of pre-Angkorean “kings” before concentrating on the career of the man later known as Jayavarman II, the so-called “founder” of Angkor. These closely argued pages are filled with exciting apercus and evidence of Vickery’s impression command of his sources.

The book closes (pp. 405–408) less dramatically than I would have liked, without summarizing the territory it has traversed, but indicating clearly that Jayavarman II’s links to the devaraja, or “supreme deity of the realm” were in the same pattern as claims by earlier cult officiants to be linked to local deities. Jayavarman II was also assiduous in linking himself to a glorious, inaccessible past, a practice that continued throughout Cambodian history, at least until the 1990s.

No review of this length can do justice to Vickery’s book, and in closing I wish him good health and a long life, not only as a friend of over thirty years’ standing but also because I can imagine no one better equipped than he to extend his insights and analyses into the Angkorean era, where they are sorely needed.

It is a shame that academic culture at the end of the twentieth century, at least as far as Southeast Asia is concerned, is inhospitable to the kind of grand scholarship on display in this handsomely produced, absorbing volume.

Vickery’s book fills an important lacuna, and sets a daunting agenda for scholars in the future. Before long, its effects will “trickle down” into guide-books and popularization that are available to tourists. It is hoped that its findings will also reach Cambodian students at the secondary and tertiary level, not only so that the descendants of “Funan” and “Chenla” can learn that these half-mythical polities were full of real people but also that Cambodians themselves can continue to explore their country’s past.

David Chandler

Penny Van Esterik, editor
Women of Southeast Asia

This is a reprint of Women of Southeast Asia that first appeared in 1982. Changes for this edition include a new preface by Penny Van Esterik and an addendum to the bibliography. The original papers are reprinted without revisions. The volume begins with Van Esterik’s introduction followed by three papers on Thailand (Kirsch, J. Van Esterik, P. Van Esterik), one each on Malaysia and Java (Laderman, Hull), and two papers on the Philippines (Szanton, Neher), and one general comparative essay (Winzeler). The volume ends with P. Van Esterik’s appendix on future research questions.

In the new preface, Van Esterik briefly discusses current literature on gender in Southeast Asia and identifies four new themes: indigenous scholarship and activism; health, nutrition, fertility, and sexuality; women in development; and Southeast Asian women outside Southeast Asia (xi–xiii). She goes on to suggest two future directions for research: the joining of research with activism and advocacy work and more emphasis on indigenous feminisms (xiii–xiv). These serve to update the original themes and issues and their associated research questions.
Reviewing a reprinted volume is an awkward task. Do you take the author(s) to task for not raising issues that are of current interest or using outdated analytical frameworks? This seems patently unfair. On the other hand, it does not make sense to re-review the book since that was done when it was first published (see Marjorie Muecke, *Journal of Asian Studies* 44(1):252-254 [November 1984] and Leslie O’Brien, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 16(1): 159-160 [March 1985]). Rather than re-reviewing the volume, I attempt to place it in its larger theoretical and historical context.

*Women of Southeast Asia* is clearly a product of its time. Its focus is on women rather than on gender or gender relations (something Van Esterik recognizes in her new preface, ix). The issue is to determine the validity of the cliché that women in Southeast Asia have relatively high status, at least compared to that of women in South and East Asia. Evidence for women’s status comes from their access to political power, economic positions, and their perceived autonomy as individuals making decisions about their lives. These concerns all come from a modern, rational, and western perspective on what it is to be human and to be equal. While eurocentric, since it defines the issues in terms of western concerns, there is something both reforming and optimistic about this endeavor. This has a long history in American anthropology—one of Margaret Mead’s goals was to see the range of possibilities in other cultures interpreted from her understandings of the issues and use them to reform American culture (see Mead’s *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* [New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963]). As with Mead’s work, we learn how the authors interpret and analyze what they are seeing, rather than attempting to discover how people within the culture or society understand and make sense of their world.

The concern for rectifying past inequalities, reform, and activism reappears in the new preface. The bibliographic addendum also highlights works relevant to these issues—prostitution, women’s participation in the work place, both industrial and agricultural, and development. Most surprisingly, given Van Esterik’s applied perspective, there is no discussion of the research about women and AIDS, although this may be subsumed under the women’s health topic. What gets left out is any discussion of other approaches to understanding gender in Southeast Asia. The reformist stance has strong roots in women’s studies but there is more to women’s studies than this. While Atkinson’s and Errington’s edited volume *Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990] is mentioned in passing in the new preface (ix) and a number of the articles show up in the bibliography, Van Esterik does not address their argument, that “Before analogies to the conditions of women in the West are sought, local constructions of gender relations demand understanding on their own terms” (Atkinson and Errington, Preface, viii). Their approach stand in stark contrast to Van Esterik’s and needs to be addressed. A longer, more analytic preface, placing the volume in its historical context and situating its arguments in the current theoretical context would have strengthened the volume.

With a reprint, one is concerned with whether or not the volume of enough value to warrant reprinting. While I am ultimately unsympathetic to the volume’s perspective, I found rereading and rethinking these issues worthwhile. As a Thai specialist the papers by Kirsch, J. Van Esterik, and P. Van Esterik are important arguments about gender in Thailand. The volume as a whole represents one type of women’s studies and, as such, is of general historical and theoretical interest to scholars of Southeast Asia and women’s studies.

Nicola Tannenbaum


This impressive book is essentially a collection of very fine photographs depicting every one of the 358 items in a collection of ceramics put together by the two Japanese authors, but mainly by Noriki Shimazu. Despite the title, the emphasis is very much on ceramics found in
Thailand. The photographs have been arranged and briefly described by Dawn Rooney, though her major contribution to the book is the writing of an introduction which covers 51 pages. "Introduction" is surely too miserly a word to describe this very well written summary of our knowledge of the ceramics of Thailand. It is a scholarly, fact filled account of the present state of knowledge, and should be studied carefully by anybody seeking a concise but admirably comprehensive and up to date coverage of the subject.

The two Japanese authors stress the fact that their collection is the result of much travelling and study of ceramics and kiln sites over a period of over twenty years. However, it is difficult not to see this book as the latest of a handful of books on private collections, typically with superb illustrations of wares in fine condition, which owe their origin and much of their success to the appearance of a spate of Thai ceramics from grave diggings. The wares dug up surprised and delighted enthusiasts in a period of about six years following the discovery in the mid 1980s of hitherto unknown and undreamed of quantities of Thai ceramics buried in the hilly western border areas of Thailand.

Poor local farmers were locating and digging up graves of little known hill tribesmen which had remained undisturbed for perhaps 4 – 600 years, but which yielded a rich booty of ceramics buried with the dead. This digging began with the accidental discovery by a farmer near Tak of a remarkable ceramic piece which was sold to a dealer from Chiang Mai who was subsequently active in acquiring many other dug up pieces for the Osotspa collection. From Tak and Doi Musoe, on the way to Mae Sot on the Myanmar border, the digging spread along the western hills south to Umphang and north towards Om Koi and beyond. Thousands of pieces were unearthed in uncontrolled, clandestine diggings, to the chagrin of the Thai Fine Arts Department but to the delight of collectors, diggers and a chain of middlemen (and women).

The pieces dug up were very mixed, and included Chinese celadon and blue and white imports, but interest focussed mainly on an astonishing variety and range of Thai ceramics from kilns at Sukhothai, Si Satchanalai, San Kamphaeng, Wang Nua, Kalong and elsewhere, and exciting new material from Myanmar. These finds included items of an outstanding quality rarely if ever seen before, including plates and other items in pristine condition from kilns such as Kalong where not much more than fragments and kiln wasters had been known before.

The enormous quantity of new high quality Thai ceramics was unearthed in stages as digging spread to new areas. Five to six years of abundant supply were followed, after 1990, by a decline to the present very low trickle, with the emphasis then returning to the traditional scavenging round kiln sites and to pieces retrieved from sunken ships. The first outstanding items fetched high prices. Subsequently, in 1987–1990, prices sagged a little but for the better items remained firm because the gold-rush atmosphere and general excitement generated by the discoveries brought many new enthusiastic buyers into the market, and thus increased the demand. Excitement was fuelled by the high quality of many of the items, by the discovery of hitherto virtually unknown Burmese green and white wares, and by the range of new designs from Kalong in particular. The finds attracted attention outside Thailand, particularly among a growing body of discerning Japanese collectors able to afford the prices commanded by the best pieces.

Every collection, big or small, normally reflects the personal tastes of the person or persons who put it together. Every piece offered to the collector, and then either acquired or rejected, reinforces that inevitably personal viewpoint expressed by the collection itself. That said, it would seem churlish, and even irrelevant, to complain that a particular type of ceramic, or kiln, was either under or over-represented. Over-represented in what sense? The collector acquired what attracted him and gave him pleasure, and now he publishes his collection in order, one assumes, to share that pleasure and his acquired knowledge with the reader. Let us give thanks for that.

In The Beauty Of Fired Clay the viewpoint of the collectors is inevitably Japanese: Thai ceramics are seen through Japanese eyes, and coloured by the traditional love of many Japanese of simplicity and elegance, including rustic simplicity and elegance. The book is also influenced by Japanese interest in the tea
ceremony which accounts for the inclusion of a section entitled "Si Satchanalai wares: bowls and the tea ceremony in Japan." This ceremony is described in detail in the Introduction, which explains why some Thai wares were aesthetically suited to it, with the prize going to a Si Satchanalai celadon bowl of lotus pod shape and 14.5 cm in diameter, but it is not clear from the text if Thai wares were exported to Japan for this purpose (the tea ceremony was at its height in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) or if the authors of the book are merely showing us how some Thai wares are aesthetically and practically appropriate.

If the viewpoint of the two collectors responsible for this collection is Japanese, it is balanced and supplemented by the lengthy and informative introduction to the book written by Dawn Rooney. The authors and publishers were fortunate in obtaining the services of this well known art historian who has already contributed much to our knowledge of, and attitudes to, south-east Asian ceramics. Dawn Rooney’s writing reflects her careful, painstaking, thorough scholarship, often enlivened by a refreshingly innovative viewpoint which sheds new light on what she is examining. For evidence of all this one has only to examine the substantial introduction to this book. Where else can we find, in a single publication, such detailed information on kiln areas, on kiln types, on stacking methods and other technical aspects? Numerous maps are included, including detailed maps of kiln sites, and these are clearly drawn, though they break the first rule of map making, namely that every map should have a scale!

Particularly welcome are the small reproductions in the introduction of a selection of motifs found incised or painted on the wares, such as floral designs, geometric motifs, borders, fish and aquatic plants, chakra (solar whorls), fish scale patterns and conch motifs, phoenixes, dragons, birds and even the occasional human. It requires numerous examples, which can be taken from shards, to illustrate the extraordinary richness and variety of these wares and the playful inventiveness of the Thai potter. One would have liked the illustrations grouped here to have been larger and in colour rather then in black and white, and possibly even more numerous, but one suspects that the author of the introduction was constrained by her publishers and by considerations of cost to include less than she would have wished.

One of the great attractions of most Thai ceramics is not only the variety of designs used but the fact that almost every individual plate or bowl is slightly different, reflecting the whims of the potter. This is in strong contrast to the painstaking similarity of much of Chinese blue and white where a design would be very exactly reproduced on item after item, sometimes by a team of decorators each adding a few touches, to give an early example of mass production methods. The seemingly endless variety of design of Thai ceramics is shown conspicuously in the Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai fish plates, often giving the impression that the work was executed rapidly, with a fine careless flourish, so that we feel we can recapture, hundreds of years later, the creative joy of the potter. Doubtless we all appreciate Thai ceramics in a slightly different, personal way. In trying to summarise her own feelings as to why she finds Thai ceramics attractive, Dawn Rooney says that the South East Asian pots functioned as utilitarian and domestic vessels, and it is the earthy qualities of the clay and glaze used that are appreciated today. Their sturdiness, she says, has an innate appeal because it takes the wares away from the pursuit of technical refinement and links them with the basic materials of clay and water: the colours are connected with the earth and the natural colour of iron, with no attempt being made to disguise these earthy features.

In contrast to the introduction, the short captions to the excellent photographs give relatively little information. What sort of information should be included in a caption to a photograph, and how long should the caption be? Dawn Rooney, who wrote the captions as well as the long introduction, seems to take the view that since a colour photograph is given the reader it is not always necessary to describe what he can see for himself. The celadon glazes are almost all described simply as "green", on the stated grounds that the type of green can be seen from the photograph, but the photographs show many different, sometimes strikingly different, green glazes. One wonders if we cannot expect these variations to be reflected in
the description. Thai celadons vary from brownish green to olive green, through a range of mid-greens to a distinctive blue green and even to a superb green-blue colour—the most delightful of all to many enthusiasts—known in Thai as “si fa” (sometimes translated as sky blue). In Thailand a bluish celadon will often fetch many times the price of an otherwise comparable green one. It seems incomprehensible that those who made this collection, and whoever wrote the captions, did not respond to these different colours. Is this another case of a possibly Japanese viewpoint? In Japanese the word “aio” is used to describe both blue and green objects, sometimes apparently indiscriminately. Colour perceptions vary between persons, and influence individual tastes and preferences ... and collections!

A more general observation on the captions might be to point out that a large number of items photographed bear the simple dating “14 to 16 century”. This traditional, cautious view of dating prompts the question in the reader: “after all the recent research carried out can we not do better and be more precise than that?” At Si Satchanalai there is a fairly agreed succession now of different styles of product and of different clays used, with the coarse dark gray clays used early on for a range of products from jarlets to plates to roof ornaments being replaced later by better clays, including the characteristic gray-white clay with small dark specks mined from the other side of the River Yom. It would be helpful if the photographic captions could try to differentiate more between earlier and later pieces. Dawn Rooney in the introduction summarises recent thinking when she points out that the traditional Thai view that the production at Si Satchanalai was greatest in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and then stopped suddenly with the Burmese invasion has now been challenged. Some recent researchers feel that the period of production was much longer than has been thought, starting earlier, probably at the beginning of the thirteenth century (if not earlier), and continuing later, even after the arrival of the Burmese was supposed to have stopped production in the sixteenth century.

By arranging the over 350 items in the collection into sections, Dawn Rooney has in effect set up and used a classification system. Systems of classification have always been a challenge to the scientist and research worker. To be useful a classification should be both practical and easy to understand: it must separate into groups items having some important characteristic in common, but to do this one has to define the relative importance of the different criteria taken into account. What takes precedence? Is it the shape and use of the vessel, or the type of clay, or the type and colour of the glaze, or the kiln where the item was made? A logical classification system should not be ambiguous by allowing a particular item to fall into more than one subdivision, and it is necessary to define the criteria used to subdivide at different levels of classification, starting from the highest.

In this book the subdivisions used to classify the collection might be criticised by the purist because they are not mutually exclusive. For example, the extensive group “Si Satchanalai wares: covered boxes”, covering 16 pages and 43 items, in fact overlaps with several other groups defined not by their shape and purpose, as are “covered boxes,” but by their area of origin and their glaze. Individual covered boxes included here could equally logically have been grouped under “Si Satchanalai wares: underglaze iron-decorated” (28 boxes) or “Si Satchanalai wares: white-glazed” (3 boxes), or “Si Satchanalai wares: brown-glazed” (2 boxes) or “Si Satchanalai wares: brown and white” (10 boxes). The classifier’s difficulties are shown by the fact that some boxes have more than one glaze, e.g. the lid or the knob has a different glaze from the body. Classifying ceramics thus usually entails some compromises in order to make the result not too hard to understand and not too complicated, and the classification adopted here is acceptable in these respects.

Covered boxes, which occupy a large part of the collection, have long appealed to collectors because of their neatness and variety, but they are not particularly Thai in the sense that they were typically exported, to Indonesia and elsewhere, where they are now recovered from graves. They are not much found in Thailand except round the kilns where they were produced. Thus they seem to have had limited appeal at the time of their production to Thai.
people themselves. Unlike so much else from the Si Satchanalai kilns, covered boxes have hardly ever been found in the extensive Thai grave diggings. In fact, most covered boxes in collections were obtained from the countries outside Thailand to which they were exported, including Indonesia, and before the gold rush of ceramics from the grave diggings in Western Thailand began.

The grouping of the collection into 34 sections is based mainly on the area of production subdivided according to glaze and shape. “Early Si Satchanalai wares” form a small group (8 items) distinguished by their coarse, dark gray clay, though this fact is not referred to in the very short captions. The remaining Si Satchanalai pieces are divided into no less than 17 sections, and form the bulk of the collection (150 items, or over 40% of the total). First is a section of underglaze iron decorated wares with green glaze, these being the relatively uncommon and very desirable celadons with underglaze iron painting (5 items). Next are six sections of the more typical green glazed celadon wares, where the decorations are incised and not painted, subdivided into plates, bowls, stem bowls, jars, bottles, and kendis and ewers. The next Si Satchanalai section includes underglaze iron decorated items, but the short captions to all the ten items in this section omit any description whatsoever of the glaze: it is not a celadon (if it were the items would have gone into an earlier section) and is described in the introduction as “a transparent clear glaze”, the rest of the description in the introduction being concerned with the often elaborate underglaze decorations, featuring fish in great variety, floral and geometric designs.

The remaining ten Si Satchanalai sections are subdivided according to glaze (marbled, white glazed, brown glazed, and brown and white, the latter traditionally highly prized by Thai collectors), and according to shape (human figures, animal figures, covered boxes, and underglaze iron-decorated jarlets), with a final section called “Bowls and the tea ceremony in Japan” which lumps together bowls of many types presumably because they are of a suitable size for the tea ceremony.

The Si Satchanalai wares are followed by four sections on the distinctive products of the kilns at old Sukhothai. The first section shows three fine, boldly shaped jars, unglazed but with traces of fly ash glaze (characteristically mainly present on the side of the jar nearest the firebox). The second section shows 16 plates, 13 of them depicting fish, the best known type of Sukhothai plate. Most are relatively restrained examples with a fish in the centre but little or no decoration in the cavetto. Much blacker, more exuberant examples exist, and this is one section this reviewer would have liked to see expanded, possibly at the expense of some of the numerous covered bowls, but chacun son gout. The next section deals with Sukhothai bowls, often similar to the plates in their decoration but in this selection including more floral designs and seven bowls with attractive dark decoration featuring solar whorls in the centre, a striking and typically Sukhothai motif.

The distinctive characteristics of Sukhothai pieces, attractive for their lack of sophistication, include the spur marks in the centre of most plates and bowls, the white inclusions in the brown clay and the way the slip and glaze are carelessly applied to the piece, leaving irregular traces on the foot and base, suggesting hasty work. The way the underglaze design is painted on reinforces the impression of haste. The seeming lack of precision and the spontaneity and infinite variety of the design give these rustic pieces an immense appeal. These characteristics and appeal would have come over even more strongly if the book had included more photographs of the underside of the plates and bowls.

Four sections cover northern Thai wares, divided into Kalong, Wang Nua, San Kamphaeng and Phan. The distinctive, mostly very thinly and elegantly potted Kalong wares cover an astonishing range and are well known as being very popular with collectors outside Thailand as well as within the kingdom, including Japanese collectors. It is hardly surprising to find them fairly well represented here, though the variety and range of Kalong wares is such that it would need a much fuller treatment to do them justice. The first plate depicts the best known design, a bold pattern depicting black shapes here described as “abstract birds or bats”, though commonly described elsewhere as either crows or flowers.
depending on the imagination of the viewer. Item 288 is a tubular support, short and squat. Tubular supports, especially those from Kalong and Si Satchanalai, are often (as here) covered with layers of glaze from repeated firings, and form beautiful and fascinating objects in their own right, but neglected so far by many traditional collectors.

In contrast to the Japanese viewpoint expressed in “The beauty of fired clay” is the dominantly traditional Thai viewpoint expressed in a book covering another important collection, the Osotspa collection. This book, which has the Thai text accompanied by an English text, also shows a very large number of important pieces, many of them, like those in the Honda collection, unearthed by the recent grave diggings referred to above which did so much to arouse a new fever of interest in Thai ceramics. Like the Honda book, the photographs are of very high quality, and again like the Honda book, the publication benefitted from an outside, expatriate input, in this case the editorial contributions of Mrs. Ginny di Crocco, well known to members of the Siam Society. It is instructive to compare these two excellent books, both recent and both striving to give information to the collector in need of it.

The Osotspa book, Ceramic art in Thailand, published in December 1996, is the second edition. The introduction to the first edition said that “a partial purpose of this book is to provide a means of self study”. An additional aim, emphasised in the preface to the second edition, was to “stimulate pride in the Thai national identity, patriotism and the protection of the priceless Thai heritage”.

The Osotspa illustrations are of a high standard. Some of them (such as Fig 4 of an early incised Ban Chiang blackware, and Fig 41 of dark-glazed tall Si Satchanalai bottles) are outstanding. They are presented in a varied manner, with different backgrounds and in different sizes to give variety. Numerous kiln photos are included.

In general, the Osotspa book succeeds in its aim of being a handbook for self study, particularly for Thai readers. Despite the emphasis in the introduction on the stated aim of stimulating interest in the Thai national identity and Thai heritage, much space and many illustrations are devoted to non-Thai wares which were imported at some stage, mostly from China but also from Vietnam, Burma and even Europe (Holland, Belgium, Scotland and England). At the end of the book are two supplements. A short supplement (four pages) gives very valuable illustrations of the bases of 18 dishes, an important diagnostic feature. A much longer supplement (60 pages) is entitled “illustrated catalogue of ancient ceramics found in Thailand” and gives pictures of 100 items of which 49 are from Thailand, four from Europe and almost all the rest from China, thus reflecting—as every collection does—the tastes and interests of those who put it together.

The question of nomenclature has long concerned scholars. In a chapter in the Osotspa book listing production centres, “Sukhothai wares” are said to come from two kiln sites, Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai, the latter being correctly described as “the largest industrial site for the production of Sukhothai wares”. The term “Sukhothai” is thus used, in this publication and elsewhere, in an ambiguous way since it refers some times to both areas (Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai) and some times to only the smaller area of kilns just outside the walls of Sukhothai old town. In some publications and catalogues further confusion is caused by the use of the term “Sukhothai period” covering a range of sites thought broadly contemporary with Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai. A careful distinction is desirable between the terms Sukhothai, for wares from Sukhothai old town only, and Si Satchanalai, for those from Ban Kot Noi and Pa Yang.

A considerable section of the Osotspa book, including 9 illustrations devoted to Bencharong wares and 18 devoted to Lai Nam Thong and other imports, is devoted to Chinese ceramics of a later period imported into Thailand, mainly in the nineteenth century. These imports are said to have been very popular with the Thai nobility of the period, though these very ornate, colourful porcelain wares are of less interest today. Imports from China are not included in the Honda book. It is difficult to see how the nineteenth century Bencharong imports in particular can be considered to add much to the “priceless Thai heritage” mentioned in the introduction, but again, every collection must
reflect the interests of the compiler, and who are we to grumble?

The two page "selected bibliography" in the Osotspa book is selective to the point of being so short it leaves out much of importance: there is conspicuously no mention of books by Dawn Rooney (on Khmer ceramics), by John Shaw (on Thai ceramics, available in both Thai and English versions, and on northern Thai ceramics), or the work of Joyce White (on Ban Chiang) or Don Hein (on Si Satchanalai)—all of them non-Thais—though space is found for minor articles by Thai researchers and by the Thai Fine Arts Department. The very much fuller bibliography included in The Beauty of Fired Clay is, in contrast, an excellent example of thorough scholarship of very great value to anybody seriously interested in the relevant literature.

A word about fakes. Fakes can be defined as copies made with the intention to deceive. Like the poor, they are always with us. The flood of genuine ceramics in recent years has stimulated its own crop of increasingly ingenious fakes, especially of Burmese green and white, genuine examples of which are in very strong demand and fetch high prices. Most collectors and experts, even the most experienced, have been deceived by the faker at one time or another: it is almost a part of learning about ceramics, and a battle of wits as fakers become ever more ingenious. One suspects that some fakers get great satisfaction from deceiving the so-called expert, sometimes using samples of the correct clay from the original clay production sites, sometimes taking genuine old plates or bowls without decoration, and adding a design, glazing and refiring, as was done with initial success to undecorated San Kamphaeng plates which found themselves with an added fish decoration and a new glaze. Some fakes have been deliberately broken and then repaired to add authenticity. The fact that an item is dug up means little: it might have been buried last week. Some fakes are superficially more attractive than the originals which inspired them. Caveat emptor, buyer beware!

Fortunately collectors and experts usually develop a sixth sense and a feel for the genuine article, shown in the two major collections discussed above. Only one or two items in the Beauty of Fired Clay book have been treated with reserve by Dawn Rooney, as indicated by the phrase "authenticated by the owner" in the caption. Almost all the items in the Osotspa collection are above suspicion except possibly the showiest of them all, the large Khmer elephant on the cover, which has not convinced everybody. The battle of wits between expert and faker is by no means over.

To sum up, The Beauty of Fired Clay is a valuable addition to a long line of ceramic books, catalogues and articles on Thai ceramics. It combines the comprehensive scholarship of the introduction with a more abundant number of fine photographs than almost any comparable publication. Ever since he became an enthusiastic student of Thai ceramics some dozen years ago, this reviewer has fantasized about producing that ideal book on Thai ceramics many of us dream about in our idle moments: balanced, comprehensive, and very copiously illustrated. Now that "The Beauty of Fired Clay" has come out, that pipe-dream of a task seems a little less necessary.

Peter M. Ahn

(Note on author)

Professor Ahn is a British soil scientist who worked all his life on tropical soils. He is the author of many publications, including three books, the latest of which "Tropical soils and fertiliser use" is published by Longmans in their Intermediate Tropical Agriculture series. He came to work in Thailand in 1987. In 1990 he decided he did not have enough time both to work and study Thai ceramics—so of course he gave up work, retired, and has followed his interests in ceramics ever since.

John Guy

Woven Cargoes: Indian Textiles in the East

In this splendid book, John Guy, who has already proved the brilliance and profundity of his scholarship in the field of Southeast Asian ceramics, turns his attention to the trade in Indian textiles with the countries to the east of India. The main premise of his argument is that the
huge appetite for spices, aromatic woods, resin and gold generated in the Mediterranean and in Han China helped successively in the formation of states in Southeast Asia, in the spread of Islam and the four hundred years of European involvement in Asia, and that in all these developments Indian textiles feature as the principal trading commodity, because textiles have always played, as they still play today, a central role in the ceremonial, ritual and social life of most Southeast and East Asian societies. The boldness of these generalizations is matched by the immense geographical and chronological span of the book’s subject-matter, which ranges from ninth-century fragments found in the Red Sea and Lower Egypt to the sarasa still produced at the end of the twentieth century for the Japanese market.

One difficulty inherent in any study of the history of textiles, at least in Asia, is, as Guy observes, that the principal sources are the textiles themselves. These not only have a relatively poor survival rate, but are often difficult to date, while it is seldom possible to identify textiles precisely from the rare written descriptions and representations in painting and sculpture. However, Guy’s encyclopaedic knowledge of the technology of Indian textile production and of the history of trade in the Indian Ocean, Southeast and East Asia more than compensates for these limitations of his sources.

Most of the textiles produced in India for the Southeast and East Asian markets were the so-called ‘painted cottons’, consisting of plain woven cloths decorated either by mordant- or resist-dyeing or a combination of the two. He uses van Rheede’s remarkable account of the painting of chintz on the Coromandel Coast, written in 1688 to describe the complex processes of dyeing and double-dyeing needed to produce certain colours, and gives his own detailed description of the magnificent ikat silk cloths known as patola that were produced in Gujarat, chiefly for the Indonesian market. He then goes on to discuss the mechanisms of the trade in the Middle East and Southeast Asia and observes, as did Tom Pires, that invaluable source of information on Asian trade, almost five hundred years ago, that Indian cloths traded to the Middle East and to Southeast Asia belonged to a single continuum in which Gujarati textiles provided a link between the two regions, a link strengthened by the hajj and by the insatiable demand throughout the Middle East and the Mediterranean for the spices of eastern Indonesia. He draws fascinating parallels in West Indian art between textile designs, manuscript painting and decorative stonework and traces the influence of patola designs on the floral patterns used on ikat cloths in Indonesia from the geringsing double ikat of Tenganana in Bali to the East Sumbanese hinggi.

There follows a survey of the countries with which Indian textiles have been traded through the ages. After a brief glance at Pagan, which obtained most of its prestige textiles from nearby Bengal, and Angkor, where Indian textiles enjoyed a similarly high status, Guy looks at Melaka, which became the “axial point through which Indian textiles were disseminated in Southeast Asian and East Asian trading networks” (p. 66), at Sumatra, where there was a huge demand for Indian cloths for dress and for a variety of social, ceremonial and ritual uses among both the cosmopolitan coastal Malays and the people of the interior such as the Bataks, at Java, where gift lists on ninth-century inscriptions and Hindu and Buddhist sculpture provide valuable evidence; and at other islands in the Indonesian archipelago.

Guy gives much fascinating and recondite information on the dodot, produced on the Coromandel Coast for the Javanese nobility, the antakusuma, to which talismanic and supernatural protective powers were attributed, the maa’ ceremonial banners of Toraja, the earliest of which dates back to c. 1430 and which feature in Toraja creation myths (one spectacular example is illustrated on p. 102), the large cotton chintz cloths known as palampore, also from the Coromandel Coast, that first appeared in Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century and were used as coverlets and hangings, and the kalamkari hand-painted, resist- and mordant-dyed cotton textiles painted on both sides that were exported all over Southeast Asia. He devotes a chapter to the splendid ‘cloths in the fashion of Siam’ that were specially produced for wear at the Thai court and for use as royal gifts and for the adornment of Buddhist monasteries, including
the pha nung, which he describes in considerable
detail. Guy recounts the gradual decline of the
important Thai market, first in the face of
competition from Chinese silks, then as a result
of the fashion among Thai noble ladies for
weaving their own clothes and of the adoption
of elements of European dress at court from the
time of King Mongkut, and maintains that this
was one of the factors that led to the appearance
of the mass-produced, mud-resist, block-painted
Indian fabrics known as saudagiri, which were
superseded in turn by machine-printed textiles.

After a brief account of the limited export
trade of Indian textiles to China, the book
concludes with an extended description of the
more substantial Japan trade. In his account of
the export of Indian textiles to Japan before the
seventeenth century, Guy indulges in some
interesting speculations. He wonders, for
instance, whether Indian painted cloths may have
been among the goods traded between Thailand
and Japan, and whether they may have been
employed in addition to Chinese cloths for
making the robes of Zen Buddhist priests and the
costumes of the Noh theatre. Many of the
examples that he cites for this period are of
garments made of Indian cloth that were worn
by foreigners in Japan, but were not made
specifically for the Japanese market, notably the
voluminous Portuguese bombachas that figure
so prominently and picturesquely on
namban
screens, or of textiles that were used for
ecclesiastical vestments, altar cloths and other
objects by the Catholic missions in Japan, notably
the Jesuits. Again, some of the Indian textiles
that came into Japan in this early period were not
strictly speaking trade goods but cloths given by
foreigners as gifts to shoguns and daimyo,
although Guy also points out that they did
exchange such goods among themselves, as, for
example, the ‘hundred Indian gowns richly
wrought’ which the Tokugawa shogun Hiderada
gave to his son Iemitsu in Kyoto in 1626.

Guy is on surer ground when he traces the
fascinating story of the use of Indian sarasa in
Japan for all manner of esoteric purposes,
including the lining of samurai armour, tea­
caddy pouches, book bindings, seal containers
and other treasured objects or meibitsu, the
textiles themselves often acquiring in the process
the status of meibitsu-gire or famed fabrics.

There are a few inconsistencies of spelling
and some small factual errors. For example,
the city of Ambon is not the capital of Seram,
but of the modern Indonesian province of
Maluku, in which Seram is one island and
Ambon another; Ayutthaya became the capital
of the Thai kingdom in the fourteenth, not the
fifteenth century, and was preceded by
Sukhothai, not by Lopburi, which was a Khmer
provincial capital and is situated 100 kms, not
41 kms, north of Ayutthaya; Afonso (not
Alfonso) de Albuquerque conquered Goa and
established it as the capital of Portuguese India
in 1510 and governed from there, not from
Cochin. But these are only very minor irritations
in a book in which both text and illustrations do
ample justice to the rich diversity of the subject­
matter. One of its most satisfying features is
that the illustrations, although they all portray
textiles of historical significance or of
exceptional beauty or both, have not been
selected solely for these qualities, but because
they also demonstrate a specific point made in
the text. The result is a book that is itself a
meibitsu—gorgeous to look at and absorbing
and instructive to read.

John Villiers

Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing

In the Realm of the Diamond Queen:
Marginality in an Out-of-the-way Place.
Princeton: Princeton University
Press, 1993, pp. xvi, 350.

Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing’s study of margin­
ality among the Meratus Dayaks in southeastern
Kalimantan was widely acclaimed by scholars
writing in academic journals. These reviewers
praised her experimental depiction of the Meratus
Dayaks and her use of non-conformist informants
and innovative approaches. Tsing makes frequent
reference to a woman named Uma Adang who
follows a lifestyle differing from Meratus Dayak
gender convention. Instead of eating or growing
rice like other Meratus Dayak women, for
example, Uma Adang grows and eats legumes
and vegetables. She uses her time to engage in
such “unfeminine” local political activities such
as creating a network for sharing the produce of community rice swiddens.

Tsing draws parallels between Uma Adang and the Diamond Queen, Ratu Intan one of surely few women to serve as the ruler of a state in the centuries-ago past of Kalimantan. The Diamond Queen came to rule a minor kingdom on the island’s southeastern coast when a king from the larger kingdom of Majapahit died en route to taking the throne. Besides their being located within the territory of this ancient realm, Tsing traces conceptual parallels between the group to which Uma Adang belongs and that of the Diamond Queen.

Tsing uses post-modernist and feminist theory to place this people within the wide theoretical context appropriate for such a diverse people. Tsing aptly puts gender at the center of her analysis to “show the connections between intercommunity divisions, including gender difference, and Meratus regional and national marginality”.

This approach describes the culturally diverse Meratus Dayaks who are located on edges of Indonesian society. So many variations of culture overlap these people that even finding a name to refer to this study group was problematic and required a considerable discussion in the book. Partly this is because the people lie outside the national educational system and practice a religion different from most people in the country. These and other non-indigenous belief systems are being introduced to these people at such a rate that they threaten social stability but also give rise to new cultural variations within them.

Other variations between the Meratus Dayaks and their neighbors, while perhaps conceptually less challenging, threaten the people’s way of life more directly. The shifting cultivation with which they cultivate their crops is discouraged by national authorities. Resettlement plans and new roads entering their traditional settlement areas interrupt the daily life of the Meratus Dayaks. In addition, physical danger arises out of being located in an area of armed insurgencies.

What is surprising, and one reason why this work published in 1994 on a marginal group in Indonesia is being reviewed in this issue of the Journal, is the lack of reference to the many similar groups in Mainland Southeast Asia. From at least the early-1950s when Edmund Leach began describing cultural variations in highland Burma, there has been a steady stream of observers beginning with (to name a few) Alting, Condominas, Geddes, Hinton, Kirsch, Kunstadter, Keyes, Lee, Lehman, Lemoine, Miles, Mischung, Walker, and Wall whose writings can readily be found in the journal literature. More recently, newer scholars such as Hayami, Huthseeing, Kammerer, Matras-Troubetzkoy, Radley, Tannenbaum, Rajah, Symonds, Tapp, and Tooker are adding to this literature. Their writings do not begin to cover authors writing in Thai and other languages of the area, indigenous people who are starting to tell their own story in ways that reach the media, and a sometimes rich but difficult to access body of writings in the publications of development organizations.

These scholars examined highlanders fully as marginalized as the Meratus Dayaks and beset by socio-political and cultural pressures the equal of those in southeastern Kalimantan. Some of have discussed individuals as idiosyncratic as Uma Adang. Many of these authors have written compellingly, innovatively, provocatively, and pertinently to issues covered in Tsing’s discourse. It would seem thus that if Tsing could extend her discussion of Uma Adang to the literature on abortion in America, she could have taken interest in issues current in the discussion of highland groups in Mainland Southeast Asia.

Yet Tsing’s seeming short-sightedness is shared by not only her colleagues writing on other insular Southeast Asian groups (such as in the Philippines) but by almost all the authors listed above working on the highland scene of Mainland Southeast Asia.

In order to avoid the lengthy assessment needed to uncover the rationale for this shared lack of concern, take but the example of a younger scholar, Hjorleifur (Leif) Jonsson, who in this issue of the Journal in an article dealing with the Mien in Thailand, refers to two of Tsing’s writings. As more such “cross-reading” occurs it will enrich the literature of highland groups in this region and beyond.

Ronald D. Renard

A collection of articles on this important monastery in Phitsanulok where King Trailokanat was ordained as a monk and built a vihara in the mid-fifteenth century. The strength of Chiang Mai at the time demanded that the king move to this northern outpost of Ayutthaya to protect the kingdom. This book includes articles on the architecture, legal system, religion, and politics of Wat Chulamani with emphasis on the time of King Trailokanat. Edited by the doyen of Phitsanulok historians, Achan Pranee of the Pibun Songkhram Rajabhat Institute the articles are well-presented with a useful and comprehensive bibliography.


The novel, Thung Maharat, set in Kamphaeng Phet in the period from 1890 until 1950, is among the most popular of Thailand. Its author, Malai Chuphinit, was born in Kamphaeng Phet, where his father was the head of Nakhon Chum commune (site of Wachirapruk School). The novel describes the life and times of Kamphaeng Phet through the life of a young family. Featured in the story is a Karen timber merchant much resembling the real life Pha Po of Nakhon Chum at whose house King Chulalongkorn once had lunch. In dealing with all aspects of Kamphaeng Phet life and customs, the editors from Wachirapruk School provide much useful information on a province of importance often overlooked.


Wat Tha Suthawat is a temple established during the Ayutthayan period at which King Naresuan once stayed in 1592. However, because of the extreme disrepair into which the temple fell, Princess Maha Chakri suggested on a visit there in 1986 that the ubosot be replaced. The provincial government with much help from the local people cooperated in rebuilding the ubosot. Murals inside the temple of the Maha Janaka Jataka (which His Majesty the King translated into English) were painted by students of the Handicraft Promotion Foundation under the patronage of Her Majesty the Queen. This book was prepared to mark the dedication of the ubosot, There are five sections: a general introduction, an introduction to Thai mural paintings, the ubosot of Wat Tha Suthawat, the mural paintings, and the gilt designs on the door panels. The book is richly illustrated with many color prints of the murals. The excellent English translation allows for access to this book by a large audience.

Phrabat Somdet Phrachaoyuhhua Nai Phra­boromaracha Chakriwong Kap Nakhon


This book presents the history of Chiang Mai from the perspective of the kings of Bangkok. Starting with a short review of Chiang Mai’s history until the founding of the Chakri Dynasty in 1782, the book focuses on the ties between the Bangkok kings and the rulers of Chiang Mai until 1996. Excellently illustrated and well-researched, this bi-lingual book is the closest one can find to an English-language history of Chiang Mai.


Rather than only a review of amulets from Lamphun, this work also presents the history of Lamphun from its founding of the kingdom of Hariphunchai by Queen Chamma Thewi, from the Mon city of Lavo (Lopburi) in the ninth century. Included are descriptions of the city design, famous monasteries in Lamphun (Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai, Wat Phrabat Tak Pha), and the well-known monks from Lamphun such as Khruba Siwichai, who built the road up Doi Suthep in 1938. With this framework, the description of the amulets, comprising the latter half of the book, is much better understood.


Among the many books on Sukhothai and the other nearby early sites, this provides one of the most outstanding overviews. All the major sites of the three cities are discussed. The photographs are well chosen and the translation well done. The fact that it is not available for sale will frustrate the interested visitor to Sukhothai who may already be discouraged because the book shop there is so often devoid of even less authoritative English language guidebooks.


During the Golden Jubilee year, all provincial cultural centers in Thailand produced books on theme of the artistic environment in that locality. Among the most interesting is this publication which covers the history, geography, architecture, blacksmithing, and contemporary culture of this city on the Nan River north of Phitsanulok. Also discussed is the work of the provincial cultural preservation unit to maintain certain traditions of Uttaradit.


In honor of the Golden Jubilee year of 1996 and the 700th anniversary of Chiang Mai, the Historical Commission published this collection of unpublished manuscripts from the Epigraphy and Manuscript Section of the National Library from 1807 until 1868. Three main categories of documents are included: 1) official relations between Chiang Mai and Bangkok including tribute missions, the mediation of internal disputes, and the resettlement of such places as Chiang Rai, 2) the collection of intelligence on Burma, and 3) socio-economic conditions in Lan Na including agriculture, climatic conditions, and trade. The contribution of Chao
Conventional wisdom has it that Karens and other hilltribes are recent immigrants to Thailand, destroy the forest, and engage in other practices dangerous to the nation. In response, members of a local Karen community with roots in the area dating back 400 or more years, have with support from UNICEF and in cooperation with the provincial primary education authorities begun drafting a book on the highlights of Karen culture and history, including an account of their environmentally sound agricultural (rotational swiddening) practices that have enabled them to live in the area for centuries without degrading the forest (similar to Karens in Thung Yai, a forest in Kanchanaburi that has been declared a World Heritage Site). Although still in draft form, the preparation of this publication is in itself noteworthy and pioneering.


Suphanakalaya was the older sister of King Naresuan. Both were taken to the Burma after Burmese armies sacked Ayutthaya in 1588. Knowledge of her existence was found only in Thai oral literature. Dr. Sunait tracked down the few references to compile not only an account of her life insofar as possible but also a historiographical study of a subject of interest to both the Burmese and the Thai. Because of the significance of this book, a full review is being prepared for a future issue of the JSS.


Kammerer, Cornelia and Nicola Tannenbaum, ed. 1996. Merit and Blessing in Mainland Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspectives. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies.


Rafael, Vincente L., ed. 1999. Figure of Criminality in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Colonial Vietnam. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.


The Journal of the Siam Society welcomes all original articles and reviews of a scholarly nature and in conformity with the principles and objectives of the Society.

Articles are accepted for publication in English, French, German, or Thai. If not in English, submission must have an English summary.

Manuscripts should not normally exceed 7,000 words. Two copies of the manuscript should be submitted together with the text on a computer disk. The use of up-to-date word-processing programs that are readily convertible into other formats is appreciated but not required.

Unsolicited contributions and related correspondence should be addressed to the Honorary Editor c/o Siam Society, 131 Soi Asoke, Sukhumvit Road, Bangkok, 10110 Thailand.

References and bibliographical entries should follow modern academic practices appropriate to the field in which the article is written. Bibliographical entries should be complete and include the full name of the author(s), title, and publication data including the place, press, and date (with the original date of publication if the item used is a reprint). References to articles written in Thai should include the title in Romanized Thai followed by a translation into English (or French or German if the article is in those languages) in parentheses.

Romanization in general follows the system of the Royal Institute. Specialists in certain fields such as epigraphy and linguistics may follow other more precise systems appropriate to the nature of their subject.


Figures

Test figures, site plans, maps, etc., should be drawn on strong paper, white card, or good quality tracing film, and suitable lettered for printing. They should measure approximately twice the intended final size which should be indicated where possible. If these have been scanned or are computer-generated then the appropriate disks should be sent indicating format, together with hard copy, but do not ‘embed’ any scanned graphics in the text on the disk.

A published full-paged illustration may not exceed 210mm. X 140mm. Photographs should be printed on glossy paper and mounted on thin card. Figures, maps, and plates should be titled and numbered; originals should be numbered lightly on the back in pencil only. A list of captions to figures and plates must be provided on separate sheets. Authors must obtain approval, before submission, for reproduction of illustrations or other material not their own.

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One copy of the journal and twenty offprints will be supplied free to authors and joint-authors.
Notes For Contributors

on publication of the issue in which their contribution is included.

Style

After considerable discussion, and in order to encourage the rapid publication of the JSS while not comprising academic standards, the Editorial Committee of the JSS has agreed that articles may be written in British English or American English. Each paper should follow a consistent form of dating, capitalization and other aspects throughout.

The style adapted should be appropriate for scholarly journals with an audience of specialists in a diversity of fields and nationalities.

Dating conventions for archaeological contributions

1. In accordance with international convention, radiocarbon dates should be expressed as mean and standard deviation, together with the number of the issuing laboratory. e.g. a date of 3660 60 BP (Gr-50), or; the date was K-3865 5540 65 9 BP.

2. Calibrated dates should be indicated as follows: cal.-AD200, or 250 cal. BC. Ideally, a 2-sigma age range should also be indicated in parentheses, e.g. (300 cal BC.–50 AD.). It may also be useful to insert the phrase (calibrated date) after each first occurrence in a paper, to make the meaning perfectly clear.

When calibrated dates are reported the particular used should be mentioned, such as those of Stuiver, Long et al., Oxal, or the Pretoria Calibration Curve for Short-lived Samples (Vogel, et al. 1993), both in Radiocarbon 35(1).

In order to maintain continuity with older literature, it may sometimes be necessary to present uncalibrated dates and this should be mentioned and the dates reported only as BP since they may not correspond closely with the calendrical AD/BC/BE scale.

3. Dates obtained by other methods, e.g. TL, Uranium Series, or Fission Track, are best referred to in years ‘before present’ or ‘years ago’, rather than by radiocarbon conventions.

For very old dates: Ma for ‘millions of years’ and ka for ‘thousands of years’ are internationally recognized abbreviation.

The opinion expressed in the JSS are those of the authors and do not necessarily represented the views of the Siam Society.

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CURRENT AND RECENT

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**MONS: A CIVILIZATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, THE.** By Emmanuel Guillon. Translated and edited by James V. Di Crocco, 1999. 349 + xiv pp.; ill. Baht 990/US$ 40.00 The Mon people produced one of the most brilliant civilizations of mainland Southeast Asia. It goes back well over a thousand years and can be divided into seven periods, ranging from protohistoric states to the contemporary world. Mon civilization profoundly interacted with at least three present–day countries, in which Mon communities still play an important role.

**THAI CULTURE IN TRANSITION.** By William J. Klausner. 2nd edition, 1998. Baht 300/US$12.00 This book is mainly concerned with cultural transition and transformation and is thus a logical extension of the author’s Reflections on Thai Culture, which focused on traditional patterns of Thai culture. William J. Klausner arrived in Thailand in 1955 and, after undertaking a year of intensive field work in a Northeastern Thai Village, has served in staff, advisory, consultative, and other capacities in the Thai government and in numerous Thai and foreign foundations. He has taught at Thammasat and Chulalongkorn Universities and has been active in the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

**PHAULKON, THE GREEK FIRST COUNSELLOR AT THE COURT OF SIAM: AN APPRAISAL.** By George A. Sioris, 1998 Baht 350/US$ 15.00 This book represents a wide–ranging character appraisal by a fellow Greek of Constantine Gerakis, better known as Phaulkon, who was the brilliant and controversial Greek First Counsellor at the Court of Siam in the 17th Century.

**CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN TRANSITION: NEW VIETNAMESE PAINTING.** 1997 Baht 1490/US$ 60.00 The arts are flourishing in Vietnam today. Hundreds of painters are at work in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, and other Vietnamese cities. They work in a broad range of styles and themes, building on techniques developed in French colonial times, but related to the issues that concern Vietnamese people today. This full color trilingual catalogue (English, Vietnamese and
Thai) includes essays by Mr. Chatvichai Promadhavetedi, Mr. Nguyen Quan and Mr. Neil Jamieson that make scholarly contributions to the understanding of Vietnamese art.

BACK LIST


CHULAKANTAMANGALA: THE TONSEC REREMONY AS PERFORMED IN SIAM. By G. E. Gerini. 1976 243 pp. Baht 120/US$ 6.00. Authoritative and detailed information on topknots, and how the tonsure ceremony has traditionally been performed among royalty and commoners.

CONNECTION PHUKET PENANG AND ADELAIDE, THE. By Ian Morson, 1993, 126 pp., ill. Baht 290/ US$12.00. An account of Francis Light’s 15 years in Phuket before he founded Penang, portraying the peoples of the islands between 1770 and 1794, with an intriguing connection between Phuket, Penang and the city of Adelaide.

EARLY ACCOUNTS OF PHETCHABURI. Introduction by Michael Smithies, 1987. 90 pp., ill. Baht 210/US$ 8.00. Ten essays give a feeling for the enduring attraction of this 19th century point of excursion—popular even before King Mongkut built his palace there on the “Mountain of the Highest Heaven”.


GARDENING IN BANGKOK. By William Warren and Ping Amranand, 1996, 240 pp., ill. Baht 990/US$ 40.00. A new printing of M.R. Pimsai’s pioneering work, designed “…to assist Bangkok gardeners in a practical way.” William Warren has brought this classic up-to-date, while retaining M.R. Pimsai’s unique voice, described by John Blofeld as “…vivid, natural, and compelling—a style based on the principle that people should write very much as they talk” (from the Preface). Ping Amranand’s 136 photographs have been re-edited and integrated with the text.


OLD PHUKET. Introduction by H.E. Gérard André, 1986. 188 pp. Baht 230/US$ 9.00. Three articles by Gerini, Carrington, and Burke, published in the Journal of the Siam Society in 1905-6, on the early history of “Junk Ceylon Island” provide interesting glimpses into a past largely unknown to modern tourists.
RAMKHAMHAENG CONTROVERSY: SELECTED PAPERS, THE. Edited by James F. Chamberlain; foreword by H.R.H. Princess Galyani Vadhana, 1991. 592 pp., ill Baht 850/US$ 35.00 The history of Thailand relies principally on evidence from Sukhothai where King Ram Khamhaeng’s writing system was found on the stone known as “Inscription No.1.” The authenticity of this inscription has been questioned, with some even branding it a fake. This illustrated volume presents the arguments and counter-arguments.

SINGING APE: A JOURNEY TO THE JUNGLE OF THAILAND, THE. By Jeremy and Patricia Raemaekers, 1990. 142 pp., ill. Baht 180/US$ 7.00 A light-hearted account of the two years the authors spent studying gibbons in Thailand’s tropical rain forests.


WAT PRA YUN RECONSIDERED. By A. B. Griswold, 1975. 88 pp., ill. Baht 70/US$ 3.50 Constructed between 1901 and 1907, Wat Pra Yun was within 20 years attributed by scholars to the 14th century. The author recounts how this innocent deception came about.
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