



## ***Phongsawadan Yonok: The Creation of a Modern Northern Thai Chronicle***<sup>1</sup>

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### **Abstract**

This article examines the formation of modern northern Thai history in the *Phongsawadan Yonok* based on how it was created. It aims to answer the central research question: What kind of history is demonstrated in this chronicle? Previous studies on the *Phongsawadan Yonok* have stated that the work was created as a modern Thai historical writing without factoring in the author's experiences and the work's historical construction. Thus, using a historiographical approach, this article argues that the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, which was created by Phraya Prachakitkorachak, was based on his experiences while working in northern Siam. The time period of its construction was characterized by British and French expansion into the area, territory conflicts in northern Siam, and attempts by local provincial administrations – including that of northern Siam since the 1880s – to integrate northern regions and assimilate northern people into the Kingdom of Siam. The *Phongsawadan Yonok* makes a significant contribution to Thai historiography by expanding upon the linear history and connecting the history of the northern region with that of Siam. As a result, the geographical location of the Kingdom of Siam was expanded to include Shan, Sipsong Panna, and Lan Chang.

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## 1. Introduction

The *Phongsawadan Yonok*<sup>2</sup> was created by Phraya Prachakitkorachak in 1907, and is a modern northern Thai chronicle based on a variety of materials: both western sources, such as the *British Gazetteer*, and local manuscripts, such as northern *tamnan* (legends). As Nidhi Eoseewong has pointed out, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is a significant source for the study of Lan Na history because of its unified and detailed chronological account of the Lan Na region. Eoseewong has also stated that no other author has used local materials for wide-ranging research on the history of Lan Na (Nidhi Eoseewong in Sarassawadi Ong-Sakul, 2005 p. ix.).

The utilization of multiple materials is a significant feature of this chronicle, as it provides a large amount of information on the northern region and Lan Na, which is not present in other works published between the late-nineteenth century and the twentieth century. However, as pointed out by Wansa Kotchagan, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is considered primary source material for the study of Lan Na history. Ussanee Thongchai and Sarasawadee Oongsakul, for example, have utilized information from this chronicle as a primary source for their own writing (Ussanee Thongchai, 28-31 January 1985, p. 41).

The present study argues that the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, which was created by Phraya Prachakitkorachak, was based on his experiences while working in northern Siam. The time period of its construction was characterized by British and French expansion into the area, territory conflicts in northern Siam, and attempts by local provincial administrations – including that of northern Siam since the 1880s – to integrate northern regions and assimilate northern people into the Kingdom of Siam. The *Phongsawadan Yonok* provides a significant contribution to Thai historiography because it expands upon the historical line by connecting the history of the northern region into that of Siam. As a result, the geographical location of the Kingdom of Siam was expanded to include Shan and Sipsong Panna in Upper Burma, and Lan Chang which is now in Laos.

Thus, this study employs a historiography approach to examine the creation of modern northern Thai history in the *Phongsawadan Yonok* based on the reason for

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<sup>2</sup> Term Phongsawadan Yonok in Thai was first written as พงษาวดารโยนก in 1907. It had been changed to พงศาวดารโยนก when it was repetition in 1955.

and method of its creation in the early twentieth century. It seeks to answer the central research question: What kind of history is demonstrated in this chronicle?

Before discussing these issues in detail, I will discuss the background of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* to clarify the importance of studying this chronicle based on the significant features and roles of the political movement in northern Thailand.

The *Phongsawadan Yonok* was created by Phraya Prachakitkorachak during the expansion of colonialism in northern Siam, centralization policy, and territory conflicts along the northern Siam boundary. In the late nineteenth century, a Siamese government official working in Chiang Mai, which is now part of northern Thailand, began collecting and translating chronicles and legends from the northern region where he worked from 1883 to 1890. He published these chronicles in the *Wachirayan*, a journal that was read by his elite contemporaries. The officer, bestowed with the name Phraya Prachakitkorachak (1864-1907)<sup>3</sup> (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1913, pp. 1-13), eventually gathered enough information about the region to publish a book in 1907 titled *Phongsawadan Yonok* (literally translated as *Yonok Chronicles*, also known as *The History of the North*) or *Phongsawadan Thai Fay Nuea* (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 4).

After its publication, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* was considered an important source material for research on *phongsawadan* (literary translated as “history”). The chronicle was so ground-breaking that parts of it were adopted and published in 1917 by the “father of Thai history,” Prince Damrong Rachanuphab, who was a half-brother of King Chulalongkorn and a key person in the promotion of local administration in Siam’s provinces. The *Phongsawadan Yonok* has been reprinted several times since its initial publication.

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<sup>3</sup> Phraya Prachakitkorachak (Chaem Bunnag) was born in 1864 and died in 1907 due to tuberculosis. He was promoted to Khun Prachakadeekit in 1883 to work at the International Court at Chiang Mai. During his time working in the north, he learned the northern language and worked with inhabitants of the region. In 1886, he wrote an ethnography of the northern Siamese people. While surveying territory in the north in 1889, he was promoted to Luang Prachakadeekit and was given responsibility for the mission. He was later promoted as Phraya Prachakitkorachak and worked in Chiang Mai until 1891, when he moved to the Krisi Supreme Court in Bangkok in 1893. He died in 1907 at the age of 43.

During the Anglo-Franco-Siamese territorial conflicts in the Upper Mekong areas, and increasing political interventions in Northern Siam by Bangkok authorities, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* was the first book to present the history of a region that was newly conceived through territorial negotiations with colonial powers. The book is based on two groups of historical materials: a series of *phongsawadan* (chronicles) and *tamnan* (legends) of the northern regions, which were edited by Phraya Prachakitkorachak and published in the *Wachirayan* journal between 1898-1899, under the titles of *Phongsawadan Haripunchai*, *Phongsawadan Lao Chiang*, and *Tamnan Mueang Chiang Saen* (i.e. *Chronicles of Lamphun*, *Chronicles of Chiang Mai*, and *Legend of Chiang Saen*) (*Wachirayan*, Vol. 50, 51, 52, 1898; *Wachirayan*, Vol. 56, 57, 58, 1899) the various historical manuscripts that Prachakitkorachak collected and translated into Thai during and after his official duties in Chiang Mai. (NAT K.R. 5 B/41 p. 6.)

Phraya Prachakitkorachak's experience working as a Siamese official for the International Court (established in Chiang Mai in 1883), and later as the chief of the northern territorial surveying commission in 1889, as well as his extensive knowledge of northern Thai languages, enabled him to gain access to a large number of local historical materials in the north. His strong interest in local cultures and languages was also demonstrated in an article in which he presented an ethnography of Northern Siamese people, entitled "*Waduai praphet khon pa ru kha fai nua*" ("On the various forest people or kha in the North"), which was published in 1886,<sup>4</sup> early on in his administrative career in the north. (Khun Prachakadikit, 1886, pp. 164-166)

Prince Damrong Rachanuphab, the half-brother of King Chulalongkorn, not only promoted the centralization of the kingdom as the Minister of the Interior between 1892 and 1915 (Patrick Jory, 2011, pp. 164-166), but also actively supported modern historical research, and thus became known as "the father of Thai history". He edited and published Phraya Prachakitkorachak's article *Phongsawadan Lao Chiang* as part of his book *Prachum Phongsawadan Phak 5 (Collection of Chronicles, Part 5)* (*Prachum phongsawadan Phak 5*, 1964, pp. 408-562). While praising Prachakitkorachak's work as "very well-written" and "interesting to read," in his preface, Prince Damrong explains

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<sup>4</sup> Friday, the eighth day of the waxing moon in the Fourth Month, in Chunlasakkarat Year 1247.

that he gathered together works by Phraya Prachakitkorachak that were scattered throughout various issues of the *Wachirayan* to commemorate his monumental work (Damrong Ratchanuphap, 1917, pp. 34-35)

Since then, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* has been reprinted numerous times between 1955 and 2012, and has become a classic work for the historical study of northern Thailand. One reason for its repeated reproduction is a growing localism in northern Thailand, particularly since the mid-1940s. For instance, some chapters of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* have been published in the *Yonok Journal*, which was founded in 1947 by the Institute of Northern People (Samakom Chao Nuea) (Ongsakun, 1998, p. 113). The local newspaper in Chiang Mai, *Khon Mueang*, which was founded in 1956 by local intellectuals with the main purpose of educating northern Thai people about Thai history, also selected a portion of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (relating to Kawila, a hero-king of Chiang Mai) for its first article, which was titled Phraya Kawila (*Khon Mueang Newspaper*, 1956). Moreover, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* has been used as a textbook in the Lan Na history class at Chiang Mai University since 1966 (Ongsakun, 1998, p. 113).

## 2. Literature Review

Despite the pioneering nature and general popularity of the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, existing studies of the work and Phraya Prachakitkorachak's previous writings are limited in both number and perspective. Six works have presented studies of the *Phongsawadan Yonok*. These works claim that the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is a modern writing based on three points: significant features of the writing, its critical and analytical attitude, and its ethnographic style.

The most important work that has referred to the *Phongsawadan Yonok* and Phraya Prachakitkorachak (Chaem Bunnag) is an article by Akiko Iijima titled "Phongsawadan Yonok: the modern Siamese historiography" (Iijima, 1994). The author's main focus in the article is to elucidate the *Phongsawadan Yonok*'s own historical nature. She uses a critical attitude and various materials to argue that the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is a modern historical writing that merges the North into the Kingdom of Siam. She also notes that the original *Phongsawadan Yonok* was styled *Prawat Lao Chiang* and

*Phongsawadan Lao Chiang*, or *History of Lao Chiang* (Iijima, 1994, p. 10). I argue that the original *Phongsawadan Yonok* not only includes *Prawat Lao Chiang* and *Phongsawadan Lao Chiang*, but also multiple other materials such as *Phongsawadan Hariphunchai*, *Tamnan Mueang Chiang Saen*, and other northern materials.

Similarly, Ram Wacharapradith examines the *Phongsawadan Yonok* by focusing on its significant features as well as Iijima's work. He states that a significant feature of this chronicle is its modern historical writing that is based on multiple sources. He further states that the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is a pioneering work in that it presents a new narrative of the history of the Thai people based on the style of Western literature (Ram Wacharapradit, 2006, pp. 201-202). Similar to Iijima's argument, Wacharapradit also pointed out that the origin of this chronicle derived from *Prawat Lao Chiang*, which appeared in volume 55 of the *Wachirayan* in 1898 (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, "Prawat Lao Chiang," *Wachirayan*, Vol. 55, 1898, p. 75).

Although Iijima and Ram discuss many interesting features of the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, they do not mention that it is a new linear historiography based on a broad and long history. Nevertheless, these two issues help explain the interplay between historical writing and state of changes from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century. I argue that the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is a broad history that is more expandable than *Praracha Phongsawadan Siam (The History of Siam)*. Indeed, it offers a wider politico-geography and expands upon Shan and Lan Chang.

Regarding the work's critical and analytical attitude, while Sarassawadee Ongsakul, a renowned expert on Lan Na Thai historiography, and Wansa Khotchangam, who also studies Lan Na historiography, have noted that Phraya Prachakitkorachak's critical, analytical approach and his method of referring to supporting evidence are essential characteristics of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* as modern historical literature, the two scholars regard the work only as an example of modern Lan Na history. Indeed, they claim that it contains a notable Western influence (Ongsakul, 1998, p. 104; Khotchangam, 2001, pp. 23, 113). For this reason, they fail to appreciate that beyond simply providing a history of the North in a modern writing style, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* also integrates Lan Na, Siamese, and Western sources to create a new history, not only of the Thai-North, but of Siam.

Somkiat Wanthana understands modernity in Thai historical writing from a different perspective. He claims that a critical approach – one that includes uni-linear schema, dynasty belonging, unity, hierarchy, and order – is a significant characteristic of modern Thai historical writing (Somkiat Wanthana, 1986, pp. 186, 216-237). He has cited the *Phongsawadan Yonok* as an example of a modern history that has a uni-linear schema, suggesting that one can conceptualize Siam as a territorial state, and that possible tensions may exist between the histories of the Lao and Thai states embodied in the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (Somkiat Wanthana, 1986, pp. 223-224).

Regarding the ethnographic writing of Siamese elites in the late nineteenth century, Thongchai Winichakul expresses another point of modern writing in the late nineteenth century based on the history of local people or ethnographic writing. The production of ethnic knowledge in the late nineteenth century was based on an idea of “the ‘wild’ others” that was created through a variety of literature, such as administrative reports and travelogues, by the Siamese elite who travelled extensively for the purpose of implementing reforms in provincial areas and overseeing the newly emerging territory-based state. Thongchai Winichakul cites an early article by Phraya Prachakitkorachak as an example of such knowledge production (Thongchai Winichakul, 2000, p. 44).<sup>5</sup> “*Waduai prophet khon pa ru kha fai nua*” (“On the varieties of forest people or kha in the North”), published in the *Wachirayan Wiset* in 1886, lists various peoples according to their degree of civilization (Thongchai Winichakul, 2000, pp. 43-45).

Regarding the article mentioned above, although Winichakul admits that the idea of the “strangeness of the ‘wild people’” is more evident in an article by another Siamese official of the time, ChaoPhraya Surasakmontri (Chamun Waiworanat, 1890), he does not acknowledge or detail Phraya Prachakitkorachak’s specific interest in the local cultures of the North nor his usage of historical texts written in the Lan Na/

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<sup>5</sup> See also Khun Prachadadikit, “Waduai prophet khon pa ru kha fai nua,” pp. 164-166. According to Winichakul, Phraya Prachakitkorachak describes various peoples, such as the Lawa, Yang, Khamu, and Kha, by listing characteristics such as clothes, appearance, shelter, food, and tools according to the order of their overall degree of civilization. Peoples were also similarly listed starting with the most civilized, the Lawa and the Yang (Karen), and ending with the Phi Pa, the least civilized group. Interestingly, the Lue or Shan were excluded from the description, as they were considered as civilized as the Thai and Lao, and therefore not “forest people.”

northern script. By placing Phraya Prachakitkorachak's writing within the Siamese elite's general framework of primitive and uncivilized others, Winichakul does not acknowledge the differences between Prachakitkorachak's perspective and those of his contemporaries: rather than seeing northerners as barbarians, he understands the region's local cultures and histories to be quite complex.

On the whole, however, existing studies either tend to focus on a specific part or feature of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* or apply a certain framework (from the perspective of colonialism, modernity, or civility) to it, rather than examine the historical nature of the work as a whole.<sup>6</sup> At present, no studies have analyzed the articles that Phraya Prachakitkorachak published in *Wachiyaran* during 1898-1899, nor Damrong's 1917 adaptation in addition to the *Phongsawadan Yonok* itself. To fill this gap, this study will closely examine and compare the texts from these three "versions" of the *Phongsawadan Yonok*. Special attention will be paid to questions regarding the ways in which these texts were produced, the sources from which they drew, and the ways in which the versions differ from each other and why. The specific characteristics of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* as a text will also be explored. The life experiences of the author and the work's political context, especially regarding the centralizing reforms introduced by the Bangkok authorities and local reactions to such interventions in Northern Siam, and the international politics between the British and Siamese authorities at various levels concerning boundary issues, are also considered as significant background conditions that influenced the production of the *Phongsawadan Yonok*.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to clarify several Thai terms that are relevant to historical literature, particularly *phongsawadan* and *tamnan*. According to Patrick Jory's work in 2011, the meanings of *tamnan* (legend) and *phongsawadan* (chronicles) are different; while *tamnan* intends to describe Buddhist histories and local histories mixed with mythical stories, *phongsawadan*, a term first used in the Ayutthaya period (1351-1767), refers to a linear kingly history that derives its authority from Vishnu, the

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<sup>6</sup> Some studies simply accept the premise that the origin of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is *Phongsawadan Lao Chiang*, according to Prince Damrong's edition, without critically examining the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907) itself.



Supreme Being of Hinduism (Jory, 2011, p. 539). In the late nineteenth century, when the Siamese elite began adopting ideas of rationality and reality into historical writings to construct Siam's past as a unified kingdom, they imbued such new ideas into the term *phongsawadan*, while dismissing narratives of *tamnan* as unreliable and irrational. Simultaneously, following King Chulalongkorn's speech given at the first meeting of the Antiquarian Society in 1907, the term *praratchaphongsawasan* (royally endorsed chronicles) also came to be used for book titles and referred to works that placed more emphasis on the chronological stories of kings (Wanthana, 1986, p. 214; Jory, 2011, p. 539).

However, it should also be noted that Phraya Prachakitkorachak used the terms *tamnan* and *phongsawadan* interchangeably. While the title that appeared on the cover of the book was *Phongsawadan Yonok*, he also used the term *Tamnan Yonok* in the introduction. Similarly, Phraya Prachakitkorachak used both *Tamnan Yonok* and *Phongsawadan Yonok* to mean "the history of the Thai North," and even defined *Tamnan Yonok* as an origin of the history of Siam, stating in the introduction that, "this *Tamnan Yonok* is an initial *Phongsawadan* of the Thai in the North" (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 4).<sup>7</sup> Finally, Prachakitkorachak generally used the term Thai-North or *thai fai nua* to refer to the northern people and territories, which consisted of Thai Yai, Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Mae Hong Son, Lam Phun, Lam Pang, Prae, Nan, Lan Chang, and Siam (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 4).

The term *Yonok* that appears in the title of the chronicle refers to northern towns and people. Mueang Yuan or Yonok refers to the home of the Thai Yuan people. The terms Yuan, Yon, Yonok, and Yun hold two main meanings: the first refers to the Mueang in the Chiang Rai basin that were united by Mengrai into the Yon domain or Yon State. The second meaning of Yon or Yuan refers to a group of Thai people. In the past, the Siamese Thai called the northern Thai people Yuan, while the Burmese called them Yon. In addition, Chiang Mai people were called Yon Chiang Mai (Ongsakul, 2005, p. 7).

Although the *Phongsawadan Yonok* had been used as primary material by many scholars for the study of Lan Na history, its historical status is unclear due to the

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<sup>7</sup> The cover and introduction read, "*ruang tamnan yonok ni pen ruang phongsawadan thai nai fai nua.*"

various edits it has undergone. These cases demonstrate the limitations of studies based on their misunderstanding of the specific origin and status of the chronicle. In addition, the studies cited above have failed to examine revisions of the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, which occurred at least three times. It was first published as serial articles in *Wachiarayan* (1898 to 1899), after which the articles in *Wachiarayan* were revised to create the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, which was finally revised by Prince Damrong Rachanuphab. As a result, the historical writing and purpose of the work was changed in each revision.

Thus, this article analyzes the unique contributions of Phraya Prachakitkorachak, not only through his introduction of a completely new historical writing style, but through his creation of a previously unimagined geography that incorporated the northern regions into Siam. He combined local stories with official histories of Siamese kings, provided his own analysis based on multiple sources, and integrated a variety of unofficial manuscripts that introduced new geographical terminology. As a result, the “Thai-North” was integrated into a Siam that was not restricted by the understandings of spatial boundaries at the time. Thus, Phraya Prachakitkorachak was a pioneer of modern Siamese history.

This article will first provide an overview of the life of Phraya Prachakitkorachak to situate his works within the political and social context of his time. Subsequently, it will examine three serial stories based on northern *tamnan*, or legends, published in the *Wachiarayan*, a royal journal, between 1898-1899. It will then discuss his main work, the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, to delve deeper into the significance of his history-making.

### **3. The Life and Times of Phraya Prachakitkorachak (1864-1907)**

To explore Phraya Prachakitkorachak’s experiences, which undoubtedly influenced his writing, this article divides his life into three sections: his early life, his work at *San Thang Phrathed* (The International Court), and his territorial survey mission in northern Siam.

Phraya Prachakitkorachak was born as Chaem Bunnag on July 13, 1864, and died of tuberculosis in October 1907 (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1913, p. 3). The nineteenth century was characterized by the expansion of colonialism in Southeast

Asian, including in Siam. This had a major impact on Siamese society due to the expansion of Western knowledge, technologies, and cultures, as well as the English language, which were introduced to the Siamese elite during this time.

Chaem studied at the Suan Anan School that was founded by King Chulalongkorn. This was the first boarding school in Siam to provide a bilingual program in English and Thai. Chaem learned to speak both languages, and his outstanding school performance gained the admiration of Prince Phichitprichakon (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1913), the founding and incumbent principal of the school while Chaem was a student. After graduating in 1882, Chaem worked at Siam's Supreme Court (San Dika) as a clerk. His official work experience in the North began in 1883, when he followed Prince Phichitprichakon (who became the first high commissioner to Chiang Mai) and began working at the International Court in Chiang Mai under the name Khun Prachakhadikit (Prachakitkorachak, 1913).

Second, Khun Prachakhadikit was called to work as an officer at the International Court to deal with the extraterritorial conflict, the extraterritorial issue, and territory conflicts in northern Siam. In 1883, the International Court was established based on the Second Anglo-Siamese Treaty of Chiang Mai (1883) to deal with increasing "troubles" along the border between Siam and British Burma, particularly extra-territorial cases concerning the growing teak trade and other British commercial activities (Treaty between His Majesty the King of Siam and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1874; Treaty between His Majesty the King of Siam and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1883). During 1883 and 1884, Chaem assumed his official role as Khun Prachakhadikit in Chiang Mai, working in the International Court to support the government's attempts to handle territory problems.

Phraya Prachakitkorachak became involved with frontier conflicts between the United Kingdom and Siam in the northern region due to the British annexation of Upper Burma. In 1885, many frontier towns became contested areas because the United Kingdom and Siam claimed them as their frontier states. Siam claimed control over the Shan and Karenni regions by asserting that the Salween River was the boundary. Meanwhile, as the power of the Burmese court started to decline due to British colonization,

small principalities in the trans-Salween regions began reclaiming their independence and fought over various economic and political interests. To settle the situation, the British sent military forces to invade Chiang Tung and the other Shan States. As a result, the chao (lord) of the Chiang Tung principality fled to Chiang Mai seeking Siamese protection (NAT K.R. 5 M.T. (L) /27 49, 50, 51, 58; Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I., 1912, pp. 143-145).<sup>8</sup> Phraya Prachakitkorachak was responsible for handling this situation with the local principalities. However, the British colonial authorities later forced the Siamese government to send him back to Shan State.

In addition, Siam suffered a loss of manpower in the North when many inhabitants changed their jurisdiction from Siam to British Burma for the convenience of trading with the British, in the thriving teak trade in particular. To cope with the decline in revenue, Siam gradually introduced new taxes on commodities such as liquor starting in the mid-1880s, which reduced the economic power of local principalities (Bunnag, 1989, p. 90). Local officials and people in the North became exceedingly dissatisfied with this situation and, as a result, Phraya Pap (a minor northern nobleman) staged an uprising against the Siamese authorities in 1889. Pap gathered his forces among people in Chiang Tung (a Shan State in Myanmar) and attacked the Siamese military forces stationed at Fang and Phrao (towns in the Northern Siamese territory) (Bunnag, 1989). Khun Prachakhadikit played a key role in negotiations with Phraya Pap (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1913, p. 5).

Third, because of the territorial conflicts along the northern Siam boundary as mentioned above, the Siamese Court needed to organize a territorial survey mission to demarcate the unclear boundary in northern Siam and resolve the conflicts in the area. In 1889, Khun Prachakhadikit was promoted to “Luang Prachakhadikit” and was given

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<sup>8</sup> The documents NAT K.R. 5 M.T. (L) /27 49, 50, 51, 58 state that the boundary conflicts occurred along the Northern Siam boundary in areas such as Chiang San, Luang Prabang, Chiang Rai, and Chiang Tung. The *How* rebellion occurred in 1884 in Luang Prabang, near Chiang Saden in Northern Siam. At the same time, battles were fought between Chiang Tung and Ava. Thus, the Chiang Tung principality moved to Khun Yum (ขุนยวม) and Chiang Saen at boundary towns in Northern Siam. At the same time, Northern principalities such as Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai were ordered to protect those towns. To pacify Burma, the British military gradually expanded the troops to Upper Burma to annex the Shan State in 1885. Chiang Tung was a target for annexation by the British army.

the responsibility of surveying territories in Northern Siam. The surveys were conducted in response to a conflict arising in Mae Hong Son due to British expansion, which had resulted in armed battles between Siamese and British officials. Simultaneously, battles between the British and Shan armies had caused the Shan people to seek asylum in Northern Siam (NATR.5. KT. 40.2: copy No. 830 (15 June 109/1890), 11 pages; copy No. 831 (15 June 109/1890), 5 pages; copy No. 832 (15 June 109/1890), 3 pages; Mueang Ngai copy No. 833 (15 June 109/1890), 3 pages; Mueang Tuan copy No. 834 (15 June 109/1890), 7 pages).

In response to these territorial conflicts, territorial surveys were organized and led by Luang Prachakhadikit in 1889. This survey mission was performed in collaboration with a British survey team, comprising Siam's first ever mission to survey the territories in the North and demarcate the boundaries of Northern Siam. Between 1889 and 1890, the mission surveyed Shan or Ngiaw towns such as Mueang Khay, Mueang Phan, Mueang Hang, Mueang Tuan, and Mueang Tha by visiting various villages in the localities and demarcating their boundaries.

The territory survey mission presented a different perspective of the frontier between the British and Siamese officers as follows: "While Siam believed those towns to be under the control of the Siamese government, the British also considered them to be the possession of British Burma" (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1913, p. 5; NAT. KT. 40.2: copy No. 830 (15 June 109/1890), 11 pages; copy No. 831 (15 June 109/1890), 5 pages; copy No. 832 (15 June 109/1890), 3 pages; Mueang Ngai copy No. 833 (15 June 109/1890), 3 pages; Mueang Tuan copy No. 834 (15 June 109/1890), 7 pages). This surveying mission provided Prachakitkorachak with extensive opportunities to closely observe the situations in these villages and learn Northern languages and cultures (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1913, p. 5; NAT. KT. 40.2: copy No. 830 (15 June 109/1890), 11 pages; copy No. 831 (15 June 109/1890), 5 pages; copy No. 832 (15 June 109/1890), 3 pages; Mueang Ngai copy No. 833 (15 June 109/1890), 3 pages; Mueang Tuan copy No. 834 (15 June 109/1890), 7 pages).

In dealing with the British, and learning about northern cultures and northern languages as mentioned above, Luang Prachakhadikit further played an important role in dealing with conflicts between northern and Shan principalities from 1889 to 1890.

According to the account, Luang Prachakhadikit received a letter from Saen Inthawichai, a ruler of Mueang Ngai (a vassal town of Siam), informing him of the expansion of Mueang Phan (a Shan town) to Mueang Ngai (NAT R. 5 K.T. 40/2 A reported from Saen Inthawichai to Luang Prachakkadeekit on 15 June R.S. 108/1889).

People living in Mueang Ngai were worried about the expansion of Mueang Phan (NAT R. 5 K.T. 40/2 (น.๓ 40/2) A reported from Saen Inthawichai to Luang Prachakkadeekit, a reprinted letter on 15 June R.S. 109/1890.) To pacify these regions, Luang Prachakhadikit explained to Saen Inthawichai that these people were Thai, and we [the Thai] should act in unity. He claimed that no one should be able to annex the Thai (NAT R. 5 K.T. 40/2 (น.๓ 40/2) A reported of Luang Prachakkadeekit on 28 January R.S. 108/1889).

Since 1889, the French had also began to intervene in the northern areas after the colonization of Vietnam in 1886, which caused the Siamese government greater concern (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak (Chaem Bunnag), p.3, and NAT. R.5. K.T.40.2). To prevent further expansion of the French in northern Siam, the Siamese government decided to cede the thirteen Ngiaw towns along the Northern Siamese boundary to the British in 1892 in exchange for Chiang Khaeng, which bordered French Indochina (NAT. R.5. KT. 40.2: copy No. 830 (15 June 109/1890), 11 pages; copy No. 831 (15 June 109/1890), 5 pages; copy No. 832 (15 June 109/1890), 3 pages; Mueang Ngai copy No. 833 (15 June 109/1890), 3 pages; Mueang Tuan copy No. 834 (15 June 109/1890), 7 pages). This, however, did not prevent the French from advancing further, forcing Siam to cede the west bank of the Mekong in 1893 (in what became known as the Pak Nam incident). Siam was not able to secure its independence until the conclusion of the Anglo-French Declaration in January 1896. Due to the expansion of the British and French in northern Siam from 1889, the government of Siam organized other territory survey missions.

While the second and third boundary missions to survey Shan (NAT. K.R. 5 M.T. (L)/ 27 49-50, 51) and the towns bordering Siam, especially Fang and Mae Hong Son (Captain H.R. Davies, 1893), were still ongoing during 1892, 1895, 1895, and 1898, the Siamese government imposed more vigorous centralizing policies on local administrations through the Thesaphiban system (Tej Bunnag, 1989, pp.162, 185, 195, 199-200, 204).

By dividing the entire kingdom into local administrative units called monthon (circles) and placing them directly under the authority of royal commissioners (high-ranking officials from the Ministry of Interior sent from Bangkok), the Thesaphiban system brought the provincial areas directly under the power of the central government.

In the case of Northern Siam, Monthon Lao Chiang, which consisted of Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, and Nan, was established in 1892 (Damrong Rachanuphab, 1930, p. 380). In 1900, the name of the monthon was changed to Monthon Tawantok Chiang Nuea (or “Northwest Monthon”) as part of the kingdom-wide erasure of the word Lao from all monthon names; in the following year, it was once again renamed to Monthon Phayap. Moreover, the Ministerial Act of Local Administration for the Northwest was issued in 1900. By applying the Law of Local Administration (1897) to the northern region, this act centralized local administration at the village level and deprived local ruling families of their existing status as well as their economic and political privilege and benefits (Ruam bot khwam prawatthisat, 1996, pp. 73-98). The result of these vigorous centralization policies was another large-scale uprising in 1902 led by the Shan in Phrae (Bunnag, 1989, pp. 152-153).

After the completion of the boundary survey mission in 1890, Luang Prachakhadikit was promoted to “Phraya Prachakitkorachak” in 1891 (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak (Chaem Bunnag), 1913, p. 5). He followed Prince Phichit, who assumed the High Commissionership of Monthon Isan (the Northeast monthon), and was Monthon Isan until he was appointed to work at the Civil Court in Bangkok in 1896 (Prawat Yo Phraya Prachakitkorachak (Chaem Bunnag), 1913, p. 5). His return to Bangkok provided him the opportunity to participate more actively in the city’s elite intellectual community.

When Phraya Prachakitkorachak returned to Bangkok, he felt a duty to publish the history as an instrument for claiming territory. He realized that historical evidence could strengthen Siam’s territorial claims against colonial powers in border areas. He published the modern northern Thai chronicles as serial articles on modern northern Thai history in *Wachirayan* and the *Phongsawadan Yonok* based on his experiences while working in northern Siam from 1883 to 1891. He was appointed a member of the Wachirayan Library Committee, which published the *Wachirayan* journal, to which he began contributing articles. He wrote various books and articles on religious and botanical

themes, as well as on the territory's general history, including translations of local historical materials from the north.

Through his extensive experience as an administrator in the North, Phraya Prachakitkorachak learned how to handle a variety of issues, such as complex court cases concerning large-scale teak trade (involving the British subjects, local princes and lords, and European companies), and how to demarcate the boundaries of areas in which numerous small principalities often broke out into violent confrontations due to the constant making and breaking of alliances.

#### **4. Creation of the Modern Northern Thai Chronicle: *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907)**

Due to the expansion of Britain and France in northern Siam, the territorial survey mission, and the local administration, Phraya Prachakitkorachak recognized the importance of historical knowledge and its potential for enlightening the populace and nurturing a sense of identity based on the famous speech by King Chulalongkorn delivered in 1907 at the Antiquarian Society of Siam. In this speech, the King clearly articulated that history should be regarded as important for a nation, and that it is “a discipline for evaluating ideas and actions as right or wrong, good or bad, as a means to inculcate love of one’s nation and land” (King Chulalongkorn, Chris Baker (translator), 2001, pp. 95-99). The king also pointed out that Siam had “flourished in certain periods extending back 1,000 years,” indicating that he was aware of Siam’s long history.

As noted above, Phraya Prachakitkorachak was aware that local knowledge was an important issue for Siamese administrators and officials in the integration of the northern region into the Kingdom of Siam based on their long, shared history. He collected manuscripts from local principalities to create the northern Thai chronicle. (NAT R. 5 K.T. 40/2 A reported of Luang Prachakkadikit on 28 January R.S. 108/1889). In the late nineteenth century, Phraya Prachakitkorachak was assigned to collect a huge number of northern legends that became important data for creating a history of the entire Siamese kingdom. In Prachakitkorachak’s report, he mentions that another duty of his was to collect various northern legends (*tamnan*) written in the Tham language with a northern script known as *akson*, and learn about northern history and culture (NAT R. 5 K.T. 40/2 (พ.ศ 40/2), A reported from Luang Prachakkadeekit to Phraya Maha



Mahintharawongsa on 2 June R.S. 108/1889). All of the *tamnan* that Phraya Prachakitkorachak used were written in the Lao script (*tua akson tham*), which he then translated into Thai to compile them as a series of articles in the *Wachirayan* during 1898 and 1899

#### 4.2 From Multiple Materials to Serial Articles in *Wachirayan*

Phraya Prachakitkorachak published serial articles on modern northern Thai history in the *Wachirayan* from 1898 to 1899 for an audience of Siamese elites and officials. Eight years later, he collected those serial articles in the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, which served as *Tamra* (Text) that enabled Siamese officials to learn about northern Thai history. Phraya Prachakitkorachak used multiple materials—both Western sources and local manuscripts—to create the modern northern Thai chronicles. To examine how and why the *Phongsawadan Yonok* was created, this section will address four topics: from multiple materials to serial articles in *Wachirayan*; from serial articles in *Wachirayan* to the *Phongsawadan Yonok*; the *Phongsawadan Yonok* and its literary characteristics; and Phraya Prachakitkorachak and Prince Damrong Rachanuphab.

The serial articles on modern northern Thai history that were published in *Wachirayan* consisted of the *Phongsawadan Hariphunchai* (*Chronicle of Lamphun*) and the *Phongsawadan Lao Chaing* (*Chronicle of Chiang Mai*), which were each published as a series of three installments, and the *Tamnan Mueang Chiang Saen* 1 and 2 (or, *Legend of Chiang Saen* 1 and 2), which were published in two installments (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, *Wachirayan*, 1898; Phraya Prachakitkorachak, *Wachirayan*, 1899). The original versions of these articles were local *tamnan* manuscripts. These articles provided rich information about the northern areas, which the administrative elite used to help promote political reform to centralize the provinces. Northern geography, which consisted of Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Chiang Saen, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, and Lan Chang, was demonstrated through the story of *Phongsawadan Hariphunchai*, *Phongsawadan Lao Chiang*, and *Tamnan Mueang Chiang Saen*.

As mentioned above, it should be noted that Phraya Prachakitkorachak consulted a wide range of references in multiple languages beyond the local manuscripts from the North. According to his preface, these included the chronicles of Burma, Raman (Mon), Thai Yai (Shan), and Khamen (Khmer), as well as the Chronicle of China, the

Chronicle of the North, the Royal Chronicle of Siam, and several English books (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 11). This feature, already noticeable in *Phongsawadan Lao Chiang* and published in the *Wachirayan*, became more pronounced in *Phongsawadan Yonok*. Indeed, there is frequent reference to a variety of information from Chinese and English works inserted in the text or added as footnotes throughout the book. The *Phongsawadan Yonok* possesses significant features that distinguish it from the serial articles published in *Wachirayan*.

#### **4.3 From Serial Articles in *Wachirayan* to the *Phongsawadan Yonok***

The serial articles on modern northern Thai history mentioned above became material sources for the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, which was published by Phraya Prachakitkorachak in 1907. The *Phongsawadan Yonok* was a modern northern Thai chronicle that combined multiple materials—both Western books and local manuscripts—into a voluminous book (of over 500 pages) that served as a text for Siamese elites and intellectuals who were interested in history. It was also an instrument used to claim territory in northern Siam and assimilate northern people as Siamese or Thai. Regarding these functions, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* was divided into two parts: an introduction and content that employs significant literary features.

An introductory section that consists of 120 pages, and the subsequent historical chronicles of almost 400 pages, serve to emphasize the sacred nature of the book. Phraya Prachakitkorachak began the introduction by paying homage (of reverential obedience; *kham namatsakan*) to the Three Jewels (i.e., *tri rattana*): the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 4-6). He paid similar homage to the three great virtues: the King; the Law and Customs that the King bestows on the people and the state as the essential principle for ruling; and the assembly of royal servants and followers who justly perform their royal duties. As an elite administrator who served as a guardian of the law for the Supreme Court, he regarded these three virtues as equally essential to the Buddhist Three Jewels for protecting and supporting the nation and the kingdom. Thus, Phraya Prachakitkorachak's purpose in composing the *Phongsawadan Yonok* was to promote historical knowledge among the general public of Bangkok, or the "respectable people of Siam" (Phraya

Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 2-3).

These words of reverential obedience are followed by a ten-page preface and 100 pages of detailed explanatory notes. Interestingly, in the very first paragraph of the preface (kham nam), Phraya Prachakitkorachak declares that “this *Tamnan Yonok* is a Thai *Phongsawadan* of the North (phongsawadan thai nai fai nua), which is related to the origin of the history of Siam” (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 4). This was the first time that the Siamese elite had seen the origin of Siamese history connected to *tamnan* materials from the North.

In the chronological accounts, the major body of the book—the historical accounts—consists of six chapters (or phak), organized chronologically according to major historical periods. Chapter 1, entitled *Chue Suwannakhomkham Wa Duai Khom Samai* (*Suawannakhomkham: an examination of Khom era*), covers the first period of the history of the Thai-North, which begins with the history of Khom Samai (or the Khmer period). Based on both *Tamnan Chiang Sean*, published in the *Wachirayan*, and *Tamnan Suwannakhomkham*, translated and summarized by Phraya Prachakitkorachak but never published, this chapter describes the geography of Yonok Nakorn (the Yonok kingdom) and the establishment of Khom (the Khmer kingdom) (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 3-16).

Chapter 2, entitled *Chue Yonok Wa Duai Thai Samai* (*An explanation of Yonok: Thai era*), discusses the Thai period (Wa Duai Thai Samai) and consists of three histories: the establishment of Mueang Nagkaphan Nakorn, a history of the Buddha and the prophets, and an account of the warfare between Khom and Thai Yonok (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 17-48). The source material for this section is also *Tamnan Suwannakhomkham*.

Chapter 3, *Chue Hariphunchai Wa Duai Cham Samai* (*An explanation of Hariphunchai: Cham era*), is a reprint of *Phongsawadan Hariphunchai*, which was published in the *Wachirayan* in 1898 and covers the history of Hariphunchai with a focus on Chammathewiwong history (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 49-112).

Chapter 4, *Chue Phingkhawong Wa Duai Lao Samai* (*An explanation of Phingkhawong: Lao era*), concerns the history of the Lao Samai (Lao period). This section was also published in the *Wachirayan* in 1899 with the title *Phongsawadan Lao Chiang* (Phraya

Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 113-299; Sanguan Chotsukrat, 1991; Microfilm Tamnan Chiang Mai; NAT. M.16/9). Beginning with the establishment of Mueang Chiang Rai by Lawa Changkharat, this section provides a historical account of the various towns and their rulers, namely Mueang Phayao established by Khun Chom Tham, Chiang Mai established by Mengrai, Khelang Nakorn (Lampang) established by Khun Kram, and Chiang Saen established by Chao San Phu. This is followed by the history of Lanka Buddhism in Chiang Mai, as well as that of the three wars that occurred during this period: between Sukhothai and Ho near Chiang Mai, between Thilokkarat and Thamma Tri Lokkanart, and between Pra Yod Chiang Rai and Pra Mueang Kaw.

Chapter 5, *Chue Megkhawong Wa Duai Raman lae Phukam Samai (An explanation of the Mengwong and Phukam era)*, covers the Raman Samai (Mon period) and the history of Lan Na Thai under Mon and Burmese control. It further describes the Mon invasion into Lan Na Thai and Burma's conquest of Lan Na Thai (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 300-332). It is also a reprint of *Phongsawadan Lao Chiang*, which was published in the *Wachirayan* in 1899. (Microfilm at Social Research Institute: Tamnan Chiang Mai No.78.012.05.004-004, 78-021-05-066-067, 81.088.05.079-079, 80.047.05.042-042, 84.126.05.011-011, 78.021.05.064-064, 80.047.05.037-037, 79.027.05.058-059.).

Finally, Chapter 6, *Chue Phipphawong Wa Duai Sayam Samai (An Explanation of the Siam era)*, comprises the history of Siam Samai. This section was entirely new: none of it had ever been published in the *Wachirayan* (NAT: Phongsawadan Mueang Chiang Mai, Lamphun, and Lampang which was revised by Khun Thip). This section starts with the genealogy of Nai Thip Chang, who became the ruler of Lampang in 1734, and ends in 1875 when the rulers of Lamphun and Lampang, carrying the required tribute of gold and silver trees, visited Bangkok to receive their official appointments by the Siamese monarchy (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 333-449). The main theme of this chapter is the way in which Chiang Mai became a tributary state of Siam in the late eighteenth century onward. It thus details how King Taksin, in collaboration with King Kawila of Chiang Mai, expelled the Burmese forces, freeing Chiang Mai from Burmese rule (NAT: Phongsawadan Mueang Chiang Mai, Lampang, Lamphunchai).

#### 4.4 The *Phongsawadan Yonok* and its Significant Features

Significant features of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* include the chronology it employs, its critical and analytical attitudes, its use of multiple materials, the mix between northern and Siamese writing styles, and the new linear history and geopolitics that it presents of the northern regions and Siam.

First, conceived in the early twentieth century as a history of Northern Siam, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907) is structured along a timeline that seamlessly moves from the ancient period of Suwannakhomkham to the contemporary Siam period, when the North integrated into Siam. Three local historical legends and chronicles of the North that were edited by Phraya Prachakitkorachak and published in serials in the *Wachirayan* journal from 1898-1899 were combined with other historical manuscripts and reorganized into the first five chapters. This is followed by Chapter 6, “Thiphawong, the Siam period,” in which Phraya Prachakitkorachak used additional, previously unpublished material, to complete the narrative on the integration of the North into the Siamese kingdom.

The chapters are arranged in chronological order using the names of people to refer to historical periods: from the oldest, the Khom (Khmer), followed by the Thai, the Cham, the Lao, the Raman (Mon), and finishing with the integration of northern peoples into the Siamese Kingdom during the Siam period. This arrangement is in marked contrast to the book’s archetype. The titles of the various chronicles and legends (*Hariphunchai*, *Lao Chaing*, and *Mueang Chiang Saen*) represent towns, principalities, and genealogies of local ruling families, and their publication order does not assume any direction for integration into Siam or evolution toward “civilization.” In other words, the order of the chapters in the *Phongsawadan Yonok* asserts a specific historical arc that integrates the Thai-North into Siam, thus expanding the geographical understanding of Siam.

Second, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is a prime example of this critical and analytical attitude. The book advocates new ideas of history and styles of writing that valued analytical attitudes and emphasized evidence and cause-effect relations. According to Sarassawadee and Wansa, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is a modern analytical history of the “civilizing” missions that were carried out as a result of Western

influence and were advocated by King Chulalongkorn and the elite administrators of the time. Their activities included the “centralization of books” at the Wachirayan Library and the active publication of articles on various topics, including literature and history (Patrick Jory, 2000, p. 359). Moreover, Phraya Prachakitkorachak consulted many English publications and adopted an analytical style of writing similar to that of Western writers. Western scholars whose works were mentioned in the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907) include Ney Elias, Stanford Raffles, and J.N. Cushing, among many others. An example of Prachakitkorachak’s analytical writing can be found in a passage in which he cites J.N. Cushing in the explanatory note on the movements of the Thai people from China (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 26-27).

This style of writing, which uses different sources in a comparative manner to critically examine a historical event or phenomenon, can also be found in the chronicle text, such as the passage in Chapter 3 on Hariphunchai: “... there was a female deer. She was attracted to come to find food at the place where a saint urinated from time to time. The deer was [or became] pregnant and gave birth to a girl and a boy there...” (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 166). Phraya Prachakitkorachak also maintained a critical view of the history of Lawa Changkarat, or Laochock, the ancestor of the northern inhabitants, which appears in the northern *tamnan*. He explained that this piece of history was recently added to the northern *tamnan* to legitimize the acceptance of Buddhism that had spread from the South (Siam) to the North (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, *Wachirayan*, Vol 58, 1899, p. 689).

Third, this chronicle was created by using three groups of northern historical materials: 1) those that Prachakitkorachak had translated and published in the *Wachirayan*; 2) seventeen local legends (*tamnan*) from northern towns that he collected during his official duties in the region; and 3) materials derived from other *tamnan* manuscripts, which contained the history of Pu Chao Lao Chok (or Chop), who was the first in a hereditary line that descended from the founder of Chiang Mai (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 4-6).

In the account, to address any contradictions caused by using a variety of source materials (for example, names of places and persons, or calendar years and dates), Prachakitkorachak prepared long and detailed explanatory notes, thus avoiding

any confusion or misunderstanding. For example, he includes a detailed comparison of the Chinese and Indian calendars for the clarification of periodization, and provides names of places in various languages, including Chinese (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. Ko-Sor (โก-ศ), 13). He also elucidates terms such as *tamnan* and *phongsawadan*, and provides a detailed etymological account of “Thai” and “Tai.” In his view, *Tamnan* referred to a *Phongsawadan*, which explained the Siameseking's history and consists of significant features related to reality and rationality. *Tamnan*, conversely, represents the unreality and unreasonable history due to the mystical aspect of these stories. Thus, the *Tamnan Yonok* was a *Phongsawadan*. Prachakitkorachak also explained Hun Nam (China), which was the origin of the “Tai” or “Thai” people, who migrated from the North (Hun Num or China) to the South (Siam) (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 19-23).

Fourth, it would be an oversimplification to consider Phraya Prachakitkorachak's writing simply as a modern history. As suggested by the passage from the Hariphunchai history above, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* contains many mythical elements that were present in traditional Lan Na historiography. Prachakitkorachak included both these elements and local legends in his writing rather than relying solely on official histories. Indeed, the writing style of the historical part of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* should be characterized as a mixture of Lan Na and Siamese traditions.

Another example of this unique feature can be found in the book's expression of time. In the beginning of the Hariphunchai period, when the calendar year was not clearly identified, time was often expressed according to the Lan Na tradition, using the age of the ruler. Conversely, the Siamese history refers to the standard time, which is based on a western period known as Sakkharat (Year). For example, Prachao Wangkurisiracha or Kun Kumanrat reigned as king for 30 years; however, according to *Tamnan Lamphun*, he ruled for 17 years (Prachakitkorachak, 1907). Simultaneously, a modern expression of time is included: “Prachao Kumanrat succeeded the throne and reigned as king of Hariphunchai from the year 112 of the Lesser Calendar (chunlasakkarat) to the year 152 for forty years. However, according to Chammathewiwong, he reigned for 44 years and deceased” (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 197).

Moreover, the chronological timeline based on Sakkarat of Siam and Lan Na were used in this chronicle to integrate the idea of Lan Na's time system into the Siamese system based on Sakkarat and Chunlasakkarat. Phraya Prachakitkorachak mixed two time systems between the Lan Na traditional time and the standard time in the *Phongsawadan Yonok*. Lan Na time is used in Phak 1 (Chapter 1) until the beginning of Phak 2 (Chapter 2) (Prachakitkorachak, 1907), while standard time is used in the middle parts of Phak 2 (Chapter 2) (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 24). It is assumed that this merging of two time systems implies that Lan Na became a part of Siam based on the similar time system.

*Phongsawadan Yonok*, as a modern Northern Thai Chronicle, provides a new linear history that merges northern history into Siam's history. As Somkiat has argued, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* is a modern uni-linear history of Siam as a territorial state. I argue that *Phongsawadan Yonok* is an account of northern Thai history. Prachakitkorachak mentioned in the introduction of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* that *Phongsawadan Yonok/ Tamnan Yonok* is a history of northern Thai as an initial history of Siam (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, p. 4).

The new linear history expressed above provided geographical descriptions (such as place names and location markers) that were also written using a mixture of both modern and traditional ideas. Moreover, it is important to note that the traditional Lan Na concept of geography was different from that of Siam. While the Siamese geographical conception before the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was primarily based on the Traiphum cosmology, which is connected to India, the Lan Na geographical conception was based on the Lanka Buddhist tradition, which emphasizes affiliations to the lands of Lan Na, Lower Burma, and Lao, including the Shan (called Thai Yai by Thai people) and Lan Chang areas. Thus, the nature of the North's history, as demonstrated in Tamnan, describes the geographical areas linked to Lao (Lan Chang/Lan Xang or Luang Prabang), Shan, and Lan Na. Conversely, the geographical areas in the history of Siam are linked to the Lower Chao Phraya River regions to Southern Siam.

Due to his experience with boundary surveys, Prachakitkorachak also included geographical measurements, using latitude and longitude to explain the location of the Thai people, i.e., in China along Yang Xi River. According to the *Phongsawadan Yonok*



in the topic of “Wa Duai Mun Het Prated Thai” (translated as “The explanation on the origin of the Thai region”), the Yang Se River determined the location of the Thai people at a latitude of 33 to 34 degrees and longitude of 106 to 109 degrees (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 23-24).

The account from the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907) suggests that Phraya Prachakitkorachak modified the Lan Na geographical conception by connecting places in the North with Siamese rulers in a unique way, creating links with their Kamphot (Cambodian) lineage. According to this account, the Kamphot comprises India and ancient Siam, which had merged with Khmer to become the Great Kosala-Ayutthaya or Intharapat-kururat. The word Kamphot, also came to be included in the names of the peoples in the kingdom [of Great Kosala-Ayutthaya, or Ayutthaya]. As a result, even the Thai Yai, or the Ngiaw, whom the Burmese call the Shan, came to be considered members of the Kamphot genealogy. Thus, terms indicating the Kamphot genealogy can be identified in the appellation of the ranks and positions of the princes of the Thai Yai or the Ngiaw towns, Nai, Lai Kha, Pan, Pu, and Mokmai (Mawkmai) (Phraya Prachakitkorachak, 1907, pp. 18-19).

Interestingly, the five towns (Mueang) are located in the trans-Salween region, over which Siam had claimed control after the colonization of Upper Burma by the British in 1885. These towns were subsequently ceded to the British in exchange for Chiang Khaeng in 1892. Recalling that Phraya Prachakitkorachak was directly involved in the boundary surveys and negotiations with the British at that time, the statement above can be understood as a legitimization of Siamese claims over these towns through his own historical writing, which traces back to the ancient past.

Articles in the *Wachirayan*, from 1898 to 1899, and in the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907), focus on the North as a part of the Siam kingdom. This was a new idea presented in King Chulalongkorn's speech in 1907. Indeed, he referred to Siam as a whole at the Antiquarian Society of Siam (Warasan samakhom prawattisa, 2008, p. 104; Khotchangam, 2001, p. 12). Prachakitkorachak's 1899 article covered the following nine towns: Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Phrae, Nan, Lamphun, Lampang, Payao, Chiang Saen, and Lan Chang, while the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907) focused on the following

twelve towns: Thai Yai (Shan), Mae Hong Son, Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Phrae, Nan, Lamphun, Lampang, Phayao, Chiang Saen, and Lan Chiang, as well as Siam.

In addition to reorganizing the contents under a new master narrative that emphasized Chiang Mai's integration with Siam, the traces of "modernity" evident in Phraya Prachakitkorachak's original work appeared in the *Phongsawadan Yonok*, rather than in a series of articles in the *Wachirayan*. Prachakitkorachak's historical writing focuses on the enlargement of geography from Shan to Lan Chang, the diversity of the northern people (Law, Lao, Karen, Ngio, Meg etc.), and the integration of the northern people with "Thai" people during the independence of Chiang Mai from Burma in the eighteenth century. The *Phongsawadan Yonok* was revised again by Prince Damrong Rachaniphab in 1914, creating a different version from that of Phraya Prachakitkorachak.

##### **5. Phraya Prachakitkorachak and Prince Damrong Rachanuphab**

When Prince Damrong edited and published Chaophraya Thipakorawong's *The Dynastic Chronicles of the Rattanakosin Era: First Reign* in 1901, he admitted that due to a lack of time, his revision was limited to the minimum necessary corrections (Chao Phraya Thiphakorawong, 1988, p. topatak; Chadin Flood, 1990, pp. xxi-xxii). It was only in 1916, when he revised and published the text for *The Second Reign Dynastic Chronicles of the Rattanakosin Era*, that he made thorough revisions. The "modern" approach that he employed for his revisions was clearly expressed in his preface: he had re-written the text in order to help readers evaluate it on their own and better understand the cause and effect of historical events. As a result, *The Dynastic Chronicle of the Rattanakosin Era* that was published in 1916 was extremely different from the original text composed by Chao Phraya Thiphakorawong in 1869 (Prince Damrong Rachanuphab, 1962).

It seems that, while he started to employ a modern critical approach to history writing in the mid-1910s, Prince Damrong did not begin to write an overall history of Siam until the early 1920s. Perhaps one of the earliest examples of the overall history of Siam by Prince Damrong would be *Sadaeng banyai phongsawadan sayam* (Lectures on Siamese history); he presented this series of lectures at Chulalongkorn University in

1924 (Koizumi Junko, 2002, p.34; Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 1914, pp. 1-2; Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 1914, pp. 3-18; Prince Damrong Rachanuphap, 1914, pp. 187-353). In 1927, he presented a similar view in a lecture titled *Laksana kanpokkhong prathet sayam tae boran* (*Siamese state administration from the ancient times*). Both of these contained a frame and perspective that was primarily dynastic, and their narratives focused on the “Thai” people and nation.

Phraya Prachakitkorachak, however, demonstrated an opposing perspective, arguing that Siam was a whole region that included Thai Yai (Shan) and Lan Chang. He also presented the diversity of the Northern people (Law, Lao, Karen, Ngeo, Meg, etc.) and claimed that the Northern people assimilated with the “Thai” in the history of the independence of Chiang Mai from Burma in the eighteenth century. These are the significant features of the *Phongsawadan Yonok*.

Considering the circumstances surrounding the production of history in Siam in the early twentieth century, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* stands apart as a distinctive achievement in the historiography of Siam at the time. Indeed, it is not only a pioneering book regarding the historiography of Lan Na, it is also the very first modern history book of Siam written by a Siamese elite well before Prince Damrong’s achievement. It is spatiotemporal in scope, extending from ancient times to the mid-1870s, and it covers geographical areas that extend from India and Siam to China.

Scholars of Thai history tend to emphasize Prince Damrong’s historical writing as the utmost example of modern Siamese history. However, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907) suggests that modern Siamese history as it emerged in the early twentieth century was not monolithic, and thus cannot be represented by Damrong alone. Comparative and critical attitudes toward historical texts and source materials were seemingly more pronounced in the *Phongsawadan Yonok* than in any of the works by Prince Damrong, who often remained silent or vague about the specific sources that he used to support his statements.

## 6. Conclusion

The *Phongsawadan Yonok* was created by Phraya Prachakitkorachak as a modern northern Thai chronicle based on his experiences while working in northern Siam. The time period of its construction was characterized by British and French expansion into the area, territory conflicts in northern Siam, and attempts by local provincial administrations – including that of northern Siam since the 1880s – to integrate northern regions and assimilate northern people into the Kingdom of Siam. Therefore, the *Phongsawadan Yonok* makes a significant contribution to Thai historiography by expanding upon the linear history and connecting the history of the northern region with that of Siam. As a result, the geographical location of the Kingdom of Siam was expanded to include Shan, Sipsong Panna, and Lan Chang.

The significance of the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907) is four-fold. First, it combines two types of historical writing on the northern regions and Siam. For example, cosmology and mystical stories characterize the North in the *Phongsawadan Yonok* (1907), while secular time, which focuses on the calendar, appears in Prince Damrong's version of the material (1917). Second, a multi history of the North and Siam is demonstrated in the 1907 version. However, the 1907 version only focuses on the Siamese dynastic history by emphasizing the Chaki dynasty history. Third, the geography of the Thai-North, which expands from the west (Thai Yai (Shan)) to the east (Lan Chang), is illustrated. Conversely, Prince Damrong's 1917 version demonstrates only northern geography, which excludes Thai Yai (Shan) and Lan Chang. Finally, Prachakitkorachak attempted to demonstrate the diversity of northern people, including the Karen, Meg, Kha, and Law.

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